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The creation of monolingual space in a *krámá* Javanese language performance

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A B S T R A C T

Recent approaches to multilingualism, such as translanguaging, emphasize the porous, fluid, and hybrid nature of language use. This article intends to show, through an example of a local language debating competition in Central Java, that culturally emblematic performances tend to create monolingual spaces, due to their monolingual focusing on certain language varieties that are iconic to local ethnolinguistic identity. Monolingual spaces are language ideological spaces in which speakers project an idealized performance of their ethnolinguistic identity. Ethnographic observation shows that the performance of monolingual spaces involves the erasure of speakers' multilingual repertoires and translanguaging practices, in accordance to the language ideology surrounding the hegemonic prestigious language variety and in accordance to the local norms of status or power-based social interaction. Attending to monolingual spaces reveal it as a performance accomplished through discursive work and power relations, involving the misrecognition of its connection and dissonance to multilingual repertoires and practices. (Language ideology, erasure, translanguaging, monolingual space, performance, ethnolinguistic identity, Javanese)*

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Just like other ethnic groups in other parts of Indonesia (see Steedly 1996; Keane 1997; Schefold 1998; Moriyama 2005; Kuipers 2008), the Javanese in Central Java tend to define their local language based on the most prestigious variety that originates from the local nobility (Errington 1985, 1998a,b; Goebel 2007:514). Kuipers (2008:317–19) argues that through historical processes of standardization and inscription, formal and ritual registers of local languages in Indonesia expand from being a form used to index higher authority to being the distinct form of the local language that presents the most prominent and visible linguistic signifier of local ethnolinguistic identity.

In Indonesia, public monolingual performances of prestigious varieties of local languages often act as 'scheduled emblematic displays' of ethnic identity (Silverstein 2003:538). In this article, I discuss an inter-high-school Javanese language debate competition in Central Java as an example of such a display. This type of event,

centered on the monolingual performance of Javanese, generally aims to encourage and reinforce local language maintenance among youths and adolescents.

I not only look at this event simply as a monolingual performance, but also to show that participants still make use of their multilingual repertoires. For the youth contestants, this involves pooling together their shared repertoire, especially building on the interconnections between languages, in the process of preparing and enacting this monolingual event. The language ideology surrounding this event, in which participants define traditional Javanese identity based on the monolingual performance of a distinct variety, lead participants to ultimately put the interconnections between languages under erasure. As such, this Javanese language debate event shows the process by which people can transform their multilingual practices into monolingual performances. To illustrate these interconnections and erasures, I focus on one group of contestants from a vocational high school where I conducted ethnographic research and trace their process of preparing their monolingual performance. Then, I discuss the use of languages by various types of debate participants including noncontestants such as the hosts, organizers, and judges.

My objective is to argue that the transformation from multilingual rehearsal to monolingual performance represents the continuing dialogical tension between the two fundamental dynamics of language in society or what Bakhtin (1981:272) considers as the tension between the centralizing ‘centrifugal’ and the decentralizing ‘centripetal’ forces of language. While recent approaches to multilingualism emphasize the ‘centripetal’ aspect of language, especially the hybrid and flexible nature in which people can use multiple languages, I aim to show that multilingual speakers can still have monolingual ideas about what counts as language, particularly on varieties they consider as iconic to their ethnolinguistic identity. As the work on the ‘monologic imagination’ (Tomlinson & Millie 2017) has argued, the monologic (and monolingual) aspect of language use still has political force, and both the dialogical and monological aspects of language use are social projects, which often implicate each other (Tomlinson 2017:10).

Hence, the notion of monolanguaging space that I seek to argue for here represents the way the production of a monolingual performance can implicate the use of dialogic and multilingual practice. *Monolanguaging spaces* are language ideological spaces in which speakers exclusively seek to use a prestigious language variety to perform/project an ideal image of their ethnolinguistic identity. Nevertheless, the process of enacting these monolanguaging spaces can involve multilingual practices. The main objective of my analysis is to show the way speakers at the micro-level of preparation and performance render this connection invisible, through either language ideological erasure across speech events or control of verbal performances (cf. Tomlinson 2017:6), especially in the form of status-based interactional asymmetries. The resulting monolingual performances are thus shaped not only by the dominant ideology of the local language but also by social rules of status-based power relations, especially regarding the kinds of speakers who have the authority to dictate the conduct of the performance.

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY, ERASURE, AND
TRANSLANGUAGING ACROSS
COMMUNICATIVE CONTEXTS

In viewing language use across communicative contexts, I look at what Blommaert (2005:57) calls ‘forgotten contexts’, which point to larger economies of communication and textualization. For the purpose of my analysis, this involves not just focusing on the language performance during the Javanese debate event but also on the ‘larger patterns of interaction across events’ (Blommaert 2005:55). This means that I focus on various communicative events that are all interrelated and form a larger pattern of language use and evaluation surrounding the Javanese language debate. These include the discussion and practice session before the event as well as the forms of talk by noncontestants during the event.

Looking at language use across events helps to capture the process in which speakers ‘re-contextualize’ their use of multiple language forms into different yet interconnected communicative contexts (cf. Bauman & Briggs 1990:77). As such, I view the performance in the debate event as a product of linguistic and collaborative work. The debate event itself constitutes what Bauman (2011) calls *cultural performances* or what Coupland (2007) calls *high performances*. These performances tend to be scheduled, planned, and programmed, with clear boundaries, and often involve collaboration or coordination, while focusing on a central or official activity (Coupland 2007:147; Bauman 2011:715). Bauman views cultural performances as events ‘in which the deepest meanings and values of a culture are embodied, enacted, and placed on display before an audience’ (2011:715). Coupland, by contrast, notes the communicative focusing of high performances, through the foregrounding of form, meaning, situation, relations, achievement, and repertoire (2007:147–48). What I do, then, is trace this communicative focusing across various interrelated communicative contexts that make up the enactment of the Javanese language debate.

The notion of performance also involves the evaluation of people’s use of language (Bauman & Briggs 1990; Bauman 2011). In talking about the evaluation of language, I am guided by the study of language ideology, which Irvine (1989:255) defines generally as ‘the cultural systems of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests’. More specifically, I focus on what Irvine & Gal (2000:37) call the semiotic processes in which ‘people construct ideological representations of linguistic differences’. The two processes of importance for my analysis are iconization and erasure. *Iconization* refers to the way people view certain linguistic varieties as somehow portraying a social group’s inherent nature (Irvine & Gal 2000:37). Meanwhile, *erasure* is the process through which language ideology renders certain language practices that are inconsistent with the main ideology—in this case the iconized language form—invisible (Irvine & Gal 2000:38).

To understand the main language ideological framework present in various communicative events, I follow Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck's (2005:2012) notion of *interactional* or *language regimes*, which are sets of behavioral expectations on social conduct including language use. In these regimes, social status also contributes to the distribution of expectations in behavioral and linguistic conduct, especially based on Javanese ideas on the social distribution of politeness and deference in Central Java (Mulders 1994; Errington 1998b; Irvine 1998). These notions associated with language ideology highlight the importance of social structure, hierarchy, and power in the use and evaluation of languages (Woolard 1998; Kroskrity 2000).

In talking about the multiple language forms that people use in the various contexts of the Javanese language debate, I use the term *repertoire*, following Gumperz's definition of the 'totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction' (in Duranti 1997:71). This draws attention to the various language forms that people can use in their interactions. It is broader than simply a grammar-oriented notion of linguistic competence and closer towards Hymes's (1972) notion of 'communicative competence'.

The notion of repertoire also lays the foundation to recent approaches to multilingualism. Mainstream definitions of multilingualism tend to define it based on competence in distinct and separate linguistic entities (Makoni & Pennycook 2007) or as 'multiple monolingualisms' (Juffermans 2011:166). In contrast, these recent approaches consider language boundaries as porous and focus on the fluidity and mixing of languages (e.g. Rampton 2005 on crossing; Otsuji & Pennycook 2010 on metrolingualism; Blackledge & Creese 2010 on flexible multilingualism). They also emphasize focusing on the actual use of multiple language forms/features for communicative purposes, which does not necessarily require full linguistic competence (e.g. Jorgensen 2008 on polylingualism; Blommaert 2010 on truncated repertoires). The emphasis on language use means that it is congruent with viewing events of language use as performances. It also provides a broader perspective on code-switching and language alternation. It encompasses not only the classical notion of code-switching as signaling changes in the interactive situation (Gumperz 1982; Bailey 2000:170, 2007:349; Goebel 2008:80) but also more nuanced forms of discourse-oriented language alternation such as intra-sentential borrowings or transfers (Auer 1995) and the combination of multiple languages as a medium or code of interaction (e.g. Errington 1998b on the 'language salad' of Javanese and Indonesian; Gafaranga & Torras 2002 on bilingual medium). Finally, from a general perspective, these new approaches to multilingualism also consider that distinctions between languages are historical, ideological, and often discursive constructs (Irvine & Gal 2000; Makoni & Pennycook 2007). Hence, the new approach to multilingualism—inspired by developments such as linguistic globalization (Blommaert 2010), superdiversity (Blommaert & Rampton 2011), and concepts such as heteroglossia (Bailey 2007)—tend to consider the use of

languages as being deeply associated with broader issues of social structure, interaction, and change.

One recent approach that explicitly focuses on the interconnection between languages in multilingual repertoires is translanguaging, originally developed in Welsh bilingual education (Lewis, Jones, & Baker 2012). *Translanguaging* can involve various multiple language practices such as alternation, combination, and translation (Creese & Blackledge 2010; Garcia 2011). It reflects people's integrated repertoires and is often the communicative norm in multilingual communities, exemplifying their cultural hybridity (Garcia & Li Wei 2014:21–24). Li Wei (2011:1223) also writes of *translanguaging spaces*, in which speakers can creatively and critically engage with multiple norms of linguistic behavior to generate 'new identities, values, and practices'.

I argue that in contexts of emblematic cultural performances, the opposite of translanguaging space may happen. While people may still use or even collaboratively pool their translanguaging practices, they ultimately put these practices under erasure in order to achieve a monolingual performance emblematic of their cultural identity. These monolingual performances thus constitute the communicative focusing on a single language variety, which we can consider as a 'monolanguaging space' that represents the ideal linguistic form of a certain ethnic identity.

Following works on the 'monologic imagination' (Tomlinson & Millie 2017), I view monolanguaging space in multilingual settings, such as Indonesia, as social projects or products of sociodiscursive work. On the one hand, it implies or involves connections to multilingual practices. On the other hand, speakers render these connections invisible through both language ideological erasure and discursive mechanisms of control (Tomlinson 2017). The discursive mechanisms often work together with what Urban (2001, 2017) calls *meta-culture*, as reflexive evaluations on cultural practice. The notion of meta-culture—as evaluative frameworks on actual sociocultural practice including language use—is thus equivalent to the notions of language ideology and meta-pragmatics (Irvine 1989; Silverstein 1993; Kroskrity 2000). Concurrent with Millie's (2017) observation of Islamic preaching in West Java, I see a similar pattern in which a dominant 'public meta-culture' becomes the interpretive framework for language users in evaluating, misrecognizing, and putting under erasure actual language performance compared to a reified ideal, thus creating a monolanguaging space. I further argue that in the current case study, the monolanguaging space created based on this public meta-culture is supported by discourse-oriented techniques of code-mixing and by local structures of status and authority.

Consequently, while recent approaches to multilingualism may consider language boundaries as socially arbitrary and porous or as 'inventions of social, cultural and political movements' (Makoni & Pennycook 2007:2), the notion of languages as distinct and separate entities still has social force in the lived experience of language users (Bailey 2007:271). Urban (2017:38–40) also argues that meta-cultural values of homogenization (including ideologies of monolingualism)

are often efforts of modern collectives in controlling heterogeneity through the production of a unitary voice and social identity. Hence, homogenized values are nonetheless connected to situations and practices of cultural and linguistic heterogeneity (and vice versa; see Urban 2017:36–38). Broad-scale institutional processes, such as colonialism, education, and mass media, help to circulate, establish, and ‘enregister’ ideologies of homogenized languages as the normal form of language practice (Bourdieu 1991; Agha 2007; Errington 2008), even in sociopolitical contexts where people use multiple languages, such as Indonesia. This underscores the persistent epistemic normality and unmarked nature of monolingualism in structuring definitions of language and language use (see Gramling 2016), as well as its connection to conceptualizations of multilingual practice.

In Indonesia, there is an implicit connection between heterogeneity and homogeneity, starting from the national motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (lit. ‘diverse yet one’). In the field of languages, as I have alluded to in the introduction, the application of this ideal and public meta-culture is through the delineation and standardization of local languages, often based on prestigious varieties, as a way of managing local ethnolinguistic superdiversity (Kuipers 2008; Goebel 2015). Concurrently, centralized language planning also positioned Indonesian (historically standardized from literate Malay) as the unifying national language, referentially transparent, with no clear ties to local ethnic groups (Errington 1998b). The result is a managed ethnolinguistic diversity that supports a national unified identity, partly a legacy of colonialism but also partly the result of nation building (see Maier 1993; Schefold 1998; Boellstorff 2002). By discussing monolingualizing space, I illustrate the way language users accomplish this ideal of ‘unified diversity’ at the micro-level of cultural performances.

RESEARCH LOCATION AND DATA COLLECTION

The Javanese language debate is part of a larger competition organized by a state university in 2013 in Semarang, Central Java, for Scout groups (*Pramuka*) at the high-school level. The competition, titled ‘Kartini in Action’, commemorates the national hero R. A. Kartini, a figure of women’s emancipation in Indonesia’s late colonial period but also a representation of Javanese identity, due to her status as a Javanese noblewoman. Hence, not only does the competition highlight Girl Scouts, it also has emblematic Javanese components, such as the Javanese language debate and a pageant-like event in traditional clothing.

The data I discuss in this article comes from the Javanese language debate event and the preparations of contestants from the Bebengan state vocational high school (*Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan Negeri*—SMKN) located in the southwest periphery of Semarang. I collected this data through participant observation and recording as part of a broader ethnographic study on youth multilingualism (Tamtomo 2016) in two vocational high schools in Semarang during the 2012–2013 academic year.

JAVANESE LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY AND THE LANGUAGE ECOLOGY OF CENTRAL JAVA

In this section, I discuss the language ideology surrounding the Javanese language since it forms the underlying public meta-culture that shapes the debate event. I also describe the broader language ecology in Central Java, especially relating to the social evaluation of Indonesian and English, the two other prominent languages that the debate participants and organizers also use.

Some scholars (e.g. S. Poedjosoedarmo 1968; Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo 1982) consider that the Javanese language has three broad speech levels (other terms include *speech style* and *code*, with code being rather ‘value neutral’ in regards to deference)—*ngoko*, *mádyá*, and *krámá*, in that order of coarseness to refinement.¹ In contrast, I follow Siegel’s (1986) and Errington’s (1998b) differentiation of Javanese into two broad categories of *ngoko* and *krámá* (or *básá*) (see also Goebel 2005) based on speakers’ notions of deference to interactional others. This broad differentiation also reflects the practical way in which the event participants (contestants, organizers, and judges) make use of the language.

The language ideology related to the difference between *ngoko* and *krámá* involves the issue of politeness, deference to others, and judgments of refinement (Errington 1998b). The *ngoko* speech level is the basic language that speakers use when there is no interactional other or in speech that reflects their thoughts (Errington 1998b:38) and with certain people (such as intimates and familiars) as well as certain speech acts (such as cursing, epithets) that do not require deference (Siegel 1986:24). By contrast, speakers use the *krámá* speech level to mark their stance of polite awareness or deference to an interactional other (Errington 1998b:38; Irvine 1998:57).

The *ngoko* speech level constitutes the ‘basic language and is antecedent to and structurally foundational’ to the polite speech level of *krámá* (Errington 1998b:38). Therefore, one does not (and functionally cannot) learn to speak *krámá* without first learning to speak *ngoko*. All *krámá* forms also have *ngoko* equivalents but not vice versa (Anderson 1990:208). It is the first speech level and mother tongue that Javanese children initially learn (Wolff & Pudjosoedarmo 1982). As a result, most Javanese (both commoners and the nobility/*priyayi*) can use and understand *ngoko*, even in peripheral regions of the Javanese cultural area, such as Banyumas, East Java, and Banyuwangi (see Hatley 1984). *Ngoko* is also the variety that speakers generally maintain in migrant Javanese communities, including overseas settlements such as Suriname (e.g. Wolfowitz 2002).

In contrast, the *krámá* speech level consists of lexical items and affixes that differ from *ngoko* forms. Speakers also have to use these *krámá* forms in ‘syntagmatic co-occurrence’ (Ervin-Tripp 1972) in their utterances. These forms index the deference that is associated with this speech level. In interactions of unequal social status, based on age, occupation, education, official rank, nobility, and even gender in marriage (see Smith-Hefner 2009), speakers tend to exchange speech levels

asymmetrically, with the higher-status person receiving the polite *krámá* while replying in the basic *ngoko* to lower-status interlocutors (Errington 1998b; Goebel 2007). Speakers also view the ability to speak and master *krámá* as a symbol of ‘exemplary status’ since they associate it with nobility (the *priyayi* social class), especially from the two Javanese courts in Surakarta and Yogyakarta (Errington 1985, 1998b, 2000). Purwoko (1994:120–21) mentions that Moedjanto (1986) traces the establishment of *krámá* linguistic etiquette to the sixteenth century Mataram kingdom in Yogyakarta, in which this prestigious variety functioned to consolidate elite identity and to keep commoners at a reasonable social distance (see also Anderson 1990:205–207). When used in public, *krámá*’s power of deference works to make interactions more formal and ceremonious, somewhat like a social mask used to dissimulate the self and social intentions (Berman 1998:28; Errington 1998b:41). Nonetheless, much of the Javanese speaking population has limited active control of the *krámá* speech level (Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo 1982:84; Errington 1998b).

The exemplary status of *krámá* results in a language-ideological skew in the way Javanese speakers define what counts as their ‘language’. They tend to view *krámá* as the ideal manifestation of their *adhiluhung* ‘noble sublime’ cultural identity (Errington 1998a:279) and regard those not competent in this speech level as immature or ‘not yet Javanese’ (Heryanto 2007:45). Local language education in formal schools in Central Java also reflects this language-ideological skew, with the local content curriculum specifying a *krámá*-oriented Javanese language class emphasizing politeness and speech etiquette (Goebel 2010:20–22).² The *ngoko* speech level, which constitute the basic language and daily vernacular, tends to be ‘erased completely from the category of language’ (Zentz 2014:356).

The organizers of the Javanese language debate have also defined their event based on *krámá*, specifying it as the language form participants have to use. Cultural performances or events such as the Javanese language debate often constitute efforts of language maintenance in the eyes of local language users. We must be aware, however, that the enactment of these cultural performances often requires the erasure of language varieties that are inconsistent with the iconic local ethnolinguistic identity. Discussions of Javanese language maintenance often predominantly rely on speakers’ reports and focus on language forms instead of their actual use (e.g. Kurniasih 2006; G. Poedjosoedarmo 2006; Cohn & Ravindranath 2014). As a result, they often reproduce speakers’ iconization of *krámá* in Javanese ethnolinguistic identity. This feeds into the notion common among native speakers and policymakers that the predominant use of the *ngoko* speech level over *krámá* is a form of endangerment of the Javanese language.

In contrast, focusing on actual language use reveals that participants and organizers of monolingual cultural performances do not exclusively conduct them in one language. For example, all of the rules and documents of the Javanese language debate are in Indonesian. In addition, the debate itself is part of a broader Scout competition event that, despite emphasizing emblematic Javanese elements, uses

a combination of Indonesian and English in their official documents and displays. The main title of the competition is in English: ‘Kartini in Action: Kartini’s Return VII’ (Figure 1). Two events in the competition also have English titles: (a) ‘Who wants to be the next Kartini?’ (a pageant and talent show event) and (b) ‘Kartini the Explorer’ (an obstacle-course event based on scouting skills common in Scout competitions).

The use of languages other than Javanese points to the broader context of the language ecology of Central Java. First, as in other parts of the country, Indonesian as the national language is widespread in various formal domains of communication such as law, bureaucracy, mass media, schooling, and formal public interactions (Lowenberg 1992:65–66; Sneddon 2003:206–207). Indonesian is the official language, often functioning as a ‘referentially transparent’ language of objectivity, formality, and state authority (Errington 1998a, 2000; Lutz 1998). Second, while locals tend to use Javanese in daily interpersonal interaction, they often tend to alternate it or combine it with Indonesian, highlighting the permeation of Indonesian into local language interaction (see Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo 1982; Errington 1998b; Goebel 2007, 2010, 2014). Third, the use of English in the competition highlights its symbolic value in school and in public life. Not only is English a prestigious socioeconomic language in media and business (Sneddon 2003:173–77), it is also the main foreign language taught in schools (Darjowidjojo 1998). Youths also view it as conferring a ‘cool’ (*keren*) impression compared to the conventional use of Indonesian (interview with SMKN Bebengan students, 11 December 2012), thus positioning English as the language of social difference and potential social mobility (Lamb & Coleman 2008; Zentz 2015).

Hence, despite the iconic position of *krámá* in Central Java’s local language ideology, it nonetheless co-exists with Indonesian and English as languages that speakers commonly use in public communication. These languages constitute an integrated albeit unequal part of speakers’ repertoires and of the language ecology that they face in daily life.

CONTESTANT PREPARATIONS: TRANSLANGUAGING AND SELF-ERASURE

In this section, I discuss the preparations of the debate team from SMKN Bebengan, which consists of three girls—Ulli (UL), Sari (SR), and Lutfah (LF)—who are all in their second year of high school. Ulli is the most fluent in *krámá*, as the extracts below show, while Lutfah is the most timid speaker, leading to numerous corrections from her peers. Two other *Pramuka* members, Indah (IN, female) and Nanda (ND, male), are also present in the preparation sessions. I show that these contestants employ translanguaging practices through their use of various language varieties in their repertoire, particularly *ngoko* and Indonesian, in processes of construction and translation as they try to produce a linguistic performance that approximates as closely as possible the monolingual *krámá* Javanese ideal.

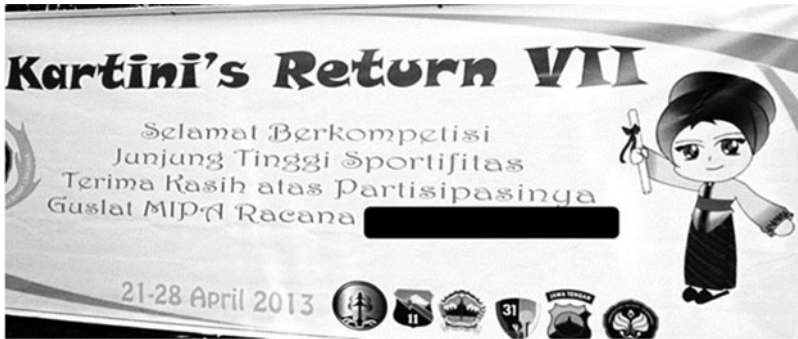


FIGURE 1. 'Kartini's Return' banner.

The event organizers have set debate topics largely written in *krámá* Javanese, though even they could not avoid using Indonesian and English terms, as shown in the debate topics in some of the extracts below. In their preparation sessions, the SMKN Bebengan debate team encounters the main problem of formulating arguments on these topics exclusively using *krámá* Javanese, following the event's rules. This problem produces numerous instances of corrections and uncertainties on whether they are using the correct *krámá* forms, as shown in extract (1) below.

(1) Debate topic:

Pernikahan dini saged nyegah wontenipun **pergaulan bebas**.

'Early marriage can prevent incidents of uncontrolled interaction.'

	ORIGINAL	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
1	LF: Tim pro <u>ajeng ngaturaken=</u>	Team for <u>will state=</u>
2	UL: =badhé	=shall
3	LF: <u>Ajeng mbèk badhé ki?</u> =	<u>Ajeng and badhé is?</u> =
4	SR: =apik <u>badhé</u> . Nèk <u>ajeng</u> ki mbèk ND.	= <u>badhé is better</u> . <u>Ajeng</u> is if you're with ND.
5	LF: <u>Ajeng ngaturaken... eh, badhè</u>	<u>Will convey... eh, shall</u>
6	<u>ngaturaken... mau pendapat</u> ápá?	<u>convey... what was opinion?</u>
7	SR: <u>Pepanggihan</u> .	<u>Opinion</u> .
8	LF: A::, badhé <u>ngaturaken pepanggihan babakan,</u>	A::, <u>shall convey our opinion</u>
9	<u>ing babakan pernikahan dini</u> saget nyegah	<u>on the issue of early marriage can prevent</u>
10	pergaulan bebas . <u>Menggah kitá...</u>	free relations . <u>What's more we...</u>
11	<u>kitá sarujuk... sarujuk=</u>	<u>we agree... agree=</u>
12	UL: =menawi=	=that=
13	LF: = <u>kaléhan</u> . <u>Kitá sarujuk kaléhan...</u>	= <u>with</u> . <u>We agree with...</u>
14	SR: <u>Ápá ngéné. Kitá sarujuk kaléhan babakan kasebut.</u>	<u>What about this. We agree with said issue.</u>

In lines 1–4, for example, the other members of the team correct Lutfah’s use of *ajeng* ‘will’, replacing it with *badhé* ‘shall’. Sari provides a meta-linguistic explanation in line 4, using *ngoko* Javanese, that *badhé* is ‘better’ or more polite since one uses *ajeng* with peers that are closer in age and status. Next, in line 6, Lutfah stops in mid-utterance to ask the other members for the *krámá* equivalent of the Indonesian *pendapat* ‘opinion’. Sari replies in line 7 by offering the *krámá* form *pepangghian*. Lines 11–14 illustrates the way Ulli and Sari collaboratively provide suggestions when Lutfah encounters problems in formulating her utterance. In line 12, Ulli suggests the *krámá* Javanese *menawi* ‘that’ when Lutfah stumbles in her utterance. When Lutfah still encounters problems, Sari uses *ngoko* Javanese in line 14 as a meta-pragmatic marker to suggest a possible replacement *krámá* utterance for Lutfah’s argument.

The team’s discussion in extract (1) illustrates aspects of the translanguaging practices they employ in preparing a *krámá* performance for the debate. The team members collaboratively rely on making use of the *ngoko* speech level of Javanese for both ‘relational talk’ (Goebel 2014) and meta-lingual talk regarding their *krámá* speech preparations. This highlights the way in which translanguaging practices are often collaborative, and that the various varieties and codes in speakers’ repertoires are integrated (Garcia & Li Wei 2014), as seen in the way the students can use one variety as a scaffold to talk about constructing a performance in another variety.

Another problem that emerges in the team’s preparation is the issue of finding *krámá* equivalents of certain Indonesian terms. In extract (1), the team uses the original Indonesian forms from the organizers’ debate topic in their otherwise *krámá* utterances (lines 9, 10). In extract (2) below, the team not only struggles to find the *krámá* equivalent to the Indonesian term (and English loanword) *seks* but also to generally talk about the topic.

- (2) Debate topic:
Piwulang seks dini becik kagem lare-lare.
 ‘Early sex education is good for children.’

	ORIGINAL	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
1 LF:	Pengajaran seks dini.	Early sex education.
2 IN:	Seks ápa básá Jáwáné?	What is the Javanese for sex ?
3 UL:	Seks ... <u>nggih</u> seks. ((laughter))	Sex ... yes [is] sex. ((laughter))
4 ND:	Ehem-ehem, ehem-ehem.	Ehem-ehem, ehem-ehem.
5 UL:	Rusuh, rusuh.	Rude, rude.
6 ND:	Ehem-ehem. Tumpak-tumpakan.	Ehem-ehem. On top of each other.
7 SR:	<u>Niku</u> poin nem?	<u>That</u> is point six?
8 ND:	Nganu... <i>Sunnah Rosul</i> ngono.	What... <i>Sunnah Rosul</i> , like that.
9 SR:	Poin pinten?	<u>Which</u> point ?
10 ND:	<i>Sunnah Rosul.</i>	<i>Sunnah Rosul.</i>

11	UL:	Seks <i>Sunnah Rosul</i> ?	Sex [is] <i>Sunnah Rosul</i> ?
12	ND:	<i>Sunnah Rosul</i> .	<i>Sunnah Rosul</i> .
13	UL:	<u>Leres</u> .	<u>Correct</u> .
14	ND:	Hm, <i>Sunnah Rosul</i> .	Hm, <i>Sunnah Rosul</i> .
15	IN:	((giggle)) <i>Sunnah Rosul</i> ki seks dini tá?	((giggle)) <i>Sunnah Rosul</i> is early sex , is it?
16	ND:	Hé?	What?
17	IN:	<i>Sunnah Rosul</i> ki seks dini ?	<i>Sunnah Rosul</i> is early sex ?
18	ND:	Oh sing anu... brarti:... dosá. Berarti nganu...	Oh that one... therefore:... sin. Means what...
19		larangan. Larangan <i>Rosul</i> .	forbidden. Forbidden by <i>Rosul</i> .
20	LF:	Pengajaran seks dini <u>mriká</u> <u>mbáten</u> ...	Early sex education is <u>not</u> ...

In line 2, Indah poses the crucial question that the team would struggle with: ‘What is sex in Javanese?’. Ulli’s response in line 3 states the fact clearly for the team: according to her, there is no Javanese equivalent term to the clinical meaning of the Indonesian *seks*. However, this does not stop the other team members (primarily Nanda) from suggesting a series of possible translations. This ranges from the jokingly euphemistic *ehem-ehem* in line 4, the dismissive *rusuh* ‘rude’ in line 5, the descriptive *tumpak-tumpakan* ‘on top of each other’ in line 6, to finally the religious and Arabic-sourced *Sunnah Rosul* ‘the Prophet’s teaching’ starting in line 8. Since they are unable to find the Javanese term for sex, Lutfah ultimately uses the Indonesian term (and English loanword) *seks* in line 20 to begin formulating their argument.

We can draw a number of inferences from the team’s problems in extract (2). First, the team members may just lack the vocabulary to translate ‘sex’ into Javanese, especially in the *krámá* speech level. While there are *ngoko* words for sex, they may be too coarse or explicit for them to use, particularly with the debate’s emphasis on speech etiquette. They may also not be familiar with *krámá* terms for sex, such as (*a*)*sanggama* or *saresmi*, due to their exoteric provenance in classical Javanese manuscripts, such as the *Serat Kadis Saresmi* on traditional teachings for married couples (Florida 1993:201). Second, and on a related note, sex is also a topic that the Javanese often consider as taboo and generally only appropriate for adults to discuss. Finally, schools generally use Indonesian when (and if) they provide classes on sex education. Therefore, these adolescents rarely use Javanese, other than the coarse *ngoko* vocabulary, to talk about sex, if they ever do.

Extract (1) and (2) show the difficulties that the team face in trying to formulate debate arguments exclusively in *krámá* Javanese. The constant self-correction and questioning hamper their efforts in developing their arguments. As a result, they turn to another translanguaging strategy: translation (Garcia 2011). Ultimately, the team decides to first formulate arguments in Indonesian and then translate them into *krámá* Javanese.

Extract 3 below illustrate the team's switch to formulating arguments in Indonesian. The other team members encourage Lutfah, who is tasked with forming arguments, to use Indonesian to speak whatever comes to mind (Nanda in line 3) and as a form of studying the material (Indah in line 4). The team's encouragement leads Lutfah to begin formulating arguments entirely in Indonesian in line 7.

(3)		ORIGINAL	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
1	UL:	Basa Indonesia <u>riyén</u> . Ayo, <u>lajeng</u> .	Bahasa Indonesia <u>frist</u> . Come on, <u>then</u> .
2	IL:	Anggo bása Indonesia , anggo bása Indonesia	Use Bahasa Indonesia , use Bahasa Indonesia
3	ND:	Nek isá sak nyeplásé sék waé.	If you can, whatever comes out.
4	IN:	Ápá, pendalaman materi ndhisék	What, studying the material first.
5	UL:	Ayo mbak, diteruské <u>mawán sakéng</u>	Come on, <u>just continue from the</u>
6		pertama. Menurut pendapat saya=	start. According to my opinion=
7	LF:	=Menurut pendapat kami, kami setuju dengan...	=According to our opinion, we agree with...
8	SK:	=pernyataan tersebut.	=said statement.
9	LF:	karena pada jaman sekarang ini banyak sekali anak-anak di	because in today's age many children in
10		usia dini yang melakukan	their early age that are doing
11		hal-hal di luar nikah seperti seks bebas...	things outside of marriage like free sex...

In addition to verbally planning their arguments, the team also decides to write down the main points of their arguments in Indonesian so they can then elaborate and verbally translate into *krámá*. Even then, the youths still find it difficult to refrain from using Indonesian when verbally translating into *krámá*, since they habitually use Indonesian in public speaking or in discussing many of the issues in the debate topics. Extract (4) shows three examples of Ulli, the most fluent *krámá* user in the team, still struggling to avoid using Indonesian in her *krámá* arguments.

(4)	Debate topic:		
		<i>Home schooling langkung efektif kanggé ngawontenaken pendidikan tinimbang sekolah umum.</i>	
		'Home schooling is more effective in providing education than public schools.'	
		ORIGINAL	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
a.	UL:	Brarti <u>ngèten, menápá</u>	So <u>like this</u> , why <u>this</u> <i>homeschooling</i>
		<i>homeschooling</i> <u>niká</u>	<u>exists</u> ,
		<u>wánten, niku amergi...</u> biasané <u>nápá</u>	<u>that's because...</u> <u>what's usually?</u>
		mbak?	<u>Usually. Usually many</u> fathers and
		Biasanipun. <u>Biasanipun kathah</u>	mothers
		bapak-ibu <u>niku...</u>	

- | | | |
|--------|--|--|
| | takut... takut... laré-larénipun niku | are... afraid... afraid... that their |
| | terjerumus a:: | children... fall into a:: |
| | [...] | [...] |
| b. UL: | <u>Kulá mbáten sarujuk kaléhan</u> | <u>I do not agree with your opinion that</u> |
| | <u>pepanggihan</u> | <u>homeschooling is more effective</u> |
| | <u>panjenenganipun menawi</u> | <u>than</u> |
| | <u>homeschooling niku</u> | public schooling. We can just... |
| | <u>langkung efektif tinimbang sekolah</u> | <u>what is reflect?</u> |
| | umum. Kitá | |
| | <u>niku mawon... berkaca niku nápa</u> | |
| | <u>nggih?</u> | |
| | [...] | [...] |
| c. UL: | <u>Nanging menawi kitá niku...</u> | <u>But if we... undergo this</u> |
| | <u>nglampahi</u> | <u>homeschooling</u> |
| | <u>homeschooling meniká kan kitá</u> | <u>then we can't... eh... what is its</u> |
| | <u>mboten saget...</u> | <u>name? We</u> |
| | <u>eh... nápa asmané mas? Kita cuma</u> | are just not used to it bro! |
| | belum terbiasa bro! | |

In (4a), Ulli struggles to finish her utterance because she inadvertently uses the Indonesian phrase *takut terjerumus* ‘afraid of falling into’. In (4b), her need to use the Indonesian metaphor *berkaca* (lit. ‘to look into a mirror’, but meaning ‘to reflect’) hampers her *krámá* argument. In (4c), the constant struggles and difficulties to express arguments in *krámá* Javanese lead her to switch to Indonesian to express her frustration (*Kita cuma belum terbiasa bro!* ‘We are just not used to it, bro!’). Her frustration highlights that exclusively using *krámá* Javanese in a monolingual manner is not a practice that is normal or habitual for these students.

The difficulties that the team members face in the above extracts illustrate that there are two broad issues regarding their *krámá* repertoire. First, the team members have constant doubts regarding whether they are using the proper and correct *krámá* forms, indicating uncertainties about their competence in this speech level. Second, the team members constantly and habitually slip into using Indonesian forms in constructing their arguments. We can argue that this is not only due to their truncated *krámá* repertoire but also due to the broader social practice of language use, in which people (including the debate organizers) normally use Indonesian for many of the public themes in the debate topics (see Errington 1998b; Lutz 1998; Sneddon 2003).

Even so, the way in which the team members make use of the various languages in their repertoire illustrates their translanguaging strategies of meeting the monolingual demand of the Javanese language debate. First, the team members routinely use *ngoko* Javanese for relational talk in motivating one another in their efforts to formulate arguments. Second, they also use *ngoko* in their meta-linguistic

discussions and corrections of the *krámá* forms in their arguments. Third, the team members ultimately decide to use Indonesian to formulate key debate points, which they then use as a thematic scaffold for verbal translation into *krámá* Javanese. The translanguaging strategies featuring language alternation, mixing, scaffolding, and translation (Garcia 2011:147) enable the team members to not only use other languages or language varieties but to also collaboratively pool together their common repertoire to construct utterances that are in *krámá* as exclusively as possible.

Nonetheless, the language ideological demands of the Javanese language debate's 'monolanguaging space' leads the team members to increasingly conduct self-erasure of their translanguaging practices as they move closer towards their debate-ready performance. Their preparatory discussions thus constitute a 'backstage' (Goffman 1959) region of performance in which they can still use translanguaging practices as their main 'interactional or language regime' (Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck 2005). In order to construct performances that meet the standard of the debate's 'front-stage' region of performance, the team members increasingly limit (i.e. put under erasure) their translanguaging by either correcting or translating to produce a monolingual *krámá* Javanese performance, although with difficulties. We can illustrate the discursive process across these inter-related contexts of speech and performance in Figure 2 below.

The students' self-erasure of their translanguaging practices highlight that in certain multilingual contexts in which speakers define local ethnic identity based on notions of 'reified language' (Saxena 2011), the emblematic linguistic enactment of these identities often occurs within a monolanguaging space. In contrast to translanguaging spaces, local speakers in monolanguaging spaces seek to perform exclusively in the language form iconic to their ethnolinguistic identity. What I have shown in this section is that speakers accomplish their preparations towards enacting these monolanguaging spaces through a collaborative effort and often using their multilingual repertoires, though they render this multilingual connection under erasure.

CONTESTANT PERFORMANCES: MEETING AND NOT MEETING THE LANGUAGE DEMANDS

The organizers of the Javanese language debate define the event on the exclusive performance of *krámá* Javanese. For the contestants, this meant operating in a language or interactional regime in which they had to perform all of their public utterances exclusively in *krámá* Javanese, without any mixture of other languages (Kartini's Return VII Technical Meeting, 14 April 2013). Their main performance is of course the debate itself, in which each team presents their arguments and counter arguments on the debate topics chosen by the organizers. According to the organizer's regulations, each team has to conduct their debate performance purely in high or 'smooth' *krámá* (*krámá alus*). In this section, I show examples

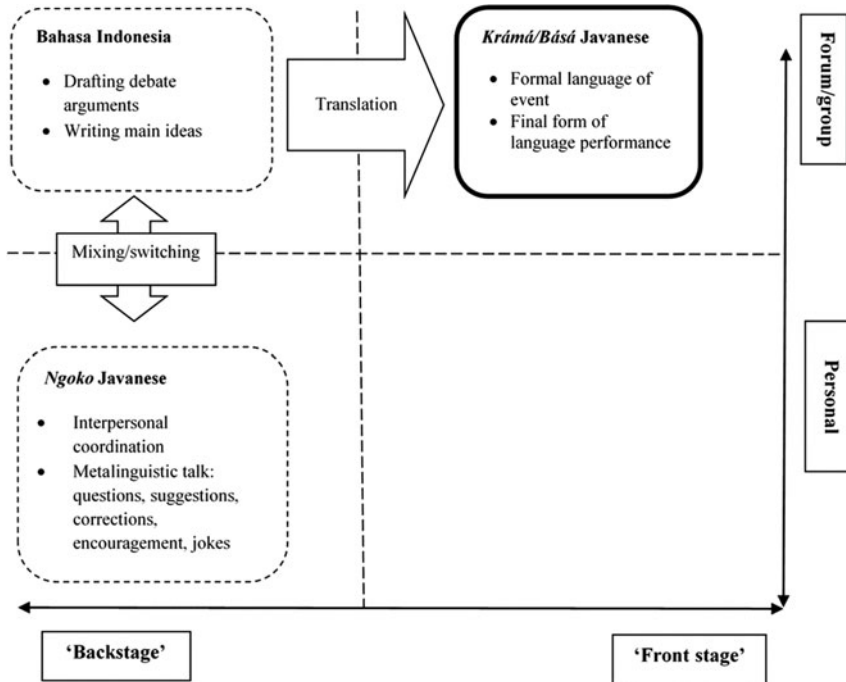


FIGURE 2. Interactional regime of debate preparation.

from two debate teams to illustrate a performance that does not meet the organizer's standards and a performance that meets these standards. In particular, I highlight not only the linguistic features of each performance but also certain discursive strategies that the successful contestant uses to integrate Indonesian lexical items into her largely *krámá* Javanese performance.

As the previous section showed, the SMKN Bebengan team members encountered problems in meeting the organizer's monolingual demands for the debate. This affected their public debate performance and, as a result, they did not pass the first round of the debate competition. Extract (5) below shows a small portion of their debate performed by Ulli.

(5) Debate topic:

Ujian Akhir Nasional dados pathokan **keberhasilan proses** pendhidhikan.
'The National Examinations is the benchmark of the success of the education process.'

- 1 *Kitá mbáten sarujuk amergi ingkang sepindah... eh, Ujian Nasional dadás pathákan keberhasilan*

- 2 **proses pendidikan**... eh... ngéten... kitá xxx laré meniká nggih. Menawi kahanan laré eh badhé
- 3 nglampahi **Ujian Nasional** meniká nembé saget nglampahi Ujian Nasional padal **Ujian Nasional**
- 4 meniká dadás pathákan keberhasilan niku kan mbáten adil, nggih tá? Lajeng kulá mbáten sarujuk
- 5 menawi Ujian Nasional meniká dadás pathákan keberhasilan pendidikan. Niku ingkang setunggal.
- 6 Lajeng ngéten. Eh...eh...kahanan, kahananipun laré ing eh kota kalih padésaan meniká kan bènten.
- 7 Menápá melih sak niki Ujian Nasional meniká se-nasional, se-negara Indonesia, nggih. Lha kulá
- 8 mbáten sarujuk. Eh **tingkat** samikir eh laré ning nggèn kota kalihan nggèn ndésá... eh... laré nggèn
- 9 Papua kalihan Jakarta meniká kan eh **kemampuan pikeré** meniká kan bènten.
- 1 ‘We do not agree because firstly... eh, the National Exam as the benchmark of the success of the
- 2 education process ... eh... like this ... we [see] the children. When the condition of the children eh
- 3 who will take the National Exams can only take the National Exams although the National Exams
- 4 become the benchmark of success that is not fair, isn’t it? Therefore I do not agree that the National Exams become the benchmark of educational success. That’s the first.
- 6 Then, like this... eh...eh situation, the situation of children in eh cities and villages are different.
- 7 Even more so now the National Exams is national, the whole country of Indonesia, yes. Well, I
- 8 don’t agree. Eh the level of thought eh children in the city and in the village... eh... children in
- 9 Papua compared to Jakarta, the eh ability to think is different.’

Of course, there are other teams whose performance largely meets the organizers’ demands. Extract (6) below shows the performance in one of the preliminary rounds of the eventual winner of the debate event, a private Muslim boarding school from Kendal Regency, west of Semarang.

(6) Debate topic:

Bencana alam ing Indonesia mujudaken tanggjawab pamarentah.

‘Natural disasters in Indonesia bring about the government’s responsibility.’

- 1 ... kitá niku kedah... nápá... nepes riyin ánten bencana alam nápá-nápá ingkang sampun kulá aturaken
- 2 kálá wau menawi... ingkang daerah-daerah rawan bencana khususipun Indonesia wánten ing

- 3 **lempeng Pasifik** meniká, kitá kedah mangertási. **Niki daerah rawan bencana.**
Brarti kitá sedáyá kedah
- 4 nyiapaken... utawá kedah... nápá... kapenanggulané kadás pundhi. Menawi
kitá ngandalaken
- 5 **pemerintah**, angèl buktiné tá? Inggih sami kemawán. Dadásipun, kitá saget
narik... titikan... menawi
- 6 wánten mriki, kitá ampun na... nggantungaken kalihan parintah nanging kitá
wánten mriki kedah
- 7 ngilowá: wánten ing nggèné kácá ingkang ageng, dás pundhi **prilakuné** kitá.
Dadásipun niku **bencana**
- 8 **alam** meniká mbáten tanggèl jawabipun **pemerintah**. Sepindah malih, kulá sáhá
prákancá wánten mriki
- 9 netep mbáten sarujuk kalihan pepanggihanipun panjenengan sáhá ing xxx meniká,
ngenangi babakan
- 10 **bencana alam** ing **Indonesia** mujudaken tanggèl-jawab **pemerintah**.
- 1 ‘... we must... what... there is natural disaster all that I have said previously
about...’
- 2 that areas prone to disasters, especially Indonesia which is on the
- 3 Pacific plate, we must understand. This is a disaster prone area. Therefore, we all
must
- 4 prepare... or must... what... how to mitigate. If we rely on
- 5 the government, it proves difficult, right? Yes, it’s just the same. Thus, we can
draw... conclusion... that
- 6 over here, we must not... depend on the government but we over here must
- 7 reflect in a mirror that is large, how is our behavior. Therefore, this natural
- 8 disaster, this is not the responsibility of the government. Once again, I and together
with friends present
- 9 still do not agree with your opinion on this xxx, on the topic of
- 10 natural disasters in Indonesia brings about the responsibility of the government.’

The strength of the performance in extract (6) lies in the relatively thorough use of *krámá* lexical items and affixes (especially *-ipun* and *-aken*) that projects an image of fluency in this speech level. The contestant delivers the speech in an overall smooth manner, especially from line 6 onwards. Even in her pauses, the contestant uses the Javanese form *nápá* (a clipped form of the *krámá* question word *menápá*), which helps make them less prominent. She uses lexical items that other contestants do not commonly use, for example, the conjunction *sáhá*, the noun *mangertási* (‘understand’, line 3), and the plural *prákancá* (‘friends’, line 8). The speech also contains verbose features, which the Javanese tend to value in *krámá* public performances (see Pemberton 1994:197–235; Errington 1998b:69). Examples include repetition of phrases (*menawi wánten mriki... kitá wánten mriki*, lines 5–6), demonstratives (*niku bencana alam meniká*, lines 7–8), and the use of literal detail in her metaphor about being reflective (*kedah*

ngilowá:: wánten ing nggèné kácá ingkang ageng ‘need to reflect in a mirror that is large’, lines 6–7).

In contrast, Ulli’s performance in extract (5) is less smooth. There are pauses throughout the speech and they are more prominent, due to her use of the nonlanguage specific *eh*. Ulli also uses fewer *krámá* affixes, and she also uses more forms that are considered *ngoko* or low *krámá* (e.g. *padal* ‘although’, line 3; *ngéten* ‘like this’, lines 2, 6; *nggèn* ‘in/at’, line 8). As a result, her speech comes off as less polished and coarse, perhaps even reflecting speech considered as substandard or ‘country’ *krámá* (see Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo 1982:37–39).

Both contestants could not avoid using Indonesian lexical items in their speech. However, the contestant in extract (6) is able to use *krámá* Javanese affixes—such as *-ipun* and the *ng/ny-aken* construction—to integrate these Indonesian items into her *krámá* speech: for example, *khusus-ipun* ‘especially’ (line 2), *ny-(s)iap-aken* ‘prepare’ (line 4), *ng-andal-aken* ‘rely’ (line 4). This discursive strategy of morphological integration enables Indonesian lexical items to fit ‘transparently’ into largely Javanese utterances, reducing the markedness of these forms as divergences from Javanese (Errington 1998b:112–13). The contestant in extract (6) also reproduces the organizers’ practice of using Javanese borrowings of Indonesian lexical items (see the debate topic in extracts (5) and (6)), such as *tanggél jawab* ‘responsibility’ (line 8) from the Indonesian *tanggung jawab* and *pamarintah/pamarentah* ‘government’ (line 6) from the Indonesian *pemerintah* (the contestant uses both Javanese and Indonesian forms, e.g. lines 5, 6). The structural similarity between Indonesian and Javanese, their numerous cognates, and the ubiquity of Indonesian in local Javanese interaction enables Javanese speakers to exploit these inter-language connections through using Indonesian derived forms in otherwise Javanese language interaction (Errington 1998b).

The failure of the SMKN Bebengan team and the success of the performance in extract (6) highlight two main points. The first is that the prestige of *krámá* rests on its unequal distribution among the native-speaking population, which contrasts with the dominant language ideology that it is the iconic form of Javanese. It is an additional speech level or register that certain social types or classes of speakers, such as the contestant in extract (6), have active control of while others do not. Second, even in the speech of the winning contestant, we can see traces of translanguaging practices and multilingual repertoires, although the discursive strategies the contestant uses helps to make them less visible (i.e. under erasure). The monolanguaging space of the contestants’ *krámá* performances are thus accomplished through discursive work that implicate yet also put under erasure their multilingual repertoires.

NONCONTESTANT PERFORMANCES: STATUS-BASED ASYMMETRY

In this section, I focus on the performances of adult and college-student noncontestants in the debate, such as the host, event organizers, and the judges, who are also

participants that contribute to the overall performance of the debate. I argue that the noncontestants' performances highlight two aspects of the language and interactional regime shaping the debate as a monolingual space. The first is that as people older than the high school contestants, these noncontestants have a higher social status according to Javanese language ideology. There is thus a status-based asymmetry in language rights and interaction, in which noncontestants have broader rights in language choice while also being entitled to receive deference in *krámá* Javanese from the contestants. This hierarchy and asymmetry in language rights is similar to what Goebel (2007, 2014) has shown in his study of language use among bureaucrats in Semarang, in which higher-ranked staff and leaders often initiate the alternations between Indonesian and Javanese as well as the strategic discursive possibilities these alternations offer. Second, their official roles as organizers and judges also give these noncontestants the right to evaluate the contestants' use of language. As a result, noncontestants are able to deviate from the monolingual *krámá* Javanese standards (that they themselves have set up) due to this status-based asymmetry, while also evaluating and dictating the linguistic conduct of the debate.

Noncontestants can deviate from the monolingual norm in two broad ways. The first is through situational code-switching, in which language alternation brings forth social meaning that changes the situation (Gumperz 1982; Bailey 2000:170, 2007:349). Extracts (7) and (8) provide examples in which the switch into Indonesian functions to signal changes to the situation or differences in the social meaning of the talk.

(7)

	ORIGINAL	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
1 MC:	<u>Ingkang kapéng sepisan, badhé kulá</u>	<u>For the first issue, I will</u>
2	waásaken tátá tertib lomba. Tata	read the competition rules. The
3	tertib lomba	rules
4	debat bahasa Jawa. Satu, selama	of the Javanese language debate.
5	mengikuti	One, during
6	lomba peserta wajib berperilaku	the competition contestants must
7	sopan,	be polite,
8	tertib, dan tidak melakukan	orderly and do no action that will
	kegiatan yang	harm others. Second, the language
	merugikan orang lain. Yang	that will be used in this debate is
	kedua, bahasa	
	yang digunakan dalam lomba	
	debat adalah	
	bahasa Jawa kramá alus. [...]	kramá alus Javanese. [...]

In extract (7), the host of the debate (MC), who moderates and leads the event's proceedings, switches into Indonesian (line 2) in order to read out the rules of the

event. This constitutes an indexically significant code-switch since it signals a shift in the situation of the talk, from the host greeting the audience to the host reading out or ‘animating’ the regulations ‘authored’ by the organizers (Goffman 1981).

(8)

	ORIGINAL	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
1 PS:	Lha <u>niki</u> <u>mengké sakéng SMA</u> <u>né kulá dinilai</u>	So <u>after this</u> will <u>my high school</u> be re-
2	<u>ulang nápa?</u> ...	evaluated <u>or?</u> ...
3 MC:	<u>Dipun nilai ulang</u> sak <u>niki</u> kan <u>sakéng SMA</u>	<u>The one being rescored</u> <u>now</u> is <u>from PP</u>
4	PP. <u>Nggih</u> , lha <u>mangké SMA</u> Semarang ki	high school. <u>Then Semarang high</u> school is
5	<u>sistem</u> <i>bye</i> . Lha <u>mangké ingkang</u> <u>sinten</u>	in the <i>bye</i> system . <u>Then which one</u>
6	<u>ingkang menang saget...</u> <u>nápa</u> <u>niku... maju</u>	<u>wins can...</u> <u>what...</u> proceed to
7	semifinal. <u>Lajeng ingkang...</u> mbak panitia?	the semifinal. <u>Then...</u> organizer?
8 OG:	Ya ini kan sistem <i>bye</i> . Nanti siapa...	Yes, this is the <i>bye</i> system. Later, who...
9	yang menang akan... maju lagi ke semifinal	will win can ... move on to the semifinal
10	...pukul setelah istirahat nanti.	... later at the time after the break.
11	Jadi yang tadi sudah xxx dari xxx yang	So we have had xxx from xxx
12	ketiga bisa istirahat dulu, seperti itu.	the third one can rest first, like that.

In extract (8), one of the contestants (PS) poses a question to the host (MC) largely in *krámá* Javanese. However, because the host could not provide a definite answer, she defers to one of the organizers (line 7) who gives a definitive answer in Indonesian (OG, line 8). The organizer’s switch into Indonesian is indexical, since it represents the difference between an unofficial answer from the host and an official answer from a representative of the organizing committee.

Although the rules of the debate specify the exclusive use of *krámá* Javanese, the code-switch to Indonesian by noncontestants shows us that the asymmetry in language rights enables them to flout this rule while still maintaining their roles in enacting this event. While we can also consider their deviation from *krámá* as a temporary suspension of the cultural performance, this is nonetheless something that only the higher status noncontestants can do. Either way, this constitutes a form of status-based asymmetry and erasure, in which deviations from the

monolingual norm performed by those of higher status are effectively ‘misrecognized’ (Bourdieu 1991) as still being part of the monolingual cultural performance.

The second way noncontestants can use other languages, particularly Indonesian, is through intra-sentential language alternation of words and phrases or ‘transfers’ (Auer 1995), which does not cause any situational change in the utterance. In a way, this is similar to the practice shown in extract (6), where the contestant integrates Indonesian elements into *krámá* utterances. The difference here is that non-contestants, particularly judges, have the authority to give negative evaluation when contestants do these transfers while also having the privilege of performing these intra-sentential alternations themselves. Extract (9) illustrates this paradox, in which one of the judges (a lecturer at the host university) cautions contestants for using Indonesian while also performing this exact practice of translation and combination (i.e. translanguaging) that he disapproves of.

(9)	ORIGINAL	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
1 MJ:	<u>Umpami wau... kasus meniká</u> <u>terungkap...</u>	<u>For example... the case was</u> <u>revealed...</u>
2	<u>kasus meniká kawiyat. Kitá-kitá</u> <u>nggih kedah</u>	<u>the case was revealed. We have to</u> <u>be</u>
3	<u>sadar diri; kitá-kitá nggih kedah</u> <u>nglenggáná.</u>	<u>self-conscious; we have to be self-</u> <u>conscious.</u>
4	<u>Mbák menawi... mboten asréng</u> <u>kawireng.</u>	<u>Perhaps... [you have] not often</u> <u>heard [these].</u>
5	<u>Awét mireng xxx básá Indonesia.</u> [...]	<u>Usually hear xxx Indonesian</u> <u>language.</u> [...]
6 MJ:	<u>Mangká tanding maléh wánten final.</u> <u>Mánggá</u>	<u>Later compete again in the final...</u> <u>Please,</u>
7	<u>mangké básánipun. Anggènipun milih</u> <u>básá...</u>	<u>your language. When choosing the</u> <u>language...</u>
8	<u>kantun... atás-atás. Ingkang paling</u> <u>kathah medhal</u>	<u>have to be... careful. The most</u> <u>often to come out</u>
9	<u>niku bahasa Indonesia. Ing... ing</u> <u>otak niku</u>	<u>is Bahasa Indonesia. In... in the</u> <u>brain it is</u>
10	<u>menterjemahkan. Lha medhalipun</u> <u>struktur</u>	<u>translating. What comes out is the</u> <u>structure of</u>
11	<u>bahasa Indonesia, mbáten...</u> <u>mbáten... nápá...</u>	<u>bahasa Indonesia, not... not...</u> <u>what...</u>
12	<u>sistem básá Jawi.</u>	<u>the system of Javanese language.</u>

In lines 1–5, the judge corrects a number of instances in which contestants use Indonesian lexical items instead of *krámá*, such as *terungkap* instead of *kawiyat* ‘revealed’ (line 1) and *sadar diri* instead of *nglenggáná* ‘self-conscious’ (line 3).

However, his advice in lines 6–12 features the same instances of translation and alternation that he cautions against: he uses Indonesian lexical items such as *menterjemahkan* ‘translating’ (line 10) and *struktur bahasa Indonesia* ‘Indonesian language structure’ (lines 10–11) instead of their equivalent *krámá* forms. The judge’s use of *menterjemahkan* is particularly salient as Indonesian since, in addition to the root *terjemah*, it also features the full Indonesian derivational *me-* and *-kan* affixes instead of the *krámá* Javanese affixes such as the *ng-* and *-aken* construction.

The interactional regime of the Javanese language debate, operating under the principle of status-based asymmetries, allocates broader language rights and evaluative authority to the higher-status noncontestants. The ‘do as I say, not as I do’ correction and advice from the judge in extract (9) illustrates this asymmetry in power, where those of higher status can set the standards of linguistic behavior for others while simultaneously flouting those same standards. We can illustrate the status-based interactional regime of the debate event in [Figure 3](#) below.

Looking at the noncontestants’ performance in the Javanese language debate reveals that the monolanguaging space of this cultural performance is built not only on language ideology or public meta-culture but also on the enactment and support of these ideological values by institutional hierarchies and asymmetrical power relations in inter-personal interaction.

CONCLUSION

The Javanese language debate represents an example of a cultural performance in which participants prepare and enact a monolanguaging space by also making use of their multilingual repertoire and translanguaging practices. Speakers of course put this connection between monolanguaging space and translanguaging practices under language ideological erasure and the connection only becomes noticeable through ethnographic observation of a series of connected communicative events.

The ethnographic observation also shows that monolanguaging spaces are performances accomplished through ideological and discursive work. The language ideology or public meta-culture that functions as the underlying framework of Javanese language debate positions the *krámá* speech level as the iconic language variety of Javanese ethnolinguistic identity. Participants in the Javanese language debate seek to accomplish this monolingual ideal through a number of discursive techniques. The first is through the self-erasure of translanguaging practices that they employ in their preparations for the performance. These include collaboratively pooling their multilingual repertoires and translating their speech into the monolingual standards the debate event demands. Second, successful contestants also use morphological strategies to integrate non-*krámá* Javanese items into their overall performance. Third, the organizers and contestants enact the monolanguaging space of the actual debate event based on principles of power relations, interactional asymmetry, and social hierarchy. The higher status noncontestants

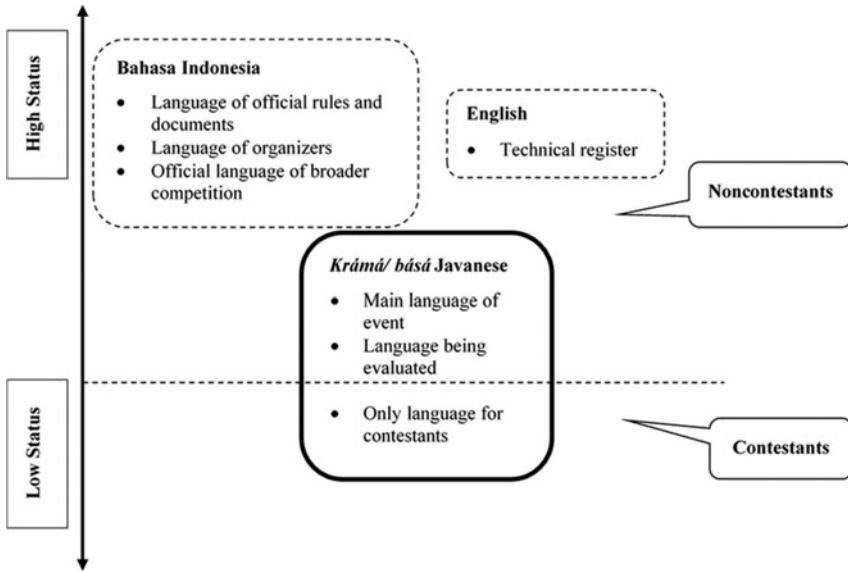


FIGURE 3. Interactional regime of the Javanese language debate.

largely define and dictate the form and standard of the monolingual space while also enjoying broader rights in language use and the authority of evaluating the contestants' language performances.

Monolingual spaces are thus connected to multi/translingual practices. Recent notions of multilingualism, such as translanguaging, tend to overemphasize the creative and transformative aspect of the use of multiple languages. Part of the reason is their origin in the core of the global North, where contemporary multilingual contexts often revolve around the integration of immigrants. In contrast, the multilingual contexts of the peripheral global South are often about dealing with the transnational flows of global languages on top of the already present dynamics between national and local languages (e.g. Kosonen 2008; Higgins 2009; Vaish 2010; Saxena 2011). In these contexts, the language ideological demands for local language maintenance may lead to the erasure of the use of translanguaging practices in favor of monolingual spaces and performances that conserve an iconic representation of local ethnolinguistic identity. The erasure of translanguaging, however, enables it to co-exist in practice with monolingual spaces, as long as it remains invisible in relation to the dominant language ideology or public meta-culture.

An ethnographic approach to monolingual spaces that is attuned to speakers' evaluations of languages reveals nuances in the way speakers define and perform their local language. These nuances complicate not only our understanding of

local languages but also our efforts in maintaining them. As Zentz (2014) points out, the monolingual emphasis of modernist language ideology (i.e. one nation/ethnicity, one language) leads to the view of language shift primarily as shifts in the language forms or codes that people use. This distorts the fact that it is actually about changes in the social contexts and social structures surrounding language use. I argue further that common views of language maintenance are often based on iconizations of certain language forms without critically viewing their relationship to social identities, contexts, and social relations. In Central Java, the hegemonic *krámá*-centric language-ideology projects an ideal social identity associated with local nobility that is in turn produced through traditional notions of polite or respectable interaction based on asymmetrical relations of power and status. The resulting monolanguaging spaces reflect not only the dominant language ideology and public meta-culture but also reflect (and often rely on) the power relations and social structure that invisibly support this cultural ideology.

Viewing monolanguaging spaces as connected to multi/translingual practices uncovers the contradictions and dissonances that strike at the heart of the way speakers consider what it means to speak a language and to be of a certain ethnolinguistic identity. In other locales, these dissonances can lead to ‘language ideological debates’ (Blommaert 1999), where language users openly negotiate definitions of languages and their sociopolitical uses and values. In Indonesia, where a centralistic and monologic ideal of unity has a long history of political dominance, speakers have tended not to publicly articulate these debates (though, see Zentz 2014 for examples of personal tensions in dealing with *krámá* Javanese language norms). Hence, just as *krámá* is an effective sociolinguistic mask that dissimulates tension, disagreement, and conflict, the *krámá*-centric Javanese traditional identity functions also as a dominant symbol of a unified ethnic identity that masks diversity, stratification, friction, and social change within contexts of seemingly social harmony (cf. de Jong & Twikromo 2017).

APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

normal font	<i>ngoko</i> Javanese
<u>underlined</u>	<i>krámá</i> Javanese
bold	Indonesian
<i>italics</i>	English or other foreign languages
=	latching turns or talk in conversation
[overlapping or simultaneous talk in conversation
...	pause in utterance (one second or more)
[...]	section break in the transcript
::	vowel lengthening
(())	actions during conversation
xxx	unintelligible speech
[]	words not present in utterances but inferred in translation

NOTES

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¹I use these symbols for the following Javanese vowel sounds: /é/ for mid front unrounded tense vowel, /è/ for mid front unrounded lax vowel, and /á/ for low back rounded vowel (cf. Errington 1998b). In addition, I use different fonts to indicate different languages and language varieties, following Goebel (2007, 2010), in combination with other transcription conventions listed in the appendix.

²In Central Java, the Javanese language local content curriculum is regulated by the governor's decree: *Keputusan Gubernur Jawa Tengah No. 423.5/27/2011 tentang kurikulum mata pelajaran muatan lokal (bahasa Jawa) untuk jenjang pendidikan sekolah menengah atas/sekolah menengah atas luar biasa/sekolah menengah kejuruan/madrasah aliyah negeri dan swasta di provinsi Jawa Tengah*. [Governor of Central Java Decree No. 423.5/27/2011 on the curriculum for local content subjects (Javanese language) for high schools/disability high schools/vocational high schools/state and private madrasah high schools in the Central Java province].

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