

Address terms, framing and identity in Indonesian youth interaction

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Few, if any, studies have explored the use of address terms by Indonesian youth in naturally-occurring conversations. Yet, address terms are among the most pragmatically salient indices of identity for speakers, hearers and analysts. This paper examines how Javanese youth in Malang, East Java, use address terms to enact interactional stances in Indonesian-language conversations. Results show that the selection of address terms is primarily influenced by Javanese/Indonesian socio-cultural framing norms. Yet, speakers in Malang are also shown to select address terms outside of Javanese/Indonesian socio-cultural norms. These supra-Javanese forms are often selected to accomplish specific discursive goals such as face-threatening acts or to enact stances of solidarity based on religion, identity or intimacy. The results of this study reveal tension between Javanese hierarchical norms and the equality and fluid communication of a youth social identity, known as *gaul*. This paper closes with a discussion of how the selection of address terms outside of Javanese/Indonesian socio-cultural norms may lead to changes in the local sociolinguistic environment.

1. Introduction¹

Address terms are among the most pragmatically salient indices of identity for speakers, hearers and analysts (cf. Errington 1985a; Kiesling 2004, 2009; Woolard 2008; Bucholtz 2009). In fact, it has been posited that address terms may be the best example of sociolinguistic indices (Kiesling 2009). A speaker always has a choice of which address term to use or whether or not to use one at all (Kiesling 2009). In Indonesia, address terms are among the crucial linguistic mediators of social relations (cf. Errington 1998). Yet, in spite of their pragmatic salience and their role in mediating relations, address terms have received comparatively little attention in recent studies of Indonesian. Furthermore, in the Indonesian context, few studies have explored links between address terms and identity.

The current paper aims to redress this lack of research by examining how young Javanese individuals in Malang use address terms to construct identity. Approximately 25 hours of Indonesian conversations were recorded, transcribed and then subsequently analysed using Coupland's (2007) notion of framing. The results of this study are discussed with reference to prior studies of address terms in Javanese cultures (e.g., Kartomihardjo 1981; Wolfowitz 1991) and recent studies of address terms in non-Javanese cultures (e.g., Kiesling 2004, 2009; Bucholtz 2009). This paper is relevant to those interested in colloquial Indonesian, youth languages and stance, style and indexicality.

The paper begins with a discussion of the concept of framing (cf. Goffman 1974) with a focus on Coupland's (2007) reformulation of the topic. Next, earlier studies of address terms in Indonesia are reviewed. Particular attention is paid to studies of address terms

¹ I am forever grateful to innumerable young people and media outlets in Malang, especially those whose

in Javanese contexts. The paper then focuses on the current study of address terms among young people in Malang. After briefly outlining the study's methodology, results are presented and positioned with regard to Coupland's frames. Findings show that Javanese socio-cultural framing is the most relevant factor influencing the selection of address terms by Malang participants. However, this study's participants are also noted selecting a number of other forms to construct and respond to non-Javanese frames.

In any case, a concluding discussion of these results supports assertions that linguistic forms like address terms do not directly index identity (cf. Ochs 1992; Kiesling 2004; 2009; Bucholtz 2009). Rather, speakers select address terms to accomplish discursive stances and these stances, in combination with other stances like choice of clothing (cf. Eckert 2000, 2012), serve to indirectly index identity. This paper closes by positing that address terms make a salient and fruitful focus for understanding the shifting nature of contemporary Javanese identity.

2. Framing

The concept of framing is frequently used for studies of context (Duranti & Goodwin 1992). Goffman (1974) has proposed that frames come to be placed around the actions and utterances of conversation participants when there is a shared definition of situation (Kendon 1992). These frames help conversation participants understand how a speech act should be interpreted. As analytical concepts, frames differ from contexts in that frames are transportable from event to event. This contrasts with contexts which "can be defined as immediately available events which are compatible with one frame of understanding and incompatible with others" (Goffman 1974: 441). Coupland (2007: 112) writes that framing is "crucially involved in determining how particular identities are made relevant or *salient* in discourse"². Coupland (2007) presents three levels of framing as relevant. Firstly, in socio-cultural framing (macro-level social frames), "acts of identity are undertaken by speakers positioning themselves, or others, in relation to a pre-understood social ecology" (Coupland 2007: 113). This social ecology includes identities related to socioeconomic class, gender, sexuality, age or ethnicity (Coupland 2007). Next, in genre framing (meso-level social frames), "generic frames set meaning parameters around talk in relation to what contextual type or genre of talk...is understood by participants to be currently on-going and relevant" (e.g., business talk, informal chat) (Coupland 2007: 113). A generic frame might consolidate identities relevant in the macro-level sphere or alternatively make them irrelevant (Coupland 2007). Genres are frequently sustained by, as well as used to sustain communities of practice (Coupland 2007; cf. Lave & Wenger 1991). Lastly, in interpersonal framing (micro-level social frames), what is of concern is "how participants dynamically structure the very local business of their talk and position themselves relative to each other in their relational histories, short- and long-term" (Coupland 2007: 113). As with generic frames, interpersonal framing is often sustained by, and used to sustain communities of practice.

It is important to note that the same linguistic feature might be used for different purposes within each of these three kinds of frames (Coupland 2007). For example, a feature associated with social class might be styled within the generic frame to index a formal event or within the interpersonal frame to index power. This point will be

² Italics appear in the original.

developed in the current paper's concluding discussion. Leading up to that discussion, frames are used here to discuss selection and/or variation of address terms by young Indonesian speakers in Malang. However, the results of prior studies will be first positioned with regard to framing in order to lay the groundwork for the current work.

3. Address terms and the Javanese Indonesian context

Address terms have been dealt with in passing by a number of works on the Indonesian and Javanese languages (e.g., Kartomihardjo 1981; Poedjosoedarmo 1982; Rafferty 1982; Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo 1982; Wolfowitz 1991; Errington 1998; Ewing 2005; Goebel 2010; Sneddon et al. 2010). Among other things, these works have highlighted the entrance of Javanese address terms into the national Indonesian repertoire (Poedjosoedarmo 1982), discussed links between address terms and Javanese speech levels (Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo 1982) and shown how address terms are part of wider semiotic registers (Goebel 2010). The findings of four studies (Kartomihardjo 1981; Rafferty 1982; Wolfowitz 1991; Errington 1998) are particularly relevant to the current work and these will be the focus of this section. Yet, it is important to first define address terms and to discuss kin terms within the Javanese context.

For the purposes of the current study, address term is used to refer to a form of second person, singular reference which falls outside of core sentence structure (cf. Braun 1988). More specifically, address term will refer to a form of second person, singular reference which is an adjunct, or in other words, an element which is not assigned a semantic role by the predicate (Musgrave 2001). For example, the forms *man*, *Dave* and *dude* are all used as terms of address in the following example (Kiesling 2004: 294):

- (1) 44 Pete: *Fuckin' ay man.*
 45 *Gimme the red Dave. Dude. (1.0)*
 46 Dave: *No.*

The current paper positions address terms as adjuncts to enable a contrast with the argument pronouns and pronoun substitutes (cf. Braun 1988). This is notably different from Djenar (2006), who uses address term to refer to argument 2SG pronouns in an exploration of colloquial Indonesian. Also, notably, there is some overlap between address terms and pronoun substitutes, such as in use of *Her Majesty* as an argument in the example below:

- (2) *Would Her Majesty like her copy of The Herald Sun?*

An exploration of this overlap is beyond the scope of the current study, but could make a useful direction for future studies. Lastly, it should be noted that kin terms are categorised as a subset of address terms here. Yet, speakers also select kin terms to function as pronoun substitutes. This occurs in a manner similar to the use of *Her Majesty* above.

Kin terms have been central to interactional references to addressees in Java (Errington 1998) and they are often used as address terms in the current study. Therefore, before discussing prior studies of address terms in Indonesia, a note should be made about the nature of kin terms in general. Kin terms have traditionally been viewed as lexemes

which “encode genealogical relations” (Agha 2007: 356). Agha (2007) has argued that this view is too narrow for a number of reasons. Most relevant to this chapter, Agha (2007) points out how kin terms are used to index metaphoric kinship. Metaphoric kinship describes “cases where the persons are performatively related to each other through the use of kin terms (sic) are known to be non-kin” (Agha 2007: 263).

As in many other Asian languages, Javanese kin terms are extended beyond blood relations to index metaphoric kinship. This “bring[s] an idiom of siblingship and seniority into a broad range of interactional relations” (Errington 1998: 82). Kin terms, as with Javanese speech styles, served to mediate status and intimacy between people linked in “nets of kinship and clientship” (Anderson 1991, cited in Errington 1998: 7). In contemporary society, Javanese kin terms have been “revalorized in and through Indonesian institutions so as to be appropriate in broader ranges of contexts, and relative to more diffuse understandings of social status” (Errington 1998: 83). For example, the Javanese kin terms *ibu* ‘mother’ and *bapak* ‘father’ are now considered Indonesian terms (Errington 1998).³ They are used by both Javanese and non-Javanese speakers throughout Indonesia to index respect when speaking to older or higher status individuals. Errington (1998: 91) has argued that this is not a levelling of “territorially linked status distinctions”. Rather, it is as a result of shifting patterns of usage. This shift has largely resulted from the influence of a growing Javanese middle class (Errington 1998).

The kin terms most relevant to the current paper are presented below in Figure 1. It should be noted that this is not an exhaustive list of kin terms available to Javanese speakers of Indonesian. There are a number of other kin terms and these will be noted as they become relevant.

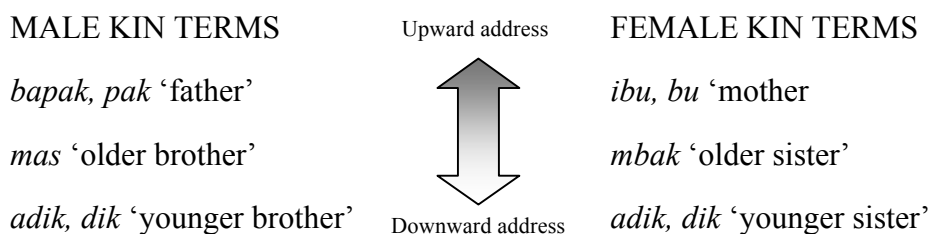


Figure 1 Javanese kin terms and direction of address

It was noted above that *bapak* ‘father’ and *ibu* ‘mother’ are now considered to have entered the Indonesian repertoire. These appear most frequently in their shortened forms, *pak* and *bu* respectively. The kin terms *mas* ‘older brother’ and *mbak* ‘older sister’ were once Javanese forms denoting status (Errington 1998). These are now the preferred terms for indexing respect and/or social distance when addressing young, unmarried men and women of any status (Errington 1998). However, unlike *bapak* ‘father’ and *ibu* ‘mother’, *mas* ‘older brother’ and *mbak* ‘older sister’ have not gained acceptance in the national, Indonesian repertoire (Errington 1998). These forms are considered Javanese

³ Many, including one reviewer, also note the use of the Javanese kin terms *mbak* ‘older sister’ and *mas* ‘older brother’ in more national, Indonesian spheres. However, unlike *ibu* and *bapak*, *mas* and *mbak* index a sense of Javanese-ness in Malang and beyond. This view is supported by Errington (1998) and this author’s observation. That said, the address term system in Indonesia is in flux. It would be unsurprising if *mas* and *mbak* entered the national sphere and/or were in the process of doing so.

Indonesian (Errington 1998), with speakers in other regions of Indonesia using regional/ethnic equivalents. Lastly, the kin term *adik* ‘younger sibling’, more frequently shortened to *dik*, is used to address a younger colleague or inferior of either gender (Kartomihardjo 1981). Like *bapak* and *ibu*, the form *adik* ‘younger sibling’ is considered to have entered the Indonesian repertoire. However, the form *adik* still carries some indexicality of Javanese identity for some speakers in Malang.

In prior studies, a number of factors were shown to influence the selection of address terms. Situation has been noted as the strongest determinant of address term choice in East Java (Kartomihardjo 1981). As outlined above, the current paper will explore situation within the bounds of framing. Therefore, it is useful to discuss previous studies in terms of the three types of framing outlined above: socio-cultural, genre and interpersonal. Firstly, with regard to socio-cultural framing, status and age have been shown to be the primary consideration in address term choice (Kartomihardjo 1981). For example, when interlocutors of differing age and/status meet, they often exchange asymmetrical kin terms. This is explored in the current study. Ethnicity has been noted as a secondary factor influencing the choice of address term (Kartomihardjo 1981; Rafferty 1982). For instance, it has been noted in previous studies (Kartomihardjo 1981; Rafferty 1982) that non-Javanese in East Java were less likely than Javanese to use or receive the kin terms *mas* ‘older brother’ and *mbak* ‘older sister’.

Secondly, with regard to genre framing, address term choice has been linked to the perceived formality of the genre. For example, the very formal *rapat desa* ‘village meetings’ necessitate the use of more respectful address terms than less formal, local neighbourhood meetings (Errington 1998). Lastly, with regard to interpersonal framing, address term choice is related to the interlocutors’ perception of the level of intimacy, “relational histories” (cf. Coupland, 2007: 113) and roles with respect to each other within the frame (Kartomihardjo 1981). For instance, it will be shown in the current study that a higher status or older speaker will often avoid using a downward-oriented kin term when speaking with an intimate ‘inferior’. The speaker will instead use the interlocutor’s name without a title, a behaviour known as *njangkar* in Javanese (cf. Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo 1982). This choice avoids the potential foregrounding of asymmetrical socio-cultural roles which may inhibit a conversation framed in interpersonal terms as intimate.

3. Methodology

Data for the current study was collected in Malang, East Java, which has a population of 780,000 people. It is located approximately 700 kilometres east of the capital city of Jakarta at the eastern end of the island of Java. Malang has been chosen as the research site because it is an urban area in the throes of a linguistic and social change. There is a shift underway from the local, ethnic language Javanese, to the national language Indonesian, as has been noted in other areas of Java (cf. Errington 1998; Kurniasih 2006). In spite of the spread of Indonesian, Malang maintains a decidedly Javanese feel. Approximately 80% of Malang’s population are ethnically Javanese (Rafferty 1982). A majority of the population maintains a local dialect of Javanese as their native or a second language. Furthermore, there is a strong sense of local, Javanese identity among

Malang's inhabitants, especially males.⁴ Thus, the shift to Indonesian is set against the backdrop of the maintenance of local, Javanese identity and this makes Malang an interesting site for a study of shifting address term repertoires. It should be noted that there are vastly different linguistic norms for lower class and middle class Javanese (cf. Goebel 2002; Kurniasih 2006). The current study is focused on the middle class.

A total of 25 participants (13 females/12 males) were invited to participate in this study. For consistency, the following criteria were set for this study's participants:

- 1) They must have lived in East Java for more than half of their lives.
- 2) They must have at least one Javanese parent.
- 3) They must be younger than 30 years old.
- 4) They must either be enrolled in, or graduates of a university.

Participants were given Sony TCM-400DV audio-cassette recorders and instructed to record themselves speaking with intimate interlocutors in informal settings. Cassettes were later transferred into MP3 format. Participants were provided with a log to collect data on conversation interlocutors. In order to minimise the likelihood that language selection would be influenced by the presence of the recorders, participants were instructed to record themselves in multiple interactions. Only the later interactions were transcribed and analysed. In order to minimise the observer's paradox (cf. Labov 1972), I was not present during any of the recordings.

Approximately 25 hours were transcribed and analysed. Four local research assistants and I selected extracts of participants in most cases interacting in two separate speech events each (i.e. different time/place/interlocutors). A minimum of twenty minutes of each of these events was transcribed and analysed. The analysis of the transcriptions focused on: 1) the selection of address terms; and, 2) the goals of the individual speakers in the selection of the address term. This form-driven analysis approach is informed by conversation analysis techniques (cf. Schegloff & Sacks 1973). However, it has been noted that conversation analysis typically requires that an analyst have native speaker intuition regarding forms and functions (Hutchby & Wooffitt 1988). Thus, all analytical findings were cross-checked with the research assistant and when possible discussed with the participants themselves.

4. Findings

4.1 Javanese kin terms and socio-cultural frames in Malang

The current corpus reveals that Javanese kin terms are used to sustain and are sustained by Javanese socio-cultural frames. The most important factor influencing the selection of a kin term in this corpus is an addressee's age and/or status. The upward, symmetrical or downward-oriented selection of a kin term in light of these norms is outlined in Figure 1 above. Kin terms are used most frequently as address terms in the current study by younger/lower status speakers when speaking to an older/higher status addressee. This is seen in the following example:

⁴ This reflects Kurniasih's (2006) findings that men show more concern with the use and maintenance of Javanese. See Manns (2011) for a more thorough discussion of gender and identity in the Malang context.

- (3) 1 Dila: *Acaranya mulai kapan mbak?*
 ‘When does the program start *mbak*?’⁵
- 2 Indra: *Kalo gitu, gelombang kedua ada.*
 ‘As for that, there’s a meeting scheduled on the second.’
- 3 Hana: *Oh, nggak diberi tau mbak.*
 ‘Oh, I wasn’t told *mbak*.’
- 4 Indra: *Ya, sekarang masih ada.*
 ‘Yeah, as of now, it’s still scheduled.’

Indra is older than both Hana and Dila, and Hana and Dila respect this age difference by selecting *mbak* ‘older sister’ as an upward-oriented kin term in line 1 and line 3 respectively. Within a Javanese socio-cultural frame, an older/higher status speaker addressing a younger and/or lower status interlocutor has the following options with regard to address term selection: 1) avoid an address term; 2) use the addressee’s personal name as an address term; or, 3) use a downward-oriented kin term as an address term. Indra does not use an address term with her younger interlocutors in example (3) nor does she throughout the remainder of the text. However, older/higher status speakers frequently use an addressee’s personal name as address term. This is the case in example (4):

- (4) 1 Erni: *Apa lagi mbak ya?*
 ‘What else is there *mbak*?’
- 2 Ida: *Apa lagi Erni?*
 ‘What else Erni?’

Erni is younger and lower in status than Ida. Therefore, as seen in example (3), Erni selects *mbak* as an address term in line 1. Ida, on the other hand, uses Erni’s name as an address term in return in line 2. For older/higher status speakers, the selection of a personal name as an address term is preferred to a downward-oriented kin term when speaking to younger/lower status intimates. This suggests that many speakers put solidarity and intimacy ahead of power in conversations. However, selection of a downward-oriented kin term is not unheard of, even among intimates as is seen in the following example:

- (5) 1 Erni: *Terus nonton kemarin sama siapa dik?*
 ‘Who did you watch it with yesterday *dik*?’
- 2 Fatima: *Anu, nontonnya itu ya mbak satu kosan itu*
 ‘Uhm, as for watching it, *mbak*, in the boarding house’
- 3 *semuanya sudah nonton.*
 ‘everyone’s already seen it.’
- 4 Erni: *Kecuali ANA mbak.*⁶
 ‘Except for me *mbak*.’

⁵ Address terms are left untranslated but explained in text.

⁶ Linguistics forms considered by local speakers to have originated outside of the Javanese/Indonesian repertoire (e.g., English, Arabic, Jakarta Indonesian) are denoted by bolded and capitalized font.

Erni and Fatima are close friends and, consequently, Erni has the option of using Fatima's name as an address term. However, Erni instead selects the kin term *dik* in line 1 for reasons which may be related to the discourse strategies discussed below.

Friends who are similar in age/status may either select kin term symmetrically or personal names as an address term.⁷ The kin terms which are used symmetrically as address terms most frequently in the current study are *mbak* for females and *mas* for males. Kin terms are exchanged as address terms in the following example:

- (6) 1 Andini: *Mas, aku permisi makan ya?*
 ‘*Mas*, I would like to eat please?’
 2 Malik: *Iya, silahkan mbak.*
 ‘Ok, please go ahead *mbak*.’

Andina and Malik are similar in age/status but exchange symmetrical kin terms as address terms here. Andina selects the kin term *mas* ‘older brother’ in line 1 to address Malik, and Malik reciprocates by using the kin term *mbak* ‘older sister’ in line 2 with Andina. The symmetrical use of kin terms as address terms by equals is frequently influenced by politeness concerns as will be addressed below. More commonly, equals will select personal names as address terms as may be seen in this example:

- (7) 1 Jenny: *Aduh aku udah tau lama lagu itu mulai.*
 ‘Oh, I’ve known for long time that he talks like that.’
 2 Henny: *Aku baru tau kemarin, Jen, malu malu in ya.*
 ‘I found out yesterday, Jen, he’s embarrassing, isn’t he?’
 3 Jenny: *Berapa bulan yang lalu **iku seh** pertama.*⁸
 ‘I came across him for the first time a few months ago.’
 4 Henny: *Kamu udah tau nggak Tur?*
 ‘Do you know about it Tur?’
 5 Catur: **Opo?**
 ‘What?’
 6 Jenny: **Lagune Gabby.**
 ‘The way that Gabby talks.’
 7 Catur: *Nggak eroh.*
 ‘It’s aimless.’
 8 Henny: *Ya nggak gaul.*
 ‘Yeah, it’s not *gaul*.’⁹

⁷ It should be noted that similar symmetrical kin terms selection mirrors that of strangers wishing to index social distance. It is beyond the scope of the current study to compare this study’s speaker’s use of symmetrical kin terms to how such forms are used among strangers. I do not have interactions among strangers with which to compare the current corpus. Metalinguistic commentary suggests that those who engage in symmetrical kin term use are generally viewed as being ‘more polite’ than others. This is in part borne out by the discussion of why young people select kin terms below.

⁸ Javanese code-switching is denoted by bolded font.

⁹ *Gaul*, literally ‘social’, is a post-Reform youth identity. *Gaul*’s potential relevance to address term selection is discussed at the conclusion of this paper.

All three interlocutors in this extract are intimate friends who are similar in age and status. Throughout this interaction they exchange personal names as address terms. In line 2, Henny uses a shortened version of Jenny's name as an address term in response to her previous statement regarding Gabby's way of speaking. A few lines later, Henny uses a shortened form of Catur's name to direct a question to her in line 4. The mutual exchange of personal names is the most common address term behaviour observed in the current study. There is overlap here between Javanese socio-cultural and interpersonal frames. The selection of personal names positions a discussion within an interpersonal frame. However, this is accepted behaviour within a Javanese frame as outlined above. Interpersonal frames will be further addressed in the following section.

The selection of an address term is not obligatory and often appears to be influenced by a speaker's discursive goals. Selection of a kin term as an address term is most frequently influenced by concerns for politeness. It shows concern for an addressee's position within the Javanese socio-cultural frame. Furthermore, such kin term use appeals to positive face in that it assures the addressee that the speaker considers himself/herself 'of the same kind' as the addressee (Brown & Levinson 1987) in that the interlocutors are both Javanese. By invoking this sameness, kin terms enable a speaker accomplish face-threatening acts (FTA), such as requests for information (Brown & Levinson 1987). In other words, the speaker is indexing that the act is being accomplished within the bounds of a mutual, shared relationship. This is seen in the following extended extract. The extract begins with the use of the downward-oriented kin term *dik* as an address term to request information, the repeated use of the upward-oriented kin term *mbak* by the recipient of the request in an attempt to stop the questioning and, lastly, the playful use of *dik* to continue the questioning.

- (8) 1 Erni: *Rencana ke depan dik?*
'What are your plans for the future *dik*?'
2 Lita: *Hm?*
'Hm?'
3 Erni: *Rencana ke depan?*
'Your plans for the future?'
4 Lita: *Rencana ke depan? habis ini? habis apa? habis GRADUATE?*
'Plans for the future? After we finish this? After what? After graduation?'
5 Erni: **MERIT?**¹⁰ *Hehe.*
'Marriage? He he.'
6 Fatima: *Hehe.*
'Hehe.'
7 Lita: *Ya itu pasti.*
'Yes, of course.'

¹⁰ *Merit* has been bolded to reflect its English origin. However, its status as a foreign borrowing in the Malang context is less salient than other English forms. Its phonological realization suggests it has been borrowed into the local repertoire. Many, if not most, young people would be aware of *merit*'s English provenance, but it is used as commonly as other variants (e.g., *nikah*).

- 8 Erni: *Sebelum lulus atau sesudah lulus?*
'Before or after you graduate?'
- 9 Fatima: *Sebelum lulus, tunangan dulu.*
'Before graduation, you'll have to get engaged first.'
- 10 Lita: *Nggak tau mbak.*
'I don't know *mbak*.'
- (Erni and Fatima laughter)
- 11 Lita: *Sama siapa, ya?*
'With who, yeah?'
- 12 Fatima: *Sama itu tu.*
'With him, you know who.'
- 13 Erni: ***Sopo?***
'Who?'
- 14 Lita: *Sama orang mbak. Apaan? Yang mana? MERITnya?*
'With someone *mbak*. What is this? From where? Marriage?'
- 15 Fatima: ***MERITnya.***
'The marriage.'
- 16 Lita: *Jangan mbak.*
'Don't *mbak*.'
- 17 Erni: *Lho kalo dik temen-temen dik? Kalo di apa...*
'So, as for you, are there any friends *dik*? So, in where...'
- 18 *Temen di kelas gimana dik? temen ku Lita?*
how about your classmates *dik*? Your friends Lita?'
- 19 Lita: *Menyenangkan.*
'I'm happy enough.'
- 20 Erni: *Menyenangkan dik?*
'You're happy enough *dik*?'
- 21 Fatima: ***TOTEMO TANOSHII***
'This is a lot of fun!'

At the start of the extract, Erni asks Lita about her plans for the future. Erni uses the downward-oriented kin term *dik* in line 1 as an address term in this request for information. Kin terms are often used as address terms by speakers asking direct questions about the opinions or actions of an addressee. When the topic jokingly turns to Lita's marriage plans in line 5, she becomes uncooperative. Lita attempts via three utterances (lines 10, 14 and 16) to stop the questions regarding her marriage plans, but is careful to use *mbak*. This may be understood in terms of politeness theory. Erni has threatened Lita's negative face by continuing with the questioning. Lita is using positive politeness to mitigate the positive face threat of not cooperating with her. Lita begins by giving vague responses (i.e. *nggak tau* 'I don't know' and *sama orang* 'with someone') in an attempt to impede the conversation. When this does not work, Lita goes baldly on record in line 16 and tells her interlocutors not to ask her questions about marriage. However, she redresses the statement with *mbak* so as not to offend her interlocutors

with such a bald request. Erni continues the questioning, playfully using multiple tokens of *dik* in line 17 (both as a pronoun and an address term) to request more information. Participant commentary suggests that the use of a kin term as both a pronoun and an address term within the same utterance is more positively polite than the use of one or the other. However, a full exploration of the interrelationship of pronouns and address terms is beyond the scope of this study. Lita once again attempts to impede the conversation by giving a curt, one line-response in line 19. After one further ‘polite’ question from Erni, Fatima ends this joking exchange with a Japanese phrase, *totemo tanoshii* ‘this is a lot of fun’. Such selection of kin terms as address terms appeals to macro-socio-cultural frames related of Javanese. It indexes that a stance is being enacted within the bounds of fictional Javanese kinship.

In summary, kin terms are often selected as address terms with politeness concerns in mind. In this regard, kin terms are selected in a general sense to assure an addressee that a speaker is of the same kind. The selection of a kin term as an address term indicates an appeal to shared sameness within a Javanese socio-cultural frame. The selection of a kin term as address term enables a speaker to pay respect or deference to an addressee in exchange for a potentially FTA, such as the request for information. In this manner, kin terms are frequently used with questions or requests in the current study. Personal names may be selected as address terms provided the interlocutors are relatively equal in age and status and this is explored further in next section.

4.2 Personal names and interpersonal and genre frames

As with kin terms, the selection of a personal name as an address term is also influenced by concerns of politeness and solidarity. Though the selection of a personal name fits within a Javanese frame, it appeals more strongly to interpersonal frames of individual relationships. Consequently, a speaker selects a personal name to demonstrate to the addressee that the speaker considers himself/herself of the same kind (Brown & Levinson 1987). However, unlike kin terms, the selection of a personal name as an address term implies that this ‘sameness’, or more accurately shared experience, derives from a personal relationship. The use of personal names for politeness was outlined in example (7) above. The selection of a personal name for solidarity is seen in the following example:

- (9)
- | | | |
|---|--------|---|
| 1 | Jenny: | <i>Pacaran berapa tahun sih Hen?</i>
‘How long were they dating Hen?’ |
| 2 | Henny: | <i>Dulu itu kan pacar anak SMA di Medan itu dulu pacarannya.</i>
‘They dated previously in high school in Medan.’ |
| 3 | Jenny: | <i>O::::h.</i>
‘O::::h.’ |
| 4 | Henny: | <i>Itu ketemu di Medan.</i>
‘They met in Medan.’ |
| 5 | Jenny: | <i>Terus ketemu lagi?</i>
‘Then they met again?’ |
| 6 | Henny: | <i>Habis itu putus terus ketemu lagi di situ gitu lho.</i>
‘After they broke up back then, they met again there, like that.’ |
| 7 | Jenny: | <i>Beda setahun ya?</i>
‘After one year, yeah?’ |

- 8 Henny: *Beda setahun he eh, sama-sama tinggi ya.*
‘After one year, yup, maybe like the size of
- 9 *egonya ya mungkin ya Jen ya?*
his ego, yeah Jen, do you think?’
- 10 Jenny: *Iya itu anak ke berapa itu?*
‘Yeah, what born child was he?’
- 11 Henny: *Pertama anaknya, kakakku juga anak pertama.*
‘First-born, my older sister was also the first-born.’
- 12 *Nggak tau kakkaku emang **CHILDISH** banget, Jen,*
I didn’t know my sister was truly this childish, Jen,
- 13 *aku akuin emang.*
I truly confess to you.’

In line 1, Jenny selects a shortened form of Henny’s name as an address term. The use of a personal name here is done in a manner similar to the selection of a kin term. As with kin terms, personal names are frequently used as address terms by speakers who are asking direct questions regarding the opinions or actions of an addressee. Subsequently, in lines 9 and 12, Henny twice selects a shortened form of Jenny’s name as an address term. Henny selects a personal name in both of these instances as an act of solidarity. In the first of these tokens, Henny is positing a strong negative evaluation of a non-present other and is seeking agreement from Jenny. In the second instance, Henny selects Jenny’s name as an address term to highlight the personal nature of Henny’s confession that she had no idea that her older sister could be so childish. The selection of personal names as address terms positions the utterance within an interpersonal frame of the specific relationships. As with kin terms, personal names are often selected to accomplish discursive goals like mitigating FTAs.

The selection of personal names may also be used for generic frames which are informal and intimate in nature. This is the case in example (9) above, which is drawn from a conversation which is framed as a *curhat*, literally, ‘pouring out of one’s heart’. *Curhat* is an informal genre of conversation in which a speaker shares feelings or confidences with an intimate friend (Smith-Hefner 2009). This often entails discussing a troubling personal issue with that friend. During a *curhat*, the confider often uses the addressee’s name to request agreement or reassurance as Henny does in line 9. Conversely, the confidant uses the confider’s personal name to seek further information as Jenny does in line 1. Furthermore, the confidant may use a personal name to offer agreement or reassurance to the confider. Though this is not illustrated in the above example, it occurs at other points in this study’s corpus. Example (9) illustrates how a single linguistic feature may be used to simultaneously position an utterance within an interpersonal frame and a genre frame.

In summary, personal names are often selected as address terms with politeness and solidarity concerns in mind. The selection of personal names as address terms indicates an appeal to shared sameness through interpersonal frames and enables a speaker to appeal to solidarity, to accomplish a potentially FTA or when passing judgement or discussing intimate information. Personal names are also used to frame an informal and intimate genre known as *curhat*. This, in turn, is among the practices young people in Malang use to construct the youth identity *gaul*. The *gaul* identity has been linked to relationships which are more equal and interactionally fluid (Smith-Hefner 2007).

Furthermore, young people wishing to express *gaul* often select language as an agentive projection of the self (Manns 2011) and this is explored in the next section.

4.3 Address Terms, social identities and self-categorisation

In addition to the kin terms and personal names discussed above, intimates may choose innumerable alternative address terms. It has been noted that “the use of certain address terms may give more information about the person of the speaker than about the addressee” (Braun 1988: 24). Among young people in Malang, address terms are often acts of identity (cf. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985) linked to a speaker’s self-categorisation (cf. Haslam 2001; Onorato & Turner 2002; Onorato & Turner 2004; Djenar 2008; Manns 2011) and/or relationships with individuals, communities of practice or social identities. Agentive self-categorisation and the selection of modern address terms may represent a shift in the local linguistic repertoire. In other words, the social identity *gaul*, referred to above, is becoming more relevant in Malang and it may be impacting the style of address terms used locally. This is returned to in the conclusion below.

The selection of address terms in Malang often occurs in relation to social identities. The selection of address terms with regard to social identities resembles in some ways what Kiesling describes as “cool solidarity”. Kiesling (2004: 282) writes that cool solidarity is a “term used mainly in situations in which a speaker takes a stance of solidarity or camaraderie, but crucially in a nonchalant, not-too-enthusiastic manner...”. In the following example, *rek*, short for the Javanese *arek* ‘child’, is selected by a speaker to position an act of cool solidarity within a Javanese socio-cultural frame. However, the selection of *rek* foregrounds a shared sense of Javanese identity outside of the hierarchical Javanese frames discussed above.

- (10) 1 Catur: *Gak kerena dosennya a ada GRANDMA?*
 ‘It’s not because one of the lecturers is your grandma?’
- 2 Kato: *Enggak nggak. Masalah sama. Sekali mungkin cuman,*
 ‘No, no. Same issue. Maybe one time only,
- 3 *waduh, GRANDMA maneh rek, pasti gitu kan?*
 god, grandma, keeps coming up *rek*. That’s the way it is, you know?’
- 4 Catur: *Berapa kali ketemu GRANDMA?*
 ‘How many times have you met your grandmother?’
- 5 Kato: *Sebenarnya itu. Bukan alasan gitu lho Tur.*
 ‘Truly, that’s not the basis for this Tur.’

Catur jokingly suggests that Kato’s transfer to the literature department is related to his grandmother’s position as a lecturer in the department. Kato firstly denies this assertion with the use of *rek* in line 3 as an act of cool solidarity within a Javanese frame. The address term *rek* is often selected in conjunction with intra-sentential code-switches to Javanese. This is the case here with the selection of the Javanese lexical item *maneh* ‘to reiterate’. However, Catur continues to question the motivation for Kato’s transfer, and he rejects her claims more strongly with a shortened form of Catur’s name as an address term in line 5. It was noted above that the selection of a personal name is an act of interpersonal solidarity. Therefore, it is seen here that should an act of cool solidarity

fail when positioned within a socio-cultural frame, a speaker may resort to an act of interpersonal solidarity. In other words, in the latter case, these discursive goals are positioned within an interpersonal frame.

Males in Malang are noted using English *boss* as an address term. The use of *boss* may be linked to stances of cool solidarity which are used to construct frames of masculinity. As with *rek*, the selection of *boss* frequently co-occurs with intra-sentential code-switches to Javanese. For instance, this example shows a speaker selecting *boss* as an address term when inviting a friend to play indoor football.

- (11) 1 Ali: *Acara ke mana?*
 ‘Where are you going?’
- 2 Malik: ***Ono rapat dik.***
 ‘I have a meeting *dik*’.
- 3 Ali: ***Koyok orang penting ae rapat sampeyan iku.***
 ‘It’s like you’re a VIP with that meeting.’
- 4 Malik: *Ya iya.*
 ‘Yeah, of course’.
- 5 Ali: *Gaya toh ancene nanti datang BOSS futsal.*
 ‘Well, when you’re finished acting big, boss, you come play futsal.’

Through much of this speech event, Ali addresses Malik, an older, higher status interlocutor, using the upward-oriented kin term *pak*, and, as is seen in this extract, the upward second person singular pronoun *sampeyan* in line 3. However, in this extract, Ali selects *boss* in line 5 as an address term to convince Malik to join a game of indoor soccer. It is also seen here that the use of *boss* occurs in conjunction with the selection of a number of Javanese lexical items (e.g., *koyok* ‘like’, *ae* ‘just’, *ancene* ‘in fact, in reality’). In terms of framing, should a stance within a Javanese socio-cultural frame fail, a speaker may attempt to reposition the utterance within a socio-cultural frame of masculinity.

The selection of an address term may be an act of cool solidarity which also projects information about a speaker’s self-image. This appears to be the case with the address term *sayang* ‘dear, love’ (frequently shortened to *say*) which is influenced both by concerns for solidarity and the projection of self-identity. The use of *sayang* as an address term is often associated with speakers wishing to project a modern, sophisticated identity. It may be used by males or females to address a female. *Sayang* is selected as an address term in the following example by a speaker who shows a tendency to project a playful, homosexual identity.

- (12) 1 Radin: *Ya, makna dari itu, kita harus beli es doger cepet.*
 ‘Yeah, it seems like we have to buy *es doger*¹¹ quickly!’
- 2 Rani: *Cepetan.*
 ‘Faster!’
- 3 Radin: *Hey, jangan lari sayang, tunggu.*
 ‘Hey, don’t run *sayang*, wait.’

Radin suggests that he and Rani, a female, should buy a frozen dessert quickly before the vendor sells out. Rani runs off to do so and Radin calls after her using *sayang* as an address term in line 3.

A speaker may also select address terms to project an identity not necessarily related to or based on solidarity. In these cases, the selection of an address term is more strongly oriented to self-categorisation than solidarity. For instance, the speaker in the following example uses the English *man* in line 5 in addressing his girlfriend to project a cool, modern identity.

- (13) 1 Tina: *Modelnya salah satunya gue.*
 ‘The one and only model is me.’
- 2 Wasat: ***Sek, sek, panitiane sopo iku?***
 ‘Who is the committee for this?’
- 3 Tina: *Panitianya, ya, saya sendiri.*
 ‘The committee is me.’
- 4 Wasat: *Ah, pantas lek panitiane orang lain.*
 ‘Ah, suffice it to say that if the committee were someone else
- 5 *yang bakal peleh model kayak kowe MAN.*
 they wouldn’t choose a model like you man.’
- 6 Tina: *Kurang ajar.*
 ‘Not cool.’

Wasat is speaking in this extract to his girlfriend who is from Jakarta. However, Wasat is noted selecting *man* with other interlocutors regardless of their ascriptive identities, so this is not a case of solidarity or accommodation. Further, Wasat indicates that he often borrows language from MTV and views himself as a trendsetter for language use in Malang:

- (14) 1 Wasat: *When I saw MTV, they influenced me, the language used, uh,*
 2 *they used, mixing and switching between Indonesian English*
 3 *and it looks cool so I use it to my friends and, mostly, all of my*
 4 *friends using it too.*
- 5 Howard: *Do you think they get it from you or do they get it from MTV?*
- 6 Wasat: *Hehe. They get it from me.*¹²

¹¹ *Es doger* is a cold drink with seaweed, jellies and other ingredients.

¹² Extract appears in the original English.

Lastly, the selection of address terms may be related to specific friendship groups, or communities of practice (CofP). For instance, one CofP in the current study, comprising intimates, is noted using a series of address terms specific to the CofP. Specifically, this CofP is noted using the shared Javanese and Indonesian lexical items *jreng* ‘the sound made by a guitar’, (*go*)*ndol* ‘champion’ and (*ge*)*ndeng* ‘crazy’ as address terms. These CofP-specific address terms appear to be selected to enact stances of cool solidarity with regard to the friendship CofP and thus interpersonal frames. For instance, in the following example, two CofP speakers (i.e., ingroup) gossip about a non-member (i.e. outgroup) student at the university (note the use of *jreng* in line 3).

- (15) 1 Anik: *Pacar Tuek om om banget iku umure lek menurutku.*
 ‘Tuek’s boyfriend is really old, I would say,
 2 *dua lapan dua sembilan.’*
 he’s minimally 28 or 29 years old.’
 3 Putri: *Lho S2 jreng.*
 ‘Wow, like a postgrad *jreng*!’
 4 Anik: *Lho masku.*
 ‘Wow, like my brother.’

Members of this CofP vary their selection of an address term and may choose to appeal to cool solidarity with regard to the CofP or any one of the other frames discussed above. For instance, in the following example, Samson, both a fashion model in Jakarta and a member of this group, first selects *sayang* ‘dear, love’ attached to a name as an address term in line 1 and then selects *gondol* (lit. ‘baldhead’) in line 7.

- (16) 1 Samson: *Nina sayang, pasti ngomongnya gini sayang lagi dimana?*
 ‘Nina *sayang* surely this talk *sayang* where will it get
 you?’
 2 Nina: *Biarkan.*
 ‘Drop it.’
 3 Samson: *Suaranya udah laen suaranya.*
 ‘Her tone has already changed.’
 4 Nina: *Nanti nanti mbak Ika yang ngomong dong nanti nanti,*
 ‘Later, *mbak* Ika will talk [to my boyfriend], you know,
 later
 5 *dia nggak percaya kalo aku yang ngomong.*
 he won’t believe it if I talk to him.’
 6 Aline: *Jangan ah.*
 ‘Don’t be like this.’
 7 Samson: *Dia tu pacarmu gondol, oh kamu seharusnya sebagai*
 ‘He’s your boyfriend dude, oh you should be the kind of
 pacar yang ngomong.
 girlfriend that talks.’

Samson twice selects *sayang* ‘dear, love’ in line 1 to convince Nina that she should not worry about what her boyfriend thinks about her plans to go to karaoke with the CofP. Samson is joking around in both this and the second utterance. However, Samson then selects the intra-CofP *gondol* as an address term in the final utterance as he goes more baldly-on-record (cf. Brown & Levinson 1987) in giving Nina advice about her relationship. Thus, as with examples (10) and (11), we see how speakers who fail to accomplish an utterance in one frame, may reposition the utterance within a new frame in a second attempt to accomplish the same discursive goal.

5. Discussion and conclusion

This paper has shown how young Javanese individuals in Malang most commonly select Javanese kin terms and personal names as address terms. Participants are noted to select these forms to simultaneously construct and respond to Javanese socio-cultural frames and, whenever possible, to position an utterance within an interpersonal frame. This paper has also briefly outlined how personal names may be selected to simultaneously frame an utterance within an interpersonal frame and a genre frame. Lastly, though these arguably occur less frequently, speakers were shown to select address terms to position an utterance within a Javanese frame albeit outside of hierarchical expectations, to enact stances related to masculinity and as an agentive identity projection.

It has been noted in previous studies (Ochs 1992; Kiesling 2004, 2009; Bucholtz 2009), that the selection of linguistic forms like address terms does not directly index identity. This is seen in the current study where address terms are specifically selected to accomplish stances with regard to an interlocutor in Malang and these stances ultimately substantiate identities. For example, Javanese kin terms are often used in Malang to politely accomplish FTAs. It is important to respect an interlocutor’s place within the Javanese socio-cultural sphere (Geertz 1960; Errington 1985b, 1988; Keeler 1987, 2001). Therefore the selection of kin terms which politely respect this hierarchical positioning are among the practices which in fact substantiate Javanese identity. Furthermore, speakers in Malang shift between frames to accomplish goals. For instance, in the previous sections, speakers who failed to accomplish a stance in one frame attempted to accomplish the same stance in new frame.

The role of stance in substantiating identity may also be seen with regard to the social identity *gaul* as noted above. For example, the *curhat* genre is among the practices young Indonesians use to construct *gaul* (Manns 2011; cf. Smith-Hefner 2007, 2009). It has been noted that this *gaul* generation of young Indonesians desires relationships which are more equal and interactionally fluid (Smith-Hefner 2007). The selection of a personal name within *curhat* or for interpersonal framing may index a shift toward the realisation of these desires. While the selection of names between equals falls within the realm of a Javanese frame, future studies of name selection between non-equals may show a shift away from Javanese identity. This suggests studies of address terms make a fruitful direction for studies of shifting identities.

The agentive selection of address terms cited in the previous section supports this notion. *Gaul* has also been linked to the desires of relationships which are “more personally expressive and psychologically individualized” (Smith-Hefner 2007: 184). This occurs in the current study through the selection of modern address terms (e.g., *man*, *sayang*) to index something approaching what Kiesling (2004, 2009) has labelled ‘cool

solidarity'. These address terms are often selected to index playful and, even at times, insulting stances. These playful stances are among the practices that young people in Malang use to respond to, and to construct *gaul*. This is likely due to modern forms' links to the capital city and a playful freedom which has been labelled by Malang youth as *enjoy aja* 'don't worry, just enjoy'. *Enjoy aja* has become a mantra for *gaul* culture in the way that Cutler (2003) argues *keepin' it real* has been a mantra for hip-hop culture.

Smith-Hefner (2007: 186) notes that *gaul* "articulates a rejection of what is viewed as the previous generation's orientation toward patrimonialism, formality, and fixed social hierarchy" (Smith-Hefner 2007: 186). The future may show that *gaul* and its associated mantra of *enjoy aja* will lead to decreased usage of kin terms for stances related to fixed social hierarchies. The asymmetrical (and limited symmetrical) exchange of kin terms in this study suggests Javanese socio-cultural frames are still relevant for young people in Malang. Yet, the use of innumerable modern and CofP address terms suggests the system may be in flux. Future studies may show that changes have taken place within this system. Suffice it to say, a focus on address terms seems to be a fruitful domain for uncovering these changes.

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