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Self and other reference in mass-mediated models of kinship, friendship and strangerhood

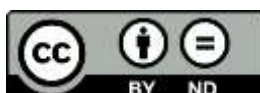
by

Zane Goebel[©]

(The University of Queensland)

z.goebel@uq.edu.au

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Zane Goebel, The University of Queensland

Abstract

This paper explores what a focus on mass mediated models of language and social relations can tell us about self and other reference. In particular, I compare person reference in participant constellations involving family, friends, and strangers. My theoretical impetus is drawn from linguistic anthropological work on imitation, mobility, the market, and nation building. In comparing samples of Indonesian television broadcasts spanning the period 1994 to 2009, I ponder how the models of language and social relations among family and friend relate to what we might call metaphorical person reference in models of contact among strangers. I point out that these models are not only examples of sociolinguistic change but are reflexes of different regimes of language.

Keywords: metaphorical kinship; reference; regimes of language; sociolinguistic change

1. Introduction

Like all disciplines, sociolinguistics has to be constantly reflexive about how its work contributes to regimenting a particular view of how the world works (Goebel, In press-b; Sidnell & Shohet, 2013; Silverstein, 2006), including the extent to which hierarchy is a default for studying and understanding self and other reference. Within cultural studies, for example, Said (1978), alerted us to this phenomena, referring to it as “orientalism”. While acknowledging the absolute essentialness of comparison, not just for academic work, but also for register formation more generally (Agha, 2007; Irvine & Gal, 2000),

this paper starts by examining person reference within mass mediated representations of family units, but with an eye toward how this relates to person reference in mass mediated representations of contact between strangers. My focus on contact takes into consideration relationships between sociolinguistic scholarship on connection, mobility, migration, and the market (Section 2). I draw out five themes from this work:

- 1) That all forms of language in social life are connected.
- 2) The importance of thinking about all forms of language in social life as linked to, produced, valued, and authorized by particular participant constellations within a particular time and place.
- 3) Focusing on language in social life in contact zones can provide us with insights into sociolinguistic change.
- 4) In these contact zones what is normative is uncertain and impacted upon by different regimes. Understanding these regimes helps us understand how and why particular sign configurations become normative.
- 5) Regimes are also impacted upon by markets and vice-a-versa.

I draw upon these five themes to examine person reference in mass-mediated models of language in social life, mainly television broadcasts, between 1994 through until 2009 (Section 4). In doing so, I show how sign configurations that include person reference are imitated across time and space to form new sign configurations that we can refer to as metaphorical kinship and metaphorical friendship (Section 5). Given the multitude of representations of language in social life, the idea that a person spends as much time interacting with family as with other significant others (friends, work colleagues, etc.) and that mobility and contact between strangers is increasingly as much a default as contact among kin and friends, I conclude by aligning with Sidnell and Shohet (2013) to

ponder whether kinship and ideas of hierarchy might be fruitfully complimented with a focus on contact among strangers.

2. Connecting mobility, markets, and regimes of language

My starting point in this paper comes from a now large body of sociolinguistic scholarship on connection and on understanding the connections between language in social life and mobility, the market, and nation building. We can identify five common themes in this work. The first theme draws upon Bakhtin's (1981) insight and linguistic anthropologists' development of these ideas (Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Lempert, 2014; Silverstein & Urban, 1996; Urban, 2001), namely that all forms of language in social life are connected. That is, they have been used somewhere else, sometime else and by someone else.

The second theme is that all forms of language in social life, including hierarchy, are linked to, produced, valued, and authorized by particular participant constellations within a particular time and place (Agha, 2007; Ball, 2018; Blommaert, 2015; Lempert & Perrino, 2007; Rutherford, 2015; Swinehart & Ribeiro, 2019). Agha (2015) refers to the outcome of these processes as a "chronotopic formulation". A chronotopic formulation is essentially a semiotic effect or product of a particular participant constellation in a particular time and space or timespace.

To apply this insight to Javanese, for example, we can recall Bax's (1974) dissertation work that was conducted in the early 1970s. This research tells us that in the village where he worked, the types of asymmetrical patterns of Javanese exchange alluded to in Geertz's (1960) "The Religion of Java" and empirically demonstrated in the work of Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1982), Errington (1986, 1988, 1998b), and Berman (1998) didn't seem to be present. Nancy Smith-Hefner (1983) found similar symmetrical linguistic exchanges in the Tengger highlands of East Java in the mid-1970s, while some two decades later in my in own dissertation research, symmetrical exchanges of Javanese in two urban neighborhoods of

Semarang also appeared to be normative (Goebel, 2000, 2010). Rather than say that some of these scholars must have got it wrong, we can say that these scholars worked with, observed, participated in, and recorded different chronotopic formulations; some, where hierarchy was important and others where parity was important.

To make the above point relevant to the theme of this workshop, person reference, we can take inspiration from Sidnell and Shohet's (2013: 633) observation about the effects of twentieth century anthropology on defining the object of our enquiries. In short, until the 1990s much of the linguistic anthropological scholarship focused on language in social life within family units and within small-scale societies (Bauman & Sherzer, 1979; Kulick, 1992; Ochs, 1988; Schieffelin, 1990; Tedlock, 1978). The exceptions tended to focus on disadvantage and miscommunication (Cazden, John, & Hymes, 1972; Gumperz, 1982; Philips, 1983; Scollon & Scollon, 1981). While the 1990s and beyond saw a widening of research settings to towns and cities (Inoue, 2006; Rampton, 1995, 2006), as Sidnell and Shohet (2013: 633) observe, where person reference is concerned, the study of kinship has helped retain a focus on hierarchy. As highlighted by Enfield (2007), focusing on such participant constellation is useful and indeed necessary for engaging in the types of comparisons carried out when ascertaining whether an instance of person reference exchange is an instance of parity or hierarchy.

It is thus unsurprising that chronotopic formulations of hierarchy have become a default starting point for interpreting communicative activities in other domains of social life. But in line with the broad thrust of work that has examined the effects of mobility on language in social life in towns and cities (Arnaut, Blommaert, Rampton, & Spotti, 2015; Arnaut, Karrebæk, Spotti, & Blommaert, 2016; Goebel, 2010; Heller, Bell, Daveluy, McLaughlin, & Noel, 2015), we need to extend our study of person reference to cities and towns and other settings, as done by Djenar (2008) and Ewing (2016). Indeed, as I argue below, such a focus can provide us with insights into how new sociolinguistic systems emerge; our third theme. More broadly, sociolinguistic scholarship on mobility has shown us how studying contact

among particular participant constellations over time, i.e. observing their “trajectory of socialization” (Wortham, 2005, 2006), can provide us with insights into how new signs emerge, how they are valued and ultimately how they and become a locally recognizable form of communication (Goebel, 2010); that is, how such signs become “enregistered” among a particular participant constellation (Agha, 2007).

In these type of contact settings, what is normative is uncertain and “under construction”, with participants imitating models of language in social life from another time and place. For example, their prior interactions with strangers, or from interactions among strangers that they have observed, heard on the radio, watched on television, or been taught about in school. This brings me to the fourth theme of work on the connections between language in social life and mobility, the market, and nation building; namely how different authorized participation frameworks construct chronotopic formulations that model language in social life. What I mean by participation framework refers to a range of participation constellations ranging from small face-to-face ones to larger one-to-many frameworks, such as those we find in schools, lecture theatres, scholarly gatherings, and the ones produced via mass mediation (e.g. television and radio broadcasts where the “one” is the program and the “many” the audience).

Of note here too, is that such participation frameworks do not occur in a socioeconomic and political vacuum, but occur during what Kroskrity (2000) refers to as a particular regime of language. Such regimes come and go, and Indonesia is no exception. For example, earlier I tried to highlight the time when studies of Javanese were carried out. For the studies carried out in the early 1970s, the engines and infrastructures of and for nation-building, which we know also contribute to the construction of standards and ideologies about what constitutes a standard, were just beginning to be ramped up in Indonesia (Goebel, 2015; Heryanto, 1995; Sneddon, 2003). In a nutshell, this was done courtesy of a development focused government aided by some newly found wealth from petrochemical world markets. Investments in schooling and media infrastructures enabled large participation frameworks. These frameworks

circulated models of language in social life that were inhabited by groups of participants using a medium, or shibboleths of a medium that were discursively framed as “standard Indonesian” and/or a standard version of a regional language, such as Javanese, Sundanese, and Balinese (Bjork, 2005; Goebel, 2015; Kitley, 2000).

The larger, often state-sponsored, participation frameworks helped enregister chronotopic formulations that were recognizable to larger populations; something that Agha (2007) refers to as a “semiotic register”. In the 1980s and 1990s these formulations included the medium of standard Indonesian which were associated with interactions between strangers, interactions in educational settings, the carrying out of governance, public media, public address, and state authority (Errington, 1998a, 2000; Sneddon, 2003). The chronotopic formulations, which included regional languages, unsurprisingly also included co-ethnic interactions, that were often located in the peripheries, whether they be rural areas, the outer islands, or the peripheries of government (Errington, 2001).

Much of the scholarship focusing on the connections between mobility, nation-building and markets highlights that language regimes are not immune to market forces (Heller et al., 2015; Heller & Duchêne, 2012; Pietikäinen, Kelly-Holmes, Jaffe, & Coupland, 2016). This is the fourth theme I wanted to draw out. Since the 1990s market forces have helped usher in a period where regional languages have been revalued and where contact between strangers has been modelled “as being conducted in mediums other than Indonesian” (Goebel, 2008, 2013). Coupled with regime change, and political and fiscal decentralization such models have become ubiquitous on Indonesian television (Goebel, 2015, In press-a).

Recently, a number of colleagues and I have synthesized these five themes proposing that they can usefully be brought to the study of what we refer to as “contact discourse” (Goebel, 2019, In press-a) and “contact registers” (Goebel, Cole, & Manns, In press). In these formulations, “contact” refers to the idea that contact with people and ideas that are not part of our own trajectory of socialization is increasingly the default human condition. In such

settings, norms for language use in general and for reference in particular cannot be presupposed, but are discursively constructed, either in-situ or in a communicative event afterwards; think of narratives and gossip about unexpected events or prescriptive discourses about how someone should have engaged in interaction. Discourse refers to all modes of human communication and the wide range of signs that we find in any communicative event. Contact register simply refers to the emergent semiotic configuration that has become the valued medium of communication among specific participant constellations. It can be valued through commentaries that note that the use of a particular sign or set of signs is appropriate, good, or bad, or as in the case of the mass mediated forms these are valued because they are mass-mediated in the first place.

As a tourist in the area of the study of person reference in general, and person reference in Indonesia in particular, in the rest of this paper I want to add to the study of reference in Indonesia (Djenar, 2008; this workshop; Ewing, 2016 this workshop), by focusing on televised models of person reference or a sub-category of contact discourse that I refer to as “models of contact” (Goebel, 2019). Models of contact refers to how multimodal representations of contact found in authorized one-to-many participation frameworks project normativities around contact in social life. In what follows, I examine person reference as represented in models of contact that I recorded from the mid-1990s through until 2009. In doing so, I interpret them in terms of ideas around the study of emergent sociolinguistic systems, regimes of language, and markets, and how all of this can speak to the theme of parity and hierarchy.

3. Mass mediated models of self/other-reference among family and friends

This section focuses on examples of the modelling of self and other reference among kin and friends. Keeping in mind the question of whether and to what extent asymmetrical relationships and asymmetrical exchanges of self and other reference are the default, here I begin with these examples only because they represent a point of comparison. Of more

importance, is how this enables comparison with the other examples I present throughout the paper. I examine representations of an interaction between husband and wife (excerpt 3.1), brother-sister (excerpt 3.2), university friends (excerpt 3.3), and children living in the same neighborhood (excerpt 3.4).

Excerpt 3.1 is taken from the soap opera *Si Kabayan*, which was broadcast nationally by the commercial broadcaster, SCTV, in February 1996. The episode I focus upon is titled *Bukan Impianku Bag: 1* (It wasn't my dream: Part 1). *Si Kabayan* is based on a Sundanese folk tale and many mass-mediated imitations of this folktale. It is set in a rural Sundanese village, located not too far from Bandung, the provincial capital of West Java. This series typically revolves around Kabayan's romantic relationship with Iteung, the daughter of a wealthy villager who is opposed to this relationship. This fragment of interaction occurs at a home where the father (referred to as Abah) has finished exercising to the astonishment of his wife (referred to as Ambu), and their daughter (referred to as Iteung).

Excerpt 3.1 Modeling other reference within a family in a Sundanese village

Iteung

1	Ah, abah mah suka ada ada aja. Taiso,	Ah, Dad [you] like making up stuff. Taiso,
2	taiso. Apa itu abah . Ya, ambu ya? Kayak	Taiso. What is it Dad . Yeah Mum yeah?
3	orang kesurupan begitu.	[Acting] like someone possessed [by a spirit].

Abah

4	Euh, iteung , kamu mah dasar budak bau	Heh, Iteung , you were just a newborn
5	jaringao, masih bau kencur! Tidak	smelling like the ginger-like herb used to
6	mengalami jaman taiso. Ambu juga bisa	wash you. [You] didn't experience the
7		Japanese era. Mum can do Taiso too, but it

Hill, 2000:123), but later by *SCTV*. I recorded this episode in 1998. It is entitled *Meniti Batas Mimpi* “Walking along the edge of a dream” and it is part of series three. This film is set in Jakarta and like many of the soaps of this era, the need to increase market share engendered a use of many signs of ethnic-ness, in this case Betawi-ness. In this particular interaction occurs after Doel, the central character (and the son of Leila) and Mandra (Lela’s younger brother) have a brief interaction outside their home. After moving inside, Mandra finishes combing his hair, before then interacting with his older sister, Lela (excerpt 3.2).

Excerpt 3.2 Modelling self and other reference between brother and sister

Lela

1	Tumben lu , Dra , gini ari udah rapi mau ke	[I’ve seen] you [do this] for the first time,
2	mané, lu .	Dra , this time of day [you] are already dressed up, where are you going?

Mandra

3	Mpok lupa kali, ya.	Maybe [you] have forgotten Older sister ,
4	Hey hey hey, saya kan mau ngelamar.	yeah? Hey, hey, hey, I want to propose marriage right.

Lela

5	Hah? Mau ngelamar?	What. [You] want to propose marriage?
---	--------------------	---------------------------------------

Mandra

- | | | |
|-------------|--|--|
| 6 | Lah, bener lupa dia, nih. Hari ini saya mau | Gee, she has really forgotten. Today I want |
| 7 | ngelamar si Munaroh yé. Dah dari subuh | to propose to Munoroh yeah. Since the |
| 8 | saya udah dandan, | morning prayers I have been dressed and
ready, |
| 9 | mpok masih gitu juga, udah cepetan | and Older sister [you] are still like that, |
| 10 | dandan. Uдах ngebet, nih. | okay hurry up and get ready, okay quickly |
| Lela | | |
| 11 | Eh, Dra, lu emang kagak ngarti sopan | Heh, Dra, you indeed don't understand |
| 12 | santun ya, Dra yé. | politeness, yeah, Dra right. |

In excerpt 3.2 we see examples of a younger brother, Mandra, referring to someone represented as his older sister, Lela, using *Mpok* (lines 3 and 9), while referring to himself as *saya* (lines 4, 6, and 8). In contrast, we see Lela referring to Mandra either with a shortened form of his first name, *Dra* (lines 1 and 11-12) or *lu* (lines 1-2 and 11). Note that these exchanges are asymmetrical, that the older person is referred to using a kin term, while the younger person can be addressed using first name or a pronoun. The following two examples contrast with the above two because they are mass mediated models of friendship. Like the excerpts above, we see that first names or shortened forms of first names are often used for other reference, with symmetrical exchange modelled in the first excerpt (3.3).

Excerpt 3.3 is taken from a re-mediated feature length film entitled *Di Dadaku Ada Cinta* “In my chest there is love”. The film is set in Jakarta and originally hit the big screen in 1986. It was re-mediated on the television station, RCTI in 1994. It is a familiar story, one of romance that is not sanctioned by parents. In this case because Bob, the central character, is from the lower economic stratum, while Marita is from a super-wealthy family who have already chosen a marriage partner for Marita. Marita and Bob initially met via a chance meeting in Bali where they both enjoyed surfing. Excerpt 3.3 is of one of their early encounters

where Bob and his two male friends by chance meet Marita and her two friends while cruising one of Jakarta's streets. Bob is represented as a university engineering student who works while studying, and who is a little senior to Marita who is a first year university student.

Excerpt 3.3 Modelling self and other reference among university friends

Johan

1 **Marita.**

Marita!

Marita

2 Halo **Bob.**

Hello **Bob.**

Bob

3 Hi.

Hi.

Marita

4 Halo **Johan.**

Hello **Johan.**

Johan

5 Hi.

Hi.

Marita

6 Halo **Trio.**

Hello **Trio.**

Bob

7 Apa kabar **Marita.**

What's news **Marita?**

Marita

8 Baik **Bob.** Oh ya kenalkan ini, teman yang
9 **gué** ceritain tempo hari.

Good **Bob.** Oh yeah, meet [my] friends that
I talked about the other day.

10 Ini Nina. Ini Dina.

This is Nina. This is Dina.

In excerpt 3.3 Marita refers to Bob and his two friends using first names (lines 2, 4, 6, and 8), while Johan and Bob refer to Marita using her first name (lines 1 and 7). Note too that

Marita refers to herself using *gué* “I” when addressing Bob. This contrasts with excerpt 3.2, where *saya* is used to do this work in an interaction between brother and sister, and represents a slot where either first name could be used or another first person pronoun, *aku*. In addition to the participant constellations in which first names or shortened first names can be used to refer to children, younger brothers, or friends in their late teens and early twenties, we find the use of shortened first names among children who live in close proximity, as in excerpt 3.4.

Excerpt 3.4 is from a recording I made in August 2009. This one is of a children’s show, *Citaku* “my dreams”, which is a quasi-documentary aired on Trans7. This is so because it documents the everyday lives of children throughout the Indonesian archipelago. The stories are typically narrated by a child in Indonesian, but once there is an interaction between the narrator and another, their interaction is frequently carried out in a medium stereotypically associated with a regional language. These conversations are either accompanied by subtitles or translated by the narrator. In the case below, this is an emergent variety of Javanese anchored to Semarang, Central Java (lines 1-5). These documentaries provide insights into language in everyday life, while also providing models of self and other reference.

Excerpt 3.4 Reference among childhood friends using shortened first names

Bambang

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

Eko

- | | | |
|---|---------|--------------------------------------|
| 6 | he bang | Hi Bang (shortened form of Bambang). |
|---|---------|--------------------------------------|

Bambang

7 hou

Hi.

Eko

8 rené **ko**

Come here **Ko** (shortened form of name, eko).

Bambang

9 Eh, itu kan eko, teman sekolahku

He, that [person] you know, is Eko my school friend.

Eko

10 lagi opo **kowé**

What are **you** doing at the moment?

Bambang

11 nggambar

Drawing.

Eko

12 nggambar opo

what are [you] drawing?

13

Bambang

14 nggambar opo ki

What am [I] drawing?

Eko

15 **kowé** wis dienteni **eki** bai **wili**, ning

Wili and Eki [are] waiting for **you** at the

16 lapangan

field.

In the above case, we have a model of the use other reference using shortened first names (lines 6, 8 and 9) between those metapragmatically framed as friends. Note too, the use of *kowé* “you” (lines 10 and 15). While I will need to go back to this data to see if there are instances of symmetrical exchanges of first name reference and the second person pronoun, *kowé*, what is represented here is symmetrical exchange of this medium, for example both use *opo* “what”

(lines 10 and 12) when there are other forms that could potentially be used to indicate asymmetrical social relations, such as *nopo* and *menopo*. Note too, the use of the first person pronoun *aku* “I/my” to address an unknown public (lines 1, 3-4, and 9).

Table 3.1 summarizes the data presented so far. I use the following abbreviations: For other reference I use KT = Kin Term; SPP = Second Person Pronoun; FN = First Name; SFN = Shortened First Name; and for self-reference I also use FPP = First Person Pronoun. Note that where a cell has a question mark, this means I currently need to do more research to ascertain reference usage. To sum up, the mass mediated representations discussed thus far not only model reference, but they also produce chronotopic formulations where reference becomes associated with particular exchange patterns, and particular social relationships, and particular sign configurations. Where we have imitations of some of these signs, e.g. kin terms and first person pronouns such as *saya*, and where such imitations are both authorized and found across time and space they begin to form a semiotic register recognizable and thus available for further bouts of imitation.

Table 3.1 *Reference among kin and friends*

	Other reference				Self-reference			
	KT	SPP	FN	SFN	KT	FPP	FN	SFN
Husband to wife	X				X			
Wife to husband	X				X			
Parent to Child		X	X		X			
Child to Parent	X						X	
Younger Brother to Sister	X				X			

Sister to Younger Brother		X		X	X			
University friends			X			X		
Among Children		X?		X	?	?	?	?
Child to an unknown public						X		

In line with the argument made earlier, if such chronotopic formulations are the default, then the instance that we will look at in sections 4 and 5 can be thought of as instances of metaphorical use, which also can be seen as instances of sociolinguistic change in the domain of television. Of import too, is that if we take a temporal view of mass-mediated models, while contextualizing them with information about regimes of language, we see an increased use of terms of self and other reference that are stereotypically associated with regional languages, such as Sundanese and Javanese as in the case of excerpts 3.1, 3.2 and 3.4. In contrast, excerpt 3.3 is a model that was mass mediated before regional languages become a means for increasing market share. This is also an example of sociolinguistic change and register formation where the use of forms stereotypically associated with Indonesian speaking contexts are replaced with those stereotypically associated with the use of forms from regional languages.

4. Mass mediated models of neighborhood

This section focuses on three examples of the modelling of self and other reference among neighbors. All of these excerpts are examples of the pursuit of metaphorical kinship. Excerpt 4.1 represents an asymmetrical exchange from the same episode of the soap *si Kabayan* introduced in relation to excerpt 3.1. In this case, *Kabayan* (Iteung's romantic interest) goes to

Iteung's house to seek permission to go to the city from Iteung and her parents. Here, Kabayan is surprised by the cordial and warm welcome offered by Abah to Kabayan, who in the past strongly disagrees with the relationship between Kabayan (who he sees as a poor lazy villager) and his daughter. In fact, on one occasion Abah had shot Kabayan with a BB gun. Having heard that Kabayan has inherited a multimillion dollar textile factory in the city of Bandung, Abah changes his mind about Kabayan's suitability for his daughter. Excerpt 4.1 is of the talk that occurs after Kabayan is invited inside to eat an evening meal together.

Excerpt 4.1 Modelling self and other reference with a potential son in law

Abah

1 Oh iya. sok **Kabayan**, makan yang banyak, Oh yes. Try [this] **Kabayan**, eat a lot,
 2 sing dapet

Ambu

3 Sok **Kabayan** makan dulu **Kabayan**, Try [this] **Kabayan** eat first **Kabayan**,
 4 silahkan. please go ahead.

Abah

5 **Kamu** mah makannya harus banyak. **You** have to eat a lot.
 6 Soalnya kamu mah pekerja keras. Because **you** work hard.
 7 Yah tidak pernah males–malesan. Ehm.. [You've] never been lazy.
 8 ehm.. **Kabayan**, **Abah** denger katanya Ehm, ehm, Kabayan, **I** hear that
 9 **kamu** mau ke kota? **you** are going to the city.

Kabayan

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 10 | Iya Abah , iya. Tapi saya teh masih | Yes Sir , yes. But I am still confused |
| 11 | bingung Abah. | Sir . |
| 12 | Saya teh haroream ka kota. Males. | I am not inclined to go to the city. Not inclined. |
| 13 | Di kota teh paciweuh Abah . Sibuk. | The city is busy Sir . Busy. |

In excerpt 4.1 we see examples of self and other references. Neither are symmetrical in the sense that they exchange the same types of reference. In the case of Abah, he refers to himself with the kin term *Abah* “Dad” (line 8), while Kabayan refers to himself with the FPP *saya* “I” (lines 10 and 12). For other reference, asymmetrical exchange also occurs with both Ambu and Abah refer to Kabayan using his first name (lines 3 and 8) or using *kamu* “you” (lines 5 and 8). In contrast to the model of kinship presented in excerpt 3.1, here we have a model of metaphorical kinship, where kin-like relationships are modelled through the same type of exchanges found within family relationships.

Mass mediated models of this type of metaphorical kinship can also be found in urban neighborhoods, as in excerpt 4.2. Excerpt 4.2 is taken from the long running comedic soap, *Bajai Bajuri* “Bajuri’s taxi” aired on TransTV in 2004. It is set in a Jakartan neighborhood, and inhabitants are regularly represented as those who speak a language stereotypically associated with ethnic Betawi social types. This episode is titled *Masalah burung dalam sarung* “The problem of the penis in the sarong”. It revolves around a young pre-pubescent Moslem boy, Sahili, who has decided it is time to get circumcised. Excerpt 4.2 is an interaction between Sahili’s mother (Minah) and Oneng, the wife of the main character, Bajuri. Minah is represented as nearly ten years older than Oneng.

Excerpt 4.2 Metaphorical sister-ship among neighbors

Oneng

1 Jadi rencananya si Sahili mau disunatin So when is Sahili's circumcision planned
2 kapan, **Mpok**. **sister?**

Minah

3 Maaf, **Mpok Oneng**, rencananya sih Apologies **sister Oneng**, the plan is for
4 besok. tomorrow.

Oneng

5 He, iyé iyé. Yes, yes, yes.

Minah

6 Maaf **Mpok Oneng**, **Mpok Oneng** kan tau Sorry **Sister Oneng**, **Sister Oneng** knows
7 sendiri, bapaknya Sahili udah gak ada. that Sahili's Dad is deceased.

Oneng

8 iyé. Yes, yes.

Minah

9 Jadi **saya** minta Bang Juri gantiin So **I** ask [that] Bang Juri substitutes
10 bapaknya Sahili, **Mpok Oneng**. Sahili's Dad, **Sister Oneng**.

Oneng

11 Yang bener aja. Masa Bang Juri mau Get real. How could it be that Brother Juri
12 dijadiin bapaknya Sahili. can become Sahili's dad?

Minah

13 Maaf, **Mpok Oneng**. Maksud **saya** bukan Apologies, **Sister Oneng**. What **I** meant
14 begitu. Maaf, **Mpok Oneng** **saya** cuma wasn't that. Apologies **Sister Oneng**. **I** just
15 mau minta tolong, Bang Juri ngurusin want to ask help from Brother Juri to
16 sunatannya Sahili. Maaf **Mpok Oneng**.

organize Sahali's circumcision. Apologies,
Sister Oneng.

Oneng

- 17 Hehehe, **saya** kira, **Mpok Minah** kepengen Laughter pulses, I though, **Older Sister**
18 Bang Juri jadi laki **Mpok Minah**. **Minah** wanted Older Brother Juri to be
Mpok Minah's husband.
19 **Mpok**, ngomong-ngomong disunatinnya **Older Sister**, while we are talking, where
20 mau di mane? Mau di dokter atau di will he be circumcised? At a doctors or
21 bengkong? with a traditional circumciser?

In excerpt 4.2 we see the symmetrical exchange of the same kin term, *mpok*, used to refer to an actual older sister in excerpt 3.2. In this case, however, there are examples of symmetrical kin term exchange (lines 2 and 19), and symmetrical exchange of kin term plus first name (lines 3, 6, 10, 13-14, 16-18). We also see examples of symmetrical exchange of the first person pronoun (lines 9, 13, and 17), which imitates the patterns of exchange from excerpt 3.2. In sum, in this neighborhood setting, the use of this kin terms appears to be modelling a sibling-type relationship, though one of parity, despite age differences. While it thus tropes on models of kinship, this metaphorical use also produces new chronotopic formulations involving a particular type of timespace-bound set of participants and participant social relations. In reconfiguring the indexical potentials of kin terms, for example, the symmetrical exchange of *mpok* also removes the connotation of "older" sister. This is so because while Minah is much older, she still addresses Oneng as *mpok*.

Later on in this same soap opera we get an example of a metaphorical model of sibling relations as Sahili prepares to be taken to the doctor to get circumcised. In this excerpt, Bajuri and his employee and neighbor, Ucup, are trying to convince Sahili not to change his mind and try and get him into the Bajuri's taxi. Sahili's change of mind has come after one of his friends

have warned him (citing the publicly secret case of a neighbor, Ucup), that he has heard that sometimes circumcision ends with one's penis being accidentally shortened.

Excerpt 4.3 Metaphorical sibling-ship among neighbors

Bajuri

1 Eh, mau ke mana loh? Heh, where are [you] going?

Sahili

2 **Ili** bukannya mau kabur **Ili** isn't running away.

Bajuri

5 Eh, **Ili**. Dulu juga **Bang Juri** waktu kecil Hey, **Ili**. In the past, when **Older brother**
6 pengen banget disunat. **Juri** was young [I] really wanted to be
7 Tapi pas waktunye, hehe, circumcised. But when it was time,
8 **Bang Juri** jadi takut. laughter pulse, **Older brother Juri**
9 Ayo, masuk, hehehe, ayo. became afraid. Come on, get in, laughter
pulses, come on!

Sahili

10 **Ili** gak mau disunat **Ili** doesn't want to be circumcised.

Bajuri

11 Jangan takut. Disunat gak sakit, kok. Don't be afraid. Being circumcised really
isn't painful.

Sahili

12 **Ili** gak mau burung **Ili** jadi pendek kayak **Ili** doesn't want **Ili's** penis to become short
13 burung Bang Ucup. like Bang Ucup's penis.

Setting and participation constellation change five times before the following scene where Bajuri, Ucup and Sahili are waiting for the doctor at the hospital.

Bajuri

- 14 Jangan berontak lagi. **Guwa** serahin Don't revolt again. **I'll** put it all in the
15 dokter, entar **guwa** tinggal. hands of the Doctor and **I'll** leave you
[here].

Sahili

- 16 Jangan, **Bang**. Don't **Older brother**.

Bajuri

- 17 Iyé. Yeah [are you sure]?

Sahili

- 18 Iyé, **Bang**. Yes **Older brother**.

In excerpt 4.3 we have an adult (Bajuri) addressing a child (Sahili) using a shortened form of his first name, Ili, (line 5), and the child referring to himself with the same shortened form of his first name (lines 2, 10, 12). We also see Sahili referring to Bajuri with the term Bang “Older brother” (lines 16 and 18), while Bajuri refers to himself initially using Bang Juri (lines 5 and 8) when trying to coax Sahili to go ahead with the circumcision, but then after being upset that Sahili made such a fuss earlier changes stance through both a threat and through his use of terms of self-reference, in this case *guwa* (lines 14-15). Across both interactions we see that *Bang*, the male equivalent kin term for *mpok*, retains the meaning of older, but is metaphorical because Bajuri is not Sahili’s blood brother. In short, this is a mass-mediated model of metaphorical kinship, which also models the situational nature of self and other reference as a way of stance-taking.

Table 4.1 summarizes the data presented so far on the exchange of self and other reference in a number of examples of mass-mediated neighborship. I use the following abbreviations: For other reference I use KT = Kin Term; SPP = Second Person Pronoun; FN =

First Name; SFN = Shortened First Name; and for self-reference I also use FPP = First Person Pronoun.

Table 4.1 *Reference among neighbors*

	Other reference				Self-reference			
	KT	SPP	FN	SFN	KT	FPP	FN	SFN
Adult to potential son-in-law.		X	X		X			
Potential son-in-law to Adult.	X					X		
Adult to Child				X	X	X		
Child to Adult	X							X
Adult to Adult	X					X		

To sum up, the chronotopic formulations that emerge from the mass mediated models examined here are typologically metaphorical (but only if we use the family unit as the default for comparison). As with many of the excerpts from section 3, those presented here also used terms of self and other reference stereotypically associated with regional languages, such as Sundanese and Betawi. However, in the case of the Betawi example, this representation was also produced in a period where ethnic-ness had been revalued and politicized through the political and fiscal decentralization that occurred from 2001 onwards. Indeed, jumping forward a couple of years from 2005 to 2009 evidences the existence of shibboleths of regional languages across almost all television genres. Taken together with the idea that the representations of language in social life here are metaphorical we can say that these examples are both examples of sociolinguistic change, and where there are some common linguistic

forms, examples of register formations. In my last data section, I want to continue with the theme of metaphorical social relations, but in situations of contact among strangers.

5. Mass mediated models of contact among strangers

This section focuses on the use of self and other reference in mass-mediated models of contact among strangers. As with the previous sections, I draw upon a range of television genres broadcast over a period of twenty-five years. Excerpt 5.1 is taken from a mid-morning bulletin that I recorded in 1994. It was broadcast on RCTI and this segment is part of a talk-back show called *Wajah* “face”. In this excerpt, the compare to the bulletin, Dana, introduces the guest (Tantowi) and the person who conducts the interview (Zsa Zsa).

Excerpt 5.1 Symmetrical exchanges of first name among relative strangers

Dana

1	Pemirsa kita jumpai Tantowi Yahya kali	Viewers we meet Tantowi Yahya this time
2	ini sebagai tamu kita dalam Buletin Siang	as our guest during the mid-morning
3	bersama Zsa Zsa Yusharyahya. Selamat	Buletin together with Zsa Zsa
4	Siang.	Yusharyahya. Good morning.

Zsa

5	Selamat siang Dana. Tantowi selamat	Good morning Dana. Tantowi , good
6	siang.	morning.

Tantowi

7	Selamat siang Zsa Zsa .	Good morning Zsa Zsa .
---	--------------------------------	-------------------------------

Of note here is that Zsa Zsa refers to both Dana and Tantowi (line 5) using first names only (in bold), while Tantowi also refers to Zsa Zsa using her first name (line 7). While all appear to be of similar ages, they are strangers and this is in public. This symmetrical exchange

contrasts with the exchange pattern observed in excerpts 3.3 and 3.4, insofar as the guest, Tantowi, is a stranger and the exchange is “in public”. In this case, it seems that there is a recontextualization of a shibboleth of the chronotopic formulation of “interaction among friends who are age mates”, namely first name is okay for referring to another stranger of similar age and in this case occupational status (all work in the television industry). In short, it seems to model the pursuit of metaphorical friendship.

In a televised soap opera that I recorded in 1995, we get a very similar model of contact, although in this excerpt we have to follow the interaction for a few turns before we get to see this same phenomena. This comedic soap opera was broadcast by the commercial semi-educational television station, TPI. The soap is entitled *Noné* (Missy) and the data that I will analyze is drawn from an episode titled *Cipoa* “Con artist”. In the lead up to this scene, Dewi has inherited a house in Bandung, the provincial capital of West Java, and to help with the upkeep she has advertised a room for rent. Excerpt 5.2 represents the interaction between three strangers, Dewi, Ayu, and Susi.

The scene starts with Ayu presenting herself at the front door as a person from Jakarta who wishes to rent the whole house, and initially referring to Dewi as Ibu Dewi. The interaction continues, first through dialogue between Dewi and the ghost of Dewi’s grandmother, and then through an argument between Ayu and Susi about who is entitled to the room. Susi arrived before Ayu and is also represented as hailing from Jakarta in contrast to Dewi who is represented as a Sundanese (by way of her, her grandmother’s, and a tax driver’s use of linguistic fragments stereotypically associated with Sundanese in interactions among themselves). It is in this piece of interaction, and that which follows, that both Ayu and Susi project a wish to recalibrate the social relationship from strangers to friends through the use a shortened form of Dewi’s first name, Wi.

Susi

- 13 **Guwa** dateng duluan. Pantès dong rumah **I** got here first. The house is perfect, so it is
14 kontrakan ini jadi hak **guwé**. Nih, uang **my** right. Here [Dewi], the deposit.
15 persekotnya.

Ayu

- 16 **Kamu** boleh aja dateng duluan. Tapi yang **You** can get here early, but the person who
17 duluan bayar persekot kan **guwé**. Ya kan, paid the deposit first was **me** right? Isn't
18 **Wi?** that right **Wi?**

Nine turns deleted. Essentially an argument ensues between Susi and Ayu and also involved the taxi driver who brought Susi to the house.

Susi

- 19 Kamarnya di mana, **Wi?** Where is my room **Wi?**

One turn deleted as Ayu makes here case to Susi.

Susi

- 20 Adil buat **kamu** belum tentu adil buat **Susi**. What is fair for **you** is not fair for **me**.

Excerpt 5.2 represents a number of instances of person reference, all of which are related to Susi and Ayu wishing to inhabit a friendly type of social relationship in order to secure a room in Dewi's home. First of all, we see that Ayu moves from initially inhabiting a respectful social relationship projected through her reference to Dewi as Mrs. Dewi on line 1, to Dewi as servant of Ayu. The latter is projected not through person reference, but by telling Dewi to do something. As competition for the room heats up between Susi and Ayu, we see Ayu attempting to recalibrate the relationship between her and Dewi by referring to Dewi with the shortened form Wi (line 18). Susi imitates this change in stance on line 19.

Note too that while Ayu and Dewi symmetrically refer to themselves with *saya* "I" (lines 3 and 6-12), self-reference between Ayu and Susi is either *guwa/guwé* (lines 13-14 and 17) or

4 Ngak usah, **Sar**. Pake baju ini aja It's not necessary **Sar**. [I'll] wear this one
[that I'm wearing].

Sarah

5 Aduh ganti dong. Ini kan kotor bekas Oh come on, change. This one is dirty
6 tadi malem. Yah, pakai baju **aku**. Nanti from last night. Yeah, wear **my** clothes.
7 biar bibi yang cuci baju **kamu**, ya. Later Aunty can wash **your** clothes, yeah.
8 Kenapa, sih risih ya, takut panuan. Why, you uncomfortable, afraid of germs.
9 Nggak kok bersih, ya.. ya udah, **kamu** No way, its clean yeah. Yeah, okay **you**
10 pilih ya sendiri. **Aku** mau ke bawah choose. **I** am going down stairs first to get
11 dulu ngasih tau bibi bikin sarapan. aunty to make breakfast.

Interaction with maid deleted. Asymmetrical exchanges of Bi and Non.

Sarah

12 Kok belum ganti baju **Nab**, heuh. Gee [you] haven't yet changed your blouse
Nab, yeah!

Zaenab

13 Ah. iya, nanti deh **Sar** Ah, yes, [I'll do] it later **Sar**.

Zaenab

14 **Sar** **Sar**.

Sarah

15 Heeh. Yes.

Zaenab

16 Maaf ya. **aku**, selalu aja ngerepotin Sorry yeah. **I** am just always imposing on
17 **kamu** **you**.

Sarah

18 Ngerepotin apa sih [You] haven't put me out at all.

Zaenab

- 19 Iya ngerepotin **kamu**. Ngelibatin **kamu** Yeah imposing on **you**, involving **you** in
20 ke masalah pribadi **aku**. **my** own personal problems.

Sarah

- 21 Ngak apa kok. It's no problem at all, really.

Zaenab

- 22 Dan, makasih juga yah, semalem **kamu** And, thanks also for last night when **you**
23 mau dengerin cerita **aku**. listened to **my** story.

In examining this interaction and the lifeworlds of these two people, we can note that while both are age mates, Sarah is from an extremely wealthy family, while Zaenab is from a family of modest means. Despite these clear asymmetries in economic status we find the symmetrical use of terms for other reference, which include: truncated names without any kin term (lines 1, 4, 12, and 14); *kamu* “you” (lines 1, 7, 9, 17, 19, 22), and self-reference, *aku* “I” (lines 1, 6, 10, 16, 20, 23). Of importance here is that while these two young women are acquainted, they are not initially represented as friends in this soap, but rather as two people in competition for the affections of Doel, the main character of this soap. Thus, what we have with this example is a model of metaphorical friendship or more precisely, a model of how to pursue friendship using terms of self and other reference.

Excerpts 5.4 is taken from the soap opera Si Kabayan (see excerpt 3.1). Excerpt 5.4 represents an interaction between one of Kabayan’s friends, Diran, and a stranger who is visibly about ten years older than he. The stranger is driven by a chauffeur to Kabayan’s home where the interaction takes place. The stranger is visibly wealthy (indexed by his dress, his briefcase, and his car, and chauffer) and he is later metapragmatically labelled as someone of educated status (a lawyer).

Excerpt 5.4 Strangers in the village: using Pak and Saya

Diran

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Mau cari siapa pak . Barangkali bisa saya | Who are you looking for Sir ? Maybe I can |
| 2 | bantu. | help. |

Lawyer

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 3 | begini pak, saya datang ke mari, | It is like this Sir, I came here with the |
| 4 | maksudnya mau menemui dan membawa | purpose of meeting and accompanying Mr. |
| 5 | saudara kabayan. Tadi, kata tukang | Kabayan [to ...]. Earlier the stall owner said |
| 6 | warung, rumahnya di sini, katanya . | his [Kabayan's] house is here. |

In this excerpt both symmetrically address each other with the use of *Pak* “Mr.” (lines 1 and 3), while also each referring to themselves with *saya* “I” (lines 2 and 3). This symmetrical address continues throughout this episode despite the large difference in age, education, and income of these two. As a term of address for father or for one’s unrelated seniors, which some note was borrowed from Javanese into Indonesian (Poedjosoedarmo, 1982), *Pak* has a range of possible meanings and uses, as we have seen with the kin term *Abah*. In this case, the model of contact between strangers has produced a chronotopic formulation where neither father or older male is indexed.

In summing up this section, we can say that as with the previous two sections these chronotopic formulations can be viewed as both evidence of sociolinguistic change and or register formation. In the case of the latter, it is a specific type of register, which we can refer to as a contact register because it models the use of sign constellations within contact among strangers.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have examined a wide range of mass mediated models of language in social life, focusing on person reference. While person reference used among family and metaphorical family relations demonstrated a tendency toward asymmetrical exchange of self and other reference, person reference among friends, neighbors, and strangers evidenced a tendency toward symmetrical exchange of self and other reference. Contact among strangers imitated person reference among friends. In line with what we already know about person reference in Indonesia among strangers (Ewing, 2016), we saw that person reference among strangers could be recalibrated according to what participants wanted to achieve (e.g. excerpt 5.2). In addition, and again in line with broader sociolinguistic scholarship that urges us to look at the totality of sign exchanges and at stance-taking (Agha, 2007; Ewing, 2016), we saw that interpretations of representations of person reference required us to look at what was being achieved (e.g. cajoling versus threats in excerpt 4.3).

Where sociolinguistic change is concerned, we pointed out that if the default setting was family and friends, then representations of other participant constellations were not only examples of metaphorical kinship and friendship, but also examples of sociolinguistic change and register formation with the social domain of television. In addition, by taking a twenty-five year view of these representations along with the regimes in which they emerged we got to see why there was an increased use of shibboleths of forms stereotypically associated with regional languages. In ending, I can point out that the ongoing reevaluation of ethnic languages raises a number of interesting points, including what forms of person reference are modelled on Indonesian television now, some ten years after my last recording and how might this relate to contemporary regimes of language in Indonesia?

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