MULTILINGUA

JOURNAL OF CROSS-CULTURAL AND INTERLANGUAGE COMMUNICATION

The publisher, together with the authors and editors, has taken great pains to ensure that all information presented in this work reflects the standard of knowledge at the time of publication. Despite careful manuscript preparation and proof correction, errors can nevertheless occur. Authors, editors and publisher disclaim all responsibility for any errors or omissions or liability for the results obtained from use of the information, or parts thereof, contained in this work.

All information regarding notes for contributors, subscriptions, Open access, back volumes and orders is available online at www.degruyter.com/journals/multilin

RESPONSIBLE EDITOR Ingrid Piller, Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University, NSW 2109, Australia, Email: ingrid.piller@mq.edu.au

JOURNAL MANAGER Sofie Schenkel, De Gruyter, Genthiner Straße 13, 10785 Berlin, Germany, Tel: +49 (0)30 260 05-381, Fax: +49 (0)30 260 05-250 Email: sofie.schenkel@degruyter.com

RESPONSIBLE FOR ADVERTISEMENTS Claudia Neumann, De Gruyter, Genthiner Straße 13, 10785 Berlin, Germany, Tel.: +49 (0)30 260 05-226, Fax: +49 (0)30 260 05-264, Email: anzeigen@degruyter.com

Contents

Articles

Book Review

Kristian Tamtomo*

Institution and market: Orders of multiple languages in Indonesian vocational education

Abstract: Indonesian vocational secondary education reflects the increasingly multilingual demands of globalized education and labor market. This study focuses on two orders of multiple languages that are present in vocational high schools in Semarang, Central Java. It aims not only to describe the different orders of languages, but also to suggest that each order represents differing strategies of dealing with the demands of globalization. One order represents the state-backed institutional approach, which views multiple languages as distinct entities and demands students to have monolingual competence in English, Indonesian, and Javanese to engage in globalization, cultivate nationalism and preserve tradition. The other order represents the market-oriented way vocational schools meet the demands of globalized industries and labor markets by directly adopting the multilingual industry register into local learning processes.

Keywords: multilingualism, globalization, vocational education, language education

1 Introduction[1]

As a nation comprised of hundreds of ethno-linguistic groups, Indonesia reflects the conditions of many post-colonial nations of the global South. Here, the issue of multilingualism tends to revolve around the dynamics between local and national language as well as the issue of the spread of global languages,

---

[1] I presented an earlier version of this paper at the *Reviving Benedict Anderson's Imagined (Cosmopolitan) Communities* conference in January 2017, at Sanata Dharma University in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. I thank Joseph Purwoko for proofreading and providing suggestions on the manuscript. I also thank an anonymous reviewer for comments during the review process.

*Corresponding author: Kristian Tamtomo,** Sociology, Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta, Kampus V, Jl. Babarsari 6, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, E-mail: kristian.tamtomo@gmail.com

particularly English (e.g. Spitulnik 2001, LaDousa 2002; Kosonen 2008; Saxena 2011; Vaish 2010). In Indonesia, especially in formal education, this generally revolves around three main language categories: (a) local, depending on region (in this case Javanese), (b) national, namely Indonesian (*Bahasa Indonesia*) as the official language, and (c) global, with mostly English as the main foreign language (Nababan 1991; Darjowidjojo 1998; Bertrand 2003; Lamb and Coleman 2008).

In Indonesian education, vocational high schools represent a unique case. In addition to following the national curriculum, they also aim to produce ready-for-work graduates. This often entails having direct connections to major companies, through accepting sponsorship, internships or through directly adopting the companies' technical terms into teaching materials. Language wise, vocational schools not only reflect the multiple language demands of the curriculum but also of the increasingly globalized industries that dominate the labor market.

This article will discuss the presence of two orders of multiple languages that correspond to the two different categories of classes in vocational high schools. It will be based on data from two vocational high schools in Semarang, Central Java, and will mainly focus on the three languages that students and teachers predominantly use: Indonesian (the national language), English (the global language), and Javanese (the main regional language). The first objective of the article is to describe the way teachers and students use languages in these two different orders of multiple languages. Second, the article will argue that these two orders of multiple languages represent the schools' differing approaches or strategies in dealing with the demands of globalization in education and the labor market. Third, the article intends to discuss the levels of linguistic repertoires, resources, and access to levels of social context that vocational schools can realistically offer to the students.

2 Notions of multilingualism and orders of social language

The academic literature on multilingualism tends to define it based on the issue of linguistic competence (Edwards 2009:248), leading to an implicit view of multilingualism as consisting of "multiple monolingualisms" (Juffermans 2011:166) in which each language is separate and distinct from one another in people's repertoires. We often think of multilingualism as

being "additive" (De Meija 2002:40-41) layers (L2, L3, and so on) on top of a person's first language or mother tongue (L1) (see also Auer 2007). Makoni and Pennycook (2007) suggest that this construction or invention of language separation becomes the epistemological foundation of modern linguistics with real material effects in social life (cf. Bailey 2007).

In contrast, Jorgensen's (2008) notion of polylingualism refers to the norm in which language users "employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best they can, regardless of how well they know the involved languages; this entails that the language users may know -and use- the fact that some of the features are perceived by some speakers as not belonging together" (2008:163). Polylingualism emphasizes that language users do not necessarily have full linguistic competence in the multiple languages they use. Instead, speakers can use parts of multiple languages, in combination or juxtaposition, to meet their communicative aims. People also may not always use linguistic features based on discrete categories or boundaries of languages. Jorgensen compares the difference between the norms of multilingualism and polylingualism to the difference between "multiculture" and "polyculture": the contrast between a pluralist order of discrete but equal entities and a pluralist collection of incomplete or non-discrete entities that may not be intrinsically equal but are all bound together (2008:169).

Various studies on language use provide examples of people using multiple languages for a range of symbolic and identity-oriented work, without necessarily having full competence in these languages (e.g. Eastman and Stein 1993; Meeuwis and Blommaert 1998; Piller 2001; Pennycook 2003; Billings 2009). Other studies describe multiple language practices that involve the combination of languages, blurring of boundaries and hybridity (e.g. Rampton 2005; on language crossing, Jacquemet 2005; on transidiomatic practices, Otsuji and Pennycook 2010; on metrolingualism). The notion of separate and flexible bilingualism also differentiates between the institutional view of languages as separate and distinct entities, often tied to notions of national identity, and the practice of fluid, flexible and mixed languages, often transgressing language boundaries (Creese and Blackledge 2011). The notion of "translanguaging" in applied linguistics is also similar, particularly the idea that speakers can shuttle between the diverse languages in their integrated repertoire, from which they select features not necessarily in accordance to language boundaries, for communicative purposes (Garcia and Li Wei 2014:21-23). We can thus consider these studies and concepts as representing a more practice-oriented perspective to language (Hanks 1996; Pennycook 2010), compared to the competence-oriented perspective of mainstream multilingualism.

Nevertheless, a practice-oriented perspective to language must also acknowledge the connection between language form, language use and the ideological aspect of language evaluation (Collins 2006:253). Concerning this issue, I turn to Blommaert's (2005; 2007a) notion of orders of indexicality to argue that stable social meanings (such as registers, genres, languages) can have ordered structures of evaluation. Orders of indexicality points to how forms of semiosis are "systematically perceived as valuable, others less valuable, and some are not taken account at all" (Blommaert 2007a:117), pointing to a tendency in which people can consider some forms to be better or more powerful than others. This hierarchical evaluation is often tied to "centers of authority" (Blommaert 2007a:118), both real and imagined. These centers 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.)", often defining and imposing the hierarchical evaluation of language forms (Blommaert 2007a:118). As such, we can also consider orders of indexicality as "norms or rules of language" (Blommaert 2005:73) that involve issues of control, membership, and evaluation (2007a:117). Since centering institutions can exist at various levels of society, people often have "polycentric" orientations to multiple centers, based on their social interactions and the various social identities they inhabit (Blommaert 2005:75, 2007a:119). Polycentric orientations can involve contesting centers, leading to tension, contradiction and contestation in communicative practices. In addition, hierarchies of evaluation leads to the view of social space as being layered and stratified, or what Blommaert calls as "sociolinguistic scales" (2007b). In this concept of hierarchal space and language, levels of social space often require certain forms of language. Conversely, certain forms of language can perform certain levels of social space. Entry into certain levels of sociolinguistic scale "depends on access to discursive resources that index and iconize particular scale levels, and such access is an object of inequality" (Blommaert 2007b:7). Based on these conceptual considerations, it is thus important to keep in mind that despite its promise of mobility, fluidity and flow, there are still hierarchical evaluation, inequality of access to resources, and asymmetry of flow (Hannerz 2002) in the globalization of language.

I thus consider that the notions of "multilingualism" and "polylingualism" constitute two differing orders of indexicality and norms of using multiple languages. In the broader context of Indonesian history, these two norms are congruent to Maier's (1993) historical discussion on the strengthening of ethnolinguistic differentiation in colonial Indonesia. Maier describes 18th century Indonesian colonial society, under the *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*

(VOC), as being "heterogeneous"[2] and characterized by "heteroglossia... a continuum of mostly spoken forms, in a number of not very clearly defined domains and a great amount of variation" that functions as a way of communication across ethno-linguistic groups (1993:47). When the Kingdom of the Netherlands took over colonial administration in the 19th century, colonial policy shifted not only to strengthen the boundary between European and native populations but also to define and standardize local languages and indigenous ethnic identity.[3] Based on the efforts of linguist Van Ophuisen, the colonial government also standardized the regional *lingua franca* of Malay to function as a standard and respectable language of communication with native rulers and indigenous staff (Maier 1993; Groeneboer 1998; Errington 2008). This lead to "the process in which 'heteroglossia' is transformed into 'polyglossia': clear-cut standards and norms were created, with borders, exclusion, and selection, and with them an awareness of one's own identity" (Maier 1993:56). Hence, the norm of polylingualism is equivalent to Maier's use of the Bakthinian "heteroglossia" and also represents the centrifugal decentralizing force in language, whereas multilingualism is equivalent to Maier's "polyglossia" and represents the centralizing centripetal force, albeit of multiple languages (Bakhtin 1981:272).

The demarcation of languages and ethnolinguistic groups also continued as the foundation of social and linguistic policy in post-independent Indonesia, particularly during Suharto's 30-year New Order presidency. The government defined and separated ethnic identity based on regional ethnic group customs, primarily housing, dress and art forms, generally belonging to the dominant group in each region (Schefold 1998; Boellstorf 2002). The government also similarly defined each local language based on prestigious varieties spoken by local elites (Kuipers 2008). This is certainly the case with Javanese, in which language maintenance efforts emphasize high Javanese (the speech level known as *bɔsɔ* or *krɔmɔ*[4]) as the definitive form of the language (Errington 1998a; Errington 1998b). Thus, in Indonesia, there is a historical distinction between the formal acknowledgement of multiple yet ideally distinct languages and the

---

2 For example, the boundary between the European and native population was less strict, with cohabitation between European men and native women being a common practice (Stoler 2002:48).

3 The Dutch colonial administration and European missionaries published textbooks and grammars on local languages as part of their efforts of demarcating mission areas (Steedly 1996:449) and defining ethnic regions (cf. Boellstorff 2002 on "ethnolocality").

4 I use the following phonetic notations to reflect certain Javanese vowels that differ from Indonesian vowels (see Errington 1998b). The notations are /ɔ/ for the low back unrounded vowel, /é/ for the front mid tense unrounded vowel, and /è/ for the front mid lax unrounded vowel.

informal communicative practice of using and combining multiple languages, often involving the blurring of language boundaries. In the following discussion, I will show the way this distinction is also present in vocational high schools.

3 Vocational education: Normative and productive classes

Within vocational education, teachers and students categorize classes into two types: *productive* classes and *normative* classes. Both categories exert almost equal influence on students' vocational education, with the curriculum allocating 24 hours per week to both types of classes (Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan 2013:12).

Productive classes form the core of vocational training and focus on providing students with the key technical skills and practical competencies of their respective vocational programs. They are generally practical classes held in specialized classrooms, workshops or laboratories. Instead of a centralized curriculum from the Ministry of Education, the demands of businesses and industries related to each vocational program strongly influence the teaching material.

Normative classes are general subjects that vocational high schools share with general high schools (*Sekolah Menengah Atas*- SMA). The Ministry of Education exerts direct control on these subjects through the publication of a detailed list of competencies in the national curriculum. These include the main National Examination (*Ujian National*) subjects such as Mathematics, Indonesian and English. Normative classes also cover other compulsory subjects such as, for example, Indonesian History, Civic Education, and Religious Studies. There are also local content subjects such as the Javanese language class, which is present in both schools in the study. For the normative language classes, I will focus on the Indonesian, English, and Javanese language classes that are present in both school locations.

The data that I present in this paper comes from a broader ethnographic research on the multilingual communicative practices of school-based youth groups. I conducted the study during the 2012-2013 academic year at two state vocational high schools (*Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan Negeri* - SMKN) in Semarang, the capital city of the Central Java. SMKN Bebengan is located in the rural periphery southwest of Semarang, while SMKN Pandanaran is located in the city center. Both vocational high schools have a technical specialization: SMKN Pandanaran's core programs are in automotive engineering, electrical

engineering, architectural drafting, and multimedia production, while SMKN Bebengan specializes in information technology, although it also has automotive and electrical engineering programs.

I recruited most of the study participants from extra-curricular student groups, with purposive sampling of key members active in the groups' routine communicative activities. I collected data on language use through participant observation of their activities, collecting various texts through photography and recording conversations. In addition, I also interviewed key teachers from the various vocational programs and language teachers from each normative language classes. I transcribed all the teacher interviews and selected sections of student conversations. From these transcripts, I highlighted certain themes and topics that I triangulated with my fieldnotes and the various texts that the youth and the school produced.

4 The institutional multilingualism of normative language classes

I consider the predominant order of indexicality and multiple languages in normative language classes as "institutional multilingualism." This order reflects the dominant state or national curriculum perspective on languages in Indonesian formal education. It views that speakers must use multiple languages as distinct and separate entities with ideal and standard forms, each playing separate social functions.

Within formal education, the state and national curriculum envisions the Indonesian language as playing the cognitive and instrumental functions important for the transfer of knowledge and for access to economic opportunities (Nababan 1991:122, Darjowidjojo 1998:45). In national politics, the state positions Indonesian as a transparent vehicle of efficient communication (Errington 1998a:275, 1998b:62, 2000:210) and as an overarching unifying language that transcends local particularities (Keane 1997:46, Boellstorff 2002:32, Kuipers 2008:317). On the other hand, formal education views local languages as performing familial, cultural or traditional functions (Nababan 1991:122, Darjowidjojo 1998:44-45).

Formal education also ascribes a separate function for English as the main foreign language in the national curriculum. The most prominent role of English is as an "instrumental" language for obtaining knowledge of modern science and technology from developed countries in the West (Darjowidjojo 1998:45, Nababan 1991:123). A second function that Nababan also alludes to is that learning English can give learners "an experience of an important component

of a foreign culture, which is expected to broaden their views of the cosmopolitan nature of the modern world" (1991:123). This implies a symbolic valuation of English: it is not just a tool but also a cosmopolitan cultural object in itself.

4.1 The institutional objectives of normative language classes

Both SMKN Bebengan and SMKN Pandanaran have three normative language classes: Indonesian, English, and Javanese. The Indonesian and English classes are part of the national state curriculum while the Javanese class is part of the regional/provincial local content curriculum.

The general aim of the Indonesian language class is to improve students' competence in written and oral communication for both academic and employment purposes (Badan Standar Nasional Pendidikan 2006:105). The focus of the class is on mastering various genres of spoken communication both in social and workplace settings, such as conversations, interviews and presentations. Further emphasis is given to competence in both reading and writing various genres of written text related to employment such as work orders, letters, proposals, reports as well as narrative, argumentative, persuasive and descriptive texts (Badan Standar Nasional Pendidikan 2006:106-107).

The main objective of the English class in vocational high school is to enable students to proceed through the three levels of "Novice", "Elementary", and "Intermediate" competencies. The novice level involves knowing and describing basic terms for objects, persons, time; knowing basic phrases for daily interaction and social activities; reading memos, menus, schedules and traffic signs; forming basic sentences based on grammatical formulas. The elementary level aims at students being able to have simple daily conversations with non-native speakers; writing simple messages; understanding simple instructions; retelling and recalling past events and future plans. The intermediate level focuses on language competencies related to employment such as presenting reports, understanding manuals and technical documents, understanding and writing business letters and simple reports, as well as understanding limited conversations with native speakers of English (Badan Standar Nasional Pendidikan 2006:112-113).

The national curriculum does not mandate or govern the contents of the Javanese language class. Instead, it is part of the 'local content' (*muatan lokal*) curriculum and the Governor of Central Java Decree Number 423.5/27/2011 sets the competency standards. The first objective of the class is to ensure that students have competency in using Javanese in both oral (listening and speaking) and written (reading and writing) media across various genres of texts including traditional forms of verse. The second objective is to instill cultural values and character (*budi*

pekerti) defined through students learning the language etiquette (*unggah-ungguh*) of correctly using polite Javanese (particularly the *bɔsɔ/krɔmɔ* speech level).[5]

The class objectives highlight that normative language classes orient themselves to a state-backed curriculum (through the Ministry of Education and local government) as their center of linguistic authority, hence the "institutional" aspect of this multilingualism. These class objectives also reflect a general order of language evaluation, illustrated in Figure 1. Both Indonesian and English are the instrumental language of vocational knowledge and skill, with an outward or progress orientation towards formal employment either at the national scale or beyond. Meanwhile, Javanese tends to perform the
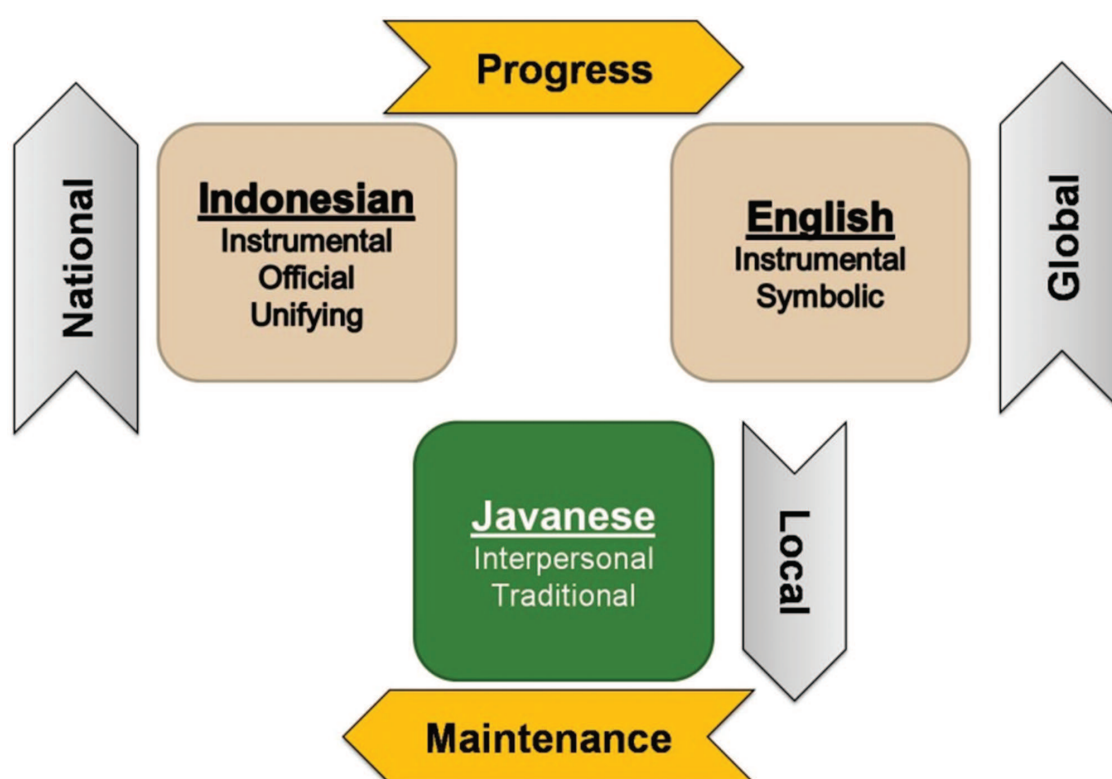
Figure 1: Order of language evaluation in normative language classes

---

5 I follow Errington's (1998b:37) (but see also Siegel 1986:20) broad differentiation of Javanese speech levels into two levels: (1) *ngoko*, which speakers consider as basic and coarse, and (2) *bɔsɔ* (the highest form of which is *krɔmɔ*), which speakers consider as refined. Speakers consider *bɔsɔ*, particularly *krɔmɔ*, as more refined than *ngoko* because the speech level indexes politeness by expressing deference to the interactional other (Errington 1998b:38, Irvine 1998:57). The Javanese commonly associate the ability to speak and master high *bɔsɔ* with the Javanese nobility, especially those from the two Javanese courts in Surakarta (Solo) and Yogyakarta (Errington 1985; cf. Goebel 2007).

interpersonal and familial function, with an inward orientation towards maintenance of traditional values, forms and local scale.

4.2 The erasure of multiple language use in normative language classes

The demands of normative language classes suggest that teachers should use and teach each language separately, so that students achieve a certain level of monolingual competence in all of the languages. Nonetheless, in their teaching practices, language teachers from both schools admit their inability to avoid using multiple languages.

For the Indonesian class, the main reason for using other languages (mainly Javanese) is the need to reduce boredom and maintain students' attention. For example, Ibu Widya[6] from SMKN Pandanaran explains that she uses Javanese to make jokes and address students at a personal level, lightening the mood of lessons.

For the English and Javanese class, the main reason for alternating or combining multiple languages is the inequality in linguistic repertoires between students and teachers. As a result, teachers from these classes, such as Pak Rano and Ibu Nita in Extract 1 below, consider their students not competent enough to understand a purely monolingual class.

Extract 1
A. Pak Rano (PR), English language teacher, SMK Bebengan

1) PR: **Tapi kalo ungkapan-ungkapan keseharian, ngajari caranya kalo ngomong mau minta ijin ke toilet, itu sudah** *full English*. **Jadi ketika materinya tentang ungkapan bahasa-bahasa keseharian, tetep pakai** *full English*. **Tetapi kalo masalah** *grammar*, **tata bahasa saya** *full* **Bahasa Indonesia. Liat kemampuan anak sekali lagi ya. Kalo** tak **kasih** *full English* kɔpyɔr **nanti**. ((laugh))

1) PR: **But if it's daily expressions, teaching how to ask permission to go to the toilet, that's in** *full English*. **So when the material is about everyday utterances, it's still** *full English*. **But if it's** *grammar*, **language order, I use** *full* **Bahasa Indonesia. We have to look at the kids abilities again. If** I **give** *full English* [they] **will** have a headache. ((laugh))

---

6 I will use the common Indonesian address term *Pak* (short for *bapak* and equivalent to Mr.) and *Ibu* (equivalent to Mrs.) to refer to teachers, since this is the way speakers (including students) generally address them. I also use a similar method to Goebel's (2007) transcription of languages: normal text for ngoko Javanese; underlined for basa Javanese; **bold** for Indonesian; *italics* for English.

B. Ibu Nita, Javanese language teacher, SMKN Pandanaran

Kulɔ suwun pirsɔ setunggal kelas menikɔ ingkang menawi matur dateng bapak ibukipun ngginakaken bɔsɔ krɔmɔ sinten, lɔngkɔ lan ajrih. Sami ngaku menawi Jɔwɔmenika namung Jɔwɔ ngoko arah-arahipun Bɔsɔ **Indonesia. Kalaupun Jawa, jarang bagi mereka yang mengaku menerapkan** bɔsɔ krɔmɔ **dengan benar. Itu di awal pembelajaran itu selalu saya tanyakan. Jadi terus terang, bertanya dan menjawab pertanyaan itu lebih banyak saya akui bahasanya** *fifty-fifty*. Nggih Jɔwɔ ning ngoko, kadangkɔlɔ nèk kangèlan nggih Jɔwɔné metu **Indonesia**né yɔ metu.

If I ask the whole class about who uses krɔmɔ when talking to their mother and father, it's rare and many are timid. They all say that they only use ngoko Javanese or Bahasa **Indonesia. If it's Javanese, it's rare for them to admit they use** krɔmɔ **correctly. I always ask that in the beginning of the class. So to be honest, asking and answering questions is** *fifty-fifty*. Javanese yes but ngoko, sometimes when it's difficult then it's both Javanese and **Indonesian**.

In the English class, Pak Rano explains that he mainly uses English for daily phrases that students have learned through rote. However, he switches to Indonesian in order to bridge the explanation of more difficult or abstract topics, such as English grammar. He notes that only using English for these topics would actually hinder students' comprehension. This gap in repertoire and competence, as well as the general limitations of teachers' English competence and resources (see Lamb and Coleman 2008; Coleman 2011), highlight the constraints faced by English classes in meeting the curriculum's objectives.

The situation is slightly different in the Javanese class. For Ibu Nita, the form of Javanese she demands in the classroom (concurrent to the local curriculum) is the high Javanese *krɔmɔ* speech level. As a result, she considers her students' predominant use of the basic *ngoko* speech level (either among themselves or with their families) as inadequate for the class. Nevertheless, she would alternate into Indonesian when dealing with more difficult topics or questions in order to bridge this gap in repertoire.

While teachers may tolerate the use and combination of multiple languages in interactions during the learning process, the curriculum leads them to demand final monolingual performances and products from the students. Teachers thus effectively put the use of multiple languages in the classroom under "erasure", rendering language practices that are inconsistent with the dominant language ideology of the classroom as invisible (Irvine and Gal 2000:37). Teachers implement language ideological erasure to different degrees, depending on the language class. This can depend on teachers' perception of

students' ability in the language and on which aspect of language use the specific class emphasizes.

In the Indonesian class, while teachers tolerate the use of Javanese in students' preparatory discussions (or are largely powerless against it), they insist that students' final verbal presentations have to be in Indonesian. Teachers are also strict regarding standards for Indonesian in written language. In Extract 2 below, Ibu Diah (BD) from SMK Bebengan notes that for her, written language has strict regulations particularly for genres taught in the Indonesian class, leading her to be reluctant to shift the standards.

Extract 2
Ibu Diah (BD), Indonesian language teacher, SMK Bebengan

BD: **Kalo bahasa tulis sudah... sudah standar, sudah bakunya seperti itu. Kayak surat saja, penulisan surat, penulisan alamat. Itu kan sudah paten itu ya. Itu tu nggak bisa. Tapi kalo bahasa lisan misalnya, saya nggak terlalu lah. Asal sopan saja**.

BD: **For written language it's already... already standard, there's already a standard like that. Like letters, writing letters, writing addresses. That's already patent. For this, you can't. But for spoken language, for example, I don't mind as much. As long as it's polite**.

Teachers from the English language class demand monolingual adherence roughly along the same lines as the Indonesian class, especially for written language. The difference here is the broader tolerance English teachers give to language mixing and grammatical mistakes in students' spoken language because they view that students are often timid to speak in English. As a result, they seek to encourage the use of English through tolerating the various speech errors students make and their use of "Indonesian bias" (direct translations of Indonesian into English) in formulating their utterances (Extract 3). These methods of producing "peripheral" forms of English (Blommaert et al. 2005) shows the two way flow in which students engage with English as a global language. On the one hand, peripheral forms provide viable ways for students to localize English into their local interactional contexts. On the other hand, peripheral forms enable students to take part, albeit on a peripheral scale, in the global communicative practice of using English.

Extract 3
Pak Rano (PR), English language teacher, SMKN Bebengan

PR : *Indonesian bias* **itu hanya masalah letak. Cuma memang ketika** *literally*, **kata per kata, itu bisa berbahaya memang. Tapi** *Indonesian bias* **kan namanya terjemah itu kan banyak sih.**
[...]

PR : *Indonesian bias* **is just a matter of placement. Of course if it's** *literally*, **word for word, then that can be a problem. But** *Indonesian bias*, **what's called translation, it is very common**.
[...]

Itu adalah upaya buat mereka [...] **Jadi menurut saya itu adalah inisiatif yang bagus dari anak**.

It's an effort from them [...] **So in my opinion, it's a good initiative from the students**.

The Javanese language class, in contrasts, faces different issues in demanding monolingual competence in the classroom. Teachers generally point to the limited class time (an hour per week) as the main obstacle to achieving their teaching objectives. Furthermore, while students are predominantly from Central Java, they tend use the *ngoko* speech level in their daily interactions with their peers and families. This use of *ngoko* differs from the standards of Javanese language competency, which teachers and the local curriculum tend to define as the ability to use the *bɔsɔ* or *krɔmɔ* speech level for the purpose of 'etiquette' (*unggah-ungguh*). However, as Ibu Nita explains in Extract 4, the emphasis on Javanese speech etiquette does not have practical relevancy for the labor market since it tends to operate in Indonesian. Facing these issues, Javanese language teachers tend to define the objective of the class more along the lines of 'language etiquette' (*unggah-ungguh bɔsɔ*), manners (*tɔtɔ krɔmɔ*), and 'character education' (*pendidikan karakter* or *budi pekerti*), thus reframing local language education as concerning the moral aspect of language.

Extract 4
A. Ibu Nita (BN), Javanese language Teacher from SMK Pandanaran

BN: Menawi **dalam dunia kerja berkaitan dengan materi yang dipelajari itu, lebih-lebih tadi yang menyadur Bahasa Indonesia, itu kok saya belum melihat relevansinya dalam dunia kerja.Tapi kalo berkaitan dengan** unggah-ungguh bɔsɔ**nya, trus** tɔtɔ krɔmɔ**nya, trus terutama juga perilaku, ya** tɔtɔ krɔmɔ **tadi** mas, **itu jelas**. Sing jenengé **untuk salam**, ɔpɔ liyané, niku **kan** dateng bɔsɔ Jawi.

BN: If **it's for the world of work, related to the material that is being learnt, especially those that copy from Bahasa Indonesia, I don't see the relevancy for work. But if it's related to** language etiquette, manners, **especially behavior, that refers to** manners **as I said, it's clear**. What's called, **for greetings**, or others, that's from Javanese.

The erasure of the use of multiple languages in the normative language classes underscores the principle of institutional multilingualism, which emphasizes monolingual competence in multiple yet separate and distinct languages. Although both teachers and students often use multiple languages in the learning process in the classroom, the demands of institutional multilingualism lead them to put these practices under erasure, favoring the final monolingual performance or product. The variance in the degree of erasure of multiple languages across different language classes (strict in the Indonesian class, less so in the English and Javanese class) highlights the tension between the reality

of students' language repertoires and the ability of students and teachers to meet the demands of institutional multilingualism.

5 The market-oriented polylingualism of productive classes

I consider the use of multiple languages in productive classes as being market-oriented and polylingual. Instead of relying on the national curriculum, teachers from the productive classes source much of their teaching materials from various key companies in their respective vocational fields. The productive classes' direct orientation to industry players leads them to adopt not only technical practices but also the use of multiple languages in communicative practices. I argue that this use of multiple languages is polylingual in nature, since the productive classes combine elements (such words and phrases) from multiple languages to meet the communicative purposes of transferring vocational skills without necessarily demanding competence in each of the languages they use.

I will highlight the two ways in which this market-oriented polylingualism manifests in the productive classes: (a) in the use of Indonesian and English in the technical register of written teaching materials, and (b) in the use of multiple languages in spoken communication in the classroom.

5.1 The polylingual technical register of written teaching materials

The most visible form of polylingualism is the way productive classes use multiple languages in their written teaching materials. Teaching materials include various forms of texts, such as posters, signs, and directions in workshops and classrooms. However, I will mainly focus on the students' practical workbooks ("job sheets") since they constitute the central text of vocational training.

Students and teachers generally refer to their main teaching texts as job sheets, though the school officially labels them as *lembar kerja praktik* ('practical work sheets') in Indonesian. Teachers in general point to industry practice as the origin of this term. In Extract 5, Pak Tono (TN) explains that job sheet is one of the many English terms vocational schools directly adopt from workshops and companies. Students and teachers use them as part of their educational

vocabulary, without necessarily becoming fully competent in English or knowing the specific reasons behind these terms.

Extract 5
Pak Tono (TN), automotive engineering teacher, SMK Pandanaran

1) TN: **Karena kita dulu mengadopsi bengkelnya itu ya pakai istilah itu ya...di industri pakainya juga itu ya** *job sheet* **pakainya. Bukan lembar kerja, kertas kerja. Pakainya** *job sheet. Work order.* **Itu memang di bengkel pun sekarang pakainya masih itu**.

2) KT: **Dan itu praktek sejak dulu ya**?

3) Pak TN: **Iya sejak dulu. Orang juga sana istilahnya** *frontman, leader.* **Kalau mekanik itu jarang mekanik** *head.* **Ya saya juga gak tahu kenapa industri gitu. Akhirnya teradopsi juga sama sekolah**.

1) TN: **Because back then we adopted it from workshops that use that term**... **in the industry they also use that, they use** *job sheet*. **Not work sheet, work paper. They use** *job sheet. Work order.* **That's what they use in workshops, even now they still use it**.

2) KT: **And that was the practice since then**?

3) TN: **Yes, since then. People there also use terms such as** *frontman, leader*. **For mechanics, it's rare to have** *head mechanic*. **Well, I don't know why the industry does that. In the end, the schools also adopted it**.

As official and formal school teaching documents, job sheets are predominantly in Indonesian, since this is the official language of instruction of formal education. Nonetheless, due to the adoption of industry practices, job sheets also feature extensive use of English in the form of technical terms and phrases. Javanese as the local language is noticeably absent from most of the written teaching materials.

Job sheets tend to deploy Indonesian and English in a bilingually "complementary manner" (Sebba 2012), in which the two languages are combined to present different parts of the text or message (for example, headings may be in one language whereas the main body of the text may be in another).[7] This type of multilingual text implies that the readers can decipher all of the languages in the message (Sebba 2012:15), although this does not necessarily mean or require full competence.

Job sheets use English and Indonesian in a complementary manner in three main ways. The first and most common way is the use of English in the names of components, parts, tools, and machinery that students have to learn in their vocational programs. Figure 2, which comes from an automotive engineering job sheet in SMK Pandanaran, shows an example of this complementary use of

---

7 This contrasts with the "parallel" (Sebba 2012:14) use of multiple languages in which the same part of the text or message is repeated in different languages (e.g. in airport signs, where a message such as "exit" is repeated in multiple languages).
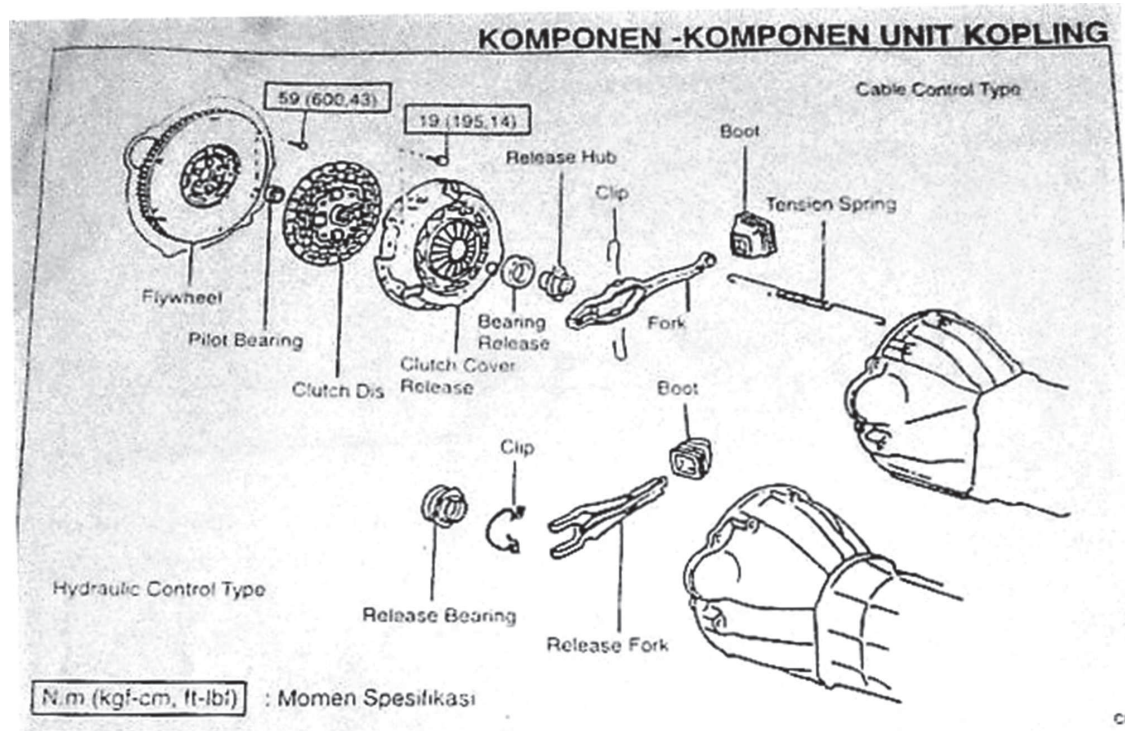
Figure 2: Job-sheet diagram of an automotive clutch

English and Indonesian. The individual names of the components are in English, for example "flywheel", "pilot bearing", "clutch dis" [sic], "clutch cover release". Meanwhile, the title of the diagram itself is in Indonesian, though this features loanwords from English (*komponen* and *unit*) and Dutch (*kopling* is from the Dutch term for automobile clutch, *koppeling*).

The second way is for job sheets to use English to label the technical skills that students have to learn while providing their definitions or explanations in Indonesian, often resulting in a glossary-like list. The table in the middle of Figure 3 illustrates this mode of presenting English terms with their Indonesian definitions and explanations.

The third form of complementary English and Indonesian can be seen in job sheets on English-based computer programming language (for example, C + +, HTML, Dreamweaver, JavaScript), also shown in Figure 3. At the top of the page, the job sheet explains the syntax of the programming languages by combining the English commands with their Indonesian explanations to illustrate the combination of different command categories and their programming syntax. The use of Indonesian performs a metalingual function of specifying the type of data required in the English-based program. Thus the command string *nama*Method *([nilai*Parameter*])* (*nama* is 'name' and *nilai* is 'value') basically

Modifier boleh lebih dari satu (dipisah oleh spasi).

Pasangan tipe dan parameter dapat lebih dari satu (dipisah oleh koma).

Bentuk umum method main() sebagai berikut :

```
[modifier] tipe_return_value main(String args[]) {
    methodbody
}
```

Ada tiga sintaks pemanggilan suatu method :

```
namaMethod([nilaiParamater]);
namaObjek.namaMethod([nilaiParamater]);
namaKelas.namaMethod([nilaiParamater]);
```

Tidak semua member (class, attribute, dan method) dapat diakses method, berikut tabel aksesnya:

Method	member (class, attribute, method)
Static	**static** boleh lewat objek ataupun class, boleh langsung kalau dalam kelas sendiri
Static	**non static** hanya boleh lewat objek, langsung tidak boleh, lewat class tidak boleh
Non static	**static** boleh lewat objek ataupun class, boleh langsung kalau dalam kelas sendiri
Non static	**non static** hanya boleh lewat objek, langsung tidak boleh, lewat class tidak boleh

Method dasar ada dua jenis yaitu *getter()* dan *setter()*.

Contoh :

```
public class Dog {
    private int weight; // information hiding
    public int getWeight() {  //getter
        return weight;
    }
    public void setWeight(int newWeight) {  //setter
        weight = newWeight;
```

Figure 3: Job-sheet for software engineering

explains to students, by complementarily combining Indonesian and English, that the syntax of the command is "name of Method ([value of Parameter])."

Programming languages constitute not only the technical terms that students need to learn but also the actual skills and means of production within the software side of information technology. These students are learning a very specific register of English that uses English morphemes but arranges them in a syntax that differs from that of ordinary English. These programming languages also do not include other general aspects of English grammar. As a result, in their process of learning these programming languages, students are using English terms and commands without connecting them back to a broader English grammatical system. Instead, and as shown by the way the job sheet explains programming language, teachers and students combine the English terms and commands with Indonesian explanations when they talk or write about these programming languages.

The use of English and Indonesian in productive class job sheets thus constitutes a technical register featuring the complementary combination of English technical terms with a broader Indonesian text (or "matrix language" following Myers-Scotton 2006). We can also consider this technical register as being "polylingual" since it does not necessarily demand full competence, especially for English, since the register only requires competence in a specific variety (e.g. programming language) that is important for the vocational program. In other words, the technical register illustrates a form of "segmented competence" (Blommaert and Omoniyi 2006), in which there is more emphasis on the technological competence of using multiple language forms in order to enter the vocational community of practice (Wenger 1998) than on the linguistic competence in each individual language.

5.2 The use of multiple languages in spoken communication

Teachers in productive classes generally report that they use Indonesian with students since it is the official language of education. Nevertheless, teachers acknowledge that they also either alternate into Javanese or use English fragments in their classroom interactions. For teachers, alternating into Javanese (particularly *ngoko*) closes the social distance between teacher and student, and helps ease students' acceptance of classroom explanations. This aligns with previous studies (e.g. Wolff and Pudjosoedarmo 1982; Errington 1998b; Goebel 2005) that view Indonesian as the language of the "objective" or group/forum level of interaction whereas Javanese (especially *ngoko*) functions as the language of personal or familiar relations between individuals. Productive class teachers also acknowledge that students will predominantly use *ngoko* Javanese among themselves. Similar to the normative class teachers, productive class

teachers explain that the use of Javanese in the interpersonal interaction among students is something that is unavoidable and thus largely tolerated in the classroom.

True to their vocational nature, the productive classes also tend to put more emphasis on the vocational and communicative purposes of language use over the need for full linguistic competence. The emphasis on vocational skills means that the use of Javanese, non-standard Indonesian, and even the mixing of Indonesian, English and Javanese in students' final products is tolerable as long as they reflect proficiency in the required vocational skills. This emphasis points to the productive classes' orientation towards the demands and practices of the wider industry and labor market that have become increasingly multilingual, instead of a simple adherence to the use of Indonesian as the formal language of instruction. Although teachers may prefer the use of Indonesian, they nonetheless acknowledge that there is often the combined or mixed use of multiple languages in industry practices and the job market, either for interpersonal interaction, for formal functions, or for technical and commodification purposes.

One example of this combined use of languages is in the continued use of older or archaic terms in some engineering programs, at least informally and usually associated with their currency in local workshops and businesses (as opposed to official factory or brand workshops). As Pak Frans (FR) from the automotive program in SMK Pandanaran explains in Extract 6, these archaic terms are often Dutch (e.g. *seker* - 'piston', *kroskopel* - 'powershaft') though they can also feature generic brand names or even Javanese terms (e.g. *ndhas babi* - 'pig's head').

Extract 6
Pak Frans (FR), automotive engineering teacher, SMK Pandanaran

1) FR: **Tapi gini** mas, **kadang–kadang kalau anak praktek di lapangan, kadang–kadang saya selaku pribadi memberikan. Nanti kalau kamu di lapangan ada orang mengatakan** *seker* **berarti** *piston*. **Kalau ada orang mengatakan** *kroskopel* **berarti poros propeler atau** *powershaft*.[...]

1) FR: **But it's like this, sometimes when kids go to the field for internships, I personally give them** [these terms]. **If you're in the field, someone says** *seker* **that means** *piston*. **If someone says** *kroskopel* **that means poros propeler or** *powershaft*.[...]

2) FR: **Ya kan gini, orang–orang bengkel menyatakan transmisi**... *gearbox* **itu mengatakan** ndhas babi. **Iya anak -anak** ... "Jiku'ke ndas babi." **Disuruh ngambil** ndhas babi. "O:: **itu tranmisi**."[...]

2) FR: **Well, it's like this, people in the workshops call transmission**... *gearbox*, **they call it** pig's head. **Well the kids** ... "Get me the pig's head." **Told to get the** pig's head. "O:: **that's transmission**." [...]

3) FR: **Kita tetep, apa ya, kita campur bahasanya. Ya, agar anak mudah mengetahui. Karena setelah mereka masuk ke dunia ATPM, dunia resmi seperti** *Mitsubishi* **mereka menggunakan standar bahasa Inggris. Sehingga mereka tahu. Tapi begitu mereka masuk ke bengkel umum, mereka harus tahu istilah**.

3) FR: **We still, how do you say it, we mix the language. So that the kids can easily know. Because after they enter the official brand agents** (ATPM), **official such as** *Mitsubishi*, **they use the English standard. So they know. But once they enter general workshops, they have to know those terms**.

The teacher explains that Dutch terms are a legacy of workshops from the past or from older mechanics. They originate from a time when much of the manuals and training materials of the automotive industry in Indonesia were still predominantly in Dutch. This started to change when Japanese manufacturers, who use English technical terms in their international products, began dominating the Indonesian automotive market and industry around the mid-1980s. Vocational schools followed the industry, shifting from Dutch to English as the standard technical language. The teachers also point out that these archaic terms are now predominantly oral, informal, and local. Official written teaching material, reflecting the practice of dominant brands, no longer use these terms, although some terms continue to be used because they have become established Indonesian borrowings, such as the term *kopling* ('clutch') in Figure 2. Teachers still teach these local and archaic terms to students since they still have currency in local workshops and in the informal spare-parts market.

Students can also combine the use of multiple languages, with Javanese functioning as the language that integrates the use of Indonesian and English into their local interactions. Extract 7 shows an example of two students (MA, male and NN, female, both from SMK Bebengan) using Javanese to discuss the mostly English programming code and commands of the *Dreamweaver* program in designing web pages.

Extract 7
MA and NN, Software Engineering students, SMKN Bebengan

1) MA: Sik...*create*...*new* **ya**. Penaké nèk *Dreamweaver* ngono, **keunggulan**é, **cuma** aku gèk ngerti wingi. Njajal modal nékat. Cobɔ anggo ngéné yɔ, **tabel seumpama**né yɔ. **Tabel**...iki ngko **bentuk**é ngéné, **tabel. Tiga tiga, kesukaanku. Tiga tiga**. Trus di-*edit*. *Merge center*... *merge center* ning kéné.

1) MA: Wait... *create*... *new* **yeah**. The good thing about *Dreamweaver* is that, the **advantge**. I **only** learned yesterday, just tried it. Let's try using this, a **table** for example. **Table**... this will form like this, **table. Three by three, my favorite. Three three**. Then *edit*-ed. *Merge center*... *merge center* at here.

2) NN: Hm::? Tekɔ di*center* he'eh? *Cursor*é ndi?

3) MA: Iki... iki. Aku modal nékat-nékat thɔk mauné. Isɔ ngerti ngono. Trus iki... **Kan kelemahan**é **kan** ning kéné thɔk isɔne ra? Dadi di**rumus** waé. *Horizontal, left...* *vertical* genti *top*. Ikiné tengah... genti *left*. Trus **nilai**... garèk ngunggahké. Kan... *H-align* karo *V-align* dadiné, nèk anggo **rumus**. Iki ndhuwuré. **Contoh**... *example*... mbukak *web* sembarang.

2) NN: Hm::? Just *center*-ed yeah? Where's the *cursor*?

3) MA: Here... here. I only tried initially. Found out that way. Then this... The **weakness** here is it can only be here, right? So just **code** it. *Horizontal, left...* *vertical* change to *top*. This in the middle, change to *left*. Then **value**... just increase it. *H-align* and *V-align* it becomes, if you use **code**. This is the top. **Example**...*example*... open any *web*.

Both students generally use Javanese in addressing each other. However, NN also uses Indonesian lexemes and English technical terms, which she integrates effectively into her broader Javanese utterances by using Javanese affixes, such as the nominal/possessive suffix –*é* and the Javanese/Indonesian passive prefix *di-*. Similarly, MA integrates English technical terms and phrases into his broader Javanese utterances. For example, in turn 1, MA uses a number of Indonesian lexical items (such as *keunggulan* - 'advantage', *cuma*- 'only', and the English borrowings *table* - 'table' and *edit*) as constituents (e.g. noun phrase, preposition phrase) within broader Javanese clauses. In turn 3, MA uses a number of English technical terms, such as *horizontal, left, top, H-align* and *V-align* as phrases within broader Javanese clauses, identifiable by the use of Javanese non-lexical items such as affixes, discourse particles (e.g. *thɔk*) and deictic elements (e.g. demonstratives such as *iki*- 'this' and *ngono*- 'that way').

The resulting effect is that the conversation, despite being about English computer commands, nonetheless has "an identifiable *ngoko* [Javanese] structure and interactional feel" (Errington 1998b:112). As Errington further argues, this form of multilingual combination enables "un-native lexical materials" (either Indonesian or English) to be "effectively syncretized to ongoing essentially Javanese interactional relations" (1998b:112). For the students, it also means that Javanese continues to feature as the interactional way in which they "vernacularize" (Appadurai 1996:100) global English technical terms in their collaborative learning processes.

6 Conclusion

Institutional multilingualism reflects the state-sanctioned response to the demands of globalization, both in schooling and in the labor market. It defines

Indonesian, English and Javanese based on their ideal or reified forms and as separate, distinct bounded entities. It requires students to show (a certain level of) monolingual competence in each language. Institutional multilingualism thus represents the polyglossia that Maier (1993) speaks of in Indonesian history and what Bakhtin (1981:272) considers as the centralizing centripetal force, in this case towards standard forms of multiple languages.

The slogan of the Ministry of Education, which specifies that "citizens are to 'love' their local languages; 'use' their national language, Indonesian; and 'study' foreign languages, with extra emphasis on English" (Zentz 2014:240), reflects the polycentric demands of institutional multilingualism. These demands highlight that institutional multilingualism has a clear objective of requiring students to be able to participate and compete in globalization, yet at the same time remain nationalist while also maintaining their traditional culture/language. However, the classroom reality of limited resources and limitations in repertoire of both students and teachers mean that normative language classes may not necessarily meet these lofty institutional objectives, especially for the English and Javanese classes. For the most part, teachers make do with either a "peripheral" form of language competency or an emphasis on non-linguistic competence, such as language etiquette.

The market-oriented polylingualism of the productive classes represent the pragmatic way in which vocational high schools meet the multilingual demands and practices of industries and labor markets, due to the influence of global technological and industrial practices. These classes operate using a polylingual norm, in which students learn a technical register that combines English technical terms with Indonesian explanations and Javanese discussion without emphasis on learning monolingual competence in all these languages (as opposed to institutional multilingualism) or on keeping these languages as distinct entities. There is more than just borrowing going on. Students are learning a commodified register (cf. Blommaert 2010:49) that has economic value in their specific industries, but one that often involves blurring and combining different language forms. The example in Figure 3 and Extract 6 show that the ability to make use of a variety of technical terms coming from multiple languages is key for some vocational programs. Whereas Extract 7 highlights that the combining of features from multiple languages, regardless of competence or language boundaries, is often the way students collaboratively learn the vocational technical register.

Market-oriented polylingualism thus represents a continuation of the "heteroglossia" that Maier (1993) describes in Indonesia, the practical and vernacular way in which people historically communicated in a multilingual archipelago with centuries of language contact. It also represents Bakhtin's (1981:272) notion of the decentralizing centrifugal force of heteroglossia. However, while the

polylingualism of vocational schools feature fluidity and porous boundaries, its market-orientation means it does not challenge or subvert the market's hierarchical evaluation of languages (which is also present in institutional multilingualism). English and Indonesian hold instrumental economic value while Javanese is relegated to maintenance of tradition. This is comparable to Luvaas's (2009:272) observation of Indonesian "indie" youth subculture, in that while their hybrid, mixed, and deterritorialized cultural products offer alternative forms of identity and expression, they nonetheless still "uphold the hegemony of transnational aesthetics over indigenously produced ones." Although market-oriented polylingualism constitutes a local and practical strategy of dealing with the global economy, it is not a purposively "critical language awareness" (Alim 2010) approach. It does not intentionaly seek to view language as "loaded with issues of power, hierarchy and dominance" nor does it actively question "taken-for-granted assumptions and ideologies" of social class, nationality, economic value and their relation to language (Alim 2010:207-208). While some aspects of market-oriented polylingualism, such as vernacularization, may lead to subversion of language hierarchies, for the most part it still inadvertently reproduces the stratifications of the global linguistic market.

References

Alim, H. Samy. 2010. Critical language awareness. In Nancy Hornberger & Sandra McKay (eds.), *Sociolinguistics and language education*, 205–231. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at large*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Auer, Peter. 2007. The monolingual bias in bilingualism research, or: Why bilingual talk is (still) a challenge for linguistics. In Monica Heller (ed.), *Bilingualism: A social approach*, 319–339. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Badan Standar Nasional Pendidikan. 2006. *Standar isi untuk satuan pendidikan dasar dan menengah: Standar kompetensi dan kompetensi dasar SMK/MAK* [Content standards for primary and secondary education units: Competency standards and basic competencies for vocational schools]. Jakarta: Badan Standar Nasional Pendidikan.

Bailey, Benjamin. 2007. Heteroglossia and boundaries. In Monica Heller (ed.), *Bilingualism: A social approach*, 257–274. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1981. *The dialogic imagination: Four essays*. Austin: The University of Texas Press.

Bertrand, Jerome. 2003. Language policy in Indonesia: The promotion of a national language amidst ethnic diversity. In Micheal Brown & Sumit Ganguly (eds.), *Fighting words: Language policy and ethnic relations in Asia*, 263–290. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Billings, Sabrina. 2009. Speaking beauties: Linguistic posturing, language inequality, and the construction of a Tanzanian beauty queen. *Language in Society* 38. 581–606.

Blommaert, Jan. 2005. *Discourse: A critical introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blommaert, Jan. 2007a. Sociolinguistics and discourse analysis: Orders of indexicality and polycentricity. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 2(2). 115–130.

Blommaert, Jan. 2007b. Sociolinguistic scales. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 4(1). 1–19.

Blommaert, Jan. 2010. *The sociolinguistics of globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blommaert, Jan, Lies Creve & Evita Willaert. 2006. On being declared illiterate: Language ideological disqualification in Dutch classes for immigrants in Belgium. *Language & Communication* 26. 34–54.

Blommaert, Jan, Nathalie Muyllaert, Marieke Huysmans & Charlyn Dyers. 2005. Peripheral normativity: Literacy and the production of locality in a South African township school. *Linguistics and Education* 16. 378–403.

Blommaert, Jan & Topo Omoniyi. 2006. Email fraud: Language, technology, and the indexicals of globalisation. *Social Semiotics* 16(4). 573–605.

Boellstorff, Tom. 2002. Ethnolocality. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 3(1). 24–48.

Coleman, Hywel. 2011. Allocating resources for English: The case of Indonesia's English medium international standard schools. Paper 5 in Hywel Coleman (ed.) *Dreams and realities: Developing countries and the English language*. London: British Council.

Collins, James. 2006. Literacy practices in sociocultural perspective. In Keith Brown (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, Vol. 7, 245–255. Oxford: Elsevier.

Creese, Angela & Adrian Blackledge. 2011. Separate and flexible bilingualism in complementary schools: Multiple language practices in interrelationship. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43. 1196–1208.

Darjowidjojo, Soenjono. 1998. Strategies for a successful national language policy: The Indonesian case. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 130. 35–47.

De Meija, Anna-Maria. 2002. *Power, prestige and bilingualism: International perspectives on elite bilingual education*. Clevendon: Multilingual Matters.

Eastman, Carol & Roberta Stein. 1993. Language display: Authenticating claims to social identity. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 14(3). 187–202.

Edwards, John. 2009. *Language and identity: An introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Errington, J. Joseph. 1985. Language and social change in Java: Linguistic reflexes of modernization in a traditional royal polity. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Errington, J. Joseph. 1998a. Indonesian('s) development: On the state of a language of state. In Bambi Schieffelin, Kathryn Woolard & Paul Kroskrity (eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*, 271–284. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Errington, J. Joseph. 1998b. *Shifting languages: Interaction and identity in Javanese Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Errington, J. Joseph. 2000. Indonesian('s) Authority. In Paul Kroskrity (ed.), *Regimes of language: Ideologies, polities, and identities*, 205–227. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Errington, J. Joseph. 2008. *Linguistics in a colonial world: A story of language, meaning, and power*. Malden: Blackwell.

Garcia, Ofelia & Li Wei. 2014. *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism, and education*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Goebel, Zane. 2005. An ethnographic study of code choice in two neighbourhoods of Indonesia. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 25(1). 85–107.

Goebel, Zane. 2007. Enregisterment and appropriation in Javanese-Indonesian bilingual talk. *Language in Society* 36. 511–531.

Groeneboer, Kees. 1998. *Gateway to the west: The Dutch language in colonial Indonesia, 1600-1950, a history of language policy*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Hanks, William F. 1996. *Language and communicative practices*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Hannerz, Ulf. 2002. Flows, boundaries and hybrids: Keywords in transnational anthropology. *Working Paper Series: Transnational Communities Programme*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/hannerz.pdf (accessed 2 May 2017).

Irvine, Judith. 1998. Ideologies of honorific language. In Bambi Schieffelin, Kathryn Woolard & Paul Kroskrity (eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*, 51–67. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Irvine, Judith & Susan Gal. 2000. Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In Paul Kroskrity (ed.), *Regimes of language: Ideologies, polities, and identities*, 35–83. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Jacquemet, Marco. 2005. Transidiomatic practices: Language and power in the age of globalization. *Language & Communication* 25(3). 257–277.

Jorgensen, J. Normann. 2008. Polylingual languaging around and among children and adolescents. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 5(3). 161–176.

Juffermans, Kasper. 2011. The oldman and the letter: Repertoires of literacy and languaging in a modern multiethnic Gambian village. *Compare* 41(2). 165–179.

Keane, Webb. 1997. Knowing one's place: National language and the idea of the local in eastern Indonesia. *Cultural Anthropology* 12(1). 37–63.

Kosonen, Kimo. 2008. Literacy in local languages in Thailand: Language maintenance in a globalized world. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 11(2). 170–188.

Kuipers, Joel. 2008. Named speech registers and the inscription of locality in the Dutch East Indies. *Language & Communication* 28 (4). 308–322.

LaDousa, Chaise. 2002. Advertising in the periphery: Languages and schools in a north Indian city. *Language in Society* 31. 213–242.

Lamb, Martin & Hywel Coleman. 2008. Literacy in English and the transformation of self and society in post-Soeharto Indonesia. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 11 (2). 189–205.

Luvaas, Brent. 2009. Dislocating sounds: The deterritorialization of Indonesian indie pop. *Cultural Anthropology* 24(2). 246–279.

Maier, H.M.J. 1993. From heteroglossia to polyglossia: The creation of Malay and Dutch in the Indies. *Indonesia* 56:37–65.

Makoni, Sinfreed & Alastair Pennycook. 2007. Disinventing and reconstituting languages. In Sinfreed Makoni & Alastair Pennycook (eds.), *Disinventing and reconstituting languages*, 1–41. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Meeuwis, Michael & Jan Blommaert. 1998. A monolectal view of code-switching: Layered code-switching among Zairians in Belgium. In Peter Auer (ed.), *Code-switching in conversation*, 76–98. London: Routledge.

Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. 2013. *Peraturan Menteri pendidikan dan kebudayaan Republik Indonesia nomor 70 tahun 2013 tentang kerangka dasar dan struktur kurikulum*

sekolah menengah kejuruan/madrasah aliyah kejurusan. [Minister of education and culture decree no. 70, 2013 on the framework and structure of vocational high school curriculum]. Jakarta: Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.

Myers-Scotton, Carol. 2006. *Multiple voices: An introduction to bilingualism.* Malden: Blackwell.

Nababan, P. W. J. 1991. Language in education: The case of Indonesia. *International Review of Education* 37(1). 115–131.

Otsuji, Emi & Alastair Pennycook. 2010. Metrolingualism: Fixity, fluidity and language in flux. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 7(3). 240–254.

Pennycook, Alastair. 2003. Global Englishes, *rip slyme*, and performativity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7(4). 513–533.

Pennycook, Alastair. 2010. *Language as a local practice.* London: Routledge.

Piller, Ingrid. 2001. Identity constructions in multilingual advertising. *Language in Society* 30 (2). 153–186.

Rampton, Ben. 2005. *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents.* Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.

Saxena, Mukul. 2011. Reified languages and scripts versus real literacy values and practices: Insights from research with young bilinguals in an Islamic state. *Compare* 41(2). 277–292.

Schefold, Reimar. 1998. The domestication of culture: Nation-building and ethnic diversity in Indonesia. *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land – en Volkenkund* 154(2). 259–280.

Sebba, Mark. 2012. Researching and theorizing multilingual texts. In Mark Sebba, Shahrzad Mahootian & Carla Jonsson (eds.), *Language mixing and code-switching in writing*, 1–26. New York: Routledge.

Siegel, James. 1986. *Solo in the new order: Language and hierarchy in an Indonesian city.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Spitulnik, Debra. 2001. The social circulation of media discourse and the mediation of communities. In Alessandro Duranti (ed.), *Linguistic anthropology: A reader*, 95–118. Malden: Basil Blackwell.

Steedly, Mary. 1996. The importance of proper names: Language and "national" identity in colonial Karoland. *American Ethnologist* 23(3). 447–475.

Stoler, Ann L. 2002. *Carnal knowledge and imperial power: Race and the intimate in colonial rule.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Vaish, Viniti. 2010. Introduction: Globalization of language and culture in Asia. In Viniti Vaish (ed.), *Globalization of language and culture in Asia: The impact of globalization processes on language*, 1–13. London: Continuum.

Wenger, Etienne. 1998. *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wolff, John & Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo. 1982. *Communicative codes in central Java.* Ithaca: Cornell University.

Zentz, Lauren. 2014. "Love" the local, "use" the national, "study" the foreign: Shifting Javanese language ecologies in (post-)modernity, postcoloniality, and globalization. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 24(3). 339–359.