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**From neighborhood talk to
talking for the neighborhood**

by

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From neighborhood talk to talking for the neighborhood¹

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Abstract

Bahktin's (1981) invitation to examine the tensions between dialogue and monologue has been vigorously taken up by linguistic anthropologists who have focused on how culture emerges through dialogue. With the exception of work on narrative and gossip, much of this work has focused on participant structures involving the anthropologist and one or two consultants, often with similar trajectories of socialization. My point of departure in this paper is to take the road less travelled by looking at how dialogism produces monologism. I do this by looking at a larger participation framework, a women's neighborhood meeting in Indonesia, made up of people from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds. I focus upon how multiple dialogues become a monologic voice that speaks for the whole neighborhood. Keeping in mind Bahktin's ideas about the multifaceted nature of any dialogue, I want to show how repetition figures in the emergence of norms for social conduct and ultimately a monologic neighborhood voice.

Introduction

In the early parts of his essay “Discourse in the Novel,” Bakhtin (1981: 270-272) emphasizes how decentralization and centralization forces (operating from face-to-face to state level) put unitary languages in constant tension with heteroglossia. He argued that this was so because the dialogues that occurred amongst a heteroglossic population involved negotiations over the meaning of words used in these dialogues. The assigning of situational new meanings to these older words helped constitute an emergent meaning that started to be shared within a particular population (Bakhtin, 1981: 282). Habitual interaction amongst this population provided a context where these words could be reused, helping to form an emerging unitary language for this population (Bakhtin, 1981: 290-293), although these words with new meanings also continue to contain indexical traces of the contexts that they were previously part of. Meaning, one outcome of dialogue, is thus also an emergent monologic entity, if only setting-specific.

In cases where nation-states have had strong centralizing mechanisms and where a politically powerful group has successfully argued for the utility of their particular monologic entity, then this monologic entity becomes the model for a unitary language of the state. This model is subsequently disseminated via strong centralizing infrastructures, such as schools and the mass media (Bourdieu, 1991; Hobsbawm, 1990). However, with the decentralizing and fragmenting tendencies of late modernity—which are facilitated by new infrastructures that move people, ideas, money and so on at increasingly faster rates (Appadurai, 1996; Castells, 1996; Harvey, 1989)—unitary constructs are increasingly in tension with locale-specific ones where people from different backgrounds come into contact and need to establish new local monologic entities, including rules for interacting (Ang, 2003; Vertovec, 2007; Werbner, 1997).

Drawing inspiration from arguments about the need to rethink concepts such as culture and language, not least because they continue to imply a timeless unitary phenomena rather than a situated phenomenon that emerges through dialogue (Agha, 2007; Fabian, 1983; Tedlock & Mannheim, 1995; Urban, 2001), the current paper shows how dialogue leads to monologism in a setting characterized by complexity. My empirical focus is talk that occurred in a women's neighborhood in Indonesia in 1996. This period is important because it represents the height of Indonesia's efforts of enshrining unitary ideologies about the semiotic features that index Indonesian-ness. This neighborhood was made up of Indonesians from all over Indonesia with many being quite transient. The recording I look at was made by my Indonesian spouse. It was made during twenty-eight months of fieldwork in this neighborhood, which started in April 1996.

My analysis will focus on the copying of semiotic forms and responses to these copies. These include state-level ideologies about working together to achieve community goals and working together to achieve unity, as well as semiotic forms found in talk, including language choice, content of talk, and the sonic qualities of talk. My analysis will show how neighbors jointly formulate a neighborhood voice about how they should interact in a setting where rules for interaction cannot be taken for granted because of the population's diverse backgrounds. I start by outlining the theoretical underpinnings before providing a short history of language ideologies in Indonesia. I then move into a brief description of the research site before examining the talk that occurred in the monthly neighborhood women's meeting.

From Heteroglossia to Monologism

Scholars of the humanities and social sciences have, for a long time, been interested in the relationship between unity and diversity and the processes that enable one of these ideas and its behavioral manifestations to become widely recognized in a population located in a

particular time and place. Early twentieth century engagement with the circulatory nature of processes of unity and diversity can be found in Bakhtin's work. In the essay, "Discourse in the Novel," he emphasizes how forces of decentralization and centralization put a unitary language in a circular relationship with heteroglossia. As a concept heteroglossia refers to both a diverse population with multiple voices (Bakhtin, 1981: 262-263) and the diversity that this affords in the interpretation of any word or utterance (Bakhtin, 1981: 275-279).

Movement from heteroglossia to a unitary phenomenon can be observed when we look at dialogues between members of a heteroglossic population where negotiation over the meaning of words used in dialogue produce new situational meanings for these words (Bakhtin, 1981: 279-282). In a sense, dialogue has afforded the emergence of a unitary phenomenon: in this case, a shared understanding about the meaning(s) of a set of words amongst those involved in a small participation framework. Habitual interaction among a certain population provides a context where these words can be reused, helping to form an emerging unitary language for those involved (Bakhtin, 1981: 290-293), although these words with "new meanings" also continue to contain traces or "tastes" of the contexts that they were previously part of (Bakhtin, 1981: 293).

While Bakhtin repeatedly points to the embeddedness of words and unitary languages in social and political life, the relationships between them and cultural reproduction were unclear. Other scholarship has helped clarify these relationships while providing explanations of why we might reproduce others' words. One explanation is grounded in work on reciprocity (Goffman, 1971; Malinowski, 1996 [1922]; Mauss, 1966 [1925]) and subsequent development of this work. Tannen (1989) and Bucholtz and Hall (2004), among others, have argued that we repeat others' words or pursue forms of social sameness to establish and maintain social connections with others. From a more structural perspective that links unitary languages with social and political life, Bourdieu (1984) points out that social value accrues

to a language through its usage by socially valued speakers in socially valued fields. This process creates a *habitus* which can be distinguished from other habitus (Bourdieu, 1984). Distinction creates hierarchies with those inhabiting a socially valued habitus often able to perpetuate their position through ensuring their unitary language is replicated in one-to-many participation frameworks, such as schooling and the mass media, and in many cases helping to form the language of a nation-state (Bourdieu, 1984, 1991; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Hobsbawm, 1990).

With some partial explanations in place about the relationship between language and social relations and “why” speakers replicate others’ words and social practices, we can turn to the “how.” Linguistic anthropologists working in the broad area of cultural reproduction have provided some keen insights into this question. Some of the “how”—not totally isolated from the “why”—can be linked to cases where replication of words and/or social practices has been imperfect or differs from common social practice. In the case of situated face-to-face interaction, difference in language practices or other social practices can engender “responses to” and PARTIAL COPIES OF others’ words (Urban, 2001, 2014).

Work on narrative provides numerous examples of this type of “metaculture”—i.e., reflexive commentaries about cultural practice (Urban, 2001)—especially the narratives and gossip found in the everyday talk of caregivers, elders, and neighbors (e.g. Besnier, 2009; Brenneis, 1984; Haviland, 1977; Ochs, 1996; Ochs & Capps, 2001). These narratives contain judgments or “responses to” another person’s prior social practices and they are often used to teach novices and/or the judged about correct social practice. These judgments or complaints about another are often key to making stories tellable. Typically, this type of reflexive talk partially copies the offenders’ words—discussed in the broader literature as “reported talk,” “constructed dialogue” or “represented talk” (Agha, 2007; Holt & Clift, 2007; Tannen, 1989, 1995)—while providing new words in the form of examples of more appropriate social

practices. As work on ethnopoetics and narrative has shown (Hymes, 1981; Tannen, 1995; Tedlock, 1983), it is not just the replication that makes a piece of talk noticeable, but how it is repeated. Urban (2001) points out that the poetic structuring of text helps make contributions more noticeable and, when this co-occurs with complaints about others—one example Urban discusses is a litany of complaints against the government—helps to increase the chance of uptake through responses.

Narratives and gossip involve multiple tellers and participants, each of whom may partially copy some of the judged or other participants' words. While the involvement of multiple participants makes it hard to assign responsibility for the talk to any particular participant (Besnier, 2009), the outcome of such talk is often a group who seemingly speak with one voice about a particular social practice. In short, dialogic practice can engender a form of monologism that encompasses not just words but other semiotic forms and norms of usage which if repeated enough form a "type" (Silverstein, 2005) or "genre" (Dunn, 2006) that is recognizable by more than a few people. More recently, this complex of signs has been referred to as an emergent "semiotic register" (Agha, 2007). A semiotic register thus includes linguistic fragments and ideas linking their usage with setting and social type while "enregisterment" is the process whereby regular multi-sited responses to copies helps a sign constellation (i.e. semiotic register) become recognizable for a particular population.

These locale-specific registers sit in tension with and are constituted from fragments of a host of other registers, some of which become a unitary language of a nation (whether a state or ethnic grouping). Unitary languages are also enregistered through practices of judgment, though typically at a much larger scale; e.g. mass schooling, mass media, mass production, mass transportation, and so on. Those making judgments are increasingly credentialed experts, rather than elders, kin, and neighbors, and responses are often temporally and spatially distant from the copies that have engendered these responses (Agha,

2007; Inoue, 2006; Urban, 2001). The work of Inoue, Agha, and Urban together with Lempert's (2014) recent critique of work on replication also remind us that the larger participation frameworks tied to nation-building projects tend to blur links between copies and responses by sedimenting multiple indexical relations. Thus, focusing on tacit or inexplicit commentaries afforded by these indexical relationships is as necessary as focusing on replication-as-precise-reproduction.

Creating National and Ethnic Monologism in Indonesia (1968-1998)

While the beginnings of national and ethnic monologism in Indonesia can be traced back to colonial times (e.g. Errington, 2001; Moriyama, 2005), the period from roughly 1968 to 1998 is notable for two reasons. First, there was major massification in the mechanisms that enregistered monologism, especially schooling and media (Goebel, 2015). Second there was massification of transportation and communication infrastructures, which fed into and was fueled by the massification of schooling and the media. These types of massification engendered the enregisterment of both monologism and dialogism (Goebel, 2014, 2015).

Indonesia experienced significant massification of education from 1966 onwards with the number of primary school students increasing from 8 million in 1960 to 24 million in 1990, and the number of lower secondary school students increasing from 1.9 million to over 5.5 million in this same period (Bjork, 2005: 54). During this period, successive central and regional government departments attempted to deliver a number of languages in primary and secondary schools (e.g. Arps, 2010; Lowenberg, 1992; Nababan, 1991; Soedijarto et al., 1980). These languages included Indonesian, English, and a regional language (*bahasa daerah*), which was the language of the region where the school was located. While regional languages were ideologized as unitary languages of co-ethnic communication, Indonesian was ideologized as the main "vehicle for" doing unity among a diverse nation of strangers

(Abas, 1987; Alisjahbana, 1976; Dardjowidjojo, 1998; Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1993).

Unity in diversity (*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*) was part of the national ideology, *Pancasila*, which was underpinned by the Indonesian constitution and supported in the school and university systems through compulsory citizenship classes (Nishimura, 1995: 29-31). These classes were locally referred to as PMP and P4 (Mulder, 1994: 60-63; Nishimura, 1995: 29). Pancasila espoused five inter-dependent principles, which were elaborated in 1978 to include thirty- six behaviors and principles (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Republik Indonesia, 1978: 5-8)². Of relevance to this paper is the high value placed on “unity in diversity”, “getting on” (*rukun*), “mutual assistance and working together to achieve a goal” (*gotong-royong*), joint decision making (*musyawarah*), and unanimous agreement (*mufakat*). This high value could be seen throughout the 1978 guide to the Pancasila (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Republik Indonesia, 1978), and in how these behaviors and principles became cornerstones of PMP and P4 classes (Nishimura, 1995: 30-31). As I will point out in the next section, many of the “tastes” (Bakhtin, 1981) of these principles can be seen in neighborhood dialogues.

Indonesian mass media was also an important mechanism for the dissemination of unitary languages and Pancasila ideology. For example, the introduction of television and the formation of a government broadcaster, *TVRI*, in 1962 rapidly introduced a new social domain for the replication of monologic ideologies. According to Kitley (2000: 38), after the initial setup of a broadcasting unit in Jakarta in 1962, regional stations were set up throughout the archipelago by 1978. The launch of the Palapa satellite in 1975 fuelled an increase in television ownership and by 1978 there were 900,000 registered television sets in Java and a further 200,000 in the outer islands (Kitley, 2000: 47). The national ideology was also

regularly replicated in TVRI programming through the replication of the national coat of arms, which listed the five principles and unity in diversity.

Until 1989, television broadcasts were in Indonesian. These broadcasts regularly aired representations of encounters with sameness in the form of encounters with other Indonesian speakers (Kitley, 2000). This (re)produced indexical relationships between Indonesian, Indonesian citizen, and unity in diversity” that were part of a school curriculum. Television also reproduced other ideologies found in the school curriculum, such as the link between regional languages and ethnic social types (Goebel, 2008; Kitley, 2000; Loven, 2008; Sen & Hill, 2000). Radio broadcasts too helped to replicate this ideology through broadcasting news in twelve regional languages and village agricultural programs in 48 regional languages (Sen & Hill, 2000: 93–94). Monologic ideologies of ethnic groups speaking an ethnic language were also replicated in other ways, including through the commoditization of ethnicity for domestic and international tourists (e.g. Adams, 1984; Erb, 2007; Parker, 2002), and the sale of ethnic music recordings (Sen & Hill, 2000: 170). It is also important to note that this regime attached sanctions to violations of its monological pretensions as evidenced through press permits, the prohibition of Chinese texts, and so on (Coppel, 1983; Sen & Hill, 2000). These, along with regular dissemination of ideas about correct and proper Indonesian (Errington, 1998, 2000; Hooker, 1993), provided models for normative language use.

While the massification of schooling and media infrastructures helped form and replicate monologism, other forms of massification helped engender heteroglossia and dialogism. The period between 1970 to 1990 was one of rapid industrialization and heavy investment and growth in manufacturing, construction, mining, transportation, communication, and service industries (Booth & McCawley, 1981; Colombijn, 1996; Dick, 1996; McCawley, 1981; Thee Kian Wie, 2002). These new infrastructures along with the promise of better educational opportunities engendered population mobility and the growth

of cities whose populations nearly doubled between 1970 and 1990 (Jones & Hull, 1997; Suharsono & Speare, 1981). Within these cities, hubs of heteroglossia and dialogism emerged in the factories and government offices where many of these migrants worked and in the urban neighborhoods where many of them settled (Bruner, 1974; Goebel, 2010b, 2015).

An Urban Neighborhood with a Transient Population

The urban neighborhood (Ward 8) I focus on here was located in the northern parts of the city of Semarang, the provincial capital of Central Java. Central Java is one of the heartlands of Javanese, though there is much variation in how Javanese is used in the region (Connors, 2007; Goebel, 2010b). This neighborhood was much like many of the estates that were emerging in the outer areas across the city. As a housing estate designed for low- to middle-income Indonesians, Ward 8 attracted many middle-income public servants who came from all over Indonesia. Many of them were transient, staying only a few years before moving. As with most housing estates in this sub-district (*kelurahan*), there was little infrastructure provided by the developers when it was established in 1988. Members of Ward 8 were thus responsible for the building and maintenance of lighting, drainage, and the two roads that serviced this ward, as well as rubbish collection and security.

Wards were also administrative units linked to the central government in a hierarchical manner. State development policy was disseminated from above, while it encouraged reporting from below. Family units (*Rukun Keluarga, RK*) of around five members constituted larger units of 20-30 RK referred to as a ward (*Rukun Tetangga, RT*). Units of 8-12 wards constituted neighborhoods (*Rukun Warga, RW*), while around 38 RW constituted a sub-district (*Kelurahan*). Note too that a fragment of Pancasila ideology, *rukun*, is repeated in the name of these smaller units. A number of sub-districts constituted a district (*Kecamatan*), while a number of districts constituted a regency or city (in the case of Semarang) that was

located within the Province of Central Java. Typically, the organization and collection of money used to pay for infrastructure and health initiatives were carried out at two regular monthly meetings (one for the men and one for the women). The remit of these meetings was not just about the development of ward infrastructure and the carrying out of government initiatives, but also about socializing with neighbors. This was explicitly written on invitations (*sambung rasa* “to share feelings”) distributed the day before.

In Ward 8, there were many uninhabited houses as well as rented ones, which had an impact on meeting numbers and the ability of the ward to collect fees for infrastructure needs. In addition, while there were 23 households in Ward 8, rarely more than 15 would attend meetings. Ultimately a group of regular attendees and their families shouldered the burden of neighborhood infrastructure development and other initiatives. These conditions regularly entered the talk of these meetings. Of interest here is how these conditions affected a heteroglossic population and helped to form a monologic ideology. This ideology reflected Pancasila ideas while reproducing them. For example, locally emergent ideas about good neighborhood repeated ideas about getting on (*rukun*), while working together for the common good (*gotong royong*) was implicit in much of the talk because without socializing and contributing to ward expenses, getting on and working together for the common good became difficult. It was also the case that often the language used in this talk did not reflect the state ideology of Indonesian as the language of unity in diversity.

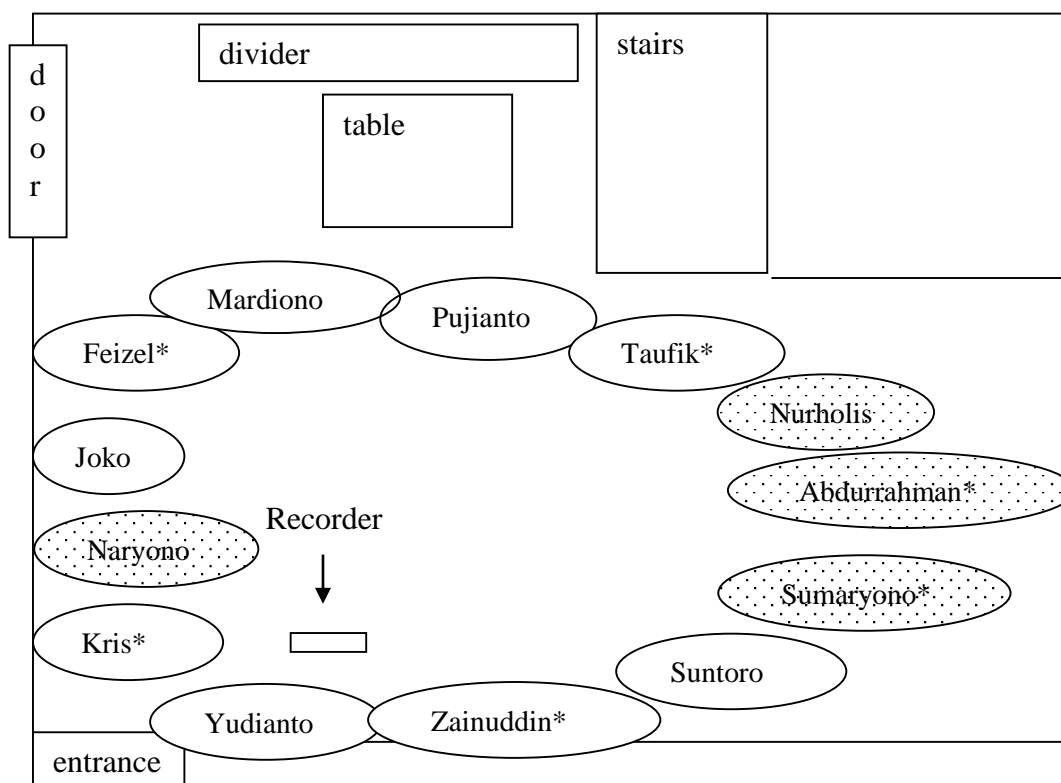
From Dialogism to Monologism in a Monthly Meeting

The talk I look at here occurred in a meeting that was held in July 1996. At the start of each meeting the women sing a song, *Ibu PKK* (PKK Mothers) which replicates the ideology of working together for the common good. In this meeting there are thirteen participants from various ethnolinguistic backgrounds. Diagram 2 shows where participants were seated.

Participants with a name plus an asterisk (*) are those who self-identified and were identified by others as non-Javanese. Those who are involved in this talk are indicated via a shaded pattern in Diagram 1.

I will be especially concerned with talk about a non-present ward member, Bu Tobing, who is also non-Javanese. There were two newcomers to this ward, Abdurrahman and Zainuddin, my Indonesian spouse. Both had moved to the ward three months earlier. The meeting was held just a few weeks before Independence day celebrations were to be held nationwide, and importantly, within this ward. It is important because the ward had some intractable financial issues and indeed much of the talk in this meeting is devoted to who had and had not paid contributions and how members could manage to organize celebrations on a limited budget.

Diagram 1: Participants at a Ward 8 monthly meeting



The talk represented in the following extract occurs about ten minutes into the meeting. The talk is preceded by a group conversation which identifies by name and residence three members who have not paid contributions toward the upcoming Independence Day celebrations. This is done through the partial copying of the talk in prior turns and an evaluation of the content of these copies. Turning to the talk in Extract 1, we can see that in response to the list of payers and non-payers, of whom the non-present Bu Tobing is just one, Bu Abdurrahman asks for clarification about Bu Tobing on line 1.

Extract 1: The importance of attending and paying

Abdurrahman*

1 bu tobing tuh yang mana . Which one is Mrs. Tobing?

Nurholis

2 [itu *loh* sebelah bu matius itu *loh* *You know the one* beside Mrs. Matius.

Sumaryono*

3 [sebelah bu roni itu bu tobing *toh*' The one beside Mrs. Roni is Mrs Tobing *you*

4 = *with me.*

Naryono

5 =+bu tobing+ . tobing #tobing# (0.6) Mrs. Tobing, Tobing, Tobing.

Nurholis

6 nggak pernah datang *kok*? = [She] has never attended, *disappointingly*.

Naryono

7 = *lah iya* . *That is right*, [she] has never attended a

8 arisan . [>nggak pernah datang> meeting.

Nurholis

- 9 [>patungan sepuluh ribu> [she] has never contributed her share of 10000
10 #nggak pernah datang# (0.7) [rupiah toward celebrations] [at an arisan].

Sumaryono*

- 11 padahal rt penting butuh kenal ya But the ward is important [we] need friends
12 (0.8) kalau (???) (???) [(???) yes? If (???) (???) (???)

In this snippet of talk we get answers to Abdurrahman's query from three participants (Sumaryono, Nurholis, and Naryono). From line 7 onwards these answers increasingly resemble the talk of the previous speaker (copies are indicated by an underline in the transcript).³ On lines 7-8 Naryono copies Nurholis's *nggak pernah datang* "never attended" (line 6). The way these copies are performed also adds a poetic element to them that seems to engender further copies and responses. In particular, we see that copies are not just copies of words but also of the talk's tempo. For example, we see that on line 9 Nurholis copies the tempo of Naryono's talk on line 8. In this case, Nurholis speeds up her talk (indicated by > surrounding pieces of talk), as done by Naryono before copying the actual words "*nggak pernah datang*."

We also see that through what seems to be an innocent query about where Bu Tobing lives, now Abdurrahman is not just involved as a ratified participant but also partly responsible, in Besnier's (2009) terms, for the talk that follows. This responsibility also flows onto Sumaryono, whose response highlights why attending meetings is important. Her talk her also seems to have tastes of Pancasila ideology, including the principle of getting on (*rukun*), in this case with ones neighbors, and working together to achieve group aims (*gotong-royong*). We also see participants' language choices resonating with the voice of the Indonesian state by doing unity in diversity in Indonesian, the ideological language of such practices.

Taken together we see the beginnings of a monologic neighborhood voice which not only contains traces of the national ideology, but also a voice that highlights participants' expectations about social conduct within this ward, namely attending meetings and paying dues, knowing your neighbors and why this is important. In the talk that follows directly after the talk represented in Extract 1, we will start to see how models of neighborhood emerge as Bu Tobing is increasingly identified as someone who doesn't follow expectations about good neighborhood. Here we see that these signs of good neighborhood include paying neighborhood contributions without being chased, and appearing friendly when interacting with neighbors.

Extract 2: Becoming one voice through repetition

Joko

13 [ditarik waé:? . ning **Just ask for [contributions] at her house!**
14 umahé' (0.9)

Naryono

15 > ning ditariki ning umahé gé emben [I] **went to her house** to ask for
16 ketoké piyé ya bu?> . %ya aku ra enak contributions], **in the past, but she**
17 [aku% **appeared unfriendly. Me, I didn't feel**
comfortable.

Nurholis

18 [%>aku ya wegah ok mono emoh> [**Me** yeah **I couldn't be bothered, [I] don't**
19 #aku#% **want to go there.**

Naryono

20 [%aku [If] **I have** to ask for [contributions] **I**
21 meh narik wegah% [#aku# **couldn't be bothered.**

?

22 [(???) ??? ???) (???) ??? ???).

Nurholis

23 [%>aku meh narik [If] **I have** to ask for [contributions] [**I**

24 wegah%> #ngono loh# (0.4) **couldn't be bothered, it's like that heh.**

Note that the above talk involves another participant, Joko (lines 13-14), and that in copying her utterance *ditarik waé ning umahé* (“Just ask for [contributions] at her house!”) Naryono adds a further response, this time about how Tobing appeared unfriendly and how she felt about this unfriendliness (lines 16-17)⁴. Note too that again it is not just the talk, but also how it is delivered that helps ensure uptake. We can see two further poetic-type features being used here. The first is Nurholis’s partial copying of Naryono’s *aku ra enak aku* (“Me, I didn’t feel comfortable”) which has a stylized nasal-type pronunciation on lines 18-19 (this stylized nasal pronunciation is indicated by the use of the percentage sign % surrounding pieces of talk). This poetic copying of the sonic qualities of participants’ voices continues through to line 24. Table 1 better highlights the extent to which other’s talk is copied in Extract 2. In the table I have underlined the copied words and sonic qualities.

Table 1: Copying other’s talk (Extract 2)

Joko	<u>ditarik waé ning umahé</u>
Naryono	ning ditariki ning umahé
Naryono	%ya <u>aku ra enak aku</u> %
Nurholis	%> <u>aku</u> ya <u>wegah ok mono emoh</u> > # <u>aku</u> #%
Naryono	%> <u>aku meh narik wegah</u> % # <u>aku</u> #
Nurholis	%> <u>aku meh narik wegah</u> %> #ngono loh#

Naryono

- 32 [anu opo Ah what is it, she has never *ever*
33 ndeweké ora tahu teko loh? . kan? ya attended, right?, that's not allowed, *is it*.
34 nggak boleh *ok*' =

Sumaryono*

- 35 = dia tuh dia statusnya di She, what is her [residency] status here?
36 sini apa? =

While copying others' talk is still a feature of the above talk, we also see copies of talk that are not temporally adjacent (i.e. speaker A's talk copied in the immediately following turn by Speaker B). For example, we see partial copies of *nggak pernah datang* ("never attended") from Extract 1 now reappearing in line 26's *ngga pernah ketemu*. I use a double underline to indicate this type of copying. We also see an on line 33, *ora tahu teko* "never attended", which in this case is in familiar Javanese or *ngoko*, as it is often referred to. We also see that in making a partial copy of talk involving the topic of debt-collecting (*ditarik* on line 25), on lines 27-29 Naryono adds her own response relating to ward responsibilities, and not being allowed to shirk ward responsibilities (lines 33-34).

In addition to raising her voice—which, as we will see, helps increase the number of those who are involved in uptake—her talk is given extra authority by way of her status as ward head. We also see that Joko, who was marginally involved in Extract 2, now becomes responsible for an evaluation of Tobing's behavior: "Well don't live here," on lines 30-31. By the end of this stretch of talk in Extracts 1-3, Naryono, Nurholis, Sumaryono, and Joko are all involved in the creation of a monologic voice about bad neighborhood (e.g. "non-paying",

“non-attending”, “unfriendly”, and “irresponsible”). It is worth noting too that these ideas bad neighborhood closely resonate with the national ideology about *rukun* and *gotong-royong*.

The language used in performing this voice is also important. This is so because except for Sumaryono, who reports being non-Javanese, it is done through the copying of language choice (in this case familiar Javanese), and sonic qualities. At this stage it is worth highlighting that Bu Naryono appears to move between Javanese and Indonesian in two ways. The first is where both languages are found within a tonal unit. Tonal boundaries are indicated by a period surrounding talk, as in lines 25-26. Following synthesis of work on mixed language practices (Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998; Auer, 1995; Gafaranga & Torras, 2002; Goebel, 2010b), I refer to this as alternation as the medium. Alternation as the medium resembles the following pattern: AB1 AB2 AB1 AB2 (the upper case letters represent a particular medium and the numbers indicate speaker 1 and 2). The second way is where one language is used followed by a pause (indicated here by a period) and then a different language, as in lines 32-34. In line with the above-mentioned synthesis I will refer to this as “codeswitching.” Codeswitching can be illustrated with the pattern: A1 A2 B1 A1 A2. Note also that this codeswitching seems to be evaluative, that is to say, after commenting about Bu Tobing’s non-attendance in Javanese, Bu Naryono seems to make a clear judgment about such behavior where she says *kan, ya nggak boleh ok* (“don’t you agree you can’t do that”).

Codeswitching is also used in a number of other ways which help to add further behavioral elements to emergent monologic ideas about good and bad neighborhood, as we will see in Extract 4, which represents the talk immediately following that represented in Extract 3.

Extract 4: Giving bad neighborhood an Indonesian voice

Bu Naryono

37 =*lah iya'* = *That is right.*

Bu Sumaryono*

38 = dia di sini minta surat rt [if] she is here and asks for a ward letter

39 kan? jangan >+dikasih+>= right, don't give it [to her]

Bu Naryono

40 = wong lagé **She,**

41 emben ngené toh nang kené? . saya tuh **a while ago, came here and said “at**

42 sewaktu waktu #pindah'# = some time or another I will move”.

Bu Sumaryono*

43 = kabeh **All people** [move]

44 +w:ong+? =

Bu Naryono

45 = *lah iya'* = *That's right.*

Bu Sumaryono*

46 = semua +orang+ All people, even office **workers**, none

47 **wong** kantor aja tidak ada menetap stay forever (??? ???).

48 #(??? ???)# .

The talk represented above is important for a number of reasons. From the perspective of language choice we see that Naryono codeswitches from Javanese to Indonesian to

represent Tobing's talk in a previous encounter (lines 40-42). Note too that following this Indonesian speaking model of a deviant neighbor, we see that the non-Javanese Sumaryono starts using Javanese in an interethnic encounter that according to national ideology should be carried out in Indonesian (lines 43-44). Note too that this seems to be a matter of choice rather than of not knowing the Indonesian equivalent. This is so because Sumaryono says the same thing in Indonesian in her following turn (line 46). In interpreting "why this now," we can say that the non-Javanese Sumaryono is pursuing social sameness with co-present others who use Javanese. This contrasts markedly with how the non-Javanese Tobing is represented—that is, as speaking Indonesian in encounters with neighbors.

To be sure, we could interpret this codeswitching as achieving a move in activity type from "interacting with a co-present other" to "reporting another's talk", but this is too simplistic an interpretation for two reasons. First, Naryono could easily have signaled this reported talk in many other ways, including using fragments of the high variety of Javanese often referred to as *kromo* Javanese. Second, otherness has strong indexical links with Indonesian vis-à-vis Indonesian's role as the language of talk amongst strangers. When viewed within the unfolding interactional context, the use of Indonesian to report the talk of a deviant other helps to add to an emerging model of good neighborhood that includes speaking Javanese inter-ethnically.

The above talk is important too because of how Sumaryono now directly offers a response to Tobing's deviant behavior (non-attendance, etc.) via her suggested sanction of not giving her a ward letter when asked. This is important not only because these letters are essential for securing driver's licenses, electricity, water and gas supplies, but also because through uptake of previous talk Sumaryono's voice increasingly becomes one with the voices of Naryono, Nurholis, and Joko. In short, the talk in Extract 4 contributes to an emerging model of good and bad neighborhood in a setting where a mobile population would not

otherwise share the same ideas about good and bad neighborhood. At the same time this talk also offers potential sanctions for deviant behavior. This helps to further solidify an emerging monologic idea or semiotic register for this constellation of participants about what constitutes good neighborhood and how to perform good neighborhood.

Extract 5 represents further talk that contributes to the solidification of one voice, while providing a behavioral description of how not to perform neighborhood. This talk occurs immediately after that represented in Extract 4.

Extract 5: Re-reporting bad neighborhood

Sumaryono*

50 [laporan itu lah' [she is only seen??] when she has to report
[to the ward]

Nurholis

51 [dijaluki sebelumnya itu *loh* bu matius = [If] **asked for** [monetary contributions]
from the one beside Mrs. Matius [you]
know who I mean.

Joko

52 = "I will be moving house."

53 saya tuh mau pindah tempat =

Naryono

54 = oh gitu *toh* = Oh

55 [it's] like that *is it?*

Nurholis

56 = Yes.

57 heeh =

Naryono

58 = >dijaluki #opo anu #> sepuluh [If] asked for what
59 ribu:? . >ketoké anu +sinis kaé loh bu? **what is it** 10000 **she looks really**
60 aku yo ora enak ngemis + ngono loh> . **sour-faced** Bu [Nurholis and others
61 #wegah aku#(5.0) present] **yeah I'm not** comfortable begging
it's like that, I don't want to.

In this talk we see repetitions of whole utterances that occurred in the previous talk, which point to a further movement toward a neighborhood voice. For example, we see that Bu Naryono's apparent conversation with the non-present Bu Tobing is repeated by Bu Joko on line 53, as if she had the same conversation with Bu Tobing. Through other partial copies on lines 58-61 we also see Bu Naryono continuing her representation of Bu Tobing, this time as an unfriendly and unapproachable neighbor by giving a behavioral description about what the characteristic of being "unfriendly" noted earlier means—namely, being sour-faced. In doing so, she also provides one further prescription for neighborhood in this ward. This behavior again sits in contrast to the idea of rukun "getting on" found in the state ideology and reproduced in the category of ward (Rukun Tetangga, RT). In the next extract, we will see again how another participant contributes a response. The talk represented in Extract 6 occurs immediately after that represented in Extract 5.

Extract 6 Widening participation and responsibility but being one voice

Sumaryono*

- 62 = (??? ???) lagi . ya jadi dikucilkan aja' (??? ???) again, yeah just don't include
63 nggak usah' . [apa tujuh belasan juga [her] it's not necessary. What if for the 17th
64 nggak usah . [August celebrations] [we] also don't
invite her

Naryono

- 66 [dianu dia itu karepé iki? . *We will-* Her wish is like this
67 nggak mau urusan gini gini itu . #nggak "I don't want to be involved in these sorts
68 mau# = of matters (organizing celebrations), [I
don't want [to]."

Kris*

- 69 = oh ya ndak boleh? = Oh that's not allowed.

Naryono

- 70 = kumpul juga [She] also doesn't want to socialize.
71 nggak mau' =

Sumaryono*

- 72 = kenal **baé wong** . nggak **Just saying hello to others** [she] **doesn't**
73 gelem ok' . lewat aja? [nggak know, [she] doesn't **want to**, she just
walks by, heh? doesn't...

In the talk above Sumaryono now become more involved in listing potential sanctions for Tobing's deviant behaviors (lines 62-63), while on line 69 Kris too becomes involved in producing an emerging monologic neighborhood voice through her partial copying of Naryono's earlier response *ndak boleh* ("That's not allowed, is it," lines 33-34 of Extract 3).

We also see Tobing's Indonesian voice again copied on line 67-68 through Naryono's representation of Tobing's thinking as being "in Indonesian," as in *nggak mau urusan gini gini itu, nggak mau* ("I don't want to be involved in these sorts of matters"). For the same reasons given in my analysis of Naryono's codeswitching into Indonesian (Extract 4), Naryono's codeswitching here further contributes to the solidification of an emerging monologic model of bad neighborhood that includes speaking Indonesian rather than Javanese. This sits in contrast to good neighborhood that is done in Javanese and again here modelled as spoken in fragments of Javanese by both Javanese (Naryono on line 66) and non-Javanese (Sumaryono on lines 72-73).

As the talk continues, we are provided with further insights into what Bu Naryono and Bu Sumaryono see as normative neighborhood in this ward through their accounts of Bu Tobing's deviant neighborhood, in this case her unwillingness to socialize (line 70) or even engage in reciprocal phatic communication with neighbors (lines 72-73). Again this talk also seems to have links with state ideologies about rukun "to get on". The type and form of neighborhood dialogue discussed so far continue for several more minutes with subsequent copies and responses being made by new participants. Table 2 summarizes the copying and emphasizes the distances between them (i.e. it extends Table 1 above).

With reference to the transcription conventions found in note 3, replication of the sonic voice qualities of others and language choice can also be followed. Note that I have used "E7" in column two to refer to this subsequent talk even though I do not provide the transcript. For those interested these can be found in Goebel (2010b: 100-104). In this table I use a single underline to indicate which pieces of talk are copies of prior talk. While most of the examples represent replication-as-precise-reproduction, examples 11* and 13* are less so because they start a sequence that is subsequently copied in a different language.

The replication that is represented as E7 (column 2) helps further solidify an emergent monologic neighborhood voice which includes two further participants, Zainuddin (my spouse) and Pujianto. This voice continues to represent Tobing as Indonesian-speaking and neighbors as Javanese-speaking, with the behaviors of not attending meetings and not paying contributions being reframed as behavior of which one should be ashamed (Example 12). In looking at the table it can be seen that those who do most of the copying are Naryono (the head of the ward) and Nurholis (her close friend).

Table 2: Copying other's talk that is temporally distant

Example No.	Extract & line No.	Speaker	Talk
<u>Nggak pernah datang</u>			
1	E1, L6	Nurholis	<u>nggak pernah datang kok'</u>
1	E1, L8	Naryono	<i>lah iya</i> . arisan . > <u>nggak pernah datang</u> >
1	E1, L9-10	Nurholis	>patungan sepuluh ribu> # <u>nggak pernah datang'</u> #
1	E3, L25-26	Naryono	+ditarik+ wong kan? <u>ngga pernah ketemu yo</u> .
<u>Sepuluh ribu</u>			
2	E1, L9-10	Nurholis	>patungan <u>sepuluh ribu</u> > # <u>nggak pernah datang'</u> #
2	E5, L58-59	Naryono	> <u>dijaluki #opo anu #</u> > <u>sepuluh ribu:?</u>
<u>Butuh kenal</u>			
3	E1, L11	Sumaryono	padahal rt penting <u>butuh kenal</u> ya
3	E7	Sumaryono	tapi kan kita butuh? (0.5) kenal ya <u>butuh entah</u> kita sak::it . (entah apa kalau kenalan??)
3	E7	Pujianto	kita kih nek <u>butuh opo opo #iki#</u> > .d::iusulké genten'
<u>Ditarik ning umahé</u>			
4	E2, L13-14	Joko	<u>ditarik waé ning umahé</u>
4	E2, L 15	Naryono	ning ditariki ning umahé
<u>Aku ra enak</u>			
5	E2, L16-17	Naryono	%ya <u>aku ra enak aku</u> %
5	E5, L60-61	Naryono	<u>aku yo ora enak ngemis</u> + ngono loh> . # <u>wegah aku</u> #
<u>Ngemis</u>			
7	E5, L60-61	Naryono	<u>aku yo ora enak ngemis</u> + ngono loh> . # <u>wegah aku</u> #
7	E7	Sumaryono	kayak kit::a . kita <u>ngemis</u> ya' padahal
<u>Ya nggak boleh</u>			

8	E3, L33-34	Naryono	kan? <u>ya nggak boleh</u> <i>ok'</i>
8	E6, L69	Kris	oh <u>ya ndak boleh?</u>
Saya tuh			
9	E4, L41-42	Naryono	<u>saya tuh sewaktu waktu</u> #pind:ah'#
9	E5, L53	Joko	<u>saya tuh mau pindah</u> tempat
9	E7	Naryono	<u>saya tuh di sini</u> tuh> <u>cuma sebentar</u>
9	E7	Naryono	<u>saya tuh di sini</u> > <u>cuma sebentar</u> nanti <u>sewaktu waktu</u> <u>saya tuh</u> bisa #pind::ah#
Pindah			
10	E7	Naryono	<u>saya tuh di sini</u> > <u>cuma sebentar</u> nanti <u>sewaktu waktu</u> <u>saya tuh</u> bisa #pind::ah#
10	E7	Sumaryono	>semua orang kan? pakai <u>pindahan</u> >
Semua orang			
11*	E4, L43-44	Sumaryono	kabeh +w:ong+?
11	E4, L46	Sumaryono	<u>semua</u> +orang+
11	E7	Sumaryono	ya <u>semua orang</u>
11	E7	Sumaryono	> <u>semua orang</u> kan? pakai <u>pindahan</u> >
Malu			
12	E7	Naryono	nanti +kalau saya suruh ke sana lagi+ . saya <i>anu?</i> . #malu#
12	E7	Pujianto	warga déwé ra tahu malu
12	E7	Sumaryono	#kita tuh jadi warga yang baik itu# <u>malu?</u>
Njaluk surat			
13*	E4, L38-39	Sumaryono	dia di sini <u>minta surat rt</u> kan? <u>jangan</u> >+dikasih+?>
13	E7	Naryono	njaluk surat #suraté#
13	E7	Sumaryono	wis toh jaluk surat suraté rt #nggak usah <u>dikasih</u> waé'

Of interest too is where neighborhood practices start to be talked about as something done by kita “us or we,” as in Sumaryono’s contribution kayak kit::a . kita ngemis ya’ padahal? “It’s like we, we are begging in fact.” This “we” who speak with one voice is further solidified through one further episode of copy and response at the end of the meeting where Naryono again tells everyone about how Tobing ignores her when passing by, other undesirable behaviors are listed, including: pretending to be wealthy, pretending not to know one’s neighbors in other contexts, and an evaluation of this as being treated like a rotten egg (e.g. being avoided by the antagonist). In short, Tobing continues to be represented as someone who can’t get on with her neighbors nor work together for the good of the neighborhood. This sequence involves Abdurrahman whose query started the sequence in Extract 1 and Suntoro, both of whom offer evaluations and solutions. In so doing, the “we who speak with one voice” includes the majority of participants at the meeting (Abdurrahman, Nurholis, Naryono, Joko, Sumaryono, Kris, Pujianto, Zainudin, and Suntoro).

From Neighborhood Talk to Talking for the Neighborhood

It is now well established that dialogue creates local forms of culture (Mannheim & Tedlock, 1995), which is referred to here as monologism. I provided an example of this process in an understudied participation framework—that of a large meeting of those of different ethnolinguistic backgrounds. In doing so, I explored the tensions between dialogue and monologue at the local and national level. At the national level, I argued that Indonesia's nation-building activities, like any singular nation-building project, inevitably created both heteroglossia and monologism. This monologism can be seen in the state ideology, Pancasila, which among other things encourages unity in diversity, getting on, working together for the common good, leadership through deliberation, and the doing of unity in diversity via an emerging unitary language, Indonesian. In contrast, heteroglossia is a product of the massification of infrastructure which enables social and spatial mobility, thus increasing the diversity of urban areas. I provided one example of this by focusing on a women's meeting that occurred in 1996 in a diverse and transient urban neighborhood of Semarang.

More specifically, I look at how a series of dialogues from this meeting contribute to a form of monologism, in this case an ideology about the behavioral signs that signal good and bad neighborhood. I was especially concerned with these neighbors' replication of others' words, the ways others spoke these words, and the languages they used to do this (namely, Indonesian or Javanese). There were three features of this talk that seem to engender uptake and monologism. First, we see much replication-as-precise-reproduction (Tables 1 and 2). Second we see a combination of poetic replication and complaint. Third, nearly all those present have made responses to the prior talk of just three participants: Naryono, Nurholis, and Sumaryono.

As these multiple dialogues aligned over interactional time to form a monologic neighborhood voice, the process and the product also seemed to have resonance with some

aspects of the state Pancasila ideology. For example, there seemed to be resonance—though not replication-as-precise-copies—of the ideology of *rukun* “getting on”, *gotong-royong* “working together” (in this case for the upkeep of the neighborhood), *musyawarah* “joint decision making” and *mufakat* “unanimous agreement” (in this case the copies and responses). There were also tensions around the ideology of doing unity in diversity via Indonesian, because good neighborhood was modelled as done inter-ethnically in fragments of Indonesian and Javanese rather than just Indonesian. In contrast, bad neighborhood was modelled through reports of an Indonesian-speaking Tobing, which provided further evidence of an inability to get along with neighbors by not using the language of the neighborhood.

Notes

1. I am deeply indebted to Julian Millie and Matt Tomlinson for inviting me to participate in a workshop on monologism and then providing detailed feedback on this chapter, all of which has helped me rethink some of my earlier work (Goebel, 2010a, 2010b). I am also deeply indebted to all the participants in the workshop for engaging with the ideas presented here, though all errors and misrepresentations of their responses are my sole responsibility.
2. These five main principles include: *Ketuhanan yang maha esa* “Belief in a supreme god”, *Kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab* “Just and civilized humanity”, *Persatuan Indonesia* “A united Indonesia”, *Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh hikmat kebijaksanaan dalam permusyawaratan/perwakilan* “Society which is led via wise deliberation”, *Keadilan social bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia* “Social justice for all Indonesians”.
3. Other transcription conventions include:

Orthographic conventions are as similar as possible to the standard Indonesian spelling system (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1993). In the text I use bold for technical terms and to highlight that their subsequent use follows this technical sense. I use the following transcription conventions:

plain font	Indonesian (I).
bold	ngoko Javanese (NJ).
<i>bold italics</i>	forms that can be classified as NJ or I.
<u>single underline</u>	indicates the repetition of words or utterances between adjacency pairs.
<u>double underline</u>	indicates that the word or utterance was repeated in prior talk, although it may not always be in the immediately preceding turn.
. between words	indicates a perceivable silence.
brackets with a number (.4)	length of silence in tenths of a second.
=	no perceivable pause between speaker turns.
[start of overlapping talk.
˘ after a word	final falling intonation.
? after a word	final rising intonation.
+ surrounding an utterance/word	raising of volume.
# surrounding an utterance/word	lowering of volume.
> at the start and end of an utterance	utterance spoken faster than previous one.
< at the start and end of an utterance	utterance spoken slower than previous one.

% signs around talk	stylized nasal type pronunciation.
@ signs around talk	major rise in the volume of an utterance.
: within a word	sound stretch.
Brackets with three ?, i.e. (???)	word that could not be transcribed.
Double quotes in the English gloss	reported talk.

4. *Narik* has undergone a sound change here from its base form *tarik* which occurred on line 13.

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