Chronotopically conditioned identities: The Chinese Indonesian Context

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Abstract

The thesis examines how ethnic Chinese Indonesian youth negotiate identities in interaction. In doing so, I apply and expand on Blommaert and De Fina's (2016) recent work on chronotopic frame theory to explain young Chinese Indonesian's construction of stance and socially salient identities in interaction. Blommaert and De Fina (2016, p. 5) state that when individuals enter into a speech environment, they are presented with one or more chronotopic frames which emerge in particular timespace conditions, and which include particular social identities and patterns of social behaviour. Research has shown that participants in interaction may choose to respond to these frames by converging towards the expected behaviours encoded in the chronotopic frames or diverging from them. Importantly, there has been little attention paid to the motivations and constraints which influence conversational participants' choices to respond (or not respond) to one or more chronotopic frames for interaction. The current thesis addresses this gap by investigating the relationship between chronotopes, chronotopic frames and identities at different scale levels, beginning with analysis at a relatively macro level and moving to increasingly micro level analysis. The investigation begins by identifying the perception and invocation of chronotopes and chronotopic frames at the ethnic group level and progresses to analysing responses to these chronotopic frames on the social group level and finally, the individual level.

Findings show that an individual's response to one or more co-present chronotopic frames contributes to the enactment of an identity that is particular to the situational context in which it emerged, this is known as a chronotopic identity. The chronotopic identity differs from the individual's perduring personal identity in that it emerges as a result of interaction and may therefore be specific to the circumstances in which it was produced. It is not separate from the individual's perduring personal identity but is rather a component therein which may only become apparent in particular social contexts. The presence of both perduring and chronotopic identities concurs with previous research on identity that shows an individual's identity can be both persistent and interactionally negotiated (Bucholtz, 2010; Djenar, 2007; Drager, 2015; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Onorato & Turner, 2004). An individual may present some or all of the different aspects of their identities through their response (or non-response) to chronotopic frames. Individuals' responses to chronotopic frames are influenced by their perduring sense of identity because, as aforementioned, chronotopic frames encompass speaker and hearer roles and identities. Responses to chronotopic frames can enact various stances which contributes to socially

recognisable identities which may be considered both momentary (in that they are chronotopically conditioned), and perduring (in that they may remain relevant to the interlocutor beyond the immediate context of interaction). The analysis will show that the choice to respond to chronotopic frames and enact particular chronotopic identities is of particular significance in cases where there are multiple overlapping chronotopic frames for interaction.

In the context of Chinese Indonesian youth identity, the study shows that ethnic Chinese youth in Pontianak draw on Chinese and Indonesian languages to simultaneously respond to particular chronotopic frames, construct stances and (re)produce identities. The identities that they construct are affected by the chronotopes invoked by different language varieties. The chronotopic identities that they enact in interaction contribute to one or more aspects of their perduring sense of Chinese and Indonesian identity.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at any university or equivalent institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signature: ……

Print Name: …Jess Birnie-Smith…….

Date: …02/03/18…….

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Any mistakes contained in this thesis are my own.

Chapter 1: Introducing the study

1.0 Overview

This thesis explores how ethnic Chinese Indonesian youth draw on Chinese and Indonesian languages to negotiate identities in interaction. The study examines the application of Blommaert and De Fina's (2016) chronotopic frame theory to the understanding of young Chinese Indonesian's construction of stance and socially salient identities through responses to one or more chronotopic frames in interaction. The current thesis investigates the relationship between chronotopes, chronotopic frames and identities at different scale levels, beginning with analysis at a relatively macro level and moving to increasingly micro level analysis. The investigation begins by identifying the perception and invocation of chronotopes and chronotopic frames at the ethnic group level and progresses to analysing responses to these chronotopic frames on the social group level and finally, the individual level. The findings demonstrate that individuals' responses to chronotopic frames influence and are influenced by their perduring sense of identity.

1.1 Research Questions

This thesis seeks to answer the following three questions:

(1) How do young Chinese Indonesians draw on Chinese and Indonesian languages to respond to chronotopic frames for interaction?

(2) What is the relationship between chronotopic frame response and identity?

(3) What do the answers to (1) and (2) reveal about the applicability of chronotopic frame theory to the understanding of identity work in interaction?

These questions are answered through the analysis of data collected from recorded interactions and interviews with 24 ethnic Chinese girls across two educational institutions in Pontianak, West Kalimantan, Indonesia.

1.2 Chinese in Indonesia

The Chinese community in Indonesia acts as a focal point of the present study. The present section will provide a brief overview of the history of the Chinese community in Indonesia. The synopsis

will spotlight several salient differences between the Chinese community in Pontianak and other Chinese communities in the archipelago. The discussion will serve to introduce the reasons for which Pontianak was chosen as the research site for the current study.

Since their arrival in the archipelago in the late 13th Century, the Chinese have become an increasing source of intrigue and controversy, particularly during the 20th Century (Heidhues, 2003). Handoko (2007, p. 62) states that this is due in no small part to Indonesian society's awareness of the distinction between *pribumi* 'indigenous' and *non-pribumi* 'non-indigenous' citizens, which became prevalent in the 20th Century. Researchers have investigated a number of issues concerning the Chinese Indonesian community such as their political status (Taher, 1997), social and economic involvement (Purdey, 2006; M. G. Tan, 1991), citizenship (Heidhues, 1988; Taher, 1997), assimilation to Indonesian culture and identity (Handoko, 2009; Oetomo, 1987, 1988; M. G. Tan, 2004) as well as discriminatory policies targeting them (Purdey, 2006; M. G. Tan, 1991). The Chinese Indonesian community has been shown to be a heterogeneous, complex community that is socially and linguistically diverse (Handoko, 2007; Suryadinata, 1976, 1978, 2002; Taher, 1997). However, ethnic Chinese groups outside of Java have largely eluded sociolinguistic research, with a few notable exceptions (Erinita, 2001; Shin, 2007).

Studies of Chinese communities in Java have shown that the ethnic Chinese community is heterogeneous, however, researchers who focused on ethnic Chinese youth found more consistent findings (Handoko, 2009; Oetomo, 1987, 1988; Rafferty, 1982; M. G. Tan, 2004). Oetomo (1987, 1988), Handoko (2007) and M. G. Tan (1991, 2004) have shown that the younger generations of ethnic Chinese have become *Indonesianised*. Oetomo (1987, 1988) demonstrated that the language of solidarity and intimacy amongst all generations of ethnic Chinese in Indonesia was local Malay but was shifting to Javanese amongst younger generations. Rafferty (1982, p. 6) similarly asserted that the young ethnic Chinese of Malang used mixed Javanese and Indonesian to communicate with members of their ethnic community. Oetomo (1987) and Rafferty (1982) further explained that, although older generations of ethnic Chinese still used Chinese languages, the younger generations no longer professed Chinese language ability. M. G. Tan (1991, p. 122) made similar assertions that the younger generations of ethnic Chinese in Java had begun to move away from traditional Chinese culture and language of their elders, and only spoke Indonesian or a mixture of local Malay and Indonesian. In a more recent study, Handoko (2007) observed a similar language

shift in her study of four Chinese Indonesian families in Surabaya. She noted that the youngest generation of ethnic Chinese children tended to use colloquial Indonesian in the home and no longer spoke their ancestral languages.

Findings of Oetomo, M. G. Tan and Handoko are all specific to Chinese communities in Java and are shown in the current study as not necessarily transferrable to communities elsewhere in the archipelago. Oetomo (1989, p. 3) acknowledged that communities outside of Java, such as Riau, Belitung, West Kalimantan and East Sumatra, have different linguistic repertoires and standards of Chinese language use. Other researchers, Erinita (2001) and Shin (2007), researched the language choice of ethnic Chinese Indonesians in West Kalimantan. Erinita (2001) and Shin (2007) found that young Chinese Indonesians in Pontianak and Sekadau respectively used Chinese languages as their primary home languages.

Heidhues (2003, p. 11) stated that the Chinese community in West Kalimantan is different from other communities because many of the common assumptions about the Chinese minority as a whole do not apply to this particular community. The original settlement of Chinese in West Kalimantan was driven primarily by the Chinese themselves rather than Dutch colonialists who brought many Chinese to other parts of Indonesia (Heidhues, 2003, p. 12). Additionally, Heidhues (2003, p. 11) claimed that the Chinese of West Kalimantan are not associated with the same economic success as their brethren in Java and other parts of Indonesia, and in fact, many Chinese in the West Kalimantan province are poor (Heidhues, 2003, p. 11)[1]. Significantly, Heidhues also claimed that the Chinese of West Kalimantan have preserved their "Chineseness", both in terms of their culture and their language perhaps to a greater degree than those in Java (Heidhues, 2003, p. 12).

An in-depth discussion of the differences between various ethnic Chinese communities is unfortunately beyond the scope of this thesis, and it will suffice to say that West Kalimantan is the location of an ethnic Chinese community that may be vastly different from its Javanese counterparts.

[1] Heidhues' (2003, p. 11) assertion regarding the economic status of ethnic Chinese in West Kalimantan was not supported by my observations of the ethnic Chinese in Pontianak that were conducted during fieldwork of 2015. It is possible therefore that the economic status of ethnic Chinese has changed over the past 10 years.

Although there are no available statistics on the demography of Pontianak, the 2000 Indonesian census shows that demography of the West Kalimantan region consists of: Malay (34.7%), Dayak (36.7%), Javanese (10.4%), Chinese (9.5%), Madurese (5.5%) and Bugis (3.2%)[2] (Tanasaldy, 2009). The influence of the Chinese in West Kalimantan was, and is still, centralised in the capital city of Pontianak (Heidhues, 2003, p. 18). According to the 2010 Indonesian census, Pontianak has approximately 554,764 inhabitants of various ethnicities. Due to the concentration of the Chinese community in Pontianak city, the proportion of ethnic Chinese inhabitants is estimated at over 10%. The following sections will provide an overview of the methodology and the selection of Pontianak as the site for research.

1.3 Methodology

The current study entailed the implementation of a three-phase methodological framework over seven months in Pontianak, West Kalimantan, Indonesia. The methodology was designed to elicit data on young Chinese individuals' sense of identity and "Chineseness", their linguistic practices as well as the impact of perceptions of chronotopes and chronotopic frames on individual identities and language use. The first phase of the methodology involved participant observation. Following on, the second phase focused on recording interactional data. The third phase of the methodology included two sets of interviews, the second of which incorporated an identification activity. The methodology of the present study is explained in detail in Chapter 3.

Overall, ethnographic methods were applied to research because the study focuses on naturally occurring data on the everyday linguistic practices of the Chinese community in Pontianak (cf. Saville-Troike, 2003). The ethnographic approach of the present study is discussed further depth in Chapter 3 of the thesis.

[2] After the census of 1930, data on ethnicity was no longer collected in surveys and censuses of the Indonesian population. The exception to this is the Indonesian population census of 2000 because President Megawati Sukarnoputri delivered a mandate to the *Badan Pusat Statistik Indonesia* 'Indonesian Bureau of Statistics' to gather information on ethnicity. Suryadinata (2008) explains that the recorded numbers of ethnic Chinese Indonesians are most likely conservative because the census relied on individuals identifying themselves as Chinese. For more information see Suryadinata, L. (2008) *Ethnic Chinese in Contemporary Indonesia*. Singapore: ISEAS Publications.

1.4 Selection of the Research Site

Pontianak was chosen as the site for research in this study for several reasons. First, as previously mentioned, researchers have claimed that the Chinese of this city have preserved their culture and language to a greater extent than those in other communities in Indonesia (Heidhues, 2003). In addition, the relationship between the Chinese and non-Chinese Indonesian communities is considered more harmonious in Pontianak compared to other areas of Indonesia (Heidhues, 2003; Hoon, 2009). In the past, Pontianak was considered a refuge for ethnic Chinese who returned to Pontianak to escape the anti-Chinese violence of May 1998 (Heidhues, 2003, p. 265). The positive relationship between ethnic Chinese and non-Chinese Indonesian communities has continued to flourish since the post-reform era (Hoon, 2008). However, Pontianak is not altogether free from anti-Chinese sentiment, as evidenced by the celebrations of Chinese New Year (*Imlek*) in 2008 that were restrained due to the demands of the United Malay Front Movement (*Gerakan Barisan Melayu Bersatu*) that were enforced by the mayor of Pontianak (Hoon, 2009, p. 99). The Movement claimed that Chinese celebrations including lion and dragon dance performances should not be permitted in Pontianak because they are not a part of Indonesian culture (Hoon, 2009, p. 99).

And so, the city has also been supposedly less damaged by anti-Chinese policies and violent reactions than major cities (cf. Heidhues, 2003). However, some anti-Chinese sentiment still emerges in Pontianak. The question arises as to how all these competing factors in Pontianak's society impact on young ethnic Chinese Indonesian's conceptualisation and expression of their identity through language.

The research on young Chinese Indonesians' language and identity was conducted across two private Christian educational institutions in Pontianak. I selected two educational institutions in Pontianak based on their demographic characteristics. The institutions had to be privately-funded, Christian (Protestant or Catholic) and have a large Chinese student population, aged between 18 and 25. There were 24 students, all females aged 18-26 attending one or both institutions, who were selected for participation in the current study. Further details of the selection of the two institutions and the participant recruitment process are provided in Chapter 3.

1.5 Thesis Structure

Chapter 2 begins with a discussion of monologism, monologic ideology and the Indonesian context. I explain that the influence of monologic ideology has lead to what Sneddon (2003) considers to be a diglossic situation in Indonesia. I outline Sneddon's diglossic model and emphasise that it may apply to a description of the Indonesian linguistic environment on a macro scale but does little to explain how individuals use different languages in actual everyday conversation (Errington, 1986; Ewing, 2005; Goebel, 2010). I argue instead that Blommaert and De Fina's (2016) chronotopic frame theory, emerging from Blommaert's (2007, 2015) earlier work on chronotope and scale, is a more appropriate framework for examining micro-level linguistic practices in everyday communications in Pontianak. In the final section of the chapter, I provide a detailed example of the application of chronotopic frame theory to the analysis of linguistic practices, and how these practices relate to the enactment of stance and identity.

In Chapter 3, I expand on the brief overview of the methodology provided in Section 1.3 by providing a more in-depth explanation of the ethnographic approach to research and the three-phase methodological framework I implemented during the data collection procedure for the current study. The following Chapter 4 presents responses to Interviews 1 and 2 which will inform the interpretation of results in subsequent chapters on language use. The interview chapter establishes participants' beliefs, ideologies and prejudices which impact on how they respond to chronotopic frames in recorded interactions presented in Chapters 5-8. Additionally, the chapter explores participants' perceptions of the chronotopic formulations and resulting chronotopic frames that are invoked by Chinese and Indonesian linguistic tokens. The perceptions of chronotopic frames involved in the use of Chinese and Indonesian languages impacted on participants' classifications of others' ethnicities.

Chapter 5 features an introduction to the Chinese kin term system which is contrasted with the Indonesian kin term system. Following on, I examine the use of Chinese kin terms (henceforth KT) as pronoun substitutes and terms of address by young ethnic Chinese people, even when speaking in Indonesian. Next, I compare the use of KT and pronouns in participants' daily interactions. The chapter shows that individuals use Chinese KT to respond to chronotopic frames for intraethnic communication and difference in seniority by invoking aspects of kin-like relationships with their interlocutors which enacts the speaker's stance of familial solidarity and deference for seniority.

The chapter contrasts the use of KT with the reciprocal use of 2SG pronouns. I show that the speakers use 2SG pronouns to respond to chronotopic frames for intimacy and social sameness and simultaneously enact a stance of informal solidarity. Finally, the use of English institutional titles such as *Mister* and *Miss* is a response to chronotopic frames for institutional talk and formal social distance. The chapter closes with a discussion of the motivations behind the choice to respond to one or more chronotopic frames through the use of these forms of address. I argue that this decision is influenced by the speaker's desire to accomplish one or more discursive goals.

Chapter 6, 7 and 8 explores how and why participants use Chinese and Malay discourse markers in Chinese and Indonesian language interaction. Chapter 6 investigates a Chinese discourse marker with three variants; *he wa/iya wa/si wa*. The chapter demonstrates that ethnic Chinese Indonesian speakers' selection of one variant of the discourse marker over another is motivated by the communicative styles of the groups to which they belong. Additionally, speakers can use discourse markers to reproduce chronotopes of communicative styles of different social groups to respond to larger and smaller chronotopic frames for interaction in their particular communities and the broader Indonesian society. Chapter 7 focuses on the difference in frequency of the use of the Chinese discourse particle *a*. The frequency of the use of *a* is dependent on the presence of the chronotopic frames for intraethnic communication and interethnic communication. Some social groups more frequently interact with interlocutors of the same ethnicity and hence the chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication is more frequently present than in communications within groups of individuals of different ethnicities. Additionally, differential frequencies on the individual level emerged because the choice to respond to one or more co-present chronotopic frames is affected by an individual's perduring sense of identity. Finally, Chapter 8 explores the use of the Malay discourse particle *bah*. I examine three functions of *bah* found in the data and discuss how these functions are informed by the chronotopic frames that emerge in different types of interactions (e.g. explanations, jokes and storytelling). The analysis shows that different groups of individuals exhibited different preferences for the different functions of *bah*. I suggest that the patterns in the use of *bah* are reflective of the characteristics and social identities that are most relevant to each of these groups. The chapter further showed that the use of *bah* on an individual level contributes to the enactment of socially recognisable identities that can feed back into an individual's perduring sense of personal identity. Chapter 8 therefore brings together the findings

of the previous two chapters by showing that the use of discourse markers can be informed by social and personal identities that form part of an individual's perduring sense of identity.

The final chapter of the thesis will consolidate the information provided in previous analysis chapters and attempt to answer the third research question. The concluding chapter positions the study in relation to the theoretical background outlined in the early chapters of the thesis and therefore posits the potential implications of the research for the examination of language and identity. I explain that Blommaert and De Fina's (2016) chronotopic frame theory can be applied and extended to account for shifts in identity production across contexts. I further argue that the construction of identity emerges through responses and non-responses to chronotopic frames, and hence, identity that emerges through interaction can be considered chronotopic identity. Finally, I review the study's limitations and highlight several points of departure for future research.

Chapter 2: Monologism, Diglossia and Chronotopic Frames

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of previous research relating to monologism, diglossia and chronotopic frames, and how these concepts and theoretical frameworks can be applied to an exploration of the language and identity practices of the Chinese Indonesian community in Pontianak. The chapter begins with a brief synopsis of monologism as originally analysed by Bakhtin (1986), followed by an introduction into monologic ideology with reference to the Indonesian context. I note that monologism has traditionally been upheld as the ideological bastion for unified language and identity within the nation state (Goebel, 2015). However, the impact of monologic ideologies is often minimized in the reality of communication in heteroglossic communities (Bakhtin, 1986). I explain that although Indonesian monologic ideology did not have the desired impact of creating a unified Indonesian national identity, monologic ideology continues to have an impact on language ideology and linguistic practices in the archipelago today. It has been suggested that monologic ideology has created a hierarchy of state and regional languages in Indonesia. The hierarchy of languages can be considered a diglossic state at a macro level of analysis (Sneddon, 2003a). However, I explain that Sneddon's diglossic model is not sufficient to account for how different languages are actually used in interaction. I will argue that Blommaert and De Fina's (2016) chronotopic frame theory, emerging from Blommaert's (2007, 2015) earlier work on chronotope and scale, is a more appropriate framework for examining of micro-level linguistic practices in everyday communications in Pontianak. In the final section of the chapter, I provide a detailed example of the application of chronotopic frame theory to the analysis of linguistic practices, and how these practices relate to the enactment of stance and identity.

2.1 Monologism and Monologic Ideology

Monologic ideology presupposes the existence of a singular 'voice' that eclipses all others (Bakhtin, 1981). . The ideology aims to promote a unified interpretation of the meaning of words within this language, which is designed to create a singular perception of the world shared by all people within a group (Bakhtin, 1981). Nation states have applied this ideology to promote the use

of a unitary language in order to bring together diverse peoples to form a singular organism (Goebel, 2015). The power of the monologic entity emerges largely through administrative force, for instance a powerful elite or centralised government of a nation-state can select one variety of language (usually their own language) and uphold it as the model for the unitary language of the state (Bakhtin, 1981; Crowley, 2003). The model is then propagated throughout the state through state-controlled, centralised institutions such as education and mass media (Goebel, 2015). The intended result is that unification is enforced upon a large heterogeneous population via state infrastructure.

However, as Bakhtin (1981) famously noted, the unifying force of monologism is more hypothetical than actual. Actual monologic discourse (i.e. the use of a single variety of language in spoken or written communication) is very rare as most populations throughout the world are, in practice, heteroglossic in that different varieties of the same language (or different voices) co-exist within a community (Bakhtin, 1981). Discourses that emerge in the everyday lives of heteroglossic populations corrode the power of monologic ideology. This is because heteroglossic discourse involves drawing on multiple voices and/or varieties of language. Participant(s) in heteroglossic discourse must negotiate and compromise on the meaning of words in different linguistic varieties, rather than inherently sharing one single interpretation of meaning as per the aim of monologic ideology. Monologic ideology is therefore under constant threat from heteroglossia.

Repeated interaction within the community can provide the platform for the development for new norms of interaction that may threaten or complement monologic ideology (Bakhtin, 1981; Goebel, 2015). These new norms for interaction may not directly impact on monologism if they emerge in areas such as the private sector or the home, which are further removed from the settings in which the monologic ideology is reinforced. The development of two or more sets of norms for communication through two or more different languages can create the conditions for diglossia (Sneddon, 2003a). I will return to a discussion of the impact of monologic ideology on a supposed diglossic situation in Indonesia later in the chapter. In the following section, I explore the development of monologic ideology in Indonesia and the aftermath of a previous' government's attempts to institute monologic language policies in their nation state.

2.2 The Development of Monologism in Indonesia

The development of monologism in Indonesia stretches back to colonial times (Errington, 2001). The selection of Indonesian as the national language was politically and ideologically motivated from the beginning. The Youth Pledge of 1928, organized by young Indonesian nationalists, articulated the desire for unity through 'one motherland, one nation and one language' (Ricklefs, 1981). The installation of a national language was finally made official following the declaration of Indonesian independence in 1945. At the time, Javanese was the most widely spoken language in Indonesia, it was the primary language of politics and economics, and had a rich literary tradition. However, Javanese was not selected as the national language of Indonesia because there were concerns that its selection would favour the Javanese ethnic group and therefore would not aid in creating a unified Indonesian society (Dardjowidjojo, 1998; Sneddon, 2003b). A Malay variety, which later became known as Indonesian language, was instead chosen because it had very few native speakers and was commonly used in travel, commerce as well as Muslim and Christian religious missions. Importantly, this Malay variety was considered easy to learn as it was already codified and commonly used in newspapers, administrative contexts and Christian educational institutions since the Dutch colonial era (Abas, 1987). A large portion of the population had contact with the language variety, even if relatively few of them spoke it as a mother tongue. It was thought that this variety of Malay would bring together the diverse ethnic groups of the newly independent nation of Indonesia, without promoting one ethnic group over all the others (Sneddon, 2003b).

Since the installation of Indonesian as the national language, the period from 1968-1998, under the New Order regime, was undoubtedly the most significant in the promulgation of monologic ideologies in the Indonesian nation (Goebel, 2015). There were two main sources of the spread of monologism in Indonesia at this time. The first was the massive expansion of education and the media, which were the central mechanisms for instituting monologism. The second was the massive spread of transportation and communication across the state which drove and was driven by mass education and mass media (Goebel, 2015, p. 7).

Education rapidly developed in two directions; first there was significant growth in student enrolments, and second, there was the creation of a singular unitary model of education that would be implemented across Indonesia. From 1966 to 1990 there were enormous increases in the number of students enrolled in all levels of primary and secondary education (Bjork, 2005). During this

time, central and regional governments instituted a unitary model of education across Indonesia which included the teaching of English, Indonesian and regional languages (*Bahasa daerah)* in all schools (Dardjowidjojo, 1998). The regional languages were considered symbolic of unitary co-ethnic communication, however, the Indonesian language was venerated as the ultimate vehicle of unity amidst a diverse nation of different ethnic groups (Abas, 1987; Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1993). The New Order's educational model was influenced by its central ideology, of unity in diversity (*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*), ordained in the national ideology of *Pancasila* (Goebel, 2015; Nishimura, 1995). The ideology of 'unity in diversity' was romanticized as a recognition of the differences between Indonesian ethnic groups and a promotion of a singular national identity that would be shared by all Indonesian citizens. The culture and values essential to Indonesian national identity were disseminated through compulsory citizenship classes in all schools. These classes instructed Indonesian students to assimilate to a unified cultural identity and philosophy.

The application of monologic language policies had several notable effects on the linguistic practices of Indonesian citizens. Steinhauer's (1994) examination of the Indonesian censuses conducted from 1971-1990 indicated that there was a steady increase in the knowledge of Indonesian with nearly 100% of urban adolescents and young adults self-identifying as Indonesian speakers. The spread of Indonesian language resulted in what Steinhauer and others have called a diglossic situation in which 'Indonesian language functions as the national, supra-ethnic, official language' and other language varieties are confined to 'unofficial, intraethnic communication and local cultural events' (Steinhauer, 1994, p. 773). The changes to the positioning of Indonesian and other language varieties had varying effects on the language attitudes and linguistic practices of individuals at the local level. In Java, for instance, Kurniasih (2006) and Smith-Hefner (2009) observed a shift towards Indonesian language and away from Javanese language in the everyday interactions of young middle-class Javanese people. Kurniasih (2006, p. 4) explained that the success of the government's monologic language policies that elevated the status of Indonesian language to the national language had a negative impact on the vitality of minority regional languages. She stated that there were falling numbers of younger generations acquiring regional and ethnic languages. Interestingly, she did not attribute the decline in regional language use to the uptake of the national identity as idealised in monologic ideology. She explained instead that the decrease in Javanese language use and the increase in Indonesian language use were related to

the perceived prestige of Indonesian and the consequential lack of prestige of Javanese (Kurniasih, 2006, p. 6). Indonesian monologic ideology and related language policies placed Indonesian at the centre of formal education, employment and economic opportunities. As a result, Kurniasih found that middle class parents (particularly mothers) perceived Indonesian language as more beneficial in advancing their socio-economic position. Javanese, by contrast, was perceived as a regional language that did not serve much purpose in educational settings (Kurniasih, 2006, p. 6). The parents' preference for Indonesian language was transferred to their children, in particular the girls who modelled their mothers' Indonesian speech. Javanese language was more common and more positively viewed in working class families, however, even within these communities, there was still the recognition of Indonesian language as the vehicle to economic advancement (Kurniasih, 2006, p. 18).

As previously mentioned, Javanese was a part of the school curriculum as a *Bahasa Daerah* 'regional language' school subject under the Pancasila policies of *Bhinneka tunggal Ika* 'unity in diversity'. Kurniasih (2006, 2016) noted that, alongside federal government policy, there had been considerable local government efforts to promote Javanese language. However, the 2013 National curriculum proposal suggested the removal of Javanese and other regional languages from the school curriculum. Kurniasih (2016) reported that despite the purported prevalence and prestige of Indonesian language, there was severe public backlash against the removal of regional languages from the curriculum. Groups from various different regions across Indonesia, including Java, demonstrated against the proposed removal of regional languages from the school syllabus (Kurniasih, 2016). The public response suggests that Indonesian monologic ideology, though influential, is still limited in application, and may not be able to erase regional languages or produce the kind of national unity that it proclaims.

Importantly, the Pancasila ideology of unity in diversity was not extended to the Chinese minority at any point in Indonesian history, as it was to other Indonesian ethnic minority languages. The Presidential Instruction No. 14/1967 decreed that all public expression of Chinese culture, belief and tradition were prohibited (Chua, 2004; Handoko, 2009; Suryadinata, 1976). All Chinese-medium schools were closed, and the production of Chinese media was terminated. Ethnic Chinese citizens were likewise discouraged from engaging in Chinese culture and were instead assimilated to an Indonesian-centric culture through the rejection of all elements of Chinese identity. Ethnic

Chinese Indonesians were even encouraged to adopt Indonesian names to replace their Chinese names, and begin using Indonesian names when naming their children (Handoko, 2009, p. 186).

Chinese Indonesian students who originally attended Chinese schools were gradually integrated into Indonesian national schools and were henceforth instructed in Indonesian language. As a result, few ethnic Chinese Indonesian youth schooled after 1975 are literate in Chinese languages (Handoko, 2009). Additionally, there were significant cultural implications for ethnic Chinese who were educated through the New Order's unitary Indonesian cultural frame. This educational model resulted in Chinese youth adopting cultural values, beliefs and identities that were vastly different from those held by previous generations of Chinese in Indonesia (Aguilar, 2001; Handoko, 2009). Moreover, anti-Chinese sentiment escalated greatly under the New Order and reached its peak in May 1998 at which time riots directly targeting ethnic Chinese Indonesians erupted in many of Indonesia's major cities (Purdey, 2006). During the riots, many Chinese businesses were looted and burnt and a number of ethnic Chinese people were raped and killed (Budiman, 2005). The collective trauma of the Suharto era has caused many younger ethnic Chinese Indonesians to become "Indonesianised" (Handoko, 2009, p. 187), and increasingly identify as Indonesians rather than Chinese. During the reformation era (following the fall of Suharto in 1998), sanctions against Chinese language and culture were quickly overthrown, and there was some resurgence of Chinese cultural practices in the public sphere (Hoon, 2009). However, the majority of ethnic Chinese communities had already left Chinese language behind and the youngest generations of ethnic Chinese had little to no contact with their ethnic languages. There were some Chinese communities, located in cities that were removed from the central government forces, that persisted in using Chinese language and exercising Chinese culture, one such example is that of the Chinese community of Pontianak.

The Chinese community in Pontianak has preserved their "Chineseness", both in terms of their culture and their language perhaps to a greater degree than those in more central locations (Heidhues, 2003, p. 12). Heidhues (2003) explained that the unique history of the Chinese migration in West Kalimantan sets the community apart from other Chinese communities in Indonesia. For instance, the original settlement of Chinese in West Kalimantan was driven primarily by the Chinese themselves rather than Dutch colonialists who brought many Chinese to other parts of Indonesia (Heidhues, 2003, p. 12). Additionally, since settlement, the Chinese have

established a long and harmonious relationship with the indigenous Dayak population in the region. Intermarriage between the Chinese and Dayak communities remains common to this day (Heidhues, 2003). The relationship between the Dayak and Chinese communities has been considered a significant factor in mitigating the impact of the New Order's discriminatory policies in the region. In fact, many ethnic Chinese who had moved away from West Kalimantan to pursue work and education in larger, central cities, returned to Pontianak to seek refuge during the peak of anti-Chinese discrimination and violence in May 1998. The particular historical context of early Chinese migration and settlement in Pontianak has facilitated the Chinese community's maintenance of ethnic languages and culture. Chinese languages are used as frequently as Indonesian language in the Chinese community. However, their roles in interaction are quite different, as I will explain in the following sections.

2.3 Forces Affecting Monologism: Heteroglossia and Diglossia

Diglossia and heteroglossia are the primary linguistic forces that mediate the influence of monologic ideology in speech communities. These concepts have been made reference to consistently in research with the particular aim to undermine unitary conceptualisations of language (e.g. Blommaert, 2010; Blommaert & Rampton, 2016; N. Coupland, 2001; J. Milroy & Milroy, 1997). Bakhtin's (1981) conceptualisation of heteroglossia refers to the existence of different voices or viewpoints in a community that are expressed in different styles, dialects and other varieties of language. The linguistic varieties can be found in many forms from literature to everyday communication. Bakhtin adds that one variety of language does not necessarily evoke one voice but may index multiple voices. Likewise, no person only has one single language, but a number of linguistic varieties that they use in different context in their daily lives. Other scholars such as Rampton (2011) have applied this concept more generally to refer to the coexistence of different varieties of the one language. For instance, Rampton (2011) used heteroglossia to describe the existence of various ethnic minority codes used by migrant children in the South Midlands.

Diglossia is a separate concept, originally used by Ferguson (1959) to illustrate the presence of two varieties of the same language that have different roles in a speech community. The two forms of language may arise due to several different factors in language evolution, such as standardisation (Ferguson, 1959, p. 233). The two forms are then differentiated as one high (H)

variety and one low (L) variety of language. The high variety is usually used in more formal settings such as in government and education, whilst the low variety is used in more informal settings such as everyday talk. The high variety is therefore standardised whereas the low variety is usually non-standard. Patterns of general use result in the two varieties having differing levels of prestige; the high variety is more overtly prestigious than the low variety. However, the pattern of usage can be more complex, for instance, in the Arab world, university lectures are given in the high variety, but explanations could be provided in the low variety. Additionally, literature and poetry could be written in either or both varieties (Ferguson, 1959, p. 233).

The concept of diglossia has been applied to a large variety of languages such as Japanese (Lee, 2014), Chinese (Su, 2014), Czech (Bermel, 2014) and sign language (Deuchar, 1984). However, Ferguson's classic diglossic model has nonetheless received considerable criticism from researchers for being too narrow and problematic to apply (Chen, 1997; Hawkins, 1983; Stepkowska, 2012). Firstly, it was noted that Ferguson's diglossic model did not apply to multilingual societies because Ferguson's definition of diglossia only included two varieties of the same language (Fishman, 1967; Sebba, 2011). Fishman (1967) suggested that Ferguson's model was too narrow in scope in that it excluded the possibility that more than two unrelated languages could make up a diglossic state, more on this in a moment. Additionally, the two binary categories of (H) and (L) varieties did not accurately reflect the real-world use of linguistic varieties in diglossic speech communities. The compartmentalisation of language varieties did not often occur as Ferguson predicted. Chen (1997) noted that intermediate varieties of language were sometimes used, or one variety was displaced by another, both phenomena are unaccounted for in Ferguson's model. Ferguson did admit that his model was not meant to encompass all instances of multilingualism and functional differences in language varieties. He also later added that the binary separation of (H) and (L) varieties was not necessarily applicable to all diglossic situations, this point will be revisited in more depth in relation to Sneddon's reformulation of diglossia.

Fishman (1967) amended Ferguson's classic diglossia to extend beyond the description of two varieties of the same language to include contexts where two genetically distant if not entirely unrelated languages occupied the (H) and (L) categories. Fishman's (1967) more comprehensive model was named "extended diglossia". Fishman (1967) argued that the use of two historically distant languages such as Latin and vernacular varieties in medieval Europe that developed into

modern Romance languages, could be considered a diglossic situation. In Fishman's example, one language (Latin) was used for religious, educational, literacy and in other prestigious domains. The other language (the vernacular varieties) were used in informal, usually spoken, domains. Other researchers applied Fishman's extended diglossia to describe the use of two distinct languages in modern speech communities (e.g. Miller, 1975). Miller (1975) explored the use of Khmer language and Vietnamese language by the Khmer minority in South Vietnam. Miller explained that in the 1950s and 1960s, the Khmer minority in Vietnam were subjected to Vietnamese citizenship, schooling and military service policies that were aimed at undermining their cultural identity. The Khmers were forced to study Vietnamese language and were prevented from studying Khmer. These policies effectively undermined the prestige and centrality of Khmer language, leading to diglossia. Khmer thus held the place of the low variety and Vietnamese was considered the high variety. Fishman's extended diglossia addressed some of the issues with Ferguson's model, but also created new problems. Many researchers suggested that Fishman's modifications of diglossia should be rejected because they undermine the original theory by overgeneralising the model (Hawkins, 1983; Hogg, Joyce, & Abrams, 1984). Researchers such as Hawkins (1983) claimed that diglossia must retain a restricted framework so that it can be operationalised effectively. Sneddon's (2003a) modifications of diglossia go some way to refining the extension that Fishman proposed whilst retaining the original definitions of (H) and (L) varieties in Ferguson's classic diglossia. Sneddon's (2003a) modified diglossic model is discussed in relation to the Indonesian linguistic landscape in the following paragraph.

The linguistic situation in Indonesia has been described as both heteroglossic and diglossic (Djenar, 2006; Goebel, 2015; Maier, 1993; Manns, 2011; Sneddon, 2003a). Many researchers have described Indonesian as existing in a heteroglossic state because a large number of linguistic varieties (including youth styles, regional languages/dialects and ethnic languages) co-exist and are used in everyday communication (Djenar, 2006, 2008; Goebel, 2015; Manns, 2012). The classification of Indonesian as diglossic is less common, but perhaps equally possible. Sneddon (2003a) argued that Ferguson's (1959) conceptualisation of diglossia is relevant and applicable to the linguistic situation in Indonesia. He notes that the linguistic situation in Indonesia diverges slightly from Ferguson's diglossic model. Sneddon (2003a, p. 520) states that these differences do not contradict the diglossic model, but rather demonstrate that Ferguson's diglossic model requires additional dimensions. For instance, in Indonesia, there is a clear high (H) variety of language,

represented in standard Indonesian. Sneddon (2003a) examined the linguistic situation of Jakarta and noted that Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian has been attributed to the low (L) variety category, however, he acknowledges that there is no one language that consistently occupies the low (L) variety category across all of Indonesia. Many local and ethnic languages may play the role of the (L) variety, in the case of Pontianak, Chinese languages may take the place of the (L) variety. Sneddon (2003a) explains that the Indonesian context does not conform to Ferguson's notion that diglossia requires only two distinct forms of language. Nonetheless, Ferguson's notion of two oppositional categories of language can be reworked to accommodate the Indonesian context. In Indonesian, the two (H) and (L) varieties should not be considered two completely separate and binary categories that can be applied to language. Instead, the (H) and (L) labels should be considered two extreme ends of a large spectrum upon which language varieties may positioned relative to one another. Sneddon's (2003a) reworking of Ferguson's (1959) theory is supported by Ferguson's later work which acknowledges a possible continuum between (H) and (L) varieties (Ferguson, 1991).

Sneddon (2003a, p. 527) lists further arguments for the classification of Indonesian as a diglossic situation. The use of standard Indonesian (H) and regional/ethnic non-standard (L) varieties conforms to Ferguson's model. The (H) variety is typically used in formal settings such as administration, government and law, and the (L) variety is usually applied to informal settings such as casual conversation in the home. The acquisition of (H) and (L) also fits the diglossic model. The (L) variety is learned first, informally through the home, and the (H) variety is then acquired through formal education in school. The (H) variety is therefore considered more prestigious than the (L) variety, although, the (L) variety may have some covert prestige in local communities. The (H) variety is more extensively described in grammar books, dictionaries and other linguistic resources. The (L) variety remains understudied and is only relatively recently attracting the attention of researchers and grammarians. As a result, the (H) variety is more standardised and codified than the (L) counterparts. The use of the (H) variety can be enforced through monologic ideology due to its characteristics as a high prestige, standardised language. Importantly, the (L) variety can also become more standardised through repeated use, which could lead to the emergence of separate standards for interaction from the monologic (H) variety. Therefore, Indonesian can be regarded as existing in a diglossic state.

Speakers' selection of (H) or (L) varieties is influenced by the context of the interaction (e.g. the identity of the speakers, their physical setting and the purpose of the interaction). The (H) variety would be most commonly selected in formal administrative settings and/or in interactions between socially distanced individuals. The (L) variety is more likely to occur in interactions between intimate friends or family members within their personal lives or the home. The pattern in use of (H) and (L) varieties may produce semantic ascriptions to these languages. The use of the (H) variety in socially-distanced, formal, administrative settings may lead to the conceptualisation of the (H) variety as a representation of the power semantic. By contrast, the use of the (L) variety within informal, intimate, private settings allows the (L) variety to be interpreted as a representation of the solidarity semantic. As previously mentioned, the (H) variety is Indonesian language and the (L) varieties may be Teochew and Khek Chinese languages in the context of the Chinese community in Pontianak.

Sneddon's (2003a) diglossic model appears applicable to the Indonesian linguistic situation on a macro scale. However, the applicability of Sneddon's diglossia to localised communicative contexts is limited. One of the limitations of Sneddon's diglossia is that the (H) and (L) labels may be situationally dependent and may vary according to context. Language varieties other than the strict (H) variety of standard Indonesian may be considered (H) or (L) depending on with which other varieties of language they are compared. For instance, in Java, there are three Javanese registers that individuals use in different speech situations; Ngoko, Madya and Krama (Manns, 2011). These registers, in addition to Indonesian language and various regional dialects, exist on a spectrum of (H) and (L). In the Javanese context, Krama is the clear (H) variety, and Ngoko is the clear (L) variety, whilst Madya exists somewhere in between these points on the spectrum. In the broader Indonesian context, monologic ideology places all language varieties other than standard Indonesian on the (L) side of the spectrum. The question arises as to where then the Javanese registers would be placed on this spectrum. Krama and Madya varieties may be considered (H) and (L) depending on how they are positioned in comparison to other language varieties.

Code-switching between language varieties (and other regional dialects) engenders further issues with the diglossic spectrum. It is not clear as to where codeswitched (H) and (L) varieties fit within the larger diglossic system. For instance, code-switching between Indonesian and Krama could be less (H) than pure Indonesian speech, but more (H) than code-switching between Indonesian and

Ngoko. The highly contextual nature of the (H) and (L) labels does not serve to explain how code-switching functions in conversation. The current research suggests that young Chinese Indonesians' use of Indonesian and Chinese languages does not pattern perfectly with the diglossic categories of (H) and (L) varieties but is rather more complex, as illustrated through the discussion of chronotopes and scale, and chronotopic frames.

2.4 Chronotope and Scale

Blommaert's (2007, 2015) theory on chronotope and scale is an alternative mode of analysing and interpreting the meaning behind language choice/patterning. It has been noted that linguistic practices are "uniquely contextualised, one-time phenomena" (Blommaert, 2007, p. 3). However, their interpretation is based on shared understandings of the meaning imbued in communicative acts. Communicative acts are the products of the particular interactional setting in which they occur, but they are also simultaneously connected to a wider pattern of communicative acts that recur in the same or similar communicative context. Researchers have described this duality of language patterning in terms of two levels of communication: the macro level and the micro level. Researchers have attempted to address the connection between these levels through several theoretical frameworks such as Goffman's (1974) frames, Gumperz' (1982) contextualisation, Bakhtin's (1981, 1986) early notions of intertextualisation and chronotope and Bourdieu's (1990) habitus. These works focus on the notion of jumping from one level to another; from individual to collective, local to translocal or subjective to objective. A consistent problem faced by these researchers was that the 'micro' and 'macro' labels are clearly subjective, there are varying levels of macroscopic and microscopic interaction. For instance, an interaction within a peer group is smaller, hence more microscopic than interactions within the school group, but both are more microscopic than interactions that are relevant to youth as a large general group. Blommaert's (2007) work on the relationship between chronotope and scale helps to navigate the complexity of placing interactions on higher (more macroscopic) or lower (more microscopic) levels. I will elaborate on this point in the section on chronotopic frames and identities. For now, I note that the connection between varying higher and lower levels is indexical and is apparent in the ways in which individual instances of communication can be interpreted as 'framed' understandable communication. The framed communication points to social norms, attitudes, beliefs and expectations that are shared by a community and are a part of the higher level of communication (Blommaert, 2007, p. 4). Individuals achieve this understanding in communication by lifting

unique instances of interaction to the level of shared meaning. This is a two part process of retrieving available meanings and producing new meanings (Blommaert, 2007; Silverstein, 2006).

Blommaert (2007) proposed the term "scale" to capture the movement between levels of communication. Scale is intended as a metaphor for communicative acts that are ranked within a hierarchy. It is a vertical metaphor for interactions that are stratified and power-invested within communicative space. Communications can occur at lower and higher scales. The lower scale of interaction is characterised as the local, subjective, personal and temporary. The higher scale, by contrast, is characterised as translocal, objective, impersonal and timeless, amongst other things. Blommaert (2007, p. 4) stated that jumps between lower and higher scales can involve various different transformations that are listed below:

Table 1: Lower and Higher Scale

Lower Scale	**Higher Scale**
Momentary	Timeless
Local	Translocal
Personal	Impersonal
Contextualised	Decontextualised
Subjective	Objective
Specific	General
Token	Type
Individual	Role/Stereotype
Variation	Uniformity

Blommaert (2007, p. 7) explained that jumps from one scale to another generally require access to the resources that characterise particular scale levels. For instance, a doctor can perform a scale jump by shifting from general vernacular to medical jargon. In this context, the doctor has access to jargon that the average non-specialised person does not. The result is that inequality can be highlighted through a scale jump by a speaker that cannot be followed or performed by the hearer. Therefore, scale theory allows us to perceive sociolinguistic phenomena as non-unified to reflect the stratified, non-unified image of social structure. Blommaert (2007, p. 6) provides the following example of a scale jump. The interaction occurs between a student (S) and their tutor (T):

S: I'll start my dissertation with a chapter reporting on my fieldwork

T: We start our dissertations with a literature review chapter here.

The tutor performs the scale jump in this interaction by moving from the lower locally situated scale to the higher translocal, general scale. He/she is invoking principles that are valid beyond the immediate context, which Blommaert (2007, p. 6) refers to as *normative validity*. The tutor performs the scale jump by shifting from the personal, constructed through "I" and "my" in the student's utterance, to the impersonal, articulated through the tutor's use of "we" and "our". The tutor is referencing a wider academic context that extends beyond the student and the tutor. The student's utterance is centred on his/her own personal work, whereas the tutor's utterance is focused at a higher scale of the educational institution to which they both belong. The tutor's vertical scale movement invokes institutional norms which prevail over the student's personal plan for their work. The tutor references their institutional role to call in a higher level of truth, relevance and validity to quash the student's plan. The student's individual project is measured against other projects of the same type. The student's individual case is removed from the particular token, contextualised space to a more general, decontextualized-type of space. Blommaert's example here demonstrates that simple linguistic acts such as selection of pronouns can initiate scale shifts which redefine interaction in numerous ways. For instance, the speaker could shift their role, thereby altering the relationship between the interlocutors or the scope of the topic could be altered or even changed completely. These changes in the interaction are described as vertical shifts within a stratified social meaning system which enable and mobilize the forms of indexical reordering of a statement to produce new meaning through new indexical orders.

Blommaert (2007) notes that scale is not intended as a replacement for horizontal measures of language variation. Scale is instead intended to complement the horizontal measures of variation, known as chronotopes (Blommaert, 2015). Blommaert (2015, p. 110) built on Bakhtin's (1981) notion of sociolinguistic variation that can be measured across a horizontal axis (e.g. regional dialectal differences) and a vertical axis (e.g. differences in register). Blommaert (2015) described these two axes in terms of chronotope and scale. Importantly, chronotope and scale should not be viewed as exclusively horizontal or vertical measurements respectively, but rather closely interrelated and even overlapping measurements of language use and variation. I will return to this point in a moment. Blommaert defined chronotopes as "invokable chunks of history that organize

the indexical order of discourse; scale, in turn, can be seen as the scope of communicability of such invocations" (Blommaert, 2015, p. 105). Blommaert conflates the notions of time and space with history, therefore chronotopes can be considered references to particular periods of history (i.e. moments in time and space). Chronotopes, like scale, presuppose the non-uniformity of historical timespace in relation to human consciousness and agency (Blommaert, 2015, p. 110).

Historical periods can vary in length from long stretches of time in which large changes in the environment can be observed, to momentary instances that occur as small everyday events (Blommaert, 2015). Different lengths of historical periods coincide with different levels of human consciousness and agency. Individuals are seldom acutely aware of the longer historical periods in which slow changes occur (e.g. climate change). However, people are usually very attentive to everyday events which directly impact on their lives (e.g. loss of employment). Similarly, individuals have little agency over changes which occur over long periods of history but have considerably more agency over their everyday historical context. Individuals can easily take small actions to influence their personal lives, but numerous individuals' continued action over a large period of time is required to influence global phenomena. Blommaert (2015) extended on Braudel's (1969) theory that different scopes of history corresponded to different scales of interaction. Both Blommaert (2015) and Braudel (1969) argued that chronotopes of larger periods of history correspond to a higher scale than those of smaller periods of history. They argue this because chronotopes of larger periods of history index processes or changes that correspond to higher scale transformations such as subjective to objective, specific to general and token to type. Higher scale features are generally above the level of human consciousness and agency. The large historical processes extend beyond the here and now of daily life and emerge as overarching trends in climate, environment, ideology or politics.

Blommaert's (2015, p. 111) discussion illustrates that chronotopes of historical periods can index historical processes that involve particular scales of interaction. Chronotopes and scale therefore work together to connect instances of communication to wider sociocultural factors such as ideology, religious beliefs and language policies. In this sense, chronotopes of particular periods of history include particular scale levels. The scale levels are not a separate component to the chronotope but are constituents of the chronotope itself (cf. Lempert & Perrino, 2007a, 2007b).

Several researchers have applied chronotope theory to the study of linguistic practices, identity construction and storytelling, among other subjects. For instance, Perrino (2007, 2011) examined the juxtaposition of temporalisaton effects that were established through the invocation of chronotopes that were tied to both the spatiotemporal universe of the story and the here and now storytelling event to form a chronotopic frame of the Senegalese oral narrative. Koven (2013) explored how Luso-descendents use French and Portugese language features to invoke chronotopes of two oppositional character types, the French, modern anti-racist and the Portugese, 'unmodern' racist, in 'race talk'. Finally, Woolard discussed the conceptualisation of Catalan identity through the invocation of chronotopes that are tied to different socio-historical perspectives on the role of Catalan language and ethnolinguistic solidarity. These studies demonstrate the utility of chronotopes in examining a wide range of linguistic, cultural and identity-based phenomena. Additionally, these studies show that chronotopes can be used to study language use at different scale levels.

Blommaert (2007, p.11) discusses how chronotope and scale can be applied to the use and distribution of languages. Languages and language varieties are distributed along both horizontal and vertical axes. The horizontal distribution of languages such as those observed in sociolinguistic research rarely match up to the vertical distribution of languages enacted by governing bodies such as the State, through language policy (Blommaert, 2007, p. 11). The State operates at the highest scale level and uses language policy to support one form of language and downgrade or exclude varieties of language that, if analysed horizontally, would appear as core elements of a linguistic environment. State language policy defines horizontally distributed languages as low-scale languages (also known as local or regional varieties). These languages are relegated to a reduced communicative context of the neighbourhood and the home. The State-sanctioned language, by contrast, undergoes elevation through standardisation, codification and subsequent proliferation to the masses. State language policies can therefore be seen as a type of upscaling which simultaneously upgrades one language to the standard, normative language, and downgrades all other languages to local vernacular varieties or dialects.

Indonesian monologic ideology was used by the State to initiate the upscaling of what is now considered standard Indonesian language, and the downscaling of all other languages and varieties used in regions of Indonesia. Blommaert (2015, p. 12) stated that the result of upscaling a language

is that the variety becomes emblematic of entitlement and enfranchisement. They can be used to construct roles of power that are valid across a range of contexts. Blommaert's observations are also true of the role of standard Indonesian in Indonesia. However, as mentioned previously, standard Indonesian also evokes the values of monologic ideology that are unification and solidarity among all people of Indonesia. These indexes of standard Indonesian language are invoked every time a chronotope of Indonesian language is deployed. The chronotope places interactions at a higher scale level than those which might occur in low scale varieties such as Teochew or Khek Chinese.

The discussion of Blommaert's theory has highlighted how chronotope and scale concurrently influence the structure of talk by invoking moments in timespace and positioning talk on different interactional levels. This means that chronotopes do not just impact on the interpretation of talk, but they establish the framework for ongoing talk. Individuals engaged in talk can perceive and respond to the resulting frames of communication through their linguistic practices. Responses (and non-responses) to various co-present chronotopic frames in interaction can enact the individual's stance which calibrates the identity or role they play in discourse. The next section will outline the theoretical perspective of stance and identity adopted in the current study. The process by which chronotopes frame interaction and influence linguistic practices, and by extension stance and identity, is discussed in the following section on chronotopic frames.

2.5 Identity, Stance and Chronotopic Frames

This section outlines the conceptualisation of identity and stance adopted in the current study. The later components of this section summarise how chronotopic frames can be used to account for identity and stance construction in discourse.

2.5.1 Social and Personal Identity

This study adopts a social psychological approach to conceptualising identity. Social psychology is concentrated on the impact of a variety of contextual factors of an individual's environment, on their thoughts, feelings and behaviours (Mead, 1967). A social psychological approach is required in the current study because the analysis investigates the impact of situational variables such as the interlocutors, their thoughts and beliefs as well as the physical setting of social interactions, on the ways in which individual's present their identity.

The study employs self-categorisation theory to conceptualise identity. Self-categorisation theory (Haslam, 2004; Onorato & Turner, 2004; Turner, Hogg, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) conceives the self as part of a social group, instead of an autonomous entity. Thus, the theory involves a social psychological approach to the study of relationships between the self and society.

According to self-categorisation theory, an individual's identity is not stable and unchanging, instead it is fluid and context dependent (Onorato & Turner, 2004, p. 260). Furthermore, identity is not a set of fixed mental structures but a concept which encompasses both personal and social identities which exist interdependently (Haslam, 2004; Onorato & Turner, 2004). Identities are considered representations of the self that take the form of self-categorisations. Self-categorisations involve an individual grouping themselves together with certain people who the individual views as being more similar to themselves than other groups of people (Onorato & Turner, 2004, p. 259). Social identity is therefore an assertion of "us" (our group) as opposed to "them" (other groups) (Djenar, 2007, p. 27).

Groups can be defined according to a variety of different contexts. For example, in the context of nationality, an individual could classify themselves as Australian, but in the context of ethnicity, they may categorise themselves as White. Differences between the self and other members of the same group give rise to an individual's personal identity (Haslam, 2004; Onorato & Turner, 2004; Spears, 2001).

An individual's social and personal identities can be both perduring and interactionally negotiated. An individual may consistently categorise themselves as a member of the White Australian social group and may continuously perceive the differences between themselves and other members of this group that make up the individual's personal identity. However, the individual may present some or all of the different aspects of their social and personal identities to different degrees and in different ways across different social circumstances. Individuals can choose to highlight various social and/or personal identities through a variety of linguistic means; the shifts in presentation of self often coincide with socio-contextual changes to individual communicative settings. The result is that individuals continually redefine themselves in relation to the groups with whom they interact (Djenar, 2006, 2007, 2008; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985).

Djenar (2006, 2007, 2008) explored the linguistic representations of personal and social self-categorisations through selection of pronouns by Indonesian speakers. Djenar (2008, p. 39) explained that the use of different Indonesian first person singular pronouns resulted in different self-categorisations that were flexible and context-dependent. Djenar (2008) examined celebrities' use of the formal first person singular pronoun *saya* and the informal equivalent, *aku*. She explained that the use of *saya* was associated with formal public speech, whereas *aku* was considered more appropriate in intimate interpersonal communication (Djenar, 2008, p. 32). However, the increasing shift towards the use of *aku* by celebrities in public speech evidenced the strategic choice of the pronoun to assert their personal identity as unique and different from other celebrities who would usually employ *saya* (Djenar, 2008, p. 32).

Djenar (2008, p. 51) stated that the speaker's use of *saya* usually emphasised their social identity by selecting the form considered appropriate for public speech within Indonesian society. However, in an earlier paper, Djenar (2007) explained that *saya* and the Jakartan first person singular pronoun, *gua/gue* can also be used to assert a personal identity by using them to contrast oneself with other speakers. Englebretson (2007), though not drawing on social categorisation, supported this assertion that both *gua/gue* and *saya* could be used to construct social and personal identities, depending on the context. He elaborated that sometimes when speakers selected *gua/gue* they were borrowing from the stereotypes associated with the Jakartan social group to construct a personal identity. Englebretson explained that *gua/gue* is associated with being "tough" and "outspoken" (Englebretson, 2007, p. 84). And so, speakers can use this pronoun to construct their personal identity as "tough" and "outspoken". Therefore Englebretson (2007) and Djenar (2007, 2008) showed individuals' self-categorisations are not necessarily consistent and are context dependent. The choice of pronoun was likewise dependent on the context of each individual interaction (Djenar, 2008, p. 51).

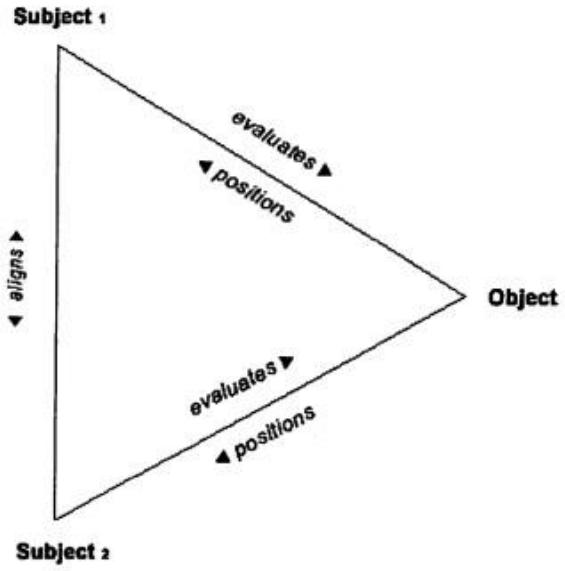
The enactment of different social and personal identities can be explained through chronotopic frames. Chronotopic frames are invoked by chronotopes which position talk within a particular context. The chronotopic frames involve an ordered system of attributions including the topic and content of talk as well as speaker and hearer roles. I will return to a more thorough discussion of chronotopic frames in Section 2.5.3. The relationship between perduring and momentary expressions of social and personal identity can be examined in terms of stance. In the next section,

I outline stance theory and how it can be applied to the understanding of the enactment of identity. Following on, I provide an introduction to chronotopic frames and I explain that responses to chronotopic frames can enact stance which contributes to socially recognisable identities which may be considered both momentary (in that they are chronotopically conditioned), and perduring (in that they may remain relevant to the interlocutor beyond the immediate context of interaction).

2.5.2 Stance

Stance theory is a useful framework to apply to the analysis and interpretation of the social meaning imbued in linguistics acts, such as the selection of address terms, in particular with regard to how these choices relate to identity. Stance has gained considerable traction as a mode of analysis in examinations of linguistic variation, style and identity (Du Bois, 2007). Du Bois (2007, p. 163) described stance as a process by which individuals assess their social stimuli and position themselves and their interlocutors in relation to any or all salient dimensions of the sociocultural field. The stance act creates three kinds of stance consequences at once; the stancetaker (1) evaluates the object, (2) positions a subject (the self or the other) and (3) aligns with other subjects. Du Bois (2007, p. 163) glossed this process from the first-person perspective as “I evaluate something, and thereby position myself, and thereby align with you”. He represented stancetaking and its stance consequences as the stance triangle below.

Figure 1: The Stance Triangle. See Du Bois (2007, p. 163)



The stance triangle features the three key entities in the stance act; the first subject, the second subject and the shared object. The sides of the triangle represent the vectors of the three actions (evaluation, positioning and alignment) which organise the stance relationship between the three entities at the nodes (Du Bois, 2007, p. 163). Importantly, the vectors of evaluation originate from each of the two subjects because each actor performs their own evaluation of the shared object. The vectors of positioning emerge from the object to represent each subject's positioning of the self in relation to the shared object. The vector of alignment can originate from either the first or the second subject and are directed towards the other subject. All three stance act vectors are relational and directed, and link two nodes of the triangle. This demonstrates the consequences of stance acts and accounts for the resulting relationship between the subjects (Du Bois, 2007).

The stance triangle can be operationalised in the following way. The first subject may perceive and evaluate an object, for instance, a film. The first subject positions themselves by assigning a negative value to the film by saying "The film was terrible". The second subject performs the same actions of evaluating and positioning by agreeing with the first subject, and says "Yeah, it was terrible". The positioning of the second subject in relation to the object (i.e. the film) then calibrates the alignment between the two subjects. The second subject's stance is approximately the same as the first actor's stance, which implies convergent alignment with the first actor. The effect of the

convergent alignment between two subjects can be solidarity and rapport based on their shared stance towards the film (cf. Du Bois, 2007).

Assertions are not the only means through which speakers can establish stances. Speakers often evaluate and position themselves (and others) in various ways that can be inferred through their linguistic choices such as their selection of terms of address. Manns (2015) discussed how Javanese youth in Malang used pronoun and kinship address terms to enact stances in Indonesian language conversations. Manns (2015, p. 81) explained that speakers used Javanese kinship terms to enact a stance of solidarity with their Javanese interlocutors. The speakers were not obligated to use the Javanese KT as their interlocutors were intimate friends, and the power differences between them were minimal. Manns (2015) elaborated that the choice of Javanese KT was influenced by the speakers' discursive goals. The use of Javanese KT demonstrated concern for an addressee's place within the Javanese sociocultural system of value. The selection of Javanese KT further invoked 'sameness' in the sense that it emphasised the speaker and the addressee's identity as Javanese people. The sense of sameness appeals to positive face because it emphasises solidarity based on the speakers' shared identity. Manns (2015, p. 81) further explained that this stance of solidarity allowed speakers to accomplish face-threatening acts (Brown & Levinson, 1987), such as requests for information by indexing that "the act is being accomplished within the bounds of a mutual, shared relationship". I discuss the role of politeness in relation to chronotopic frame response and the enactment of stance and identity in Chapter 5.

Manns' (2015) research demonstrated that a speaker's enactment of stance is often influenced by a presupposed system of sociocultural value. Individuals' evaluation and positioning in relation to objects in the sociocultural space of the interaction is shaped by previously constructed stances towards the same objects. Bahktin's (1981) notion of dialogism suggests that all words spoken are derived from those which have been previously uttered. Speakers build utterances by reproducing elements of a prior speaker's speech. They construct stances, from those utterances, based on how others before them have done so. Repeated stances in social interaction reflect and reproduce persistent cultural values. For instance, the use kinship terminology to ratify the seniority of an addressee, can construct a stance of respect and deference. The repetition of this stance in interactions within a community suggests that the community positively values respect and recognition of seniority and authority (Braun, 1988, p. 13). These sociocultural values are activated

every time a stance action is performed (Du Bois, 2007). All future stances therefore become framed within these sociocultural value systems.

Speakers can construct stances to evoke their associated sociocultural values to strategically frame an utterance or an interaction. For instance, Mavunga, Mutambwa and Kutsaru (2014) explained that Shona police officers used kinship terms to address members of the public who came to the police station to report cases or crimes. The use of kinship terminology was aimed at fostering good working relationships with people who were willing to provide the police department with information. The use of kinship terms of address indexed the sociocultural values of caring and concern that one feels for one's family. The police's use of kinship terms transfers this 'family feeling' to their interactions with the public informants, it aligns the police with the public and reduces the social distance between the interactants. The desired effect is that members of the public will be more inclined to offer support for the police because they feel accommodated and cared for (Mavunga, Mutambwa, & Kutsaru, 2014).

Similarly, repeated stances in social interaction can produce social categories (Du Bois, 2007; P. Eckert, 2012). Stances that are regularly used by particular groups of individuals can develop into styles or registers that are associated with particular social situations and/or social identities (P. Eckert, 2012). Kiesling (2009) stated that stances can become enregistered (cf. Agha, 2007) via stance-taking practices during socialisation. In effect, individuals in society learn the associations between stances, styles and identities through socialisation. For instance, a speaker can use Jakarta pronouns to index the sociocultural values assigned to Jakarta speakers, and construct a stance of 'coolness', 'toughness and/or 'outspokenness' (Manns, 2013). Manns (2012) argues that these stances allow individuals to indirectly index an informal, self-confident and cool cosmopolitan social identity, known as *gaul* in Java.

In the following section, I discuss chronotopic frames and identities. I explain how conversational participants' responses to chronotopic frames can enact stance and reproduce socially recognisable identities which may or may not be consistent with the expectations encoded in the chronotopic frames. The stance and identities enacted by participants, although momentary and chronotopically conditioned, can nonetheless contribute to a perduring sense of identity.

2.5.3 Chronotopic Frames and Identities

Chronotopic frames are the product of the influence of context on linguistic practices in interaction. Section 2.4 established that chronotopes reproduce moments in timespace or "spatiotemporal" histories that position interactions at a particular scale level, and frame the interpretation of ongoing talk (Blommaert, 2015, p. 111). Chronotopes can be invoked through linguistic features which function as tropic emblems of the points in timespace they invoke. The invocation of chronotopes of timespace prompts an ordered system of attributions that influences speakers' expectations of the roles of interlocutors as well as the content and meaning of speech they produce in discourse (Blommaert, 2015). The ordered system of attributions emerges as a result of repeated use of linguistic tokens to produce the same chronotopic formulations. Each time a speaker uses a linguistic token it is categorised alongside previous utterances of the token and can therefore invoke the same chronotopic formulations as those produced in previous utterances (Bakhtin, 1981; Blommaert, 2015).

The term 'chronotopic formulations' is used here and elsewhere in the thesis to refer to a set of semiotic features (e.g. place, time, identities, behaviours) that are invoked through the deployment of tropic emblems of that point in timespace. The semiotic makeup of chronotopic formulations may additionally differ according to context (Goebel, 2017). For instance, the chronotopic formulations of kinship may include genetic and/or non-genetic relationships, intimacy, solidarity, shared identity and/or deference to seniority. Chronotopic formulations are distinguished from chronotopic frames because chronotopic frames organize the relevance of various chronotopic formulations relative to factors surrounding talk such as the scale of interaction, the purpose of the interaction, and the relationship between the interlocutors. For example, the chronotopic frame for kinship in the Anglo-Australian cultural context would necessarily include genetic relationships and intimacy between interlocutors but the chronotopic frame for kinship in the Indonesian context would include non-genetic relationships and non-intimate persons. The ordered system of chronotopic formulations, otherwise referred to as a chronotopic frame shapes the interpretation of discourse as well as the behaviours of interlocutors involved in ongoing talk.

Chronotopic frames invoke specific patterns of social behaviour which belong to particular timespace configurations (Blommaert & De Fina, 2016, p. 5). Individuals' behaviours can fit the recognizable chronotopic frames, or diverge from them, and hence be considered out of place or transgressive. For instance, a Prince in a story can enact behaviours that index bravery and chivalry

and hence fit the fairytale chronotopic frame. Alternatively, a Prince could exhibit behaviours such as cowardice and boorishness which deviate from the fairytale chronotopic frame. Chronotopic frames can therefore also be identity frames. Blommaert and De Fina (2016, p. 6) explained that individuals' identity practices emerge in particular timespace conditions. This is evident as changes in the timespace arrangements produce shifts in roles, discourses and modes of interaction, amongst other things. The invocation of different timespace conditions, and hence chronotopic frames therefore impacts on the particular identity behaviours that individuals will exhibit.

The theory of chronotopic frames can be compared with membership categorization analysis, developed by Sacks (1972, 1992). Membership categorisation analysis (MCA) suggests that individuals can deploy membership categorization devices (MCDs) that can categorise themselves or others as members of a particular group. MCDs here can be considered similar to chronotopes invoked through linguistic tokens because MCDs and chronotopes can both indicate an individual's social identity. However, I argue that chronotopic frame theory can be used to more rigorously account for the intersection between language ideology, language practice, social identity and personal identity. These components of interaction can be analysed using MCA, however, they are not accounted for within a formal framework, as they are in chronotopic frame theory (see Section 2.5.4). And more importantly, chronotopic frame theory explains how shifts in the situational context (and hence the presence or absence of chronotopic frames) effects how individuals enact identities through their linguistic practices. This cannot be accounted for within MCA.

Chronotopic frame theory is also comparable to Agha's (2005, 2007) notion of enregisterment. Agha (2007, p. 81) describes enregisterment as the 'process and practices whereby performable signs become recognized (and regrouped) as belonging to distinct, differentially valorized semiotic registers by a population'. Semiotic register here refers to a variety of language that contains a number of indexical relationships between spaces, behaviours, activities and people that are associated with the use of a particular register. Goebel (2017) argued that the processes of enregisterment and semiotic register formation are actually reliant upon the concept of chronotopes because chronotopes emerge as a result of the repeated occurence of particular linguistic and non-linguistic signs in particular circumstances. Therefore, the notions of enregisterment and chronotopic frame theory are not mutually exclusive. Furthermore, enregisterment is a useful

theory for understanding the indexical relationships between various different signs, social identities and semiotic registers. However, I would argue that chronotopic frames are more useful for measuring the use of different semiotic registers and other varieties of language across different contexts and at different scale levels. This is because, like MCA, enregisterment does not account for how and why elements of the semiotic register may be deployed differently in response to changes in interaction (i.e. the presence or absence of chronotopic frames).

Blommaert & De Fina (2016, p. 6) concede that the chronotopic nature of the enactment of particular identities is part of an already existing common sense understanding of how groups and cultures function. Indeed, the enactment of different identities in different circumstances has been investigated extensively in relation to indexicality and communities of practice (Bucholtz, 2010; Eckert, 2012; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1992, p. 7) stated that individuals can belong to several different communities of practice, each with their own norms for interaction, and associated shared identity. An individual's behaviours in a given interaction can include recognised behaviours of the various communities of practice to which they belong. The behaviours that individuals exhibit can be considered a response to the interactive setting (e.g. the presence or absence of members of different communities of practice). These behaviours then indirectly index the individual's identity as a member of the present community of practice or an outsider to the community of practice (and perhaps a member of another). Individuals' behaviours and the identities that they project shape ongoing discourse by reproducing or invoking chronotopic frames. Blommaert and De Fina's (2016) notion of the chronotopic frame can account for the relationship between the present interactive context, social identities and individual behaviours. However, importantly, they can also account for the effect of several overlapping chronotopic frames for interaction on the perceived interactive context, relevant social identities and expected individual behaviours.

Blommaert and De Fina provide the example of "youth culture" which unambiguously refers to a series of culturally recognisable behaviours that are specific to a particular period of human life (called 'youth') (Blommaert & De Fina, 2016, p. 7). Youth culture is also often specific to a particular place or region. Differences abound between the practices attributed to youth culture across different societies. Youth culture can be perceived through a larger (macroscopic) chronotopic frame or a smaller (microscopic) chronotopic frame. A macroscopic frame involves a

wide scope of societies' recognised behaviours of youth as a large general group. A microscopic frame refers to other behaviours that may have limited scope and may only be relevant to smaller groups at progressively microscopic levels (e.g. a school, a peer group).

The classification of chronotopic frames as macroscopic or microscopic here is clearly relative, for instance, the scope of a peer group is smaller, hence more microscopic than the scope of a school group, but both are more microscopic than the scope of youth as a large general group. Several researchers have criticized the use of macroscopic and microscopic labels in research because they suggest mutually exclusive and static categories for interaction (Coulmas, 1997; Perez-Milans, 2015; Wardhaugh, 1992). I have opted to use the terms 'larger' and 'smaller' throughout the remainder of this thesis as alternatives to Blommaert and De Fina's 'microscopic' and 'macroscopic' labels. The terms 'larger' and 'smaller' better capture the relative degrees of scope of chronotopic frames than the more rigid categories of 'microscopic' and 'macroscopic'.

Blommaert's (2007) earlier work on the relationship between chronotope and scale helps to navigate the complexity of placing interactions on higher (smaller) or lower (larger) levels. Blommaert used scale as a vertical metaphor for communicative acts which are ranked in a hierarchy. Communications ranked at a lower scale level are characterised as local, subjective and personal, whereas those ranked as a higher scale level are considered translocal, objective and impersonal (See Table 1 in Section 2.4). The chronotopic frames position interactions on lower or higher scale levels in line with the breadth and communicability of relevant identities and behaviours required by the frame. For instance, interactions involving the chronotopic frame for youth behaviours that are common to most youth groups throughout different societies would be placed on a higher scale level because these behaviours are recognisable to a wider, translocal community. By contrast, interactions involving youth behaviours that are particular to a small peer group within a particular community would have very limited communicability to the wider, translocal community. Therefore, interactions with this chronotopic frame would be placed on a lower scale level. Chronotopic frames which position interactions on higher scale levels can be considered larger chronotopic frames, and those which position interactions on lower scale levels can be considered smaller chronotopic frames.

The unique utility of chronotopes is such that it allows the analyst to perceive how larger chronotopic frames intersect and co-occur with smaller frames to produce layers of

chronotopically ordered practices in interaction (Blommaert & De Fina, 2016, p. 16). The following diagram indicates that several larger and smaller chronotopic frames may be simultaneously present in interaction.

Figure 2: Overlapping Chronotopic Frames

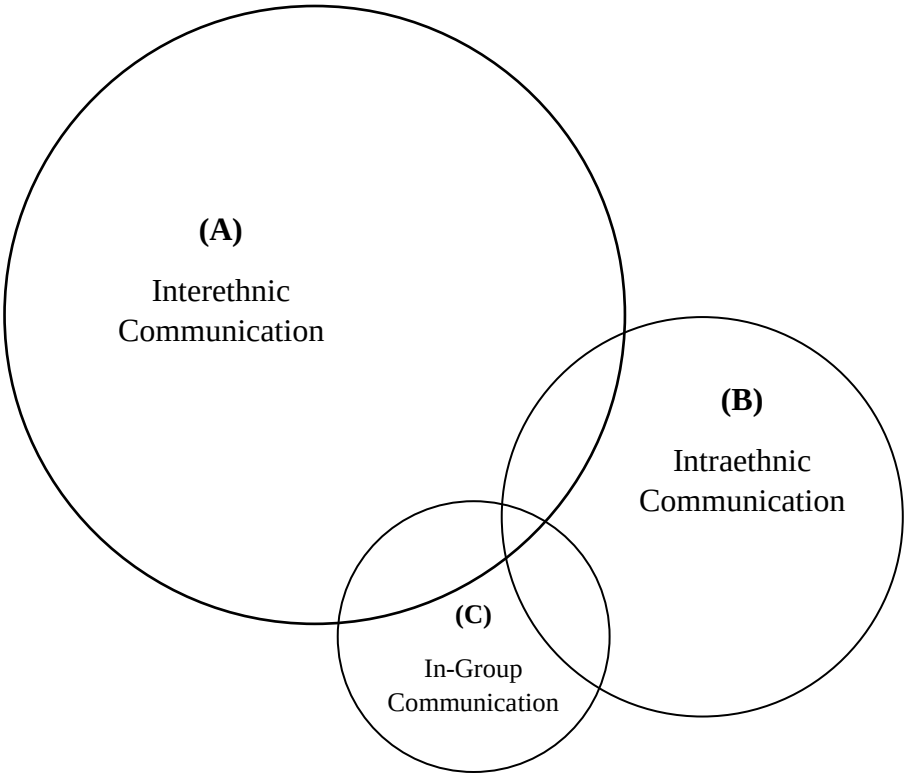


Figure 2 features three chronotopic frames for interaction, (A) the chronotopic frame for interethnic communication, (B) the chronotopic frame for intraethnic interaction, and (C) the chronotopic frame for in-group communication. These three frames position interactions on different scale levels. (A) possesses the widest communicable scope and is positioned at the highest scale level of the three. As per the discussion above, (A) is therefore the largest chronotopic frame. (C) possesses the lowest communicable scope and is positioned at the lowest scale level of the three frames. (C) is therefore the smallest chronotopic frame. The chronotopic frame (B) can be considered an intermediary point between these two ends of the scale spectrum because its communicable scope is broader than (C) but narrower than (A).

In the Indonesian context, the three frames shown in *Figure 2* regularly co-occur in interaction. All different combinations of the frames are possible in discourse. For instance, two interlocutors may be intimate friends, therefore their conversation may involve the chronotopic frame for in-group communication (C). The interlocutors may also be of the same ethnic identity, and therefore the chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication (B) may be concurrently present. The interlocutors' interaction may occur in front of an audience of auditors of different ethnic identities who do not speak the same ethnic language. And so, the chronotopic frame for interethnic communication (A) may additionally be present. The interlocutors can choose to respond to one or all of the chronotopic frames that are present in the given interaction. Bloomaert and De Fina (2016, p. 16) state that chronotopic frames need to be constantly balanced against each other. Speakers can attempt to balance these overlapping frames by constructing responses which cater to the requirements of each chronotopic frame. Alternatively, speakers can choose to respond to one or more chronotopic frames and ignore the others. I argue that the reason why individuals choose to respond to one or more chronotopic frames and not others is influenced by their personal sense of identity.

Larger and smaller chronotopic frames encode larger social identities (e.g. youth identity), and smaller social identities (e.g. friendship group identity). Speakers responses to larger and smaller chronotopic frames therefore indirectly index one or more social identities that may vary in terms of scope. An individual's choice to respond to one or more chronotopic frames involves an acknowledgment that the identities encoded in the frame(s) apply to the individual speaker. For instance, the chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication (B) encompasses an ethnic identity.

Therefore, a response to this chronotopic frame indirectly indexes the individual's ethnic identity (and that of their interlocutor). If an individual does not share the same ethnic identity as their interlocutor(s), they would not respond to this frame because the individual would not perceive it as present and relevant to the interaction. Importantly, identity does not simply determine an individual's awareness and response (or non-response) to chronotopic frames, it also influences the perception of the importance of different chronotopic frames that may be simultaneously present in interaction.

As previously stated, individuals' behaviours can simultaneously respond to all of the present chronotopic frames for interaction. However, the response to different chronotopic frames is not necessarily equal. Individuals may choose to respond to one chronotopic frame over another because they consider one frame to be more significant than another. The perceived significance of different frames is influenced by the individual's personal identity, their beliefs and prejudices as well as their language ideologies. Other researchers have shown that identity is continually renegotiated and reproduced in social practice (Bucholtz, 2010; Eckert, 1989). However, speakers are not empty vessels, they carry their beliefs, values, language ideologies and identities, into all of their social interactions (Mendoza-Denton, 2008). These components of identity affect the ways in which individuals respond to the chronotopic conditions they encounter.

Returning to the previously mentioned example, two intimate friends, who share the same ethnicity are interacting in front of an audience of auditors of different ethnic identities who do not speak the same ethnic language. Their conversation may involve the chronotopic frame for in-group communication (C), the chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication (B) as well as the chronotopic frame for interethnic communication (A). Speaker 1 may have a high orientation to their ethnic identity and believes in the importance of speaking their ethnic language with individuals of the same ethnicity. On the other hand, Speaker 2 may have a low orientation to their ethnic identity and does not share the same perception of the importance of speaking their ethnic language. Speaker 2 might, for instance, believe that it is more important to accommodate other auditors by using the national language, than to use the ethnic language and potentially exclude them. The difference in speaker's identities and language ideologies would likely engender different perceptions of the relative importance of different chronotopic frames. Speaker 1's high orientation to ethnic identity and perception of the importance of speaking the ethnic language

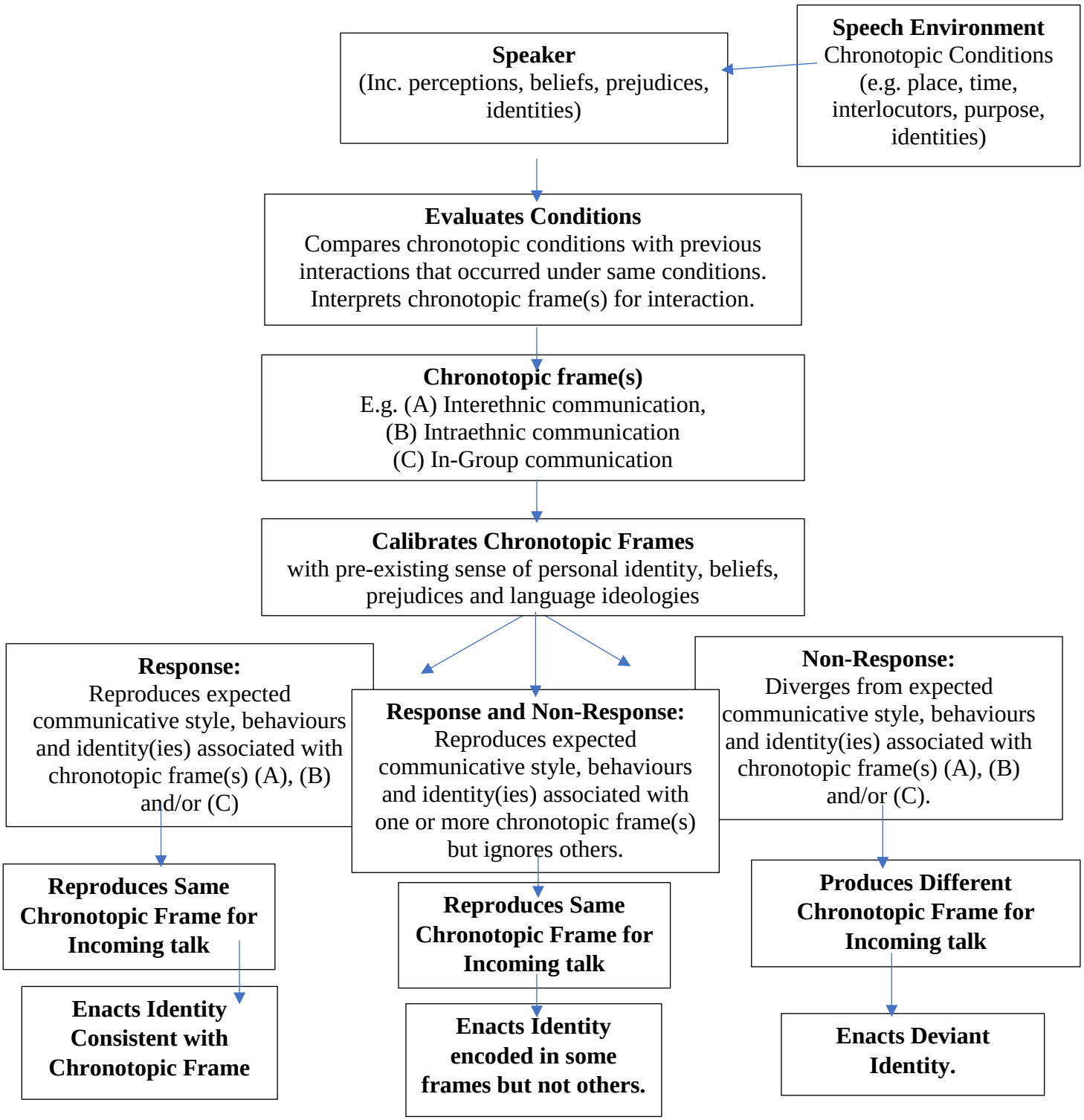
would make them more likely to respond to the chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication in this instance. Speaker 2's low orientation to ethnic identity and perception of the importance of accommodating others linguistic proficiencies would make them less likely to respond to the chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication. Instead, they might respond to the larger chronotopic frame for interethnic communication because this frame would be more compatible with their sense of identity and their language ideologies. Therefore, I argue that when speakers are presented with the chronotopic frames of the communicative context, they balance these against their identities and beliefs, which informs their response to the frames.

Figure 2 shows that when speakers encounter a speech environment they are presented with a set of conditions that may include the time, place and purpose of the interaction, as well as the identity of interlocutors and the relationships between them. These conditions are then measured against previous interactions which bear resemblance to the conditions of the present interaction. This process produces a categorisation of the talk in the speaker's mind, and results in an interpretation of the chronotopic frame(s) present in the interaction and expected behaviours and identities associated with them. Importantly, the speaker's pre-existing sense of identity will impact on their awareness of the presence of chronotopic frames for interaction. For instance, if the speaker does not perceive themselves to share the same ethnic identity as their interlocutor, they will not likely consider the chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication as present in the interaction. After the chronotopic frames for interaction are established, the speaker calibrates the frames with their identities, beliefs and language ideologies before formulating a response (or non-response) to one or more of the chronotopic frames which may be concurrently present. The speaker's response simultaneously invokes a chronotope which either reproduces the same chronotopic frame(s) or produces different chronotopic frame(s) for ongoing interaction. The responses to the chronotopic frame(s) also enacts the speakers' stance and indirectly indexes the identities associated with one or more of the frames.

I propose the framework below which applies and expands on Blommaert and De Fina's (2016) chronotopic identity theory. The framework I propose can be used to analyse and understand the process by which participants in interaction formulate responses to chronotopic frames and by so doing reproduce chronotopic frames for ongoing talk. In the following section, I apply the framework to an extract from recorded interactions of the current study's participants. The

examination demonstrates how an individual's perduring sense of identity plays a role in their response or non-response to present chronotopic frames and their invocation of new chronotopic frames.

Figure 3: Chronotopic Frames and Identity



2.5.4 Framework: Chronotopic Frame Response, Stance and Identity

In the current section, I present a framework for analysing and understanding the process by which participants in interaction formulate responses to chronotopic frames and by so doing reproduce chronotopic frames for ongoing talk. The framework shows that an individual's sense of identity, including their beliefs, ideologies, prejudices and sense of self, plays a significant role in producing a response to chronotopic frames. The framework is presented in three stages in the current chapter. Stage 1 focuses on the participant's entry into a speech environment. Stage 2 represents the process by which the participant evaluates the conditions in the speech environment, interprets the chronotopic frame(s) and calibrates them with their sense of identity before producing a response. The final stage (Stage 3) shows how the participants' response invokes chronotopic frames for incoming talk, enacts stance and presents a chronotopically conditioned identity.

The three stages of the framework will be discussed in detail with reference to Example (2.1) below. The analysis that follows will focus on Fiona's response (line 12) that draws on Indonesian and Chinese language features. It is important to note that the concurrent use of Chinese and Indonesian languages, such as in Example (2.1) is not always considered code-switching in this context. Participants reported in interviews that the division between codes is not always clear. Language that a descriptive linguist might classify as involving two distinct codes may be considered one code by participants. Individuals in the Pontianak Chinese community typically use a speech style that draws on features of several languages in their everyday interactions. Other researchers have challenged the emphasis placed on distinguishing different codes and instead advocate for analysis which focuses on explaining how and why diverse linguistic resources are integrated into the everyday language styles of different individuals and communities (cf. Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015; Rampton, 1995, 2011). The current study therefore avoids classifying sections of talk as being one code or another and instead examines how and why Chinese Indonesians draw on different linguistic resources to produce socially meaningful linguistic styles.

Example (2.1) shows two teachers at PPK, Fiona and Janice, discussing their skin care routines. The extract is drawn from a conversation between Fiona, Janice and Sofia, that occurs as the teachers are waiting for their students to be picked up by their parents. The conversation occurs in the school foyer, where the other teachers Alice, Vinny and Sebastian are also standing around.

Indonesian speech is represented in Calibri font and Teochew Chinese speech is represented in italicized Calibri font.

(2.1)

1	**Fiona**	Biasa aku pake cream.. apa?
		Usually I use…which cream? After that I clean it off,
2		Susu pembersih.
		Purifying milk.
3		Habis tuh bersihkan,
		After that I clean it off,
4		habis itu pake toner.
		after that I use toner.
5		Habis pake toner baru tekan.
		After using toner, then I pop them.
6		Habis tekan bersihkan lagi,
		After popping them, I clean it again,
7		habis itu pake yang dingin-dingin lagi.
		after that I use cold water again.
8		Masker.
		A face mask.
9		Habis itu baru cuci muka.
		After that, then I wash my face.
10	**Janice**	Aku mana ade?
		Where am I gonna get all that?
11		Aku habis pecet selesai.
		After popping them, I'm done.
12	**Fiona**	Tak boleh *a!*
		You can't!
13	**Janice**	Kau tak lihat?
		You didn't look?
14		Muka aku biasa-biasa aja

My face is normal

Stage 1

Stage 1 of the framework involves a participant, Fiona, assessing a speech environment. This assessment is an internal and cognitive process in which the speaker evaluates factors in the speech environment that impact on the interaction. The speech environment encompasses the context of the interaction (i.e. time, place, speakers) as well as one or more chronotopic frames. The interaction in example (2.1) occurs after school in the lobby of PPK. The students are being picked up from school by their parents and the teachers are supervising whilst chatting informally amongst themselves. At the time of the interaction, Fiona, Janice and Sofia are talking about skin care products and skin care routines. However, they are not alone as three non-Chinese speaking teachers, Alice, Vinny and Sebastian are also milling about nearby. Importantly, the interlocutors were engaging in interaction prior to the conversation above. Therefore, the interlocutors had already reproduced chronotopic frames for the interaction prior to the conversation featured here. Fiona was already interacting within the speech environment prior to her utterance in line 12. However, the speech environment is constantly shifting; participants enter, others leave, the topic of conversation changes, and importantly, the chronotopic frames for interaction are constantly reproduced or changed in each turn of the interaction. Therefore, speakers must constantly reassess the speech environments as an interaction progresses and changes.

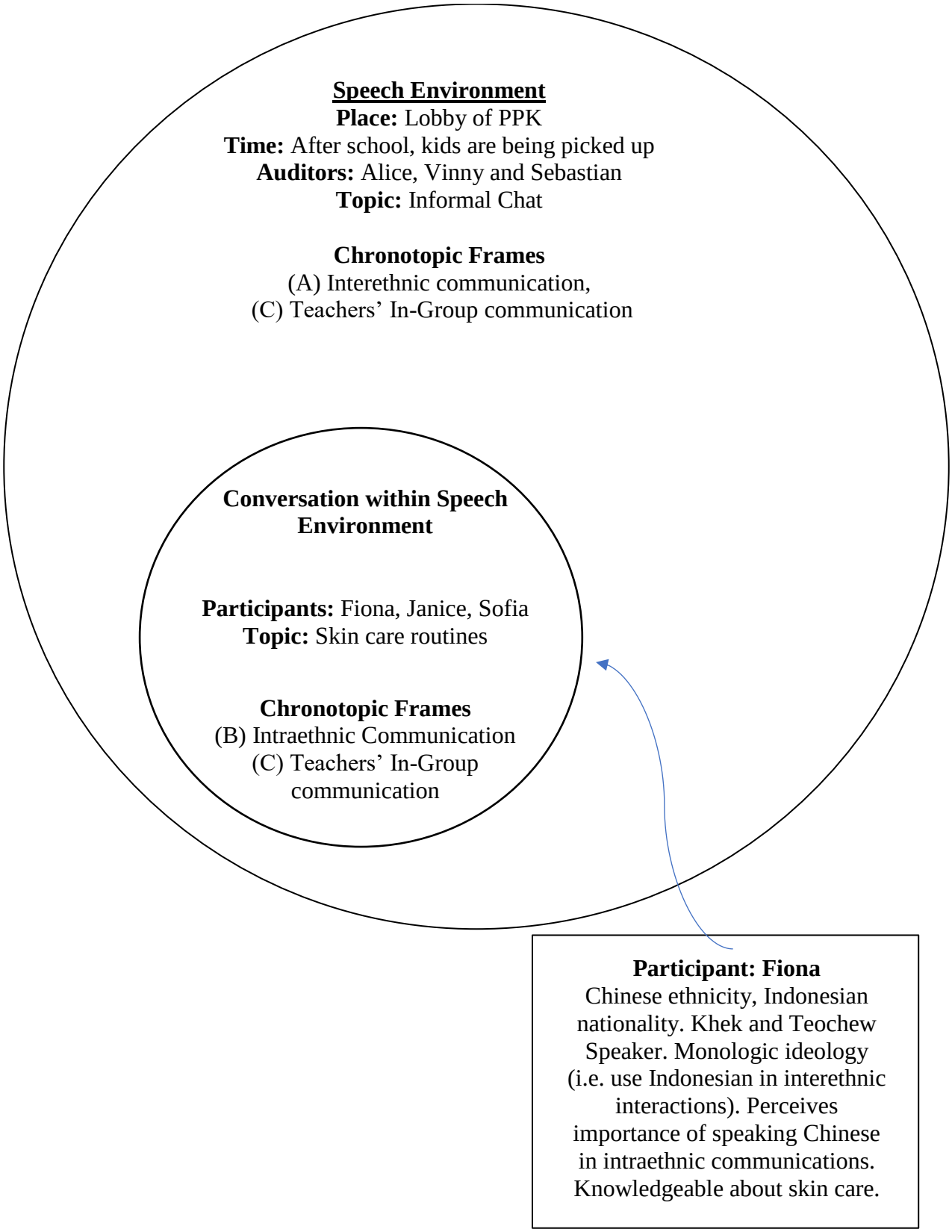
The two teachers conversing in the extract above are both ethnically Chinese, and are Teochew speakers, therefore a chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication is present in the interaction. The choice of Indonesian language to conduct the conversation indicates that a chronotopic frame that requires the use of Indonesian in interethnic communication is also present because the speakers are aware that their audience of auditors (Alice, Vinny and Sebastian) includes individuals who do not speak Chinese languages. The conversation participants and the auditors are all friends and are members of one large friendship group consisting of all the co-present teachers at PPK. Therefore, a chronotopic frame for in-group interaction is additionally present. Finally, the chronotopic frame for explanation interactions is intermittently present in the interaction above. In the following paragraph, I will explain how Fiona and Janice produce and

respond to this chronotopic frame, and how this changes the speech environment for Fiona's utterance in line 12.

The example (2.1) begins as Fiona lists her in-depth skin care routine, at Sofia's request. Fiona's routine includes several steps before popping pimples, as well as several steps after. Fiona's utterance in lines 1-9 establishes herself as someone who is knowledgeable about skin care, as she demonstrates familiarity with the steps involved in a high maintenance skin care routine as well as the relevant skin care products. This invokes a chronotopic frame for explanations in which the more knowledgeable speaker (Fiona) explains something to the less knowledgeable speakers (Janice and Sofia). Janice responds in lines 10-11 with a rhetorical question, asking where she would get all the products Fiona lists. She states that after popping her pimples, she doesn't take any extra steps in her skin care routine. Janice's response in lines 10-11 challenges Fiona's authority on skin care, as she implies that Fiona's routine is excessive by stating that she doesn't bother taking any further steps after popping her pimples. The effect of Janice's utterance is that she has not responded to the chronotopic frame for explanation interactions, which undermines Fiona's position as the explainer. Therefore, after Janice's utterance in line 11, Fiona is interacting in a slightly different speech environment than that which she interacted in previously.

As *Figure 4* shows, Fiona is interacting within the speech environment. Importantly, she entered into the speech environment with a pre-existing sense of her identity. This identity will shape her responses to the chronotopic frames she encounters. The following section on Stage 2 will detail how Fiona evaluates, interprets and calibrates the chronotopic frames she encounters with her personal sense of identity.

Figure 4: Entry into Speech Environment



Stage 2

Stage 2 is triggered by the participant's identification of chronotopic frames for interaction based on their assessment of the speech environment. Following the identification of chronotopic frames for interaction, the participant, Fiona, evaluates, interprets and calibrates the chronotopic frames present in the speech environment with her own personal sense of identity. This cognitive process begins as Fiona compares the speech environment with previous interactions that occurred under same conditions. The teachers chat informally in the lobby every day, as they wait for their students to be picked up from school. This experience serves as Fiona's frame of reference for what kind of talk is expected in this speech environment. Fiona knows that in this speech environment, smaller groups of teachers usually have informal conversations on a range of topics that typically fall outside of the educational sphere. She knows that the conversations are typically not private or exclusive as all the teachers are grouped together and everyone is usually invited to participate in any interaction. Therefore, she would perceive the chronotopic frame for in-group talk as present.

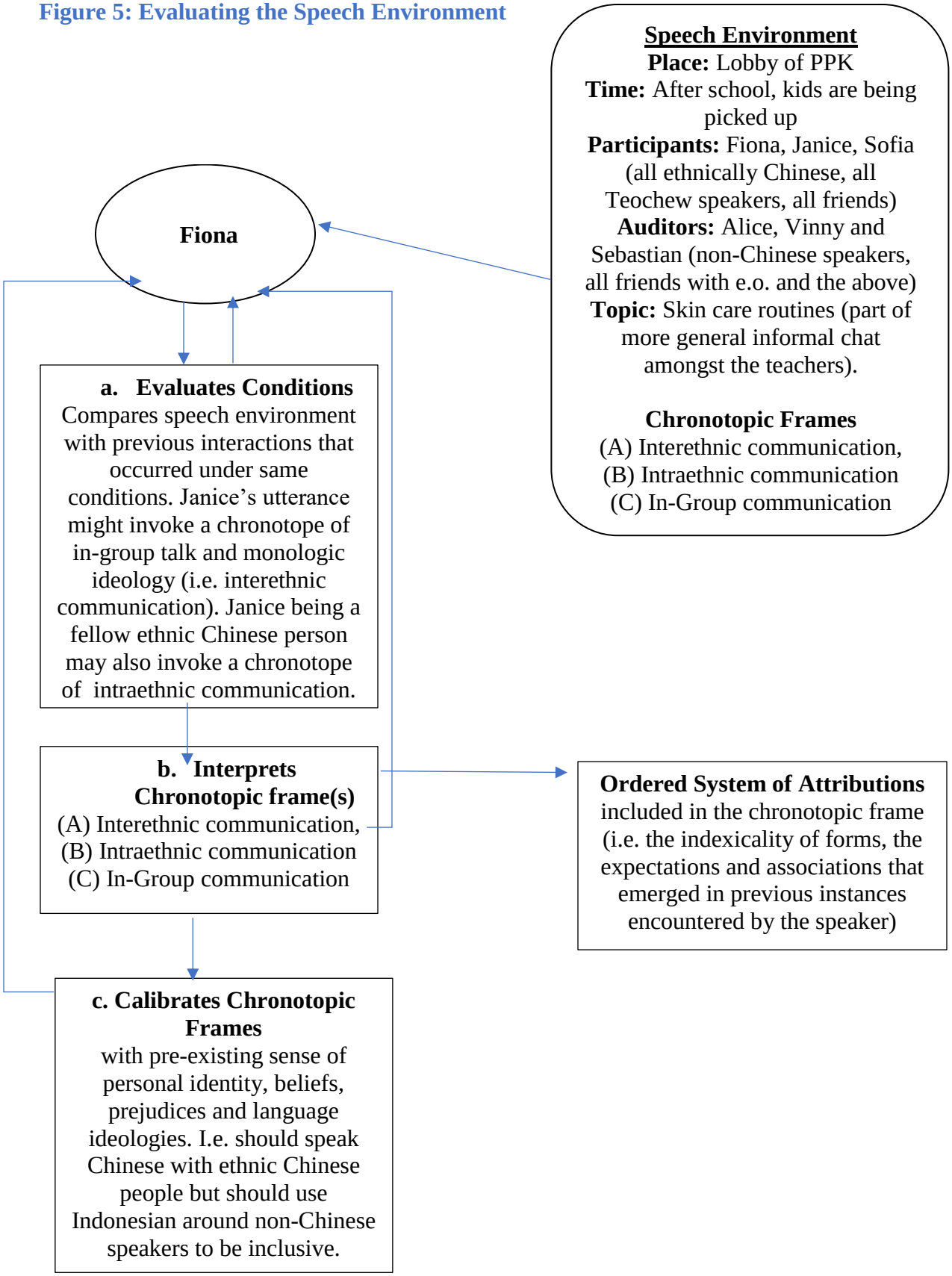
At the end of Fiona's assessment in Stage 1, she may have identified three possible chronotopic frames that may be concurrently present in the interaction. Fiona knows that the speakers in this interaction are both ethnically Chinese and both have the ability to speak and understand Chinese language. Therefore, she may perceive a chronotopic frame for intraethnic interaction as present here. However, the interaction is conducted in Indonesian language. Fiona may therefore also recognise a chronotopic frame that requires the use of Indonesian in interethnic communication as present here because she is aware that their audience of auditors includes individuals who do not speak Chinese languages.

The context of interacting with Janice may also be used as a point of reference for the interpretation of relevant chronotopic frames. Janice produced her utterance in Indonesian, which invokes a chronotope of in-group talk because the communicative style of the PPK group involves the use of Indonesian language. Additionally, the use of Indonesian to communicate amongst an ethnically diverse group may also invoke a chronotope of monologic ideology. Finally, Janice being a fellow ethnic Chinese person may also invoke a chronotope of intraethnic communication. Therefore, Fiona may perceive three chronotopic frames as present based on the context of the interaction in extract (1); (A) Interethnic communication, (B) Intraethnic communication (C) In-Group

communication. After she has evaluated the conditions and interpreted the chronotopic frames present in the interaction, she then calibrates the chronotopic frames with her personal sense of identity.

Fiona classified herself as ethnically Chinese, with both Khek and Teochew Chinese parents. She is a speaker of both Khek and Teochew Chinese languages. She explained in interviews that she feels it is important for ethnic Chinese people to speak Chinese languages, or else risk losing their Chinese identity. However, she also stated that as an Indonesian person, she felt it was polite to use Indonesian language in interactions in groups of people of mixed-ethnicity to accommodate them and avoid making them feel excluded. Based on Fiona's personal identity, it seems likely that she would consider responding to the chronotopic frames for intraethnic communication and interethnic communication because her identities and language ideologies align with those involved in these frames. She is part of the teachers' group and considers all members of the group as friends. Therefore, she would likely respond to the chronotopic frame for in-group talk as concurrently present with the aforementioned frames. Finally, Fiona has previously established that she is knowledgeable about skin care, and previously invoked the chronotopic frame for explanations by attempting to educate the other teachers. Although, as previously mentioned, Janice did not respond to this chronotopic frame in line 10. Therefore, the chronotopic frame for explanations interactions is not currently present at this stage of the interaction, however due to Fiona's sense of identity, it may reemerge later as she attempts to reassert her status as someone who is knowledgeable about skin care.

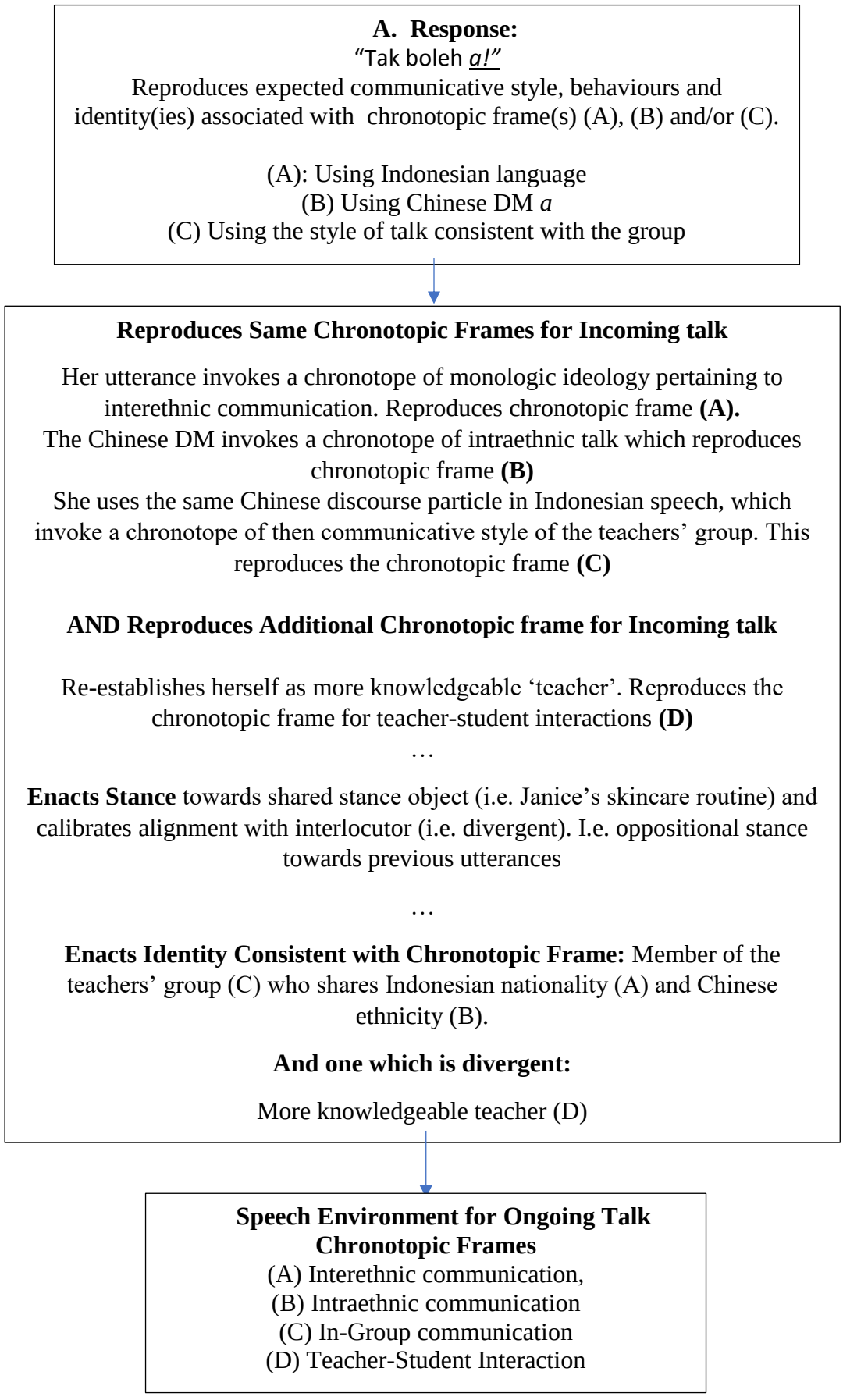
Figure 5: Evaluating the Speech Environment



Stage 3

The final stage of the framework details how the participant's response (or non-response) to various chronotopic frames enacts stance and identity whilst also reproducing chronotopic frames for ongoing talk. Stage three therefore features the explicit social action which results from the two previous stages which involved internal cognitive processes. It is important to note that the enactment of stance and identity, and the reproduction of chronotopic frames emerge simultaneously from the response.

Figure 6: Chronotopic Frame Response



In extract (1) Fiona responds in line 12 with an exclamative, *tak boleh*, to which she adds the particle *a* at the end. The particle *a* has several functions in this utterance. First the particle may strengthen the assertion that Janice's skin care routine can't or shouldn't end after popping pimples. The utterance *tak boleh* instructs the hearer that they cannot or should not do whatever it is that they're doing. The addition of *a* enhances the intensity of the utterance, similar to the English *oh* in an expression such as *'oh you can't do that'* (cf. Schiffrin, 1987). Secondly, the particle may register a contrast between Janice's assertion of her minimalist skin care routine and Fiona's belief that the skin care routine should be more involved. Wu (2004) found that the particle *a* in Mandarin Chinese could be used to register disagreement and construct an oppositional stance towards a previous utterance. Fiona is therefore using the particle to construct an opposing stance towards Janice's utterance. Additionally, her oppositional stance also enacts an identity as someone who is knowledgeable about skin care and is therefore able to judge Janice's skin care routine as inadequate. This reproduces the chronotopic frame of explanation as Fiona re-establishes herself as the more knowledgeable speaker of the two.

Additionally, Fiona's use of the discourse particle is a response to the chronotopic frame for in-group talk. She uses the same Chinese discourse particle in Indonesian speech, as do others when communicating in the teachers' group. Therefore, she invokes a chronotope of the communicative style of the group to respond to the chronotopic frame of in-group talk. Her response to the communicative frame positions her as an in-group member, and therefore reproduces the chronotopic frame of in-group talk for the incoming interaction.

As previously mentioned, the chronotopic frames for intraethnic communication and interethnic communication are concurrently present here. The frames are present because the speakers in this interaction are both ethnically Chinese and both have the ability to speak and understand Chinese language, and they are interacting in front of an audience of auditors who do not speak Chinese languages. Fiona may therefore have included the Chinese particle *a* in Indonesian speech may be a way of balancing responses to both chronotopic frames, and thus reproducing them for incoming interaction (cf. Blommaert & De Fina, 2016). Fiona's decision to respond to the chronotopic frames may be an attempt to emphasise in-group identity to lessen the threat of disagreement in her response. Manns (2015) stated that individuals may attempt to offer solidarity to lessen the

face threat of an utterance. The intended effect is that the utterance is positioned within the context of intimate friendly talk between individuals who share a social identity. The social proximity between speakers can reduce the offensive force of disagreement (P. Brown & Levinson, 1987).

In summary, Fiona responded to all three chronotopic frames that were present in the speech environment. The response produced a stance of opposition and enacted the identity of a more knowledgeable individual who is also a fellow ethnic Chinese friend/colleague of the interlocutor and is communicating within the parameters dictated by monologic ideology. The output of Fiona's response to the chronotopic frames present in the interaction is the reproduction of the chronotopic frames for interethnic communications (A), intraethnic communications (B) and in-group communications (C). Additionally, Fiona has reproduced the chronotopic frame for explanation that was present earlier in the interaction prior to Janice's utterance. These frames will then shape the speech environment of ongoing talk.

2.6 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the theory and development of monologic ideology in Indonesia. I explained that the effects of monologic ideology have produced what some researchers have called a diglossic situation in Indonesia (Sneddon, 2003a; Steinhauer, 1994). I acknowledged that Sneddon's (2003a) description of the diglossic situation may be applicable to larger scale interactions. However, I argued that Blommaert and De Fina's (2016) chronotopic frame theory, based on Blommaert's (2007, 2015) earlier chronotope and scale theory, is a more useful framework for examining of local linguistic practices in everyday communications in Pontianak. In the final section of the chapter, I proposed a framework which applies and expands on Blommaert and De Fina's chronotopic frame theory by examining the relationship between linguistic practices, chronotopes, chronotopic frames and the enactment of stance and identity. The framework outlined in this final section of the chapter will be referred to throughout the analysis portion of this study.

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Chapter 3: Methodology

3.0 Introduction

The current study entailed the implementation of a three-phase methodological framework over seven months in Pontianak, West Kalimantan, Indonesia. The methodology was designed to elicit data on young Chinese individuals' sense of identity and "Chineseness", their linguistic practices as well as the impact of perceptions of phenotype on individual identities and language use. The first phase of the methodology involved participant observation. Following on, the second phase focused on recording interactional data. The third phase of the methodology included two sets of interviews, the second of which incorporated an identification activity.

Overall, ethnographic methods were applied to research because the study focuses on naturally occurring data on the everyday linguistic practices of the Chinese community in Pontianak (cf. Saville-Troike, 2003). The ethnographic approach of the present study is discussed further in the following section.

3.1 The Ethnography

The current study drew on ethnographic methods because the product of ethnography is the identification and detailed analysis of the social categories and meanings that are relevant to a speech community (Saville-Troike, 2003). The present research investigates Chinese Indonesians' enactment of different social and personal identities from the perspective of Chinese people themselves through the analysis of naturally occurring data on the everyday linguistic practices of the Chinese community (cf. Saville-Troike, 2003).

Ethnography was selected as the research method because the ethnographic approach lends itself to an in-depth understanding of cultural groups through prolonged engagement with the community under study (Saville-Troike, 2003). Ethnography differs from alternative data collection methods such as surveys and questionnaires because it requires the researcher to develop

a detailed awareness of the cultural framework of the community. The cultural framework then becomes the lens through which data is analysed.

There are a number of trends in sociolinguistic research that were considered in the formation of the current methodology. The sociolinguistic interview is a longstanding component of sociolinguistic data collection. The method was developed in large part by Labov, and aims to elicit naturalistic or vernacular speech through informal talk between an interviewer and interviewee (Holmes & Hazen, 2014; Mallinson, Childs, & Van Herk, 2013). The sociolinguistic interview considers etic and/or emic identity categories and how these influence language production. Etic categories such as age, sex and socioeconomic status are perceptible to outsiders and are relevant to all communities. Emic categories are specific to a particular community but may not be perceptible or relevant to individuals outside of that community. For instance, Mendoza-Denton (2008) observed the emic categories of membership to one of two opposing female gangs in her study of Sor Juana High School. The study of etic categories has produced important findings based on patterns in language observed across multiple communities. However, a study of etic categories does not necessarily account for a particular community's perspective of the relevance of those categories. Moreover, etic categories are often imposed by analysts and society and may produce a limited understanding of the culture and identity of community members. Study of emic categories can more accurately represent the most relevant identities of a speech community, however these categories are often only accessible to outsiders through prolonged engagement with the community i.e. ethnography (Holmes & Hazen, 2014, p. 34).

Surveys and questionnaires are another common element of sociolinguistic research. These methods are useful for the efficient collection and analysis of large amounts of data on language and identity. In depth questionnaires can produce detailed information on the beliefs, attitudes, linguistic practices and demography of a vast number of people (Holmes & Hazen, 2014). However, surveys and questionnaires often fail to elucidate cultural parameters which influence the interpretation of data. For instance, Saville-Troike (2003, p. 100) notes that answers to survey questions are culture specific, responses to simple questions such as the age of a participant cannot be interpreted without first having knowledge of how the community under study measures age. Ethnography overcomes this problem by requiring the researcher to develop an understanding of the relevant sociocultural paradigms of a community through engagement with the community

prior to the implementation of interviews and/or questionnaires (Holmes & Hazen, 2014; Mallinson et al., 2013; Saville-Troike, 2003).

Experimental techniques are relatively new to sociolinguistic research, however, several studies have demonstrated their ability to investigate how language and social information are perceived by listeners (Drager, 2015). Statistical analysis of speech perception is useful in demonstrating patterns in perceptions. For instance, Drager's (2015) analysis of the perceptions of realisations of [k] in *like* demonstrated a perception of alignment between phonetic realisations and social identities in a New Zealand girl's high school. However, Drager (2015) analysis of the perception tests was supplemented by her understanding of the social frameworks present in the school that she developed through her ethnography. Drager (2015, p. 19) states that the ethnographic background was essential to her understanding of participants' individual styles and stances that may have impacted their performance in the perception experiment.

Therefore, it is evident that there is a broad field of methods which aid sociolinguistic research, however these methods can only produce an in-depth, emic understanding of the community under study when combined with ethnography.

The ethnographic method generally involves a combination of participant observation, interviewing and ethnographic reflexivity conducted over an extended period of time from within the community under study. In linguistic studies, the data collection procedure further requires conducting exhaustive recordings of interactional data (cf. Bucholtz, 2010; Drager, 2015; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). The production of recorded data in the current study is discussed further in Section 3.3. The product of ethnography is rich descriptive data which, when analysed, can yield a great depth of knowledge about the everyday lives of social groups (Saville-Troike, 2003). Ethnography as a method has been applied to studies across various different disciplines, particularly cultural anthropology and sociolinguistics (Saville-Troike, 2003). Several notable sociolinguistic researchers have adopted an ethnographic approach to research on the study of different social groups in high schools in America and New Zealand (Bucholtz, 2010; Drager, 2015; Eckert, 1989; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). The work of these researchers inspired my current sociolinguistic research on the social groups of young ethnic Chinese in two educational institutions in Pontianak.

Prior ethnographic research has demonstrated the importance of integration into the community under study as the method requires the researcher to observe, interview and actively participate in a community (Bucholtz, 2010; Drager, 2015; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). Some researchers have claimed that a high level of integration is necessary in order to thoroughly understand the identity practices of their participants from the perspective of the participants themselves (Mendoza-Denton, 2008). Additionally, integration into the community builds trust between the researcher and their subjects which can lessen the influence of the researcher's presence on the social interactions and linguistic practices of community members (Mendoza-Denton, 2008). The relationships forged between the researcher and participants in this environment must be carefully monitored. Relationships that are too intimate can create dependency and increase researcher subjectivity, however relationships that are too distant can hamper rapport and even imply hostility on the part of the researcher (Hammersley, 2006; LeCompte & Goetz, 1982). Hammersley (2006) therefore suggests that researchers who integrate into the community under study must be aware of the potential for the researcher to impact on participants' behaviours. If the researcher notices some change in their participants that may suggest they are performing or altering their behaviour, or if the participant is becoming dependent, the researcher should adjust or otherwise discontinue the field work (Hammersley, 2006).

Few researchers are able to fully integrate into the community they study due to their age, ethnicity and/or profession that positions them as an outsider (Bucholtz, 2010; Drager, 2015; Eckert, 1989). Some researchers have stated that the outsider position can be advantageous as it allows the researcher to be more objective in their observations and analysis (Eckert, 1989). The relative value of positioning oneself as an insider and an outsider has led many ethnographers to advocate for a middle ground. Saville-Troike (2003) argued that ethnographers should be sufficiently insider to gain a participant's understanding of the community; however, they must also be sufficiently outsider so as to remain objective.

Mendoza-Denton (2008) navigated insider and outsider roles by practicing narrative reflexivity. She refers back to her experiences growing up as a Mexican migrant and narrates her personal responses to what she encountered in the field and compares them with what she has observed. Narrative reflexivity (or ethnographic reflexivity) allows the researcher to elucidate their personal feelings, thoughts and perceptions, and analyse how these responses may impact on the

interactions they observe and participate in (Saville-Troike, 2003). For example, Mendoza-Denton (2008, p. 39) responded with surprise when a fluent English-speaking Mexican participant claimed she socialised with Mexicans and spoke exclusively in Spanish. Mendoza-Denton's response prompted the participant to express disfavour for English language. Additionally, the participant claimed that Spanish-speakers who adopted English as a primary language were denying their ethnic identity. The participant's response was in part indicative of her general disidentification with English. However, Mendoza-Denton reflected on her own response of surprise and noted that it underpinned a presupposition that a near-native English speaker would associate with other English speakers instead of Spanish speakers. Mendoza-Denton's narrative reflexivity in this case led her to determine that her participant's response was also a stance of opposition against this presupposition. Therefore Mendoza-Denton used narrative reflexivity to elucidate how her personal feelings and responses influenced her participants' enactment of identity in interactions in regular and predictable ways. She was able to further evaluate the extent to which acts of identity were influenced by the researcher and by the individual's personal identity through extensive participant observation during the ethnography. In this sense, rigorous narrative reflexivity can be combined with thorough participant observation to produce revealing ethnographies on individuals' negotiation of identity through language use in different social contexts.

However, many researchers claim that objectivity is not possible in ethnographic research. Mendoza-Denton argued that she did not claim to be entirely objective, and states further that her work "was filtered through my own sensibility, my interpretation as well as my equivocation" (Mendoza-Denton, 2008, p. 44). In general, Mendoza-Denton said of researchers that "no ethnographer is a blank notepad, just as no linguist is a tape recorder" (Mendoza-Denton, 2008, p. 48). Drager (2015) echoed this notion in comments on her work on social groups in an all girls' high school in New Zealand. Drager stated that she aimed to be neutral in her research however conceded that "ethnographers are never neutral" (Drager, 2015, p. 29). Drager explained that she could not be considered a neutral ethnographer because she did not act as a control across different groups of girls. Instead, she formed different degrees of intimacy with girls in different groups that impacted their perceptions and interactions with her. In this sense, the researcher's identity and placement in a community is also constantly shifting across different social groups and different social interactions (Drager, 2015, p. 29). The result is that the ethnographer is not a constant, neutral medium through which information passes unaltered. Instead, the ethnographer is a part of

the community under study who contributes to interactions and whose role is negotiated through shifts in the social context. Drager (2015, p. 29) explained that her role shifted from 'pseudo-student' when interacting with her participants, to researcher when teachers mistook her for a student and attempted to reprimand her. The shifts in Drager's role do not undermine the credibility of her study, rather they demonstrate her position as a community member who, like other members, has a different role within different social groups and across different circumstances.

The ethnographic framework is useful for examining social groups in schools because identity in this setting is often constructed in relation to memberships to various groups (Bucholtz, 2010; Drager, 2015). The division between social groups of students is very salient, particularly when the groups are based on race or ethnicity (Bucholtz, 2010; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). Eckert (1989, 2000) stated that high schools foster the creation of oppositional youth styles. There are a number of sources of social division, including gender, educational involvement and extracurricular activities (Bucholtz, 2010; Eckert, 2000). Large amounts of ethnographic research have been conducted on students in high school, however the current setting is focused on past and present university students in an educational and professional setting. The university was selected as the locus for research in the present study because students in Indonesia gain significant personal freedom after entering university (Manns, 2011, p. 84). Firstly, students in university are no longer required to wear a uniform and so have more freedom to construct their identity. Additionally, many students move out of the family home and into (usually) same-sex boarding houses nearby their university, and so are able to spend more time interacting with their friends. The increased time spent with friends can increase the impact of groups on individual identity. Therefore, current and past university students in Indonesia may have a greater freedom and ability to express their identity than students in lower levels of education.

Bucholtz (2010, p. 43) considers race and ethnicity as salient boundaries from which other social divisions are drawn. The racial boundary in schools is especially salient in countries such as America which have very distinct racial categorisations that are based on a Black/White phenotype dichotomy (Bailey, 2013). Researchers have investigated how students enact and negotiate their sense of ethnic identity by identifying and explaining linguistic practices of their participants that enabled these participants to construct their identity as members of particular social groups and non-members of others (Bucholtz, 2010; Drager, 2015; Eckert, 1989; Mendoza-Denton, 2008).

Indonesia also has a salient sense of racial and ethnic division, however, instead of being based on two opposing racial categories, race in Indonesia can encompass an array of different categorisations that differ from city to city. Although, there is one pair of oppositional racial/ethnic categories that is salient throughout Indonesia – that is the distinction between *pribumi* and non-*pribumi* Indonesians (Handoko, 2007). Over the last 200 years, this racial division has had significant impact on the Chinese community. In my current study, I develop a deep level of understanding of the identity practices of Chinese students at two educational institutions in Pontianak, West Kalimantan, Indonesia. I investigate how they negotiate their ethnic identity, their national identity and their phenotype in their interactions with different groups of students and teachers.

In the current study, I drew on ethnographic methodology by implementing participant observation, interviews and ethnographic reflexivity over seven months across two educational institutions in Pontianak. I navigated between insider and outsider status by integrating into the relevant social groups at Protestant Kindergarten and Catholic College as much as possible. I spent extensive time socialising with participants in and out of the institutions and built carefully monitored relationships with those whom I studied. I became a partial participant in social interactions as I engaged in conversations peripherally and adopted a predominantly listener role. In this sense I was a partial insider, I regularly fraternised with participants and their peers within their social world, however my status as a foreign researcher positioned me at the periphery of social circles. This strategy allowed me to gain the trust of my participants and understand their sense of social and personal identity whilst remaining sufficiently removed from social interactions to permit rigorous analysis. In addition, during the second phase of the methodology, I removed myself from social interactions between participants to reduce the impact of the researcher's presence when participants were recording.

Like Drager (2015) and Mendoza-Denton (2008), I do not claim total objectivity; instead I present an understanding of young Chinese girls' enactment of ethnic identity through the perspective of the girls themselves. The interpretation of the identity practices of the participants whom I studied is filtered through my personal experience and engagement with the community, as is the case for any researcher conducting ethnography (Drager, 2015; Mendoza-Denton, 2008).

I continually practiced ethnographic reflexivity by reflecting on my personal values, beliefs and responses to the social circumstances I observed in the field and how they may influence the interpretation of participants' linguistic practices and negotiation of ethnic identity. For instance, I continually reflected on my relationships with several participants with whom I became close. Most girls perceived me as a friendly researcher and acquaintance, however, several others perceived me as a friend and confidant, and would regularly confide in me about their difficulties balancing parental expectations, romantic relationships and their education. Intimacy between the researcher and the subject can compromise the credibility of a study, however, "without humanity, we lose our ability to understand others" (Agar, 1980, p. 13). I did not resist the shift from researcher to friend because it would have compromised my credibility in the eyes of participants. However, I kept rigorous notes on how it may influence my perception of the girls' identities and their relationships to their peers (cf. Drager, 2015; Mendoza-Denton, 2008).

3.2 Phase I: Participant recruitment and observation

At the start of the first stage at the beginning of the fieldwork, 24 participants were recruited across two research sites; Protestant kindergarten and Catholic College. Eight kindergarten teachers were recruited from Protestant kindergarten, and 16 students were recruited from Catholic College. Participants were female, aged between 18 and 26 and lived in Pontianak city at the time of the study. The following sections will outline the initial observation period at both educational institutions: Protestant Kindergarten and Catholic College, as well as the process of participant recruitment.

3.2.1 Selection of the Research Sites

I noted in Chapter 1 that Pontianak was chosen as the site for research in this study for several reasons. Researchers have suggested that the Pontianak Chinese have preserved their culture and language to a greater extent than those in other areas of Indonesia (Heidhues, 2003). Additionally, the relationship between the Chinese and non-Chinese Indonesian communities is relatively harmonious (Heidhues, 2003; Hoon, 2009). Pontianak was once considered a safe haven for ethnic Chinese who returned to Pontianak to escape the anti-Chinese violence of the May 1998 Riots that epitomised the height of Anti-Chinese sentiment in Indonesia during the Suharto era (Heidhues, 2003, p. 265). The positive relationship between ethnic Chinese and non-Chinese Indonesian communities has continued to grow following the reformation era (Hoon, 2008). However, as

mentioned in Chapter 1, anti-Chinese sentiment still remains in Pontianak to some degree. The dichotomy of interethnic harmony and interethnic difference, present in the city, make Pontianak the ideal location for an examination of how young ethnic Chinese Indonesian's conceptualisation and expression of their identity through language may be affected by these competing influences of the state and the local ethnic community.

The research on young Chinese Indonesians' language and identity was conducted across two private Christian educational institutions in Pontianak. I selected two educational institutions in Pontianak based on their demographic characteristics. The institutions had to be privately-funded, Christian (Protestant or Catholic) and have a large Chinese student population, aged between 18 and 25. The majority of ethnic Chinese students in Pontianak and elsewhere in Indonesia attend private Christian institutions (Hoon, 2011). This trend emerged partly in response to government policy spanning from the Dutch Colonial rule to the New Order regime, and continues to this day (Coppel, 1983; Hoon, 2011). Christian institutions attended by Chinese are non-government organisations that are managed and established either by Chinese churches or wealthy Chinese business people (Hoon, 2011, p. 406). The Christian institutions therefore emerge at the heart of Chinese communities, and act as the epicentres for the transmission of Chinese language, culture, religion and identity (Hoon, 2011). Therefore, private Chinese Christian institutions serve as important grounds for the study of ethnic Chinese identity in Pontianak.

The decision to conduct fieldwork across two locales was based on previous work which advocated for the exploration of a range of different social settings to gain an in-depth understanding of the linguistic and identity practices of a particular community (Eckert, 1989; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). The two sites created different circumstances for interactions including differing levels of formality, power and intimacy between interlocutors. The different circumstances created several avenues for the investigation of language use and identity amongst Chinese youth that produced a more complete ethnography. I selected Pontianak Protestant Kindergarten (PPK) and Pontianak Catholic College (PCC) as sites for research. The two institutions I selected were chosen because they fulfilled the basic requirements for selection: they were both private Christian institutions with large Chinese student and teacher populations. The two institutions were also connected as many of the teachers who worked at PPK were current or past students of PCC. These institutions are outlined in more detail in the following paragraphs.

Pontianak Protestant Kindergarten (PPK) was a school managed and established by a Protestant church which had a local reputation for having a largely Chinese congregation. I made contact with the school principal and some of the teachers through a contact I had within the church. I discovered that the teaching staff were all Christians and 13 out of 14 were ethnically Chinese. The teachers were all current students or college graduates, and all were aged between 19 and 26, and most (12 out of 14) were female. I decided that PPK would be a suitable site for research and after communicating briefly with the principal and several teachers at the church, I was invited to conduct my study within the school in exchange for my assistance in English language classes.

Of the 14 teachers at PPK, nine were current or past students of the local Catholic College[3]. The teachers still attending college were part of different faculties, but the majority were members of the semester four class at ABA (*Akademi Bahasa Asing*) 'Foreign Language Academy'. The foreign language faculty at PCC was quite small relative to other faculties at the institution, and there was only one class in each semester (albeit a class of 40). The student body of ABA was almost exclusively Chinese and at least 75% female. The reported demographics met the requirements for the present study, and so I initiated fieldwork at PCC and focused on the semester four class of the ABA faculty. I focused on the semester four class for several reasons, first because I felt that as a native speaker of English, I would have something to offer participants in return for their participation in the study (Eckert, 1989; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). I regularly helped participants with their classwork and homework, all of which was English-medium. Secondly, all the students in semester four attended all the same classes, as they had done in semesters one to three. This combined with the smaller class size (relative to other classes at PCC) resulted in all the students knowing each other and being forced to interact with one another at some point in time. Thirdly, I selected semester four students because they would already have established friendship groups and potentially have a clearer understanding of their personal identity and the identity of others, and how these identities affected interpersonal relationships (cf. Drager, 2015). Finally, I already knew two students attending the semester four class as they were also teachers at PPK. This was important because I was concerned that as a foreign researcher, who was older than participants, I could be perceived as aligned with the lecturers at PCC. My familiarity with two students in semester four allowed for some separation between myself and the administrative

[3]The majority of teachers at PPK are Protestant however, there is only one Christian tertiary education institution in Pontianak and therefore Christians of several different denominations attend Pontianak Catholic College.

side of the institution and facilitated closer relationships with students. I will provide further details on the educational settings, as well as the participants themselves in the discussion of the participant selection procedure in Chapter 3.

3.2.2 Beginning Fieldwork

I began fieldwork at PPK and PCC by drawing on the ethnographic method of participant observation to gain a broad picture of the range of social interactions within both institutions over a period of one month. During this time, I had not yet recruited participants for the study and thus I did not record participant interactions. Instead, I observed and made field notes on the communities as a whole. The aim of the initial observation period was primarily to establish my position in the community and to familiarize myself with the teachers and students whom I would study. Several researchers spent time "hanging out" with their participants informally before commencing formal participant observation and recording (Bucholtz, 2010; Drager, 2015; Eckert, 1989; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). Eckert (1989, p. 30) stated that this procedure was necessary in order to establish her position in the school as "an outsider with no great status – someone who was tolerated in the school but not associated with the functioning of the institution". I similarly attempted to establish myself as an unimposing outsider and friendly listener at PPK and PCC, however my role across these two institutions necessarily differed.

At PPK, it was easier to establish my position within the teachers' group because I was closer in age to the participants and we shared a similar role in the school. I was however, concerned, that as a native speaker of English and a PhD candidate, teachers might perceive me as a superior. I circumvented this problem by acting as a teacher's assistant in classes. I assisted in English classes only when called upon and deferred to teachers whenever students asked for help or support. I also spent time out of class mingling with teachers in the staff room at school as well as attending lunches and shopping expeditions outside the school to establish myself as a friendly colleague.

At PCC, establishing my position in the class was more difficult. I could not be considered a student because I was foreign, much older than participants and working in a professional capacity. As previously mentioned, I also had to avoid being associated with lecturers as this would have compromised my credibility with students. I distanced myself from the lecturers by limiting my interaction with them in class and physically removing myself from areas where they socialised

out of class (e.g. the staffroom) (cf. Bucholtz, 2010). Instead, I spent all my time in the institutions socialising with students in student areas including the canteen, the classroom and nearby food stalls. I was able to further disrupt the formation of any perceived allegiance to lecturers by regularly siding with students when the opportunity arose (Bucholtz, 2010; Eckert, 1989). For instance, lecturers mandated that students not talk to one another during class, however, when students initiated conversations with me during class, I would participate. Occasionally, lecturers reprimanded me for talking to students in class which further served to align me with participants.

During the initial observation period, I also made notes on the demography of the institutions, the prominent social groups within the institutions, the relationships between different social groups, as well as the relationships between different ethnic groups within the institutions. Additionally, I made note of appropriate social settings in which to record audio data outside of the classroom, including the hallways, the canteen and the nearby food stalls where people would often congregate in between classes (cf. Goebel, 2005). Several researchers have demonstrated that observing the communities they examined as a whole before commencing research allowed them to determine the social categories relevant to their respective studies (Drager, 2015; Eckert, 1989; Goebel, 2005, 2010; Kiesling, 1996; Mendoza-Denton, 2008).

I observed that social categories of Chinese and non-Chinese ethnicity were relevant, as predicted, however, I noticed that there were also further sub-categories of Chinese and non-Chinese that were consistent across both institutions. I observed key differences between Khek Chinese and Teochew Chinese identities as well as Malay and Dayak *pribumi* identities. Additionally, a category in between Chinese and *pribumi* emerged as individuals identified themselves and others as *kiose* ‘mixed ethnicity’. These categories are discussed in more depth in the following chapter on perceptions and classifications of ethnicity. The identification of the different categories of Chinese identity influenced the participant selection as I was careful to recruit participants who represented each of these categories.

There were some similarities I noted across the two institutions under study however there were also some notable differences. The social composition of the teacher group at PPK was quite different to that of the student body of Semester Four at PCC. The teacher group at PPK was relatively unified, all the teachers socialised together as a group before and after classes. There were more intimate relationships between smaller groups of two or three teachers; however, all the

teachers were friendly with one another and regularly interacted collectively. The teachers claimed to all be friends, and most had known each other in college or through the church before working together at PPK. Therefore, I treated the teachers as part of one friendship group from which I recruited participants for the study.

By contrast, there was a clear separation between different social groups of students at PCC. The most significant division was a physical separation between two large groups on either side of the semester four classroom. Most students who sat on the left side of the classroom were Teochew speakers from wealthy families and did not work whilst studying, they had all attended private schools and wore the latest fashions. Most of the Khek Chinese students and students of mixed-ethnicity sat on the right side of the classroom. The students on the right side were also from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and most had part-time jobs and had attended government schools. There were smaller friendship groups of three to five students within the two larger social groups. These groups appeared to be differentiated by their language preferences. For instance, four of the six Khek speakers in the class sat together at the far right side of the classroom. I attempted to recruit equal numbers of students from each side of the classroom, and from each of the smaller friendship groups so that all the social groups were represented.

3.2.3 Participant Recruitment

After the first month of observation, I started recruiting participants. Initially, I aimed to recruit 20 female students and teachers at PPK and PCC. I decided to focus exclusively on ethnic Chinese girls, as other researchers have done in previous studies in response to particular physical and cultural settings (Drager, 2015; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Rampton, 1995). The decision to recruit Chinese girls was firstly practical; the demographics of both PPK and PCC were such that there were far fewer males than females. As a result, females would invariably be more highly represented in the data than males. Secondly, the decision was prompted by the cultural context. Some researchers studying Indonesian communities have noted the difficulty of examining participants of genders different to the researcher's own due to cultural constraints on interactions with the opposite sex (cf. Parker & Nilan, 2013). At the beginning of fieldwork, I noticed that I was able to establish familiarity and intimacy more easily with girls than with boys at both institutions. The girls openly shared aspects of their lives with me, and often initiated communications. The boys whom I initially approached did not express the same level of comfort

in their interactions with me and did not initiate interactions. I then realized that the level of intimacy I achieved with the girls whom I would study was not achievable in my interactions with boys. Therefore, I resolved to exclusively study females at PPK and PCC.

I first recruited participants from the teachers' group at PPK and then explored their social networks at PCC. Several researchers have demonstrated the success of drawing on expansive social networks to recruit participants (Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Rampton, 1995). Participants from PPK were requested to tell their friends in the semester four class at PCC about the study and invite them to participate. I presented the study through the students' peers where possible to give the study more credibility and avoid the perception of myself colluding with lecturers and school administration (Bucholtz, 2010; Drager, 2015; Eckert, 1989; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). Some smaller social groups at PCC were not accessible to participants from PPK. In those cases, I directly invited students from each relevant group to participate in the study to ensure that every group was represented.

Criteria for participation in the study were as follows. Individuals who volunteered for the study but did not meet the criteria for participation were excluded from the results.

1. Participants must currently be living in Pontianak city.
2. Participants must be aged between 18-26
3. Participants must have at least one Chinese parent
4. Participants must be female

I recruited students aged between 18 and 26, because individuals within in this age range are considered to be at an intermediary stage between childhood and adulthood (Manns, 2011). As previously mentioned, youth of this age are beginning to experience adult life and the freedoms that come with it, however, they are still tied to educational institutions that position them as pre-adults.

All participants were told that the study focused on the everyday language use of young people in Pontianak. I did not specifically mention ethnicity because in the Indonesian cultural context, ethnicity has historically been a taboo subject, particularly in relation to the ethnic Chinese (Handoko, 2009; Purdey, 2006; Suryadinata, 1976, 1978, 2002; M. G. Tan, 2004). I therefore

decided to allow participants to introduce the topic of ethnicity as they saw fit, rather than have me impose it upon them (Bucholtz, 2010).

I recruited 24 participants in total across PPK and PCC. I recruited 8 teachers from PPK (see Table 2 below), and 16 students from PCC (see Table 3 below).

Table 2: PPK Participant Demographic

Name	Age	Ethnicity	Hometown	First Language
Wendy[4]	24	Chinese	Pontianak	Teochew
Maria	21	Chinese	Singkawang	Khek Singkawang[5]
Natalia	20	Chinese	Ketapang	Teochew
Sofia	22	Chinese	Pontianak	Teochew
Fiona	20	Chinese	Pontianak	Khek
Elizabeth	22	Chinese	Pontianak	Teochew
Alice	22	Chinese	Pontianak	Indonesian
Janice	26	Chinese	Siantan	Khek

Table 3: PCC Participant Demographic

Name	Age	Ethnicity	Hometown	First Language	Side of class
Agustina	20	Chinese	Pontianak	Teochew	Right
Gilda	19	Mixed-ethnicity	Pontianak	Indonesian	Right
Ratna	20	Chinese	Siantan	Khek/Teochew	Right
Farah	19	Chinese	Siantan	Teochew	Right
Linda	19	Mixed-ethnicity	Siantan	Indonesian/Teochew	Right
Nadya	20	Mixed-ethnicity	Pontianak	Indonesian	Right
Nandi	18	Chinese	Pontianak	Khek	Right
Etta	18	Chinese	Siantan	Khek	Right
Lestari	20	Chinese	Pontianak	Teochew	Left

[4] Pseudonyms are used throughout the study to protect participants' privacy.
[5] Khek Singkawang is a variety of Chinese Khek language that is spoken primarily in Singkawang. Participants noted considerable differences in the vocabulary and phonology of Khek Singkawang and Khek Pontianak.

Wilma	20	Chinese	Pontianak	Khek	Left
Esther	19	Dayak	Sintang	Dayak	Left
Jasmine	18	Mixed-ethnicity	Pontianak	Indonesian	Left
Olivia	18	Chinese	Pontianak	Khek	Left
Dewi	20	Chinese	Pontianak	Teochew	Left
Valerie	20	Chinese	Pontianak	Teochew	Left
Putri	20	Chinese	Pontianak	Teochew	Left

3.3 Phase II: Participant recordings

The second phase of data collection produced recordings of participants' interactions with their peers within the institutional setting. The aim of the second phase was to obtain data on participants' use of language in different social circumstances to negotiate different identities. A number of researchers have shown that recording participants in a variety of settings can produce a detailed account of the different strategies used by individuals to negotiate identity in different contexts (Bailey, 2013; Bucholtz, 2010; Drager, 2015; Eckert, 2002; Goebel, 2005, 2010; Oetomo, 1987; Rampton, 1995).

Several researchers have produced recordings of participant interactions whilst being physically present (Bailey, 2013; Bucholtz, 2009, 2010; Drager, 2015; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). The researcher's presence can have significant benefits such as being able to observe para-linguistic or non-linguistic variables such as gestures and facial expressions that may impact on the interpretation of communications (cf. Bailey, 2013). However, a noted problem with this method is posed by the observer's paradox, as a researcher's presence may influence participants' behaviour and produce unnatural data (L. Milroy, 1987). Some researchers dealt with this problem by integrating into the community that they studied (Bucholtz, 2010; Drager, 2015; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; L. Milroy, 1987). Unfortunately, my identity as a foreigner, a researcher and someone slightly older than the majority of my participants, made it impossible to fully integrate into the community. Therefore, I followed other researchers by not being physically present for the recordings and instead asking participants to record themselves (Kurniasih, 2006; Rampton, 1995).

Wearing a microphone can affect the naturalness of social interactions (Rampton, 1995, p. 351). Rampton circumvented this problem by giving the participants the radio-microphones for longer stretches of time (three or four consecutive days) so that their novelty of using the equipment would wear off (Rampton, 1995, p. 351). I adapted Rampton's method by lending a recording device to each of the participants for one school week (five days) and asking them to record themselves at the institution. Additionally, I allowed each participant to use the recorders for one day before starting their week of recording. I did so to allow participants to learn how to use the recording devices and to identify any problems with the equipment. This method also reduced the novelty of using the recorders during the official recording process. Participants were instructed not to use the recording devices during class time, and instead focus on recording themselves chatting with friends before and after class. I did not place any further restrictions on recordings as I wanted participants to focus solely on producing recordings of natural conversation with their peers. All students in the semester four class were advised that the 16 participants would be recording their conversations with classmates, and if their classmates did not wish to be recorded, they should ask participants not to record them.

The second data collection method produced approximately 600 hours of recorded conversation between participants and their peers at PPK and PCC. Of the 600 hours of raw data, 50 hours of conversation were selected for analysis. Recordings were selected in order to represent a wide variety of social settings within the institutions as well as variation in language use. The following criteria were set for the selection of recordings:

1. Each recorded conversation must be of at least 10 minutes in length
2. Individual recordings that exceeded 30 minutes length were cut into smaller segments of conversation. Any periods of dead air or inaudible communication exceeding two minutes were edited out of the recordings (the edits were, however, noted on the transcripts I produced).
3. A minimum of four recordings and a maximum of twelve recordings must be selected from each participant's pool of recorded data. Therefore, a total of two hours of recorded data must be selected from each participant's recording pool.
4. Selected recordings must involve the participant interacting within two different social settings (i.e. with different groups of girls). If possible, recordings will be selected from

participant interactions with members of their social group, and members of other social groups.

5. Selected recordings must involve the participant in at least two different physical settings (e.g. in an empty classroom, hallway, canteen or food stall).
6. There must be a total pool of approximately 200 individual recordings and 50 hours of data.

I selected recordings of participant interactions in the classroom, at the canteen and at nearby food stalls and restaurants. In most cases, the interactions occurred between smaller groups of two or three participants. Additionally, I analysed recordings from larger group events such as games of truth or dare, played during free periods. I selected recordings which represented a range of naturally occurring social circumstances in and out of the institutions to analyse participants' negotiation of identity in different social circumstances. Shifts in the physical setting, such as moving from the classroom to the canteen, may have resulted in shifts in self-presentation. Likewise, shifts in groups of interlocutors resulted in shifts in language to index different relationships and accommodate different linguistic preferences and/or proficiencies.

3.3.1 Analytical Framework for Interactional Data

The data set produced was analysed using a combination of methods. Interactional analysis is the basic framework for the analysis of discourse in the present study. Interactional analysis (or interactional sociolinguistics) is a sub-field of discourse analysis that specifically deals with the analysis of the role of discourse in producing social meaning. Discourse here is considered a coherent unit of language presented in written or spoken form (Crystal, 1992). In the current study, the discourse analysed through interactional analysis includes recorded conversations between participants in educational institutions.

Interactional analysis was selected as the analytical framework because it takes into account the content, structure and wider social context of discourse. In this sense, spoken language is viewed as "the machinery that produces the social world moment by moment" (Bucholtz, 2010, p. 7). According to interactional analysis, speakers use language to position themselves in relation to their social setting, and in doing so continuously construct their social reality, including their own and others' identities (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998). Therefore, interactional analysts consider speakers as actively "doing" identities within interaction, rather than being fixed members of various social categories or groups (Bucholtz, 2010; Fenstermaker & West, 2002). In essence,

interactional analysis is valuable for accounting for the negotiation of identity across different social circumstances.

Interactional analysis shares some similarities with other sub-fields of discourse analysis such as conversational analysis. On a fundamental level, interactional analysis and conversation analysis both produce a qualitative analysis of functional and meaningful aspects of language and they both treat language as a social action (Wooffitt, 2005). However, conversation analysis exclusively deals with language use at the conversational level; it focuses on the sequential analysis of patterns in interaction on a turn by turn basis. For example, conversation analysis may include analysis of repair strategies, turn taking and minimal pairs, and examines how each utterance is influenced by the utterance before it and the one after it (Wei, 2002).

Some aspects of conversational analysis, such as turn taking, can be considered through interactional analysis, as they are in the current study. However, conversational analysis differs from interactional analysis because it does not take into consideration the wider social function of talk and the broad social context within which talk is produced. For instance, conversation analysis does not account for the impact of pre-existing social inequalities, racial prejudices or language ideologies on language (Wooffitt, 2005). By contrast, applications of interactional analysis require consideration of the relative impact of historically relevant social factors on language use. Gumperz (1999, p. 456) states that interactional analysis requires a shift away from analysis of the structural elements of talk, such as grammar, and a focus on the cultural schema or frames (such as language ideologies and interethnic tensions) that bracket conversations, and thereby affect the interpretation of what transpires through talk. For example, Bucholtz (2011, p. 74) found that the ideological black-white dichotomy present in Bay City High influenced the distribution of racialized slang terms such as *nigga*. The term was used frequently as a marker of in-group solidarity amongst black males but was entirely off-limits to white students due to the historical context of its pejorative use by white people in North America.

In Pontianak, there are several broad social constructs that can shape conversation, such as widespread socioeconomic and racial inequality and prejudice (Handoko, 2009; Purdey, 2006; M. G. Tan, 1991). It is essential to consider these constructs in the analysis because even if they are not directly represented in conversation, they may still influence the background expectations and interpretations of speech (Fairclough, 1995). Gumperz (1999) claims that what is not said in

conversation can be as important as what is directly represented in speech, and the primary mode of interpreting conversational inference is through background knowledge of culturally relevant presuppositions. One mode through which outside researchers can have access to cultural presuppositions is through ethnographic fieldwork (Gumperz & Hymes, 1972).

Therefore, interactional analysis was a more appropriate choice for the framework of the analysis because it functions effectively alongside ethnography and considers conversations as a part of the wider social world. Furthermore, the focus of interactional analysis is revealing how interaction functions to form speakers' identities (Bucholtz, 2010; Wooffitt, 2005). Speakers can draw on symbolic associations between linguistic forms and social identities to produce and negotiate their personal identity in conversation. For instance, Kiesling (2004) demonstrated that male college students in American fraternities used the symbolic associations between the address term *dude* and laid-back, masculine identity to construct a stance of 'cool solidarity' with their peers. The role of interactional analysis in this case is to explore patterns in linguistic practices that contribute to the enactment of stances that then (re)produce social identities (Kiesling, 2001, 2004). The following section will detail how interactional analysis can be used alongside chronotopic frame theory to effectively account for identity work in conversation.

3.3.2 Interactional Analysis and Chronotopic Frame response

Interactional analysis is implemented as the broad analytical framework for examining the connection between language use at the sentence level and the wider social world in which it is produced. Chronotopic frame theory is the theoretical framework used to explore how the broad social context of talk simultaneously influences and is influenced by momentary linguistic practices and identity work. Interactional analysis complements chronotopic frame theory in two key ways. Firstly, interactional analysis looks beyond the immediate context of discourse by considering the wider social function of talk and the broad social context in which it is produced (Wooffitt, 2005). This analytical framework considers the sociocultural backdrop that informs and frames the content and meaning of discourse. Chronotopes and chronotopic frames are a theoretical perspective which can account for the relationship between the here and now of interaction and previously occurring interactions that make up this sociocultural backdrop. Chronotopic frame theory suggests that each time a speaker uses a linguistic token it is grouped together with previous utterances of the token (Bakhtin, 1981; Blommaert, 2015). This

categorization process invokes a chronotope which points to a particular position in timespace (e.g. fairytale stories) which then reproduces a set of attributions which include the expected content, language, behaviours and roles of individuals involved in ongoing discourse. This set of attributions, known as a chronotopic frame, then influences the composition and interpretation of talk as well as the behaviours and identities of those involved in interaction. In other words, chronotopic frames emerge through the repeated use of particular linguistic tokens in particular sociocultural settings to perform particular social functions in discourse. These chronotopic frames provide the sociocultural lens through which all following talk should be perceived and understood. The combination of interactional analysis and chronotopic frame theory serve to connect momentary interaction to broader trends in social behavior.

Secondly, interactional analysis is compatible with chronotopic frame theory because it considers identity work as the product of a constant positioning and repositioning of the self in relation to one's environment (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; Bucholtz, 2010). Blommaert and De Fina's (2016) notion of chronotopically conditioned identities can be further used to develop an understanding of how and why individuals' shift their enactment of identity across different contexts. I explained in Chapter 2 that individuals' identities are constructed through chronotopic frame response. As previously mentioned, chronotopic frames include a set of attributions including roles and behaviours that are expected in a particular context. Individuals can respond to chronotopic frames by reproducing the expected roles and behaviors coded in the frames or diverging from them. In Chapter 2, I provided the example of the chronotopic frame of the fairytale genre. This chronotopic frame may involve the role and behaviours of a Prince. The Prince can enact behaviours that index bravery and chivalry and hence fit the fairytale chronotopic frame. Alternatively, a Prince could exhibit behaviours such as cowardice and boorishness which deviate from the fairytale chronotopic frame. The decision to converge or diverge from expected behaviours can frame an individual's stance and identity as conventional or transgressive.

Blommaert and De Fina (2016) stated that different chronotopic frames will produce different responses and hence different identities. As stated in Chapter 2, changes in the timespace arrangements produce shifts in roles, discourses and modes of interaction, amongst other things. The invocation of different chronotopes, and hence chronotopic frames therefore impacts on the particular identity behaviours that individuals will exhibit.

Therefore, interactional analysis provides the broadstroke framework for analyzing how discourse at the sentence level relates to wider social practice and the sociocultural context. Chronotopic frame theory provides the theoretical understanding of how aspects of the sociocultural backdrop of interaction affect and are invoked through the linguistic practices, stances and identities of interlocutors.

3.4 Phase III: Interviews

The third phase of the methodology entailed conducting two sets of semi-structured interviews in Indonesian with each of the participants. Both sets of interviews were informal and semi-structured because researchers have suggested that interviews with a flexible structure allow the interviewee to manage the topic of conversation, and select what they think is most important to discuss (Bucholtz, 2010; Dörnyei, 2007; Eckert, 2002; Kiesling, 1996; Saville-Troike, 2003). This is important as the aim of the study is to understand the identity practices of young ethnic Chinese from the perspective of the participants' themselves. Additionally, informal semi-structured interviews tend to elicit more naturalistic responses than formal interviews because interviewees are made more comfortable and at ease (Bucholtz, 2010; Mendoza-Denton, 2008).

The first set of interviews were conducted individually with all of the 24 participants. Participants were first asked several questions to establish demographic variables (e.g. age, school, work, family background). They were also asked to describe their perceptions of different groups in Pontianak, and the language varieties they were identified with. The aim of the first set of interviews was to establish participants' sense of their own ethnic identity, their perceptions of various groups within their institution and their perception of the significance of language and phenotype in ethnic categorisations.

The second set of interviews began one month after the final interview of the first set to reduce any priming effects. The content and structure of the second set of interviews was based on that used by Manns (2011) in his examination of the perception of different language varieties in Malang and the identities with which they were associated. The interviews were conducted in small groups of between two and four participants. The second interview lasted between 45 minutes and one hour for each group. The interview required each group to listen to five 30 second recordings of five different voices. Participants were asked to listen to each recording once and

answer questions as a group about the identity of the speaker based on what they ascertained from their voice. The interview was designed to explore how participants made ethnic classifications based on language alone. Following the voice identification activity, I conducted a photographic identification activity which required participants to pair each of the five voices with one of six photographs. The purpose of this component of the interview was to examine how participants drew on perceptions of language and phenotype to make ethnic classifications of others. Unfortunately, the analysis of this component of the interview was beyond the scope of the current thesis, for more information on this experimental procedure see (Birnie-Smith, Forthcoming).

The recorded segments used in the interview were taken from conversations with members of a neighbourhood in Pontianak, including my Indonesian housemates, my neighbours and Alfamart staff, all of whom were young girls. The five voices that were selected were all female to remove the gender variable in the identification process. In each recording the speaker talked about various aspects of everyday life in Pontianak such as grocery shopping, the internet and cultural celebrations (See Appendix III). The topics were selected by the speakers themselves. Some references to culture and language are present in the recordings but they are all nonspecific (e.g. Dayak Speaker 1 listed all the ethnic groups present in Pontianak). I was careful to select segments of each conversation that did not contain any reference to the speaker's ethnicity or religion, or their perceptions of other ethnicities or religions. The recorded segments were drawn from naturally occurring conversation between myself and each individual speaker to avoid the possibility that speakers would perform their language (Dörnyei, 2007). In most cases I edited my voice out of the recording; however, in one case (Khek Speaker 2), I opted to keep my voice in the recording to facilitate comprehension. It is possible that having two speakers within one recording can create difficulty for classification of the speaker. However, being a non-native speaker of Indonesian language(s), my voice was readily distinguishable from the other conversational participant. Moreover, participant responses did not appear to be affected by the presence of my voice as Khek Speaker 2 was one of the most consistently classified voices (see Section 4.4.1).

Table 4: The five speakers featured in the five recordings, their ethnicities and their mother tongues.

Speaker no.	Ethnicity	Mother Tongue
1	Dayak	Indonesian
2	Chinese	Khek Chinese
3	Malay	Pontianak Malay
4	Chinese	Teochew Chinese
5	Chinese	Teochew and Khek Chinese

All the speakers had different linguistic preferences, but all were recorded when speaking a variety of Indonesian. The Khek Chinese Speaker 2, Malay Speaker 3 and Teochew Speaker 4 all included linguistic features of their mother tongue in their spoken Indonesian. I deliberately selected segments of conversation which included linguistic variables associated with the relevant variety of Indonesian to test whether these variables were significant in participants' classifications of ethnicity. In the case of Khek Speaker 2, I selected a segment of conversation in which the speaker used a combination of Khek and Teochew features to investigate which features would outweigh the others in classification.

The Dayak Speaker 1 and Chinese Speaker 5 were only recorded whilst speaking more standard Indonesian. As previously discussed, standard Indonesian is a standardised variety of Malay used in formal settings such as education, government and business (Errington, 1998; Sneddon, 2003b). It differs from other regional varieties of Malay, such as Pontianak Malay, which are used in informal communicative settings within different areas of Indonesia (Asmah, 1977). Bahasa Indonesia was noted by other researchers as an "un-native" or outgroup language that is not associated with any particular ethnic group (Errington, 1998). However, more recent research in Java has suggested that low and high varieties of Bahasa Indonesia are associated with particular social identities (Manns, 2011). Therefore, their inclusion allowed me to investigate the potential perceived link (if any) between Bahasa Indonesia and ethnicity.

3.5 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter provided a detailed account of the methodology used to conduct the current study. I explained that the current study adopted an ethnographic approach to research because ethnography allows the researcher to achieve an in-depth understanding of socially meaningful identities and linguistic practices from the perspective of the community under study. I explained that I conducted ethnographic fieldwork through the implementation of a three-phase methodological framework. The first phase of the methodology involved participant observation. Following on, the second phase focused on recording interactional data. I explained that interactional analysis provides the broad framework for analyzing recorded data. I further explained that this analytical framework complements the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 2 because interactional analysis examines how discourse at the sentence level relates to wider social practice and the sociocultural context. Chronotopic frame theory provides the theoretical understanding of how aspects of the sociocultural backdrop affect and are invoked through the linguistic practices, stances and identities of interlocutors. The third phase of the methodology included two sets of interviews, the second of which incorporated an identification activity. In the following chapter, I examine the results of the first and second set of interviews to explore participants' perceptions of the chronotopic formulations and resulting chronotopic frames that are invoked by Chinese and Indonesian linguistic features.

Chapter 4: The Impact of Language Ideology on Perceptions and Classifications of Ethnicity

4.0 Introduction

Language is one of the primary mediums through which individuals exhibit their identity, and have their identity judged by others (Bailey, 2013; Lopez, Walker, & Spinel, 2015; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). In the case of ethnicity, individuals can draw on their perceptions of the social meaning(s) indexed by visual characteristics and linguistic features to make judgements on others' ethnicities (Bailey, 2013; Lopez, 2008). The current chapter examines how perceptions of language affect classifications of ethnicity in an Indonesian cultural context.

The role of language is instrumental the construction and negotiation of socially salient identities (Bucholtz, 2010; Eckert, 1989, 2002; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). There is a wealth of studies analysing the role of language in constructing and interpreting ethnic identity (Bailey, 2013; Bucholtz, 2010; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). The role of language in classifications of ethnic identity has been shown to be connected to perduring language ideologies that emerge from particular historical, political and social contexts (McIntosh, 2005; S. Tan, 2012).

In the Indonesian context, government policy and monologic ideology has had a considerable influence on dominant language ideologies (Goebel, 2015; Kurniasih, 2016; Smith-Hefner, 2007). The upgrading of one Malay variety to the national language and the downgrading of all other language varieties impacted on the perceived indexicality of various language varieties and the groups of Indonesian citizens who used them most frequently. On the local level, the perceptions of the indexicality of different language varieties within the Chinese community in Pontianak is influenced by the historical tensions between ethnic groups in the region (Heidhues, 2003). The perduring social divisions of ethnic groups in Pontianak appear to have contributed to stronger associations between language varieties and particular social identities (cf. Irvine & Gal, 2000).

The current chapter will demonstrate that national and local language ideologies impact on individuals' classifications of others' ethnicities based on their language use.

The chapter begins with a brief summary of the analytical concepts of indexicality, chronotopic frames and speaker bias which are applied in the present study. I then provide a short account of ethnicity in Indonesia, focusing on the ethnic Chinese minority. Following on, I discuss some prior Indonesian and non-Indonesian studies of language ideology, and how these impact and are impacted by the perceived social status associated with the use of different languages in Indonesia. I lastly present, analyse and discuss this study's data on young ethnic Chinese people's perceptions of language and the influence of these perceptions on ethnic categorisations. Overall the chapter demonstrates that ethnic biases and perceived indexicality of language, despite being largely overlooked in Indonesian linguistic research, provide a substantial resource for classifications of ethnicity, and manifest in complex and context-dependent ways.

4.1 Indexicality, Chronotope and Listener Bias

The current study draws on indexicality, chronotopes and listener bias to analyse relationships between perceptions of language and ethnicity. Research conducted on listener perceptions has demonstrated that listeners' expectations regarding ethnicity are influenced by perceptions of language (Carpenter, Devonish, & Coore, 2008; Russell & Babel, 2013). For example, Carpenter et al (2008) found that Jamaican children formulated expectations regarding ethnic phenotypes based on their perception of speech. The reverse is also true, as individuals' ethnic biases affect their expectations of speech production (Babel, 2009; Russell & Babel, 2013). In regards to the second phenomenon, Russel and Babel (2013) found that when listeners were presented with auditory stimuli with an accompanying image of the speaker, ethnic biases emerged that impacted perceived intelligibility of the speaker. As one example, white listeners' ethnic biases resulted in them perceiving lower levels of intelligibility of Asian individuals' speech, when the speech was accompanied by an image of an individual with an Asian phenotype (Russell & Babel, 2013). This example demonstrates that there is a perceptual relationship between language and ethnicity. One way of understanding this relationship is through indexicality and chronotope.

Indexicality here refers to the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic features and social meanings (Ochs, 1992). Ochs (1992) explained that linguistic variables traditionally considered directly linked with social identities are actually indirectly related. The relationship is indirect

because it is mediated by stance, social acts and social events. Furthermore, the relationship between language and identity should be considered non-exclusive, constitutive and temporally transcendent (Ochs, 1992, p. 340).

Firstly, the relationship between language and identity is non-exclusive because one linguistic feature does not directly index one identity. One linguistic feature may be used by/for/with a host of different identities, however, the feature may be differentially distributed within different groups, and may be used to accomplish different communicative purposes (Ochs, 1992, p. 340). For instance, tag questions are differentially distributed between men and women. Women tend to use more tag questions than men, but men still use tag questions. Tag questions therefore do not directly index female identity because they may index other stances (e.g. hesitancy) or social acts (e.g. asking for confirmation) (Ochs, 1992, p. 340). The relationship between linguistic forms and identities is also constitutive. Linguistic features may index particular social meanings that constitute the image of a social identity. For instance, the use of Jakarta pronouns by non-Jakarta youth can index stereotypical attributes of Jakarta speakers including 'coolness', 'toughness' or 'outspokenness' (Manns, 2012). This in turn constitutes an image of Jakarta speakers.

Finally, the notion that linguistic features are temporally transcendent clarifies that linguistic features can constitute the present, recontextualise the past and precontextualise the future (Ochs, 1992, p. 346). Trends in the recontextualisation and precontextualisation of past and future events respectively can constitute social meanings that constitute social identities. Ochs (1992, p. 346) exemplified this in her examination of the status of women in America and Western Samoa. She found that women's status in these two countries was partially constituted through the ways they recontextualise the past and precontextualise the future.

I argue that the perceived indexicality of linguistic features can be traced through chronotopic frame analysis. As stated above, the indexicality of linguistic features emerges from the context in which they are produced, however the social meaning attached to particular linguistic behaviours transcends the immediate discursive context. Social meaning develops through the repeated use of linguistic features by particular speakers, in a particular communicative context for a particular purpose in interaction. The process of developing and reproducing the social meaning of linguistic features is negotiated primarily through chronotopes and chronotopic frames. Chronotopes are points in timespace which are invoked through linguistic features, and frame the interpretation of

discourse (Blommaert, 2015). Blommaert (2015, p. 105) states that “Chronotopes can be seen as invokable chunks of history that organize the indexical order of discourse”. In other words, each time a linguistic feature is uttered, a chronotope is invoked. The chronotope categorises the linguistic feature alongside previous utterances of the feature and calibrates this with the present context in which the utterance was produced. The categorisation of utterances reproduces associations between the linguistic feature, the context in which the feature has been used and the identities of the individuals who use it. The set of associations is known as a chronotopic frame. The chronotopic frame influences the perceived social meaning of the feature. I will discuss the relationship between chronotopes, chronotopic frames and indexicality in more detail following the presentation of *Figure 7.*

Figure 7 below illustrates the process by which the indexicality of linguistic features is impacted by the invocation of chronotopes. The diagram focuses on the perspective of the hearer as the speakers’ perspective is not a component of this part of the study.

Figure 7: Chronotopes and Indexicality

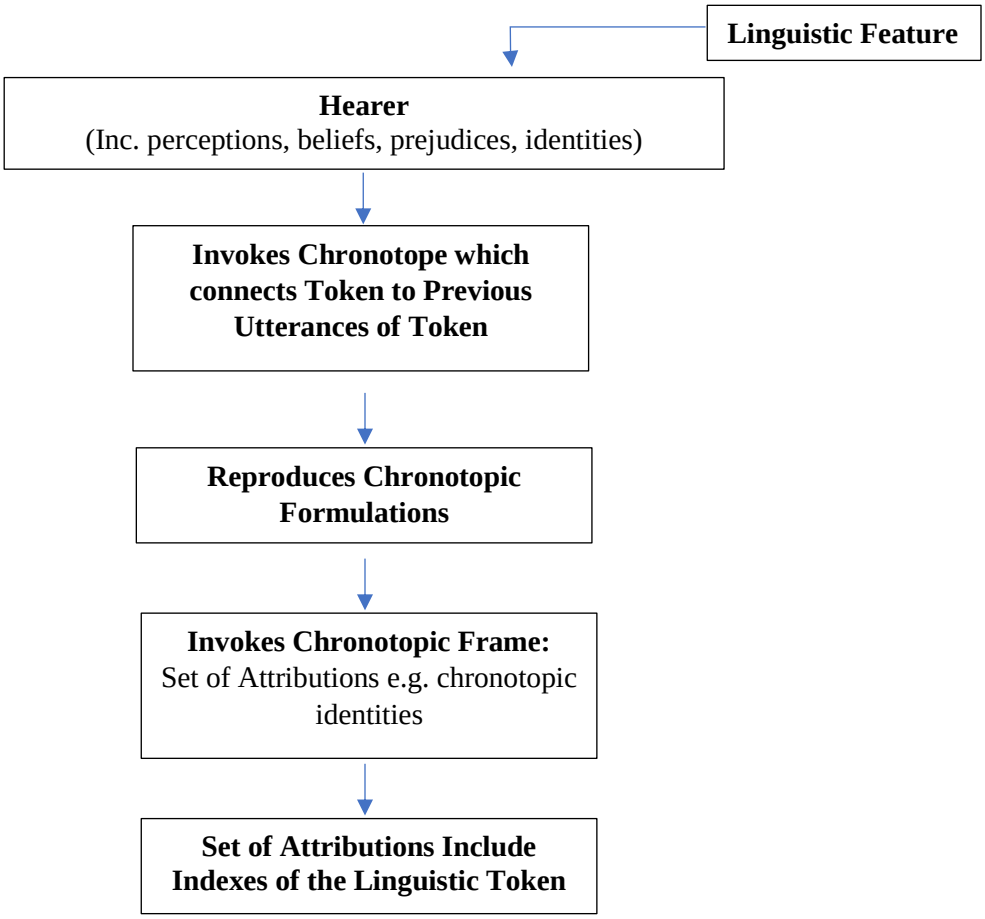


Figure 7 shows that the invocation of chronotopes connects linguistic tokens (or other non-linguistic features) to previous utterances of the token. As explained in Chapter 2, each time a hearer receives a linguistic token it is classified alongside previous utterances of the token and can therefore reproduce the same or similar chronotopic formulations as those produced in previous interactions (Bakhtin, 1981; Blommaert, 2015). This process reproduces an ordered system of attributions that influences hearers' expectations of the roles of interlocutors as well as the content and meaning of speech they produce in discourse (Blommaert, 2015). The ordered system of attributions can otherwise be referred to as a chronotopic frame which informs the interpretation of talk by reproducing the expectations and associations that emerged in previous utterances of the linguistic features. These associations can include particular chronotopic identities that are tied to particular timespace conditions (e.g. the ethnic Chinese community in Pontianak). Therefore, chronotopic frames include the indexes of language features to particular social meanings in

interactions. As shown in *Figure 1* the perception of linguistic tokens, the chronotopes they invoke and hence their indexicality is influenced by the hearer's pre-existing perceptions, beliefs, prejudices and identities that emerge in part through their trajectories of socialization.

The chronotopic frames which appear in the everyday interactions of an individual will vary depending on their socialisation. Individuals in different speech communities will be exposed to different chronotopic frames which will impact on their perception of the indexicality of linguistic features. Through socialisation individuals are exposed to various different chronotopic conditions (including linguistic features, styles, social identities and physical settings) in interaction. They learn to associate particular linguistic forms with specific styles and social identities through repeated exposure to the same chronotopic frames in interaction (Eckert, 2012; Ochs, 1990). Socialisation is thus the primary mode through which the indexicality of linguistic and non-linguistic variation is disseminated throughout a community (N. Coupland, 2007; P. Eckert, 2012; L. Milroy, 2001; Ochs, 1990; Russell & Babel, 2013). However, this process is not necessarily uniform, even across the same speech community (N. Coupland, 2007). Different groups within the same community can develop different understandings of indexical relationships between linguistic forms, ethnicities and other social identities (N. Coupland, 2007). In the current chapter, I will demonstrate that the indexicality of linguistic forms is distributed differently across the ethnic Chinese community and may be based on different social experiences.

Russel and Babel (2013) found that social experiences impact listeners' perceptions of language and other social signals, including ethnicity. Blommaert (2015) and Woolard (2013) stated that individuals' social experiences (and related beliefs, attitudes and prejudices) can impact on their perception of the relationship between linguistic tokens, chronotopic frames and chronotopic identities. Social experiences here are related to but nonetheless distinct from socialization in that it refers to individuals' daily interactions and experiences rather than the process by which individuals learn to interact in social settings. Social experiences and socialization may both have an effect on the perception of the indexicality of tokens, however social experiences refers to particular interactions which influence individuals' interpretation of discourse. For instance, individuals who have experienced racial discrimination may perceive a linguistic token to invoke a chronotope of the language of their oppressor. The chronotope connects the token to previous utterances which the speaker may have only encountered through their interactions with their

oppressor. The chronotopic formulations thereby invoke a chronotopic frame that includes a set of attributions that are connected to the individuals' experiences. The attributions may include a particular kind of oppressor identity that is particular to the individual's perception of their oppressor based on their previous interactions. Importantly, this is a chronotopic identity, which means that the identity is specific to particular timespace conditions. Shifts in the timespace conditions (e.g. the identity of the hearer shifts to one who is a member of the oppressor's group), may result in a difference in the chronotopic frames which are invoked in the individual's mind by particular linguistic tokens. A different chronotopic frame would likely include a different chronotopic identity.

4.2 Language and Ethnic Identity

Indonesia plays host to a multitude of ethnicities, both native and non-native. Ethnicity has long been a salient and controversial topic in Indonesia, particularly with regard to the ethnic Chinese minority (Handoko, 2009; Purdey, 2006; Suryadinata, 1976, 1978, 2002; M. G. Tan, 2004). Handoko (2007, p. 62) stated that this is due in no small part to Indonesian society's awareness of the distinction between *pribumi*[6] and *non-pribumi* citizens, which became most prevalent in the 20th Century and has since been used almost exclusively in reference to ethnic Chinese Indonesians.

The Chinese minority is not a homogenous group as Chinese communities found throughout the archipelago differ in terms of their heritage language(s), cultural backgrounds and origins in China (Heidhues, 1996; Purdey, 2006). For instance, the ethnic Chinese of Pontianak are drawn from two distinct linguistic groups, known as Khek and Teochew (Erinita, 2001; Shin, 2007). Most young ethnic Chinese have lived all their lives in Indonesia, and have roots in Indonesia stretching back through several generations (Heidhues, 1996, 2003). However, the wider Indonesian populace often distinguish them as *orang cina* or *Tionghoa* 'Chinese', *warga negara keturunan cina* 'citizens of Chinese descent' or *non-pribumi* (Handoko, 2009, p. 184). Their marginalisation has created considerable conflict with *pribumi* citizens, which has manifested in various forms of discrimination and scape-goating throughout the ethnic Chinese' history in the archipelago (Purdey, 2006; M. G. Tan, 1991).

[6] *Pribumi* refers to a majority group of people in Indonesia who share a sociocultural heritage and are considered the natives of the country. *Pribumi* are not a homogenous group and consist of a large number of smaller local native ethnic groups (Handoko, 2007; Oetomo, 1987).

Importantly, the relationship between the ethnic Chinese community in Pontianak and various different *pribumi* groups is not uniform. For instance, the Chinese share a long harmonious relationship with the local Dayak community in Pontianak (Heidhues, 2003). However, the relationship between the Chinese community and Pontianak Malay communities is very strained. This is in part due to religious differences as the majority of Chinese people in Pontianak are Christian, Confucianist or Buddhist. By contrast, the ethnic Malays are almost uniformly Muslim. Additionally, class differences between the ethnic Chinese minority and the Pontianak Malay majority have produced animosity between the two groups. The Chinese are typically of higher socioeconomic status, many work in the business and economics sector and are often privately educated (Hoon, 2011). The Malays are typically of a lower socioeconomic status, many work in low skill jobs or in government and they are most often publicly educated (Heryanto, 1999). The analysis in the following sections will show that the relationships between the Chinese community and other ethnic groups have impacted on the perceived social status of particular language varieties and the ethnic groups with whom they are associated.

Although the Chinese community may be perceived as a homogenous whole by non-Chinese society, important distinctions between different groups of ethnic Chinese people emerge from within the Chinese community in Pontianak. The distinction between Teochew Chinese and Khek Chinese groups in Pontianak extends beyond mere linguistic difference. Differences between Teochew and Khek Chinese groups first emerged during their original migration and settlement in the Borneo region. The Teochew Chinese migrated largely of their own volition, most settled in urban areas of Borneo and worked as traders. The Khek Chinese and other Hakka Chinese groups typically worked in mining or agricultural domains in rural areas, and only later became small time traders in the interior (Heidhues, 2003, p. 31). Additionally, it has been suggested that many of the Chinese indentured coolies brought over from mainland China to Borneo by the Dutch were Khek Chinese people. The history of migration and settlement of these two groups continues to impact on the perceived social status of Khek and Teochew people to this day. Heidhues (2003, p. 37) noted that as a result of their history in the region, Khek and other Hakka peoples were stereotyped as “rural and poor” throughout China and Southeast Asia. The current study will demonstrate that these ethnic stereotypes continue to permeate the Chinese community in Pontianak and impact on individuals’ perceptions of Khek and Teochew languages and the ethnic identities of those who use them.

Research on language varieties in Indonesia has demonstrated that there are socially salient ideologies concerning varieties of language and those who use them (Kartomihardjo, 1981; Manns, 2011). As discussed in Chapter 2, monologic ideology which permeated the Suharto government had a particularly significant impact on prevailing language ideologies in Indonesia that continues to this day. The aim of monologic ideology was to unite all people of Indonesia through the use of the Indonesian national language. The language that became known as standard Indonesian was, as previously mentioned, not perceived as belonging to any particular ethnic group (Errington, 1998). However, as standard Indonesian became synonymous with formal education, employment and economic mobility, the language may be associated with particular social identities (Manns, 2011). I will return to this point in the discussion of ethnic classifications in section 4.4.

I explained in Chapter 2 that the increased prestige of Indonesian language corresponded to a decrease in the status and use of regional and ethnic languages, particularly in the public sphere. Chinese languages were especially harshly targeted as all public expression of Chinese culture, belief and tradition were prohibited (Chua, 2004; Handoko, 2009; Suryadinata, 1976). Although these prohibitions were eventually overturned, monologic ideology had already exercised a significant influence on public discourse surrounding the relative value of regional and ethnic languages vis-à-vis the Indonesian national language.

On the local level, these prevailing language ideologies reified and were reified by perceptions of status differences in Pontianak which emerged as a result of the particular socio-political and historical context. The perceptions of the indexicality of different language varieties within the Chinese community in Pontianak is influenced by the aforementioned historical tensions between ethnic groups in the region (and from within the ethnic Chinese community itself) (Heidhues, 2003). This historical tension contributed to the separation of different ethnic groups. Interethnic tensions and separation of ethnic groups can increase the articulation of ideologies of ethnic difference (McIntosh, 2005). Research has shown that boundaries between ethnic groups can produce linguistic differentiation whereby particular language varieties become more strongly (or even exclusively) associated with the groups who use them most frequently (Irvine & Gal, 2000). The current study will demonstrate that these national and local language ideologies impact on individuals' classifications of others' ethnicities based on their language use.

4.3 Interview Responses

This section outlines the attitudes and perceptions of young ethnic Chinese individuals towards Chinese ethnic identity, Chinese and Indonesian languages as well as the Chinese community in Pontianak. The attitudes expressed in this chapter demonstrate the participants' awareness of patterns of language use, dominant national and local language ideologies and the social dynamics of the Chinese community vis-à-vis other ethnic groups in Pontianak. The attitudes and perceptions presented here will be used to support the analysis of the perceived relationship between language use and ethnic identity later in this chapter.

Participants perceptions and attitudes towards language and ethnicity are drawn from responses to the first set of interviews conducted for this study. The first set of interviews were administered individually with each of the 24 participants. Participants were first asked several questions to establish demographic variables (e.g. age, school, work, family background). They were also asked to describe their perceptions of different groups in Pontianak, and the language varieties with which they were associated. Additionally, interviewees were encouraged to identify what they considered to be significant about their ethnic group and role of Chinese and Indonesian language in their community. Interviews were originally conducted in Indonesian and later transcribed into English. I use the label 'Indonesian' in place of Bahasa Indonesia or standard Indonesian because, despite the efforts of monologic ideology, people of Indonesia rarely, if ever, use *Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar* 'good and correct Bahasa Indonesia' (Errington, 1986; Manns, 2011; Sneddon, 2003a). There are numerous varieties of non-standard informal Indonesian varieties including Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian and General Colloquial Indonesian (Atmosumarto, 2015; Djenar, 2006; Englebretson, 2003; Ewing 2005; Manns, 2011, 2013; Sneddon, 2006). However, these labels do not appear relevant to the ethnic Chinese youth of Pontianak because they label their Indonesian language as *Bahasa Indonesia*. Therefore, I have elected to use the term 'Indonesian' to refer to all Indonesian language use in the data because this more accurately reflects participants' perceptions of their language use than any of the other proposed labels. I additionally discuss Indonesian language use as being more or less standard, and more or less informal.

4.3.1 Identity

In this section I discuss participants' perceptions of what it is to be ethnically Chinese. The perceptions discussed in this section were drawn from responses to the following interview question which required participants to identify characteristics of Chinese people in Indonesia.

1. What are the characteristics of Chinese people?

The question was intentionally non-specific in terms of reference to particular characteristics to give space for participants to identify the characteristics that they perceived as most important in identifying Chinese ethnicity. Responses to these questions informed the content of the second set of interviews discussed in Section 4.4. Additionally, the opinions discussed below were used to support the analysis presented later in this chapter which explores the role of language in classifications of ethnic identity.

It is worth noting that the participants all expressed different personal senses of ethnic identity in interviews. Their personal sense of identity will not be examined in the current chapter, as it is outlined in the previous chapter on Methodology. The participants' personal sense of identity will be revisited in later chapters (6-8) which explore how participants' perception of and response to various overlapping chronotopic frames for interaction is influenced by their personal identity.

Participants interpreted the question in two different ways. Most often, participants assumed I was referring to physical characteristics. All those who interpreted the question as regarding physical characteristics indicated *mata sipit* 'slanted eyes', *kulit putih* 'white skin', and *wajah oriental* 'oriental face' as the traits which identified ethnic Chinese Indonesians. Some further clarified the contrast by claiming non-Chinese or *pribumi* Indonesians were known for *mata besar* 'big eyes' or *mata bulat* 'round eyes', as well as *kulit hitam* 'black skin'. Unfortunately, a thorough exploration of the impact of phenotype on classifications of ethnicity is beyond the scope of the current thesis but is investigated in more depth in Birnie-Smith (Forthcoming).

Many participants interpreted the question as relating to language. These participants claimed that Chinese people in Pontianak all spoke *bahasa Chinesenya* 'their Chinese languages', which could be either Khek or Teochew. Participants who initially discussed physical characteristics agreed that language was paramount to Chinese identity. All participants claimed that it was very important for ethnic Chinese people to speak at least one Chinese language. If an ethnic Chinese

person could not speak Chinese language, it was considered *malu* ‘embarassing, shameful’. Non-Chinese speakers could be considered non-Chinese Indonesians, or worse labelled, *cina bodoh* or *ciboh* ‘stupid Chinese’, particularly by their elders.

In addition to language and phenotype characteristics, several participants cited economic success as a common attribute of ethnic Chinese individuals. Participants stated that when people in Indonesia think of Chinese people, *pasti pikirkan ekonomi* ‘they must be thinking of the economy’. Many participants claimed that the ethnic Chinese in Pontianak were typically wealthy and hardworking. Their wealth was considered a product of their astute management of money and tireless pursuit of financial prosperity. One participant stated that the Chinese, more than other ethnic groups in the area *ada initiatif buat kerja* ‘have the initiative to find work’.

This association between the Chinese and economic success has a longstanding history in the Indonesian archipelago (Heidhues, 2003; Heryanto, 1999; Hoon, 2009). Heryanto (1999) explained that the Chinese were considered the ‘old rich’ of Indonesia who were perceived as industrious and hardworking but also cunning and stingy. Heryanto noted that this was a fictional, cultural construct of Chinese Indonesians, but one which is not fabricated from ‘pure fantasy’ (Heryanto, 1999, p. 160). Heidhues (2003) similarly stated that the Chinese, and in particular the Teochews in Borneo, experienced considerable economic success through the establishment of small businesses and trade since their first arrival. The economic success of the Chinese community was contributed to considerable ethnic tensions which exploded in the now infamous Anti-Chinese riots of May 1998 (Coppel, 2008; Purdey, 2006). Importantly, participants’ awareness and endorsement of the stereotypes of the ethnic Chinese as wealthy and fiscally-minded may point to their perceptions of the social class of Chinese people. Wealth and economic success are perceived as core traits of the higher social class in most societies. Therefore, the assumption that ethnic Chinese are more financially well-off than other ethnic groups may indicate that participants perceive the Chinese community as being of a higher social class than other ethnic groups in Pontianak. I offer more on this point in the following section on perceptions of language and ethnic identity.

Participants responses therefore suggested that Chinese ethnic identity is made up of several different components including socioeconomic success, particular phenotype characteristics and notably, Chinese language ability. Participants’ responses indicate perduring language ideologies

which suggest that the use or disuse of Chinese languages could possibly have an impact on perceived ethnic identity (cf. Bailey, 2013). I will discuss this further in the following section on the perceptions of Chinese and Indonesian languages.

4.3.2 Perceptions of Chinese and Indonesian Languages

In this section I discuss participants' responses to the following questions regarding their perception of the importance of Chinese language in terms of their Chinese identity and the Chinese community in Pontianak. I then contrast this with their perceptions of the role of Indonesian language within their community.

1. Do you feel that Chinese language is important? Why?
2. What do you think of Chinese people who cannot speak Chinese languages?
3. If you were to have children in the future, what language(s) would you teach them?
4. Do you feel that Indonesian language is important? Why?

The purpose of these questions was to explore the impact of perduring national and local language ideologies on participants' perceptions of the importance of Chinese and Indonesian languages and how they are used in everyday communicative contexts.

All the participants stated in interviews that they used Chinese and Indonesian languages in different environments. The use of Teochew and Khek Chinese languages was predominantly associated with communications within the Chinese community. The Chinese community included the participants' families, their ethnic Chinese friends and their Chinese neighbours. Participants' perceptions of the use of Indonesian language contrasted with their recount of the use of Chinese languages. They claimed that they used Indonesian language in more formal settings such as in class at college, and in interactions with people of different ethnicities. The perceptions of the use of Indonesian and Chinese languages in different contexts indicates an awareness of Indonesian monologic ideology and local Chinese language ideology. The role of language ideology in ethnic classifications is explored in the following section 4.4.

4.3.2.1 The importance of Chinese language

Participants' responses to the question regarding the importance of Chinese language were relatively uniform. Participants perceived Chinese languages as significant to the maintenance of Chinese culture and identity. Many participants suggested that the importance of Chinese language was unquestionable as it is *identitas kita sebagai orang Chinese* 'our identity as Chinese people'.

Other participants noted the connection between language and family by stating that Chinese language was *bahasa keluarga* 'the family language'. Participants added that speaking Chinese allowed them to communicate and maintain connections with parents and older family members whose Indonesian language skills were more limited. The role of Chinese as a family or community language is also relevant to the preservation of Chinese culture and beliefs, as many participants stated that their beliefs, philosophies and cultural practices were all ingrained in Chinese language. And thus, through the use of Chinese language, the cultural practices are transmitted through generations and communities. Importantly, Chinese language use was also indexed to familiarity and intimacy as participants claimed that they preferred to use Chinese languages with friends and other Chinese people because it felt *lebih akrab* 'closer/more intimate' than Indonesian language alternatives.

Participants' responses suggest that Chinese language plays a significant role in the maintenance of Chinese culture and identity. The close association between Chinese language and Chinese culture and identity has consequences for the perceived ethnicity of individuals who use (or do not use) Chinese languages, as will be discussed in Section 4.4.

Additionally, the judgement of Chinese language as a 'family language' has influenced the perception of Chinese language use more generally as indexical of closer, more intimate social relationships between ethnic Chinese interlocutors. This perception indicates that Chinese languages, though covertly prestigious within the community, may be placed on a lower scale level. The description of the chronotopic conditions which involve the use of Chinese languages is consistent with Blommaert's (2015) characterisation of lower scale communications as local, subjective and personal. Blommaert (2015, p. 12) explained that the positioning of languages on lower scale levels can have consequences for their perceived prestige because they are associated with a communication within smaller communities with limited scopes of influence. As previously discussed, ethnic languages are further downgraded through monologic ideology. Monologic ideologies positions one language on a higher scale order and relegates all other languages to the lower scale levels of regional and/or ethnic languages. Therefore, it appears that Chinese languages may have some prestige within the community but may nonetheless be associated with a lower social status relative to more prestigious languages such as standard Indonesian. I return to this point in the discussion of classifications of ethnicity in Section 4.4.

4.3.2.2 Chinese people who don't speak Chinese language

Participants' perceptions of the importance of Chinese were complemented by their derision of ethnic Chinese people who did not speak Chinese languages. Participants said of Chinese who did not speak Chinese languages that *identitas dia sebagai orang Chinese terbuang percuma* 'their identity as Chinese people is wasted' and *budaya hilang* 'their culture is lost'. Participants' perceptions therefore suggest that not speaking Chinese may indicate an absence, loss or rejection of Chinese identity and Chinese culture.

Participants highlighted multiple possible reasons for young ethnic Chinese people not speaking Chinese languages. Most participants stated that some ethnic Chinese are socialised in environments where Chinese language is not used, for instance, in rural Dayak or Malay villages where the population of ethnic Chinese is relatively low. As a result, they may not develop Chinese language skills. Other participants suggested a mixed-ethnic background could result in Chinese not being exposed to Chinese languages in the home. Individuals of mixed Chinese and non-Chinese ancestry (otherwise known as *kiose*), may exclusively use Indonesian languages in the home because it is the only common language shared by both parents.

Ethnic Chinese people who cannot or do not speak Chinese were generally viewed with derision by participants and other people in the Chinese community, in particular, the older generations. Many participants said that they spoke Chinese so as not to disappoint their elders because not speaking Chinese made the older generations upset and even angry. These negative perceptions emerging from the older generations produced the derogatory phrase *cina bodoh* 'dumb Chinese' to refer to those Chinese who could not speak Chinese languages. The concept centred on displeasure with the juxtaposition of a Chinese face and an Indonesian tongue, as one participant remarked, *muka Cina tapi dak pandai ngomong Cina, cina bodoh namanya!* '[Those with] a Chinese face but who can't speak Chinese well are called dumb Chinese!'.

The disparagement of ethnic Chinese people who did not speak Chinese languages influenced the language attitudes and self-perception of some participants who fell into this category. These participants said that they felt *malu* 'embarrassed/ashamed' by their lack of Chinese language-skills, and some had even been teased for their poor Chinese. Alice stated that when she had tried to speak Teochew with Chinese people in the past they said *kamu gak bisa ngomong, ga usah ngomong ah jelek* 'you can't speak it, so don't bother, it sounds ugly'. Alice responded to this

criticism by only using Teochew with her Teochew Chinese mother and with Teochew Chinese friends with whom she had a close relationship. Other participants who had similar experiences said they either chose to continue to learn and improve their Chinese language by practicing with friends, or else speak exclusively in Indonesian to avoid embarrassment.

It is clear that there are significant social pressures for ethnic Chinese to speak Chinese languages. Participants' responses suggest that they perceive Chinese culture and identity as 'watered down' or lost as a result of Chinese people not speaking Chinese language. Participants' perceptions in this section indicate an awareness of the cultural value of using Chinese language in communications with ethnic Chinese people. In the following section, I relay participants comments about the importance of transmitting this cultural value to future generations of ethnic Chinese Indonesians.

4.3.2.3 Preserving Chinese languages in the next generation

Many who negatively characterised non-Chinese speaking Chinese, cited concern over the future preservation of Chinese language. Etta expressed concern that if Chinese youth refused to learn Chinese, *nanti anak [mereka] nggak bisa bahasa Chinese* 'later [their] children won't be able to speak Chinese'. Etta and other participants believed that if Chinese languages were not passed on to future generations their identity and culture would disappear.

Several participants stated that they would use Chinese languages to communicate with their children to ensure that the Chinese cultural identity was preserved. Lestari claimed that she would force her future children to speak Teochew Chinese to keep the culture alive. She explained that Chinese people never have to worry about their children not learning Indonesian languages, but Chinese languages would not be acquired outside of the home and therefore required special attention. Other participants expressed similar ideas by simply stating that Chinese people should speak Chinese, therefore if they were to have children in the future, their children, as ethnic Chinese people would definitely speak Chinese.

The responses discussed above delineate the emergence of standards for communication between ethnic Chinese people that contribute to forging intimacy and preserving Chinese culture and identity. Not speaking Chinese appears as a deviation from Chinese identity, a rejection of Chinese solidarity and may mark an individual as less Chinese. In Section 4.4, I argue that this Chinese language ideology appears to have influenced participants' classifications of ethnicity.

4.3.2.4 Indonesian Language and Monologic Ideology

Participants' perspectives on the use of Chinese languages contrasted significantly with their perspectives on the role of Indonesian language. Participants claim that Indonesian language is important and necessary in everyday life as the language is common to all Indonesian people. However, the ideology surrounding Indonesian language differs from that surrounding Chinese, as it appears as a language for outsiders.

I asked participants in interviews why they thought Indonesian was important. All the participants responded that Indonesian language was important because, as the national language, everyone in Indonesia could speak it. Some participants said that not everyone can speak the same ethnic language because there are so many ethnic groups in Indonesia, and so they all relied on Indonesian language to communicate in interethnic contexts. This response mirrors the traditional Indonesian monologic ideology, that Indonesian language can unify all groups and cultures across the archipelago. However, from a different perspective, it is possible to consider Indonesian language as the language of 'outsiders' (cf. Errington, 1998). Instead, as discussed in Chapter 2, it is associated with interactions within formal and impersonal domains such as business, education and government (Handoko, 2007, 2009; Manns, 2011; Sneddon, 2003a). Participants agreed with this assertion as they claimed that they used Indonesian primarily at school and other formal or national contexts. Additionally, they claimed that they used Indonesian when meeting with new people whose ethnicity and linguistic repertoires may not be readily discernible.

The perceptions of the role of Indonesian language above suggest that the Indonesian monologic ideology has not disappeared, but instead occupies a particular context. The Indonesian monologic ideology aims to unite strangers in impersonal and formal settings across Indonesia. The participants' description of the use of Indonesian language indicated that the language was used in formal interactions, and/or in communications with people of different ethnicities who may not be intimate friends. This description indicates that Indonesian monologic ideology may impact on the perceived higher status associated with the use of Indonesian language, and consequently the relative lower status associated with the use of ethnic languages. In Section 4.4 and 4.5, I will discuss the role of social status associated with Indonesian and Chinese languages as well as the ethnic groups with which the languages are affiliated.

4.3.3 Chinese Community

The following two questions discussed in the current section were posed in order to ascertain participants' perceptions of the Chinese community in Pontianak.

1. Tell me about the Chinese community in Pontianak, how does it differ from other Chinese communities in Indonesia?
2. Why did you choose to attend Pontianak Catholic College (PCC)?

Participants noted that there were several differences between the Chinese community in Pontianak and Chinese communities located elsewhere in Indonesia. The participants' responses indicated that the Chinese community in Pontianak was quite isolated from other ethnic communities in the region. They explained that many ethnic Chinese people were socialised in exclusively ethnic Chinese environments. Many of the participants claim that they were educated in predominantly ethnic Chinese private schools, and their choice to attend PCC was influenced by the desire to continue their education at a predominantly Chinese college. The trends in the socialisation of ethnic Chinese people may have consequences for their perceptions of other ethnic groups and their associated languages. This is explored later in the current chapter.

The responses in this section also feature perceptions of Khek and Teochew Chinese groups and their associated languages that indicate that there is a relationship between ethnolinguistic identity and perceived social status within the Chinese community. The difference in perceived social status of Khek and Teochew communities is explored in more depth in relation to language perception data in the following sections.

4.3.3.1 Chinese community in Pontianak

Participants were asked to describe the Chinese community in Pontianak. They stated that Pontianak Chinese were most readily identifiable through their maintenance and use of Chinese languages, specifically Teochew and Khek Chinese. Mary stated *orang Chinese di sini lebih bisa bahasanya dibanding Chinese di kota lain* 'Chinese people here can use Chinese languages more than those in other cities'. In contrast, Chinese in other cities such as Medan were *malu pakai bahasa ibu* 'ashamed to use their mother tongue'. Chinese communities, particularly those in major cities, were more heavily impacted by Suharto's discriminatory language policies which may have decreased the maintenance of Chinese languages in these areas (cf. Hoon, 2009; Purdey, 2006).

Some participants attributed the high levels of Chinese language maintenance to the cultural context of Pontianak. Ratna explained that Pontianak Chinese would always speak Chinese with other Chinese people, without feeling the need to accommodate overhearers. The use of Chinese languages appeared more important than ensuring that all possible overhearers were not excluded from the conversation. Ratna said that *orang bilang kita nggak menghormati orang lain* 'people say that we don't respect other people', however she claimed this interpretation was misplaced as the use of Chinese languages had more to do with cultural habits than disparagement of other cultural or ethnic groups.

Other participants discussed the characteristics of the Pontianak Chinese community in terms of their social experiences. Valerie explained that *orang Chinese di sini lebih suka berbaur sesama orang Chinese* 'Chinese people here prefer to socialise with other Chinese'. Several participants explained that Chinese in Pontianak preferred to associate with other Chinese people because it made them feel safe and less foreign. The desire to seek out other Chinese people was evident in participants' selection of educational institutions, as will be discussed in relation to the following question on participants' choice to attend Pontianak Catholic College. Other participants felt that the insular nature of the Pontianak Chinese community was *sombong* 'stuck-up'. Olivia criticised the Chinese community for not wanting to socialise outside of their ethnic group. She claimed that she was commonly mistaken for being Dayak by the Chinese community and noticed *kalau bilang aku orang tionghoa pandangannya agak lain* 'if I say I'm Chinese then their attitude is totally changes'.

Importantly. the apparent solidarity among Chinese people was not necessarily consistent across Khek and Teochew Chinese groups in Pontianak. Participants explained that the majority of Chinese people in Pontianak city were Teochew. Many Teochew participants claimed that Khek Chinese living in Pontianak had moved to the city from smaller cities and rural villages. The associations of Teochew Chinese with the city, and Khek Chinese with rural areas demonstrated a perceived class difference between Khek and Teochew people that even extended to Khek and Teochew Chinese languages. Several participants described Teochew as *lebih halus* 'more refined' than Khek, which they considered *lebih kasar* 'more coarse'. Participants from mixed Teochew and Khek backgrounds also preferred to use Teochew language. Valerie's mother was Teochew and her father was Khek. She was able to use both Teochew and Khek languages, but she said that

her parents insisted that she preference Teochew language. Valerie relayed her father's insistence that she speak Teochew rather than Khek because *dia bilang kesannya kasar* 'he said [Khek] seems coarse/crude'.

The negative perception of Khek language was not raised by non-Teochew-speaking Khek participants, they said instead that the differences between Khek and Teochew language were purely linguistic and weren't necessarily socially coded.

Participants' perceptions indicate that there may be an overarching perception of the role of Chinese languages in representing and enhancing Chinese solidarity. However, the difference in perception of Teochew and Khek Chinese languages implies that these languages are not equally valued, which may influence participants' perceptions of the relative social status of Teochew and Khek groups within the Chinese community. Importantly, the perception of the social status may not be consistent across different groups of Chinese people within the Chinese community. I briefly examine the relationship between perceptions of language and ethnicity and their consequences for the perceived social status of ethnic groups in Pontianak in Section 4.4.

4.3.3.2 Why did you choose Pontianak Catholic College?

Past and present students of Pontianak Catholic College (PCC) stated that their choice of educational institution was driven by the Chinese community. Some participants claimed that they enrolled at PCC because they knew that there was a high ethnic Chinese student population. Fiona explained that *kalau orang tionghoa mau kuliah, pasti masuk PCC* 'if Chinese people want to go to university, they of course go to PCC', she elaborated that ethnic Chinese people *lihat di mana ada orang kita dan masuk situ* 'look for where our people are and go there'. Other students echoed this sentiment and added that the reason Chinese students sought other Chinese students was so that they *gak merasa asing atau dibedain* 'don't feel foreign or different'. Lestari said that her mother would not allow her to attend the state university in Pontianak because there were so few Chinese students attending there. Her mother feared that with a small Chinese student body, Chinese students would likely be subject to discrimination and bullying. Mary stated that there was a feeling of *keluargaan* 'family-ness' within the Chinese community that she didn't experience elsewhere. She said she felt safe with other Chinese people because *kita saling perhatikan* 'we look after each other'.

Other participants did not state that their choice of PCC was influenced by the ethnicity of the student body. However, they were nonetheless influenced by the Chinese community because they enrolled at PCC to *ikut teman SMA* 'follow high school friends'. The incentive of 'following friends' may be indirectly related to their membership to the Chinese community because most of the students who identified this motivation attended private Christian high schools with equally large Chinese student populations to PCC. As explained in Chapter 1, private Christian educational institutions have emerged at the centre of Chinese communities (Coppel, 1983; Hoon, 2011). Christian educational institutions are usually funded and established by wealthy members of the Chinese community. The institutions themselves have traditionally been considered safe havens for the preservation of Chinese culture, religion and identity, as they are largely removed from government control (Hoon, 2011).

Therefore, the decision to enroll in PCC demonstrates the position of the educational institution within the Chinese community in Pontianak. The role of the institution may be dual in the sense that it provides state-mandated education but also serves as an epicentre for the transmission and development of Chinese identity and culture. PCC therefore acts as important grounds for examination of the interaction between Indonesian monologism and Chinese language use.

The participants' responses to questions on Chinese language demonstrate that they perceived Chinese languages as having an integral role in the maintenance of their shared social identity as ethnic Chinese individuals. The use of Chinese languages appears to represent and contribute to solidarity and social harmony within the community. As a consequence, Chinese language use may enhance the perceived isolation of the community from other Indonesian ethnic groups. The disuse of Chinese languages appears to represent a divergence from Chinese identity and a rejection of the Chinese community. Participants' perceptions and language ideologies form the basis for the analysis of ethnic classifications presented in the following section.

4.4 Classifications of Ethnicity

The findings presented in the current chapter are drawn from the results of the second set of interviews, detailed in Chapter 3. Participants were asked to listen to five 30 second recordings of five different voices and make ethnic classifications of the each of the five speakers based on their language.

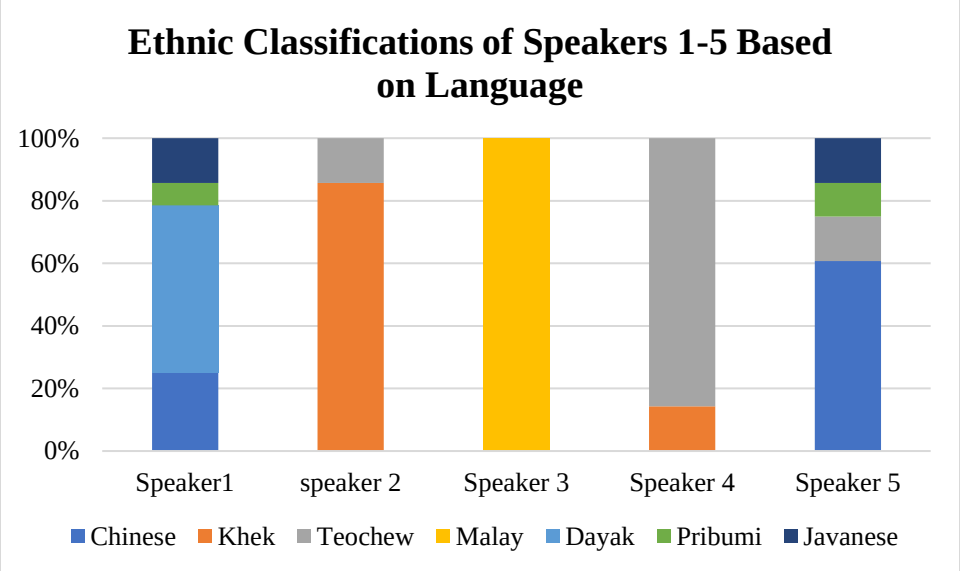
Table 5: The five speakers featured in the five recordings, their ethnicities and their mother tongues.

Speaker no.	Ethnicity	Mother Tongue
1	Dayak	Indonesian
2	Chinese	Khek Chinese
3	Malay	Pontianak Malay
4	Chinese	Teochew Chinese
5	Chinese	Teochew and Khek Chinese

Most interviewees discussed possible ethnic categorisations as a group and came to a consensus as to the ethnicity of speakers. However, participants from the same interview group sometimes could not reach an accord and produced different ethnic classifications of the same person. Therefore, ethnic classifications are counted individually to represent all judgements made as a group and as individuals.

The table below presents the participants' classifications of the five speakers' ethnicities based on their perceptions of their voices and language. In the following paragraphs I examine participants' justifications for their classifications of ethnic identity.

Figure 8: Participant's classifications of recorded speakers 1-5.



4.4.1 Speakers 2, 3 and 4

Participants had little trouble correctly identifying speakers 2-4. Speakers 2-4 all spoke Indonesian, however, each used key linguistic features of language varieties associated with different groups of speakers. The linguistic features are discussed in relation to the ethnic classifications imposed by participants in the following paragraphs.

The vast majority of participants (86%) correctly identified the Khek speaker (2) and Teochew speaker (4). Participants cited Khek Speaker 2's use of the Khek discourse marker ***eh*** in their Indonesian speech. Some participants were confused by the speaker's use of the first person address term ***wa***, which is drawn from Teochew language, but commonly used by both Teochew and Khek speakers in Pontianak city. For this reason, there were some who classified the speaker as Teochew, rather than Khek. The Teochew speaker (4) was readily identified through her use of Teochew phrases in her Indonesian speech such as ***wa ai ke*** *beli sayur* 'I want to go to buy vegetables'. Participants also classified *iya* ***wa*** 'right', a commonly code-switched Teochew-Indonesian discourse marker, as being indicative of Chinese identity. Finally, participants identified the highly popular exclamative ***sie***, meaning 'kill me' in Teochew. A few participants felt that the code-mixing could be evidence of a Khek speaker trying to learn Teochew, and so classified speaker (4) as a Khek person.

Participants were also asked to judge where the speaker was originally from. Interestingly, participants' perceptions reflected their comments in response to Interview 1 as there was some consistency in the assumption that the Khek speaker was *anak daerah* 'a rural kid' or *anak kampung* 'villager' who had recently moved to the city. All but four participants (all of whom were native Khek speakers living in Pontianak city), classified the Khek speaker as a recent migrant to the city. Participants claimed that the frequency of the discourse marker ***eh*** suggested that the speaker had been living in a Khek rural area and had not yet adapted to the city style of speaking. Some participants went further to suggest that Khek people in Pontianak were mostly from rural towns and spoke like Khek Speaker 2 with other villagers, but not city people. This perception contrasted with the association of Teochew speech with city dwellers. The Teochew speaker's language featured more code-switching than the Khek speaker, but this was not considered a regional trait. Instead it was considered a feature of Chinese city talk that Khek speakers also adopted over time in Pontianak city.

Participants' sensitivity to the Khek and Teochew features demonstrates participants' perception of the salience of the patterning of these forms in social categories. Hay, Nolan and Drager (2006) explained that sociolinguistic trends in perception are stronger for variables for which the variation is above the level of consciousness in a community of practice. Variables that are stigmatised or provoke comment are more strongly associated with particular characteristics and/or social identities than those which exist below the level of consciousness. The Khek discourse marker ***eh*** and the various Teochew features such as the first person pronoun ***wa*** can therefore be indexed to several factors that contribute to two separate ascribed social identities. According to participants, the feature ***wa*** indexes Teochew language and city life, which are factors attributed to Teochew identity. On the other hand, the discourse particle ***eh*** indexes Khek language and rural, non-city life, which in turn contribute to perceived Khek identity. The indexicality of these forms is influenced by the chronotopic frames of attributions that speakers associate with Khek and Teochew identity. For instance, the discourse particle *eh* invokes a chronotope which connects the token to previous utterances of the discourse particle which reproduces the language used by Khek speakers in Pontianak. This process invokes a chronotopic frame of attributions that speakers associate with Khek Chinese identity which includes rural dwelling. Importantly, this chronotopic frame is specific to the Chinese community within which these chronotopic conditions emerged. This chronotopic frame includes indexation of the linguistic token *eh* to Khek language, rural life and Khek Chinese identity. The perception of these chronotopic frames may emerge from the speakers' experiences and socialisation.

The indexation of Khek speakers as rural dwellers and Teochew speakers as city people has consequences for the perception of social status within the Chinese community, as mentioned in the discussion of Interview 1. The association between Khek speakers and rural dwelling appears to reproduce the history of the Khek and Teochew Chinese migration in Borneo, which placed Khek people at the centre of blue-collar work located outside of the city, and Teochew Chinese at the forefront of trade in metropolitan city areas (Heidhues, 2003). In the Indonesian context, rural dwelling has long been associated with lower socioeconomic status, lower levels of education and low skill manual labour. By contrast, economic growth, education and skilled employment is more readily associated with modern city lifestyles (cf. Heryanto, 1999). This pattern can be seen in the colloquial use of the word *kampung* 'village' to register lower class identity. The common Indonesian expression *jangan kampungan* 'don't act like a villager', indexes villager to crassness

and vulgarity (Newberry, 2014, p. 76). Therefore, the association between Khek and Teochew Chinese groups and rural and city life respectively indicates that participants considered Teochew Chinese to have higher social status than Khek Chinese in Pontianak.

Malay Speaker 3 was the most easily identifiable speaker of all five recorded speakers. 100% of participants correctly identified the Pontianak Malay speaker (3) as ethnically Malay. The speaker spoke entirely in Indonesian but produced the final /a/ in words like saya 'I', as [ə]. This is a well-documented feature of several Malay languages spoken in the region (Asmah, 1977; Clynes & Deterding, 2011). Although the majority of Pontianak Malay speakers are Malay, many non-Malay individuals, including Chinese, living in Pontianak can speak the local language. Many of the participants professed some degree of ability in Malay language in Interview 1, however most stated that they did not often speak it. Some participants even expressed negative opinions of Malay language, and by extension Malay people. Participants comments indicated that they perceived Malay phonology to invoke a chronotopic frame that includes a particular kind of Malay identity that was religiously fanatical, threatening and suspicious to the Chinese community. Importantly, the Malay identity that participants envisage is a chronotopic identity that is specific to participants' experiences with the Malay community in Pontianak. This identity is likely not apparent to Malay speakers themselves.

The negative perception of Malay identity lead to stereotyping that influenced participants' classifications of ethnicity. For instance, two of the participants, Ferry and Wendy, reacted negatively when they first listened to Malay Speaker 3's voice. They claimed that they did not like the speaker's language and perceived it to be threatening and even indicative of fanaticism.

Ferry	*Pertama aku dengar bahasa ini, aku ga suka*
	As soon as I heard this language, I didn't like it.
Jess	*Ya kah? Kenapa?*
	Really? Why?
Wendy	*Karena dia terlalu ke bahasa sendiri, ini sangat fanatik,*
	Because she's too into her own language, this is so fanatical,
	seperti pikir bahasanya, sukunya, agamanya lebih bagus.

it's like she thinks that her language, her ethnicity and her religion is better.

Ferry and Wendy's condemnation of Malay language may be associated with their negative perception of Malay people, which no doubt stems from historic tensions between the Muslim Malay and non-Muslim Chinese communities (Handoko, 2009; Purdey, 2006; Suryadinata, 1976; M. G. Tan, 1991).. Religious differences are just one of the sources of dispute between Chinese and Malay communities that continues to this day (Hoon, 2009), and continues to impact the perception of language and social identity associated with each group. The religious disputes have sparked stereotyping from both sides, as evidenced by participants' comments.

Religion was a key element of participants' classifications of Malay speaker 3, as many stated that the speaker was *orang berkerudung* 'a veiled person', a common euphemism for a Muslim woman. Others added comments that demonstrated ethnic bias and stereotyping of Muslim people. For example, Gilda criticised Muslim women for wearing the hijab, explaining that it isn't necessarily indexical of religious piety.

Gilda *Tapi mereka ga melindungi hatinya, Miss.*
But they don't protect their heart, Miss.
Terkadang orang yang berkerundung itu
Sometimes those veiled people
dia ke luar aja penampilannya alim,
they go out and their behaviour is pious
tapi kalo Miss perhatikan mereka di luar,
but if you take notice of them when they're out
mereka berani pegang cowok!
they will grab onto boys!

Participants' comments demonstrate that their classifications of Malay Speaker 3 were largely the result of ethnic bias and stereotyping – a potential consequence of a disconnection between the Malay and Chinese communities. The perception of the indexicality of language varieties can vary significantly between different groups in society depending on their exposure to and use of the varieties (N. Coupland, 2007; L. Milroy, 2001; Ochs, 1990). Low exposure and use of particular

varieties within a speech community can lead to stereotyping and pejorative evaluations of groups who use particular language varieties, which then leads to social divisions within a community (Gumperz, 1982; Irvine & Gal, 2000). In the case of Chinese in Pontianak, individuals in the Chinese community have limited access to and use of Malay language, this may have contributed to the perception of the Malay phonology as invoking a chronotopic frame for a particular kind of Malay identity that is perceived by the Chinese community. The perceptions of the indexicality of Malay influenced Indonesian language, and their relationship to the chronotopic frame which involves this image of Malay identity may additionally influence the perceived social status of the Malay community from the ethnic Chinese perspective. I will investigate this point further with regard to the ethnic classifications of Speakers 1 and 5 in the following section.

4.4.2 Speakers 1 & 5

The participants experienced the most difficulty in identifying the voices of speakers 1 and 5. Only 54% of participants correctly identified Dayak Speaker 1 as Dayak, and participants fared only slightly better in identifying Chinese Speaker 5 as ethnically Chinese (61%). Their difficulty may be in part due to the speaker's use of more standard, formal Indonesian. It has been noted that standard Indonesian, as the national language, is not associated with any particular ethnic group in Indonesia (Errington, 1998). Instead it is predominantly associated with particular communicative settings, most often, formal and impersonal domains such as business, education and government (Handoko, 2007, 2009; Manns, 2011; Sneddon, 2003a). Participants echoed the results of prior studies in claiming that it was difficult to determine the ethnicity of the speaker because *semuanya bisa bahasa Indonesia* 'everyone can speak Bahasa Indonesia'.

Participants who successfully identified Dayak Speaker 1 as Dayak cited the speaker's fluency in standard Indonesian. Although all the participants were fluent speakers of standard Indonesian, many considered their ability to be substandard in comparison to *pribumi* Indonesians whose language had not been affected by foreign elements such as Teochew and Khek language. Hence, many correctly classified Chinese Speaker 5 as Chinese because her speech was considered *kaku* 'rigid' and lacked flow. The rigidity of Chinese speech was considered common to both Teochew and Khek speakers and thus rendered further classification as either Teochew or Khek impossible according to participants. A smaller number of participants identified the variable in the pronunciation of the /r/ trill in words like *terkenal* 'well known', stating that *pribumi* Indonesians' realisation of [r] was *kuat* 'strong', contrasting with the Chinese flapped [ɾ] which was described

as *pelat* ‘lispy/flat’. The flapped [ɾ] was said to be distributed equally across Teochew and Khek speakers.

Other people who claimed that the speaker was *pribumi* based their assumption on the absence of Chinese linguistic features. Participants drew on their knowledge of linguistic variables to identify if the speaker was *pribumi*, however, their language ideologies often influenced their classification of the speaker as Dayak. Participants made statements such as *orang Dayak fasih Bahasa Indonesia* ‘Dayak people are fluent in Bahasa Indonesia’. Participants’ classification here contrasts dramatically with their perception of the Malay Speaker 3, which demonstrates that participants do not perceive *pribumi* as one homogenous category. Participants stated that the realisation of the word final /a/ in words like *saya* ‘I’ as [ə] indexed Pontianak Malay language, Muslim religion and some degree of opposition to the Chinese community which formed part of the chronotopic frame for a particular Malay identity as perceived by the Chinese community. By contrast, the indexes of standard Indonesian, including standard Indonesian phonology, contributed to a different *pribumi* identity, one which participants perceived as non-Malay due to the lack of Malay phonology. The further classification of Dayak Speaker 1 as Dayak may be relevant to the indexical relationship between standard Indonesian and perceived prestige. This will be discussed further in relation to Dayak Speaker 1’s classification as Chinese below.

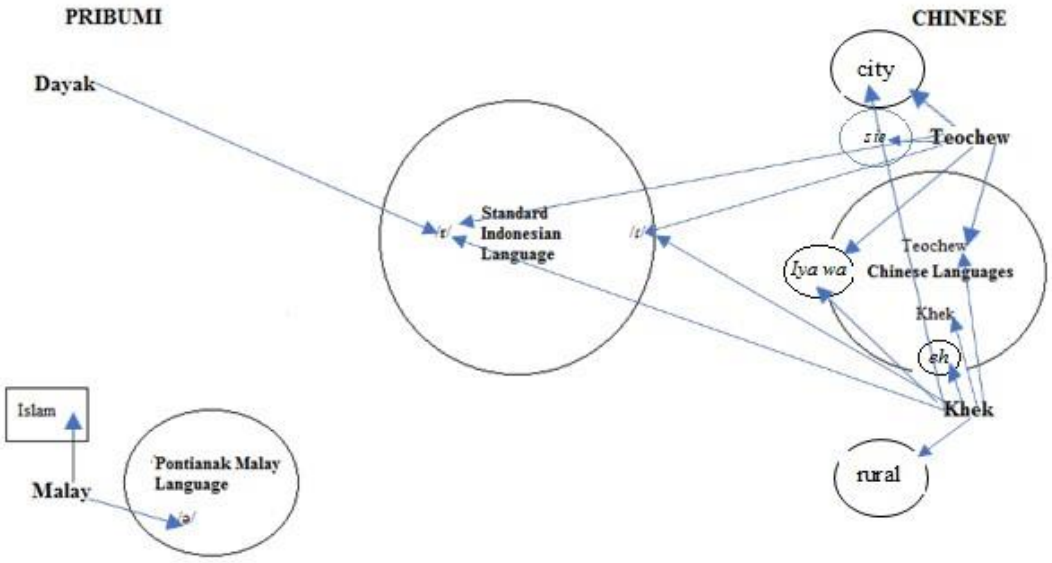
Interestingly, several participants who identified Dayak Speaker 1 as Chinese made similar claims about Chinese people’s abilities in Bahasa Indonesia. Sofia stated that *orang Chinese lebih fasih Bahasa Indonesianya, orang lain kurang fasih* ‘Chinese are more fluent in Bahasa Indonesia, other people are less fluent’. It is significant that the two dominant classifications for this individual were Dayak (54%) and Chinese (25%). Researchers have noted the prestige associated with *Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar* ‘good and correct Bahasa Indonesia’ (Manns, 2011; Sneddon, 2003a, 2003b). The national language is commonly associated with higher levels of education and socioeconomic status (Handoko, 2009; Manns, 2011; Sneddon, 2003a). In Pontianak, most Chinese are from a higher socioeconomic class, and most are university educated. Additionally, the Chinese have a long-lived association with the domains of economics and business (Heidhues, 2003; Purdey, 2006). Therefore, it is possible that the ethnic Chinese participants perceive Bahasa Indonesia as invoking a chronotopic frame for a particular kind of social identity which involves prestige and wealth, which are features which overlap with the

chronotopic frame for Chinese identity (cf. Coupland, 2007). The Chinese share a long harmonious relationship with the Dayak community in Pontianak and intermarriage between the communities is common (Heidhues, 2003). Therefore, Chinese identity and Dayak identity are both perceived positively by participants. It is possible that the prestige associated with Chinese identity may carry over to Dayak identity as the two communities intersect socially. It is therefore not surprising that the Chinese participants would perceive an indexical relationship between features of standard Indonesian and Dayak identity.

4.5 Indexicality of Language and Ethnic identity

Participants' ethnic classifications based exclusively on language produced complex picture of the indexes that emerge from the chronotopic frames for *pribumi* and Chinese ethnic identities that are represented in *Figure 9* below.

Figure 9: Indexes of Pribumi and Chinese Ethnic Identities



The diagram above demonstrates that there is some perceived overlap in the attributions of the chronotopic frames for *pribumi* and Chinese identities, which accounts for some of the difficulty participants experienced in producing classifications of the ethnicity of Dayak Speaker 1 and Chinese Speaker 5. The index of standard Indonesian language was not exclusively associated with any ethnic group. standard Indonesian was most firmly indexed to Dayak people's Indonesian speech, although it was also indexed to the speech of Teochew and Khek individuals. Interestingly, standard Indonesian language was not indexed to Malay individuals, instead participants perceived a near-exclusive relationship between Pontianak Malay language and Malay individuals.

Phonetic variation in the production of /r/ in Indonesian produced similar indexation. The flapped [ɾ] was a variable associated with Chinese people's Indonesian speech. The trilled [r] was more

often associated with *pribumi* Indonesian speech, however this was non-exclusive, as some participants stated that Chinese speakers also produced a trilled [r][7].

The combined results of participants' classifications of Speakers 1-5 suggest that the perceived indexing of linguistic traits to particular ethnic groups may be influenced by perceived social status. As previously discussed, the perceived indexicality of language has consequences for the perceived social class of the individual and associated ethnic group. Participants' responses to the speakers' language showed that they evaluated some linguistic practices more positively than others. For instance, standard Indonesian language is considered more prestigious than local Indonesian varieties (in this case, Pontianak Malay) as a result of perduring monologic ideology within the Chinese community. Therefore, the attribution of standard Indonesian language to a particular ethnic group implies that the ethnic group has higher social status than other ethnic groups. Participants ascribed standard Indonesian language to Dayak and Chinese identities and specified that the linguistic index could not be attributed to Malay identities. Thus, the social status of Dayak and Chinese identities may be considered greater than that of Malay identity.

A difference in the relative prestige of different ethnic Chinese languages also contributed to perceived status differences within the Chinese community. The interview responses demonstrated that the majority of participants associated Khek Chinese language with rural identity, whereas Teochew Chinese language was associated with metropolitan identity. Previous research has suggested that the perceived rural/urban divide can have consequences for the perceived social status of individuals (Heryanto, 1999; Newberry, 2014) Rural dwelling is typically associated with lower socioeconomic status, whereas urban dwelling is typically associated with higher socioeconomic status in the Indonesian context. This perception suggests that participants considered Teochew Chinese to be of a higher social class than Khek Chinese.

In summation, the perceived social status of ethnicities emerges as a result of the perceived indexicality of language and identity, as shown in *Figure 9*. Unfortunately, a thorough examination of the social status of different ethnic groups in Pontianak is beyond the scope of the current

[7] Participants perceived the trilled [r] as indexical of Indonesian language spoken by *pribumi,* however they did not state whether or not this was applicable to the speech of ethnic Malay people. It is likely that the trilled [r] is also indexical of Malay people's Indonesian speech, however, as participants did not ostensibly state this, it was not represented in *Figure 9* .

research. However, the analysis presented here serves as a point of departure for further research into the relationship between language ideologies, social status and ethnic identity in Pontianak.

4.6 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that there are some perceived associations between language and Chinese and non-Chinese ethnicities that are shared across the young Chinese community in Pontianak. However, the chapter also showed that other interpretations of language concerning Khek and Teochew Chinese identities appear to be distributed differently across different subgroups within the community. In the case of Indonesian languages, the indexical relationship between language and ethnicity was often considered non-binary. Importantly, the perception of the indexicality of linguistic features indicated that social capital associated with different languages affects the perceived social status of the ethnic groups who use them.

Participants consistently drew on their expectations of language to make ethnic classifications. Participants perceived Khek and Teochew Chinese language features to invoke a chronotopic frame of Chinese ethnicity. In contrast, they considered local Malay language features to invoke the chronotopic frame of Malay ethnicity. Participants' selection of ethnic labels consistently reflected this perception. It is important to note that whilst the difference appears binary, the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic features, and social identities is indirect (Bucholtz, 2009; Kiesling, 2004; Ochs, 1992). The consistency of participants' labelling of Chinese and non-Chinese people, according to their expectations of language, may instead be due to trends in racial bias and socialisation within the community.

Several researchers have demonstrated the influence of socialisation in the perpetuation of perceived indexical relationships within speech communities (N. Coupland, 2007; Gumperz, 1982; Ochs, 1990, 1993). Young people within the Chinese community may be socialised to recognise particular linguistic characteristics as relevant to chronotopic frames of Chinese and non-Chinese ethnicity. The findings concerning Malay Speaker 3, in particular, are evidence of the effects of socialisation as participants were more likely to resort to racial biases and stereotyping of the Malay individual than any of the Chinese or Dayak people. This may be further attributed to the tense relationship between the Chinese and Malay communities that results in ethnic Chinese dissociating from ethnic Malays (Handoko, 2007; Purdey, 2006).

The effects of socialisation were also observable within different sub-groups of the Chinese community in Pontianak. Participants expressed two contradicting opinions on the relationship between Teochew and Khek Chinese language and their metropolitan or rural residency. Teochew Chinese participants considered Khek language as indexical of rural identity. Khek participants disagreed with these statements and affirmed that Khek and Teochew Chinese people were both commonly city-dwellers. And so, it is possible that the differing perceptions of the indexicality of linguistic features amongst Teochew and Khek Chinese sub-groups may be indicative of differences in class. Therefore, Teochew participants may be attempting to draw on the class implications of the Khek/Teochew rural/urban distinction, and Khek participants may be attempting to resist this imposition.

The results of the study illustrate that perceptions of language influenced and were influenced by language ideology (including monologic ideology), status, socialisation and racial bias. In the following chapters, I examine several Chinese and Malay discourse markers that participants identified in interviews as salient features of particular types of identities. I will demonstrate that these same perceptions of language and ethnicity affect how participants use Indonesian and Chinese languages to respond to various chronotopic frames for interaction, and by so doing enact stance and identity.

Chapter 5: Kinship Terms and Forms of Address

5.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the use of Chinese kin terms as forms of second person singular (henceforth 2SG) address in naturally occurring conversation. The analysis focuses on a comparison between the use of Chinese kin terms and other forms of address in Chinese and Indonesian languages. These forms are examined because speakers' selection of forms of address (or none at all) can have wide ranging consequences for social dynamics. Speakers can use these forms to influence politeness, index different identities and influence different stances, among other things (Bucholtz, 2009; Kiesling, 2004, 2009). Researchers of Indonesian language have noted that 2SG forms of address play a crucial role in mediating social interaction (Errington, 1998; Kartomihardjo, 1981; Manns, 2015). 2SG forms can indicate several facets of a relationship between two or more speakers, including power dynamics, intimacy and formality. There has been some study of Indonesian pronouns, pronoun substitutes and address terms; however, many of these studies have focused on majority groups in Indonesia (Djenar, 2006; Errington, 1998; Kartomihardjo, 1981; Manns, 2015; Rafferty, 1982). Second person singular forms of smaller ethnic minorities in Indonesia have been examined to a limited extent (Donohue & Sawaki, 2007). The use of kinship terms as 2SG address forms by the ethnic Chinese minority have received very little mention in academic research (Oetomo, 1989).

The chapter begins with an introduction of the Chinese kin term system which is contrasted with the Indonesian kin term systems. Chinese kin terms (henceforth KT) are used as pronoun substitutes and terms of address by young ethnic Chinese people, even when speaking in Indonesian. Next, I compare the use of KT and pronouns in participants' daily interactions. I argue that the selection of 2SG address forms is a response to the co-presence of chronotopic frames for interaction. The chapter shows that individuals use Chinese KT to respond to chronotopic frames for intraethnic communication and difference in seniority by invoking aspects of kin-like relationships with their interlocutors which enacts the speaker's stance of familial solidarity and deference for seniority. I further demonstrate that the choice to use KT to respond to chronotopic frames in interaction is influenced by politeness concerns. I draw on Brown and Levinson's (1987)

politeness theory to discuss how KT can be used to reduce the impact of face threatening acts by exchanging intimacy and solidarity for personal information or assistance. Brown and Levison (1987) explain that speech acts such as requests can threaten the speaker and the hearer's positive and negative face, and therefore require redress strategies to avoid causing affront. I argue that KT are used as a redress strategy to soften requests and lessen the negative face threat imposed on the hearer by enhancing the hearer's positive face. The use of KT enhances the hearer's positive face by invoking chronotopes of fictive kinship while indexing solidarity and social sameness between interlocutors.

The chapter contrasts the use of KT with the reciprocal use of 2SG pronouns. I show that the speakers use 2SG pronouns to respond to chronotopic frames for intimacy and social sameness and simultaneously enact a stance of informal solidarity. Finally, the use of English institutional titles such as *Mister* and *Miss* is a response to chronotopic frames for institutional talk and formal social distance. Importantly, I note that the choice to respond to one or more chronotopic frames through the use of these forms of address is influenced by the speaker's desire to accomplish one or more discursive goals.

5.1 Introducing the Forms

This section provides an introduction into the Chinese KT system and the relevant kinship terms that will be examined later in the analysis. The explanation highlights the differences and similarities between the Chinese KT system and the Indonesian KT system. The differences between Chinese KT and Indonesian KT affect their usage by participants in social interactions. Following on, I briefly outline pronouns and address terms that are discussed in the analysis section.

Kinship terms are one of the main sources of forms of address in Indonesian. KT are not exclusively used as forms of address, as they also commonly function as terms of reference to identify relationships between relatives or members of a community in Indonesia. Despite this, KT are used as often, if not more often, than pronouns in Indonesian conversation, as KT are commonly used as pronoun substitutes (Kartomihardjo, 1981; Manns, 2015; Rafferty, 1982). The function of KT in Indonesia is widespread, and far from limited to communications between blood relatives. Agha (2007, p. 263) explained that the use of KT is merely performative and indexes a metaphoric kinship between individuals who are known to be non-kin. Errington (1998) further explained that in the Javanese context, speakers often select KT to transport brother or sisterhood

and seniority to broader social settings beyond the immediate family. The use of KT in minority communities can invoke chronotopes of family relations that position the community as separate from the wider society. For instance, Javanese people use Javanese KT to invoke fictive kinship with Javanese people that highlights the shared ethnic identity of collocutors and emphasises their difference from other ethnic groups in Indonesia. Importantly, the use of ethnic KT is not exclusive to members of the ethnic group. Goebel (2010) showed that non-Javanese individuals in Semarang often used Javanese KT and other Javanese forms in order to invoke in-group status with Javanese people with whom they shared a close relationship. In this case, Javanese or other ethnic KT may not necessarily respond to the chronotopic frames for intraethnic communication but rather the chronotopic frames for in-group communication. I will return to this point later in the chapter.

Chinese speakers often use Chinese KT to refer to addressees (i.e. 2SG) in interactions in Indonesian and Chinese languages. Chinese KT function in line with other KT systems in Indonesia in that their use is extended beyond genetic relationships. However, there are some notable differences between the Chinese KT system and that of other Indonesian languages. Firstly, the Chinese KT system features two sets of terms used to address relatives from the maternal and the paternal sides of the family (Qian & Piao, 2009). For instance, the Teochew Chinese KT *acek* refers to an uncle who is the brother of one's father, whereas the Teochew Chinese KT *gugu* refers to an uncle who is the brother of one's mother. The Chinese KT system also differs from other Indonesian KT systems because it marks the age of individuals relative to one's immediate family (Qian & Piao, 2009). For example, *acek* refers to the younger brother of one's father, whereas *apek* refers to the older brother of one's father in Teochew Chinese. Chinese speakers employ the KTs to address non-kin by first assessing the age, gender and ethnicity of their interlocutor. Speakers judge the age of their interlocutor relative to the speaker's own immediate family and select the KT that befits that assessment. A Teochew speaker might, for instance, judge their interlocutor to be an ethnically-Chinese female who is slightly older than the speaker's mother. In this situation, the speaker would refer to the individual as *aie* or *ieie* (i.e. 'Aunt who is older than my mother'). Generally, speakers use the paternal set of KTs to refer to male non-kin. The maternal set of KTs is more often used to refer to female non-kin. If speakers are unsure as to whether an individual is older or younger than their relative (e.g. their mother), they usually select the KT denoting the older relative. Chinese KTs are used almost exclusively to refer to ethnically Chinese people. The

individuals who use Chinese KTs are also usually ethnically Chinese. However, it is not unheard of for non-Chinese Indonesians to use these forms when addressing Chinese interlocutors.

The Indonesian and Chinese kin terms most relevant to the current chapter are presented below in Figures 1 and 2. It should be noted that this is not an exhaustive list of kin terms used by Chinese Indonesian people in Pontianak, these were just the most frequently used kin terms in the data. The KTs are grouped together as Indonesian or Chinese forms. I have listed the individual forms under the subcategories of each of these groups.

Table 6: Indonesian KT

Standard Indonesian		**Pontianak Malay**
kakak, kak 'older sibling'	Upward address	*abang, bang* 'older brother'
		kakak, kak 'older sister'
adik, dik 'younger sibling'	Downward address	*adik, dik* 'younger sibling'

Table 7 lists the standard Indonesian KT and the Pontianak Malay KT to highlight a contrast between these forms. The standard Indonesian KTs and Pontianak Malay KTs are very similar. However, there are several differences between the form and usage of standard Indonesian and Pontianak Malay KT that should be illuminated here. The first difference is that *kakak* is used to refer to both male and female older siblings in standard Indonesian but is only used to refer to female older siblings in Pontianak Malay. Pontianak Malay KT system therefore also includes the term *abang* to refer to male older siblings. Importantly, these KT are not exclusive to Pontianak Malay but are found in a large number of Malay languages (Banks, 1974; Kuo & Wong, 1979). The participants of the study use the Pontianak Malay KT more often than the standard Indonesian KT for several reasons. Firstly, they most often use Pontianak Malay KT to refer to ethnically Malay individuals, which forms part of a pattern of address which will be discussed in following sections. And secondly, the standard Indonesian sense of *kakak* is not widely used in Pontianak because it conflicts with the Pontianak Malay usage. Participants used Pontianak Malay KT in

interactions in standard Indonesian and Pontianak Malay. However, it should be noted that participants rarely spoke Pontianak Malay, and more often used informal Indonesian language in communications. I therefore decided to list both standard Indonesian and Pontianak Malay KTs under the umbrella of Indonesian KT because both sets of KT form part of participants' Indonesian language repertoires.

Table 8 below presents some of the Chinese KTs that occurred most often in participants' daily interactions. The KT are divided into Teochew Chinese and Khek Chinese languages. The figure shows some of the differences between Teochew and Khek Chinese terminology.

Table 7: Chinese KT

Khek Chinese		**Teochew Chinese**
aie, ieie, ie 'auntie' (older than mother)	Upward address	*aie, ieie, ie* 'auntie' (older than mother)
koko, ko 'older brother'		*ahia* 'older brother'
cece, ce 'older sister'		*cece, ce* 'older sister'
amoi 'younger sister'	Downward address	*lelet* 'younger sister'

Table 8 highlights several differences between Khek and Teochew Chinese KT. The KT denoting 'auntie' and 'older sister' are the same however the terms for older brother and younger sister are completely different. Both sets of Chinese KT were used by participants to refer to other ethnic Chinese individuals in interactions in both Chinese and Indonesian language. There are a number of other kin terms and these will be noted as they become relevant. Factors influencing the selection of Indonesian or Chinese KT will be discussed in the following section on previous studies of forms of address.

The current study explores the use of kin terms as pronoun substitutes and terms of address. The analysis compares and contrasts the use of kin terms and pronouns as 2SG forms of address to highlight how these forms are used to invoke different kinds of relationships between speakers. Pronouns are typically considered a closed class of words consisting of personal pronouns (e.g.

she, he and *you*) relative pronouns (e.g. *who, whose* and *which*) and demonstrative pronouns (e.g. *that, this* and *these*) (Finegan, 2008, p. 544). Wallace (1983) observed that the Indonesian pronoun class is unusual because Indonesian pronouns are remarkably lexicalised. As a result, person markers can be readily borrowed from other languages.

Indonesian speakers therefore have a wide variety of pronouns and pronoun substitutes available to them. Pronoun substitutes such as kin terms and proper names can be used interchangeably with pronouns in Indonesian (Manns, 2011). As previously mentioned, speakers commonly include pronouns and pronoun substitutes from languages other than prescribed standard Indonesian. For instance, Chinese Indonesians often include Chinese pronouns and kin terms in their Indonesian-language interactions to index different stances and serve particular discursive goals.

It is important here to delineate the difference between pronouns, pronoun substitutes and terms of address. I follow Braun's (1988) definition of address terms as a form of 2SG reference which falls outside of the clause structure. They differ from pronouns and pronoun substitutes because they are non-propositional and have an interactional meaning. Kiesling (2004, p. 294) provided the following example of the use of *man, dude* and *Dave* as terms of address.

44 Pete: Fuckin' ay man.

45 Gimme the red Dave. Dude. (1.0)

46 Dave: No.

The terms *man, dude* and *Dave* function as terms of address in the sentence because they fall outside of the necessary semantic components of the sentence. Kiesling's (2004) example highlights the most common role of terms of address however it is possible for address terms to be used as pronoun substitutes. Manns (2011, p. 164) provided the following example of the use of *Your Majesty* as a pronoun substitute:

Would Your Majesty like a copy of *The Sun*?

Manns' example shows that the term of address, *Your Majesty*, is an essential component of the clause structure as it fills the place of the pronoun. It is required in order for the sentence to be considered grammatical and comprehensible. This example highlights an important difference between terms of address and pronouns or pronoun substitutes. Terms of address can easily

become pronoun substitutes, as is the case in the above example. However, pronouns are rarely used as terms of address.

The current study contrasts terms of address with pronouns and pronoun substitutes. Terms of address, pronouns and pronoun substitutes are collectively referred to as forms of address throughout this chapter. The study references the use of Indonesian and Chinese forms of address, including pronouns, pronoun substitutes and terms of address. The analysis focuses on the use of Chinese kin terms as pronoun substitutes and terms of address. Previous studies have linked the selection of pronouns, pronoun substitutes and address terms to stances which are indirectly indexical of social identities (Djenar, 2006; Kiesling, 2004; Manns, 2015). Some of those studies are discussed in the following section.

5.2 Previous Studies of Pronouns, Pronoun Substitutes and Terms of Address

There has been considerable work completed on the use of pronouns, pronoun substitutes and address terms across many different cultures throughout the world (Alimoradian, 2014; Bucholtz, 2009; Djenar, 2006; Kiesling, 2004). Prior research has demonstrated that these various forms of second person address have significant impact on identity work and social relationships. Additionally, the use of terms of address is seldom entirely systematic, but rather complex and contextually situated.

Kiesling's (2004) and Bucholtz's (2009) work demonstrated that address terms can be used to accomplish a variety of communicative purposes. Kiesling's (2004) research on *dude* amongst college students, and Bucholtz's (2009) study of young Mexican speakers' use of a similar term, *güey,* demonstrated the various roles of 2SG address terms in regulating social interaction. Bucholtz and Kiesling explained that the use of *dude* and *güey* was highly dependent on the social context and purpose of the interaction. For instance, depending on the communicative context, the address terms could be implemented to create social harmony or social discord (Bucholtz, 2009; Kiesling, 2004, 2009). Importantly, *dude* and *güey* contributed to a similar, masculine-based group identity by reinforcing 'cool solidarity' (Kiesling, 2004, p. 282), that also corresponded with racial and/or ethnic identity (Bucholtz, 2009; Kiesling, 2004). However Kiesling noted that the masculine indexicality of *dude* was waning over time (Kiesling, 2004).

The role of forms of address in formulating identities has been treated thoroughly in research. More recent research by Alimoradian (2014), developed from Rendle-Short (2009, 2010), presented findings on the use of the Australian address term *mate* by different generations of Australians from non-English speaking backgrounds. Alimoradian found strong correlations between the use of *mate* and a sense of Australian identity. Speakers who identified more strongly with their Australian identity were more frequent users of the address term, than those with higher orientation towards their ethnic identity (Alimoradian, 2014, p. 616).

Djenar's (2006) research on variation in Jakartan and standard Indonesian pronouns demonstrated similarly that speakers' selection of second person reference reflected their relationship to their interlocutors (whether real or imagined). Djenar (2006) also showed that selection of pronouns shaped individuals' presentation of self in relation to others in their social environment. Englebretson (2007) analysed pronouns as markers of stance, and noted that for Indonesian speakers in Yogyakarta, pronoun choice "is dynamic, takes place at the local level of discourse, and is used in stancetaking to index the speaker's construction and expression of identities" (Englebretson, 2007, p. 78). Ewing (2015) added to Djenar's (2014) notion that variation in speakers' pronoun use were not random but were linked perduring meanings relevant to social and spatial deixis. Ewing explained that when Bandung speakers diverged from the usual *aku/kamu* Indonesian first and second person pronouns and instead used Sundanese *urang/maneh*, they were undertaking social actions such as realigning with friends after a falling out by invoking the resonance of locality and shared ethnicity (Ewing, 2015, p. 5).

Braun (1988, p. 24) stated that when there is large variation in forms of second person reference the use of certain address forms can provide more information about the identity of the speaker than about the addressee or the relationship between the two. As previously stated, Indonesians have a wide variety of options for second person referents, including various systems of KT. The KT that the individuals select can demonstrate their perception of self or how they wish to be perceived by those with whom they communicate. Kartomihardjo (1981) and Manns (2011, 2015) suggested that the selection of Indonesian and Javanese kinship terms can also be motivated by ethnicity, or the desire to demonstrate that the interlocutors are "of the same kind" (Manns, 2015, p.8). Javanese speakers could select *mbak* 'older sister' or *mas* 'older brother' to refer to other Javanese intimates and signal that they are also Javanese. It is worth noting, however, that the

usage of Javanese KT was not exclusive to Javanese people, as individuals of non-Javanese ethnicity also used these forms (Goebel, 2010; Manns, 2015). Importantly, Manns (2015) explained that the selection of kin terms did not directly index Javanese ethnicity rather speakers selected Javanese KT to take stances of ethnic solidarity which indirectly indexed their own ethnic identities. My research also suggests that Chinese Indonesian youth's selection of KT is influenced by their own and others' ethnicities, and their stances relative to these factors. However, the research also shows that this is not the only motivation behind the selection of KT, as individuals also used Chinese and Indonesian KT to accomplish conversational strategies.

Much of the research completed on forms of address has focused on the effect of power and solidarity dimensions (R. Brown & Gilman, 1960; Suastra, 1983). Brown and Gilman's (1960) seminal work on the T/V second person pronoun distinction suggested that speakers selected the informal, intimate T or the formal, distanced V in response to the existence or absence of power and solidarity dynamics. They stated that the superior, powerful individual would refer to their inferior using the *tu* (T) form and receive the *vos* (V) form from their inferiors. Speakers of approximately equal power would use mutual T or V forms (R. Brown & Gilman, 1960, p. 257). Brown and Gilman (1960) therefore explained that the use of the non-reciprocal T/V forms is governed by the power dimension and the use of the reciprocal T form is governed by the solidarity dimension.

Other works have suggested that power has become less significant in the selection of forms of address. This follows a growing trend in Europe and other parts of the world where individuals have an increasing preference for emphasising the elements of solidarity between speakers. Brown and Ford (1964) suggested that intimacy and distance were more important predictors of the selection of first names (FN) or title-last names (TLN) as forms of address in symmetrical relationships. Individuals who were strangers selected TLN, but when they became intimate, they reciprocated the use of FN (R. Brown & Ford, 1964). The power dimension had relatively minimal effect on the selection of forms of address in this case.

Ervin-Tripp (1972) produced a more nuanced framework to describe the selection of forms of address in North America. She suggested that the selection of forms of address is predominantly affected by the setting. 'Status-marked situations' (e.g. courtroom, Congress) require speakers to select terms of address that reflect their addressee's social identity, rank and marital status (Ervin-

Tripp, 1972, p. 164). Personal relationships and intimacy are often overridden or ignored in status-marked situations. In non-status marked situations, individuals may refer to one another using first names or other forms of address that reflect their personal relationship and intimacy. Individuals may persist in using formal titles in informal or intimate contexts, however this is often for specific communicative intent. For instance, politeness concerns may prompt speakers to select forms of address that emphasise the superior rank of their addressee even in informal communicative contexts.

Ervin-Tripp's (1972) research alongside more recent studies have shown that the selection of forms of address is linked to the perceived formality of the situation and the perceived intimacy between speakers. For instance, Errington (1988) showed that formal village meetings prescribed the use of more respectful address terms than less formal neighbourhood meetings in Java. The perceived intimacy between speakers impacts on the roles they are assigned within interaction. Manns (2015) demonstrated that higher status or older speakers often avoided using a downward-oriented kin term when speaking with an intimate 'inferior' to downplay the asymmetrical socio-cultural roles of older and younger interlocutors that may inhibit conversations of a personal or intimate nature. Contrastingly, speakers may also foreground asymmetrical cultural roles to pursue particular communicative intent. For instance, the present study shows that ethnic Chinese college students use upward-oriented kin terms with classmates invoke aspects of fictive kinship between interlocutors and manage politeness concerns.

5.3 Kin Terms and Pronoun Forms of Address in Interaction

The findings of the current study suggest that forms of address are most often selected in response to chronotopic frames present in interaction. Individuals use Chinese KT to respond to the chronotopic frames for intraethnic communication and difference in seniority by invoking chronotopes of fictive kinship. These chronotopes of fictive kinship respond to and reproduce chronotopic frames for kinship relations that define the roles of interlocutors in discourse.

The use of KT in an utterance reproduces aspects of kinship relationships and connects the utterance to a pattern of previously produced utterances that share the same chronotopic formulation of kin-like relationships (cf. Blommaert, 2015). In effect, the use of KT can reproduce a chronotopic frame for kinship relations. The chronotopic frame for kinship relations acts as an invitation or instructions to addressees to assume behaviour which usually occurs in the context of

kin-like relationships (Agha, 2015). In this sense, the kinship chronotope does not directly index kin relationships but rather invokes characteristics of familial kinship that are then applied to a present context (Agha, 2015; Harkness, 2015). Characteristics of kinship relationships include implicit familiarity and intimacy between members of the same family. Similarly, kinship relationships can evoke solidarity or 'sameness' in the sense that individuals may be from the same family or group. Kinship relationships also incorporate a recognition of seniority of older family members. Chronotopic frames of kinship can invoke any or all of these characteristics of kin relationships in interactions between interlocutors who are non-kin.

Additionally, KTs allow speakers to take stances of solidarity and/or deference with their interlocutors for discursive purposes such as performing politeness. The data examples presented in this chapter are drawn from naturally occurring interactions in Indonesian, Teochew Chinese and Khek Chinese. Indonesian language is represented in Calibri font, Teochew Chinese is indicated by italicised Calibri font and Khek Chinese is depicted in bold Calibri font. The relevant KT are also underlined.

There are two sets of data presented in this chapter. The first set of data examples are drawn from student interactions at Pontianak Catholic College (PCC) campus. The second set of data examples are drawn from teachers' conversations at Pontianak Protestant Kindergarten (PPK). There are some notable differences between the two institutions which affect individuals' choice of address forms. Firstly, the university environment of PCC is relatively informal and egalitarian. Students freely interact with others in their class and discuss a range of topics including class work, university events as well as personal matters. The majority of interactions between students are aimed at building solidarity and rapport. The environment at PPK is quite different to that of PCC. The setting is a formal workplace and therefore social hierarchy is more salient than it is at PCC. However, the teachers at PPK work together closely and many have pre-existing relationships outside of the institution, for instance at university or in church. In the following sections, I will show that the variation in choice of forms of address at both institutions is driven by the chronotopic frames present in interaction. The presence of chronotopic frames is influenced by the purpose of the conversation (i.e. transactional or relational) and the setting of the conversation (i.e. formal office meeting or informal lunch) (cf. Goebel, 2014).

5.3.1. Forms of Address at PCC

First names and 2SG pronouns were the most commonly used forms of address in interactions among students at PCC. As previously mentioned, students are all in the same class and are approximately the same age. The majority of interactions are aimed at building solidarity and rapport, as students most commonly discuss personal stories, gossip and school events. There are no salient social status differences that need to be acknowledged through the use of deferential address terms. Therefore, the frequent use of first names and 2SG pronouns corresponds to the frequent occurrence of the chronotopic frames for intimacy and/or social sameness. Chronotopic frames for difference in seniority are occasionally present in interactions at PCC, particularly between students and older salespeople who work at nearby food stalls and printing shops. These conversational settings elicit the use of KT.

Importantly, chronotopic frames for difference in seniority can occur alongside chronotopic frames for intimacy and social sameness. Individuals in interaction may be students of the same university and thus share some social sameness. However, there may be a slight difference in age, which would indicate a difference in seniority. In this situation, speakers can choose to respond to either the chronotopic frames for intimacy and social sameness or the chronotopic frames for difference in seniority, through their selection of forms of address. I argue that their choice to respond to one chronotopic frame over the other is influenced by discursive goals such as softening the imposition posed by requests. Finally, the selection of Chinese or Indonesian pronouns and KT can be dependent on the presence or absence of chronotopic frames for intraethnic and interethnic communication.

The first two examples involve an ethnic Chinese Pontianak Catholic College (PCC) student, Wilma, interacting with two different sellers. The interactions occur in a relatively formal, socially-distant situational context. These examples demonstrate the use of Chinese and Indonesian KT in response to chronotopic frames for intraethnic and interethnic communication respectively. Additionally, the use of KT responds to a chronotopic frame for difference in seniority. The third and fourth examples feature more informal interactions between fellow PCC students. The analysis of these examples highlights and contrasts the use of Chinese pronouns and KT to respond to different chronotopic frames for interaction and thus construct different stances and invoke different kinds of relationships between speakers. I show that the choice to respond to

the chronotopic frame for difference in seniority in an otherwise socially egalitarian setting is influenced by discursive goals.

In the following two examples the setting is relatively formal in that interlocutors are engaging in transactional talk. Transactions involve the reproduction of formulaic content in which a buyer selects and purchases an object from a seller in exchange for money. Additionally, the seller and the buyer, Wilma, are strangers who do not share a pre-existing relationship and are therefore socially distanced (cf. Manning, 2001). The analysis highlights an important difference in Wilma's selection of address forms that is motivated primarily by the presence of different chronotopic frames which corresponds to the purpose of the interaction and the ethnic identity of the addressees.

The following example (5.1) shows Wilma using the Indonesian KT *kak* 'older sister' to address a female, non-ethnic Chinese Indonesian employee at a printing shop near the campus.

(5.1)

1	**Wilma**	Saya mau fotocopy ini 41 rangkap
		I want to make 41 copies of this
2		Hari rabu
		For Wednesday
3		Tolong hitung perrangkapnya berapa kak
		Please count how many copies there are, older sister
4		Bayar yang ini dulu ya kak
		I'll pay for this first, yeah, older sister
5	**Seller 1**	Makasih
		Thank you
6	**Wilma**	Boleh minta kantongnya gak kak?

May I ask for a plastic bag, older sister?

7 **Seller 1** Boleh

You may

Wilma addresses Seller 1 as *kak* ‘older sister’ in lines 3, 4 and 6. Wilma’s use of *kak* as a term of address is motivated by several factors in the interaction. Firstly, Seller 1 is older than Wilma, and therefore a chronotopic frame for difference in seniority is present in the interaction. Wilma responds to this chronotopic frame and acknowledges this age difference by using an up-ward oriented KT. Seller 1 does not reciprocate the KT address with a downward-oriented KT, nor does she use any other address term. Older speakers often do not use KTs to address their younger interlocutors. The age difference between Wilma and the seller appears to supersede the status difference between the two interlocutors. The seller is arguably of lower social status than Wilma because Seller 1 is of a lower class and is employed in a low-skill service job, whereas Wilma is a relatively wealthy, middle-class college girl. However, this status difference is not represented in the interaction, which suggests that it is less significant than the age difference between speakers.

An alternative possibility is that the status difference between the interlocutors may have been mitigated by the seller’s non-KT selection. As mentioned above, previous studies have shown that the disuse of downward-oriented KT avoids emphasising the asymmetrical sociocultural roles in conversations. Therefore, the seller’s choice to avoid the downward-oriented KT may have been a strategy to acknowledge the status difference by downplaying the seniority difference between speakers.

Additionally, Wilma’s choice of address can be considered a response to the chronotopic frame for transactional talk. Transactional talk is goal-oriented, and is focused on the exchange of information (Goebel, 2014; Holmes, Marra, & Vine, 2011). Therefore, the language used to conduct transactions is usually more formal than talk in more interpersonal communications. Transactional talk sits in contrast to relational talk which is centred on rapport building between interlocutors (J. Coupland, 2003; Holmes et al., 2011; Tannen, 1984). In the Indonesian context, standard Indonesian is the variety of language prescribed for transactional talk by state monologic ideology (Goebel, 2014, p. 198). Individual speakers do not necessarily use strictly standard Indonesian in all of their transactional talk. Sometimes buyers switch to regional or ethnic

languages to construct stances of solidarity with their interlocutors in the hopes of eliciting discounts or similar boons from the seller (cf. Braun, 1988; Myers-Scotton, 1991). However, individuals nonetheless often draw on standard Indonesian language features, such as the first person pronoun *saya* in line 1, to invoke the chronotope of formal, transactional-type talk in Indonesia. The effect of the chronotope is that the interaction is becomes categorised alongside previous instances of similar transactions that occur throughout the Indonesian state. The interaction is therefore placed at a higher scale order. Wilma's use of the Indonesian KT therefore responds to the chronotopic frame for transactional talk and adds to the higher scale of the interaction by indexing respect and deference to the addressee.

Wilma's use of KT may also be prompted by politeness concerns as Wilma is asking the seller to perform several tasks. Wilma's use of KT enhances the seller's positive face because her superiority as the older interlocutor is recognised and ratified (P. Brown & Levinson, 1987; Wolfowitz, 1991). Therefore, the use of KT address can be a positive politeness strategy that redresses the negative face threat of requests (Brown & Levinson, 1987). I will discuss this further in relation to other examples of the use of KTs as a politeness strategy.

Wilma's interaction with Seller 1 highlights another important influence on the selection of KTs, which is the ethnicity of the interlocutors. Wilma refers to Seller 1 as *kak* because the seller is ethnically non-Chinese Indonesian, and therefore the chronotopic frame for interethnic communication is present. Wilma's selection of KT changes when the addressee is of a different ethnicity. In the following example, Wilma uses the Chinese KT *ieie* 'auntie' to address an ethnic Chinese snack vendor.

(5.2)

1	**Wilma**	Aku beli barang bentar,
		Just a sec, I'm going to buy things
2		eh barang, beli makanan, lebih tepatnya
		eh things, buy food, more accurately
3		Eh, beli di mana?

		Eh where am I going to buy it?
4		*Ieie*, ini satu nya berapa *ie*? Lima ya?
		Auntie, how much for one of these, auntie? Five yeah?
5		Beli dua
		I'll buy two
6	**Seller 2**	Beli dua ya?
		You'll buy two, yeah?
7	**Wilma**	Iya
		Yes

The interaction between Wilma and Seller 2 is very similar to that between Wilma and Seller 1. In both cases Wilma participates in a transaction with a seller. Sellers 1 and 2 are both older than Wilma, and Wilma addresses both individuals using KT. Therefore, chronotopic frames for transactional talk and difference in seniority are present in both interactions. Wilma also makes requests of both sellers and uses positive redress strategies to tend to the negative face threat of her imposition. The only significant difference between the two interactions is the ethnicity of the two sellers. Seller 1 is ethnically non-Chinese Indonesian, whereas Seller 2 is ethnically Chinese. Wilma addresses Seller 2, using the Chinese KT *ieie* 'auntie' in line 4 above. Wilma's selection of the Chinese KT is clearly motivated by the seller's ethnicity, and the presence of the chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication. Wilma and Seller 2 are speaking Indonesian, and it would therefore be acceptable to address the seller using Indonesian KT. The use of Chinese KT was not obligatory in this context, and therefore suggests that Wilma is attempting to accomplish a discursive goal by choosing to respond to the chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication.

Braun (1988, p. 24) stated that when there is large variation in address terminology, speakers' selection of address terms can indicate more about their own personal identity than that of their interlocutors. Wilma's use of *ieie* demonstrates that she understands the Chinese KT system, and how it is used in interaction with older Chinese interlocutors. The use of KT reflects the Chinese sociocultural values of recognising and ratifying Chinese ethnicity in interactions among Chinese people in Indonesia. Therefore, the use of *ieie* is a chronotopic formulation of Chinese cultural values and norms for communication between fellow ethnic Chinese. Wilma uses the Chinese KT to orient herself towards Chinese cultural values. Her selection of the Chinese KT to refer to her addressee positions Seller 2 as a person of Chinese ethnicity and who is similarly familiar with the

Chinese norms of address. The shared close alignment to Chinese values and Chinese identity calibrates the alignment between the speakers (Du Bois, 2007). In effect, Wilma aligns herself with the hearer, and constructs a stance of solidarity based on their shared understanding of Chinese values and their shared Chinese ethnic identity. Wolfowitz (1991) referred to this use of kinship terminology as an attempt to index solidarity in an otherwise socially distanced interaction.

The following interactions differ from those previously discussed because they are drawn from interactions between students at PCC. Fellow students at college highlight solidarity by responding to chronotopic frames for intimacy and social sameness. Classmates of equal age and status usually refer to one another using personal names or pronouns. However, as previously mentioned, Chinese KT are also occasionally used to respond to chronotopic frames for intraethnic communication and difference in seniority in order to accomplish discursive purposes.

The following interaction occurs between two close friends and classmates, Lestari and Harry before the start of their first lesson. Throughout the interaction, Lestari and Harry refer to one another using the Chinese 2SG pronoun *le*.

(5.3)

1	**Lestari**	Pelajaran *Sir X pai sa nang* maju *he?*
		Shall we move up for Sir X's class?
2	**Harry**	*Ciu le leh*
		Up to you
3	**Lestari**	*Ciu wa ha*
		Up to me, hah
4	**Harry**	*Ai co muek la*
		What do you want to do?
5	**Lestari**	*Le kin me u* janji *nang me?*
		Do you have anything on later tonight?
6	**Harry**	*Kin me?*
		Later tonight?
7	**Lestari**	*Kak* Rini *chut he?*
		You're going out with Rini, right?

The interlocutors in this example are classmates and friends who often sit together in class. Throughout the interaction, Lestari and her classmate exchange the Chinese 2SG pronoun form of address, *le*, in lines 2 and 5. The reciprocal exchange of 2SG pronouns was the most common form of address observed in the interactions between intimate friends and classmates at PCC. As previously mentioned, choice of 2SG pronoun is not random but is informed by the chronotopic frames for interaction which influence and are influenced by the speech situation and the social actions of speakers (cf. Englebretson, 2007; Ewing, 2015). Speakers often use reciprocal 2SG pronominal address when discussing personal matters with close friends. Lestari and Harry's use of *le* can be considered a response to the chronotopic frame for intimacy which emerges from their perduring relationship as close friends as well as the context of intimate social talk. Manning (2001) and Djenar (2014) use the term 'social deixis' to define references to perduring social relationships that exist beyond a single situational context. The relationship between Lestari and Harry is based on their shared belonging to the same ethnic group and the same class at college, as well as their personal friendship. The use of the Chinese pronoun *le* is a chronotopic reformulation of proximal social deixis between speakers that existed prior to the interaction.

The use of the Chinese pronoun is also relevant to the speaker's social actions. In contrast to the necessarily asymmetrical use of KT, the mutual use of 2SG *le* by each speaker positions their addressee as an equal (cf. Brown & Levinson, 1987). The reciprocal form of address emphasises the intimate relationship between the speakers and their shared status as students in the same class. Solidarity is emphasised through the interaction as each speaker invites the other to decide where they should sit for Sir X's class. The speakers obviously share some level of intimacy because they are both familiar with each other's ethnic background and ability to speak Teochew Chinese. Additionally, Lestari is familiar with Harry's usual habits (i.e. going out with Rini after class). Therefore, the selection of 2SG pronouns evokes a chronotope of familiarity and solidarity that form part of the social deixis between speakers. The chronotope reproduces the chronotopic frames for intimacy and social sameness positions the interaction as an intimate conversation between close friends.

Lestari's selection of 2SG form of address in line 5 can be analysed as a strategic use of stance. Lestari's use of *le* constructs a stance of solidarity by aligning with Harry's 2SG pronoun selection in line 2. Lestari's stance emphasises the solidarity between speakers which may reduce Harry's

inhibitions regarding providing information about his plans with Rini. Manns (2015) suggested that speakers can use solidarity strategically to initiate an exchange of interpersonal intimacy for personal information.

2SG pronouns are the most common form for address among students of equal age and status at PCC. However, KTs are often used by students to accomplish discursive goals. The use of KT evokes a chronotopic frame of fictive kinship in which speakers and hearers are assigned roles (e.g. the younger sister and the older sister) (cf. Errington, 1998). Individuals addressed by upward-oriented kin terms may be inclined to fulfil the duties typically assigned to older siblings, such as helping younger siblings with homework (cf. Agha, 2015). In this sense, the 'family feeling' encapsulated through the use of KTs is a positive politeness technique that can be used to facilitate requests, such as in the following example. The example (5.4) features and interaction between Lestari, a college senior, and a student from the junior class. The college junior refers to Lestari using the Chinese KT *cece* 'older sister'.

(5.4)

1	**Lestari**	Pelajaran apa kalian?
		What are you studying?
2	**Dina**	Si sialan (.)
		This shit.
3		*Ce,* "in the street", "on the street" kan juga "in the street"
		Sis, 'in the street', 'on the street' and also 'in the street'
4		dari mana sejalan jadi "in the street"?
		where does it become 'in the street'?
5	**Lestari**	Base on the sentence lah
		Based on the sentence
6	**Dina**	Bisa dak? Bisa dak?
		Is this okay? Is this okay?
7	**Lestari**	"In the street" bisa (.)
		'In the street' is okay (.)
8		Kalau Dinahabis ikut kelas kalian nih,

	If you're finished, go join your class,
9	kau langsung kelas kami kan,
	if you go straight to ours
10	curhat die langsung yang kau bilang in sama on nih.
	he'll pour his heart out if you talk about this 'in' and 'on'
11	Aku bilang die- kau nih makin bodoh kena ajar die
	I'm telling him- you guys will get dumber from his teaching

Lestari consistently refers to her interlocutor using the Malay 2SG address term *kau* and the Indonesian 2PL address term *kalian* in lines 1, 8, 9,10 and 11. This is contrasted by her interlocutor's address of Lestari using the Chinese KT *ce* 'older sister' in line 3. I will discuss the selection of terms of address in depth in a moment. It is important to note that the interlocutors are of the same ethnicity, approximately equal age and they are both students at the same institution. However, the interaction above differs from the previous interaction shown in example (5.3) because Dina is a junior and Lestari is a senior at college. Additionally, the two speakers are not close friends and they are not in the same class, thus there is more social distance between Dina and Lestari in example (5.4) than Lestari and Harry in example (5.3). Therefore, chronotopic frames for social sameness and difference in seniority may be concurrently present.

The conversation is very informal, as evidenced through informal expressions such as *curhat* 'pour one's heart out' and expletives such as *sialan* 'shit'. The Malay and Indonesian pronominal address can be considered a response to the chronotopic frame for social sameness which further adds to the informality of the interaction. The pronoun *kalian* is the slightly informal form of 2PL reference in Indonesian and is typically used to address equals or those of lower status. Additionally, the realization of the Indonesian 3SG pronoun *dia* as *die* in lines 10 and 11 is considered a feature of Pontianak Malay (Asmah, 1977). Interviews with participants, analysed in Chapter 4, showed that Malay language features are considered part of very informal or even vulgar speech. Participants explained that although they used Malay language, they considered it as lacking prestige and educational value. Furthermore, Sneddon (2003a) and Steinhauer (1994) indicated that Indonesian

monologic ideology removed all regional and ethnic languages such as Pontianak Malay from formal communicative contexts and positioned them on a lower scale. As a result, Malay language use became synonymous with informal, local communication. In sum, there are no formal grounds in example (5.4) which necessitate the use of Chinese KT. Speaker 2's choice to respond to the chronotopic frame of difference in seniority is therefore strategic.

Speaker 2 uses the Chinese KT to respond to chronotopic frames for intraethnic communication and difference in seniority. Her response to the chronotopic frame invokes aspects of fictive kinship that enact the speaker's stance of familiarity and deference to seniority. As previously mentioned, kin relationships involve familiarity and intimacy inherent in membership to the same family, as well as deference for senior family members (Agha, 2015; Harkness, 2015). The kin-like relationship evoked through the speaker's deployment of the KT reflects the sibling-like relationship of junior and senior students at college. Junior students show deference to senior students in a similar manner to younger siblings recognising the seniority of their older siblings. Additionally, there is some level of solidarity and intimacy involved in the relationship between students at PCC that emerges as a result of their shared membership to the same college (cf. Harkness, 2015). Belonging to the same college here is analogous with belonging to the same family, in that both infer familial intimacy and shared identity. College seniors can act as older siblings to college juniors by providing them with help and advice. The Chinese KT highlights Lestari's position as the college senior and acts as an invitation for her to adopt the behaviours associated with this role. As a consequence, Speaker 2 takes the stance of the junior student who will receive the advice of the older student (Manns, 2012).

The chronotope of fictive kinship between the interlocutors is enhanced by the inclusion of Chinese KT in otherwise Indonesian-language interaction. The Chinese KT demonstrates that the speakers share membership to two groups: their college and their ethnic group. Lestari and Speaker 2 share the same ethnic identity as Chinese Indonesians. Speaker 2's selection of the KT therefore highlights two points of shared identity between the speakers which serves to heighten the sense of solidarity and intimacy between speakers.

Speaker 2's aim is to get Lestari to help her with her homework by invoking fictive kinship. The fictive kinship enhances Lestari's positive face as she is given the superior position inherent in the college senior's role. Lestari takes on this role by assisting with Speaker 2's homework (line 5 and

7) and insisting that the speaker returns to her own class as soon as possible to protect her from their teacher (lines 8-11). Lestari's repeated use of 2SG address (lines 8-11) reaffirms her superior position and the interlocutor's inferior position.

In summary, the example (5.4) demonstrates that speakers often select KT with discursive goals in mind. They can use kinship terms to invoke aspects of fictive kinship relationship that enhances the hearer's positive face and encourages feelings of familial solidarity. The hearer is therefore motivated to perform tasks that might otherwise be considered troublesome or demanding.

5.3.2 Forms of address at PPK

There was more variation observed in the selection of forms of address by Kindergarten teachers at Pontianak Protestant Kindergarten (PPK) than by students at PCC. The variation in use of address terms emerges due to the variation in chronotopic frames which are present in interaction. The teachers at PPK work together closely and many have pre-existing relationships outside of the institution, for instance at university or in church. The chronotopic frames for intimacy and social sameness are often present in interactions between teachers at PPK. The analysis shows that, like the students at PCC, teachers at PPK frequently use Malay and Indonesian 2SG pronouns to respond to the chronotopic frames for intimacy and social sameness. However, as mentioned earlier, PPK is a formal workplace and there is a salient social hierarchy present within the institution. Many of the interactions involve chronotopic frames for institutional talk. The school has a strong focus on English-language education so much so that the students and other school staff are instructed to refer to teachers using English titles such as *Mister* and *Miss*. English-language titles are important indicators of institutional roles and are commonly used as forms of address, particularly when interacting with school administration. Therefore, English titles are used most commonly in response to chronotopic frames for institutional talk. Interestingly, the final section of the analysis highlights the use of Chinese KT as a strategy to respond to an overlap in the chronotopic frames for intimacy and social sameness and the chronotopic frames for difference in seniority and institutional talk.

The following interaction features Malay 2SG pronoun forms of address in response to chronotopic frames for intimacy and solidarity. Example (5.5) involves fellow teachers Sofia and Elizabeth discussing their economics classes during a break at PPK. The teachers are friends and are both ethnically Chinese. The teachers also attend university at PCC and are both enrolled in classes in business and economics. Unlike other teachers at the school, Sofia and Elizabeth teach different classes and don't work together frequently. Therefore, their interaction is based on the personal dimension of their relationship even though it occurs within the physical setting of the institution.

(5.5)

1	**Sofia**	Kau belajar itu ya?
		You're studying that, yeah?

2		Ada Pak T kan? You've got Pak T, right?
3		Pak T, tak perlu belajar apa-ape Pak T doesn't need to study anything
4	**Elizabeth**	@@ Aku takut die suruh bikin kurva @@ I'm scared he'll ask us to make curves
5	**Sofia**	Kurva! Curves!
6		Iye kurva, kurva BP Yeah curves, BP curves
7	**Elizabeth**	Emang kurva cuma dua biji itu kah? Curves only have two sources, right?
8	**Sofia**	Ah, aku cuma bisa buat itu jak Ah, I can only do those

Sofia addresses Elizabeth using the 2SG Malay pronoun *kau* in line 1[8]. The use of the Malay pronoun is consistent with the informal style used by both interlocutors throughout the interaction. The informal style is established through informal Indonesian contractions such as *tak* for the standard Indonesian *tidak* 'no' in line 3, and the use of the informal form *jak* in place of the more standard *saja*. Additionally, both speakers use Malay phonology by replacing the final *a* with *e* in their pronunciations of the Indonesian indefinite pronoun *apa-apa* (line 3) and the third person singular pronoun *dia* (line 4). As previously mentioned, Malay language and phonology are indexed to more informal interactive contexts in Pontianak, in part due to the effects of monologic ideology. Research has indicated that the impact of Indonesian monologic ideology was such that regional or ethnic languages became most commonly used in informal, local, lower scale interactions (Sneddon, 2003a; Steinhauer, 1994). The informal style of the conversation situates

[8] The 2SG pronoun *kau* is not exclusive to Malay language and is considered an informal personal pronoun in Indonesian (Atmosumarto, 2015; Djenar, 2003). However, I have referred to *kau* as Malay here and elsewhere in the thesis because participants labelled it as such in interviews. Therefore, I am reflecting participants' classification of the pronoun as a Malay feature.

the discussion outside of the formal, institutional context by reproducing a chronotopic frame of informal, relational talk.

Sofia's use of the Malay pronoun diverges from the institutional norms of address that involve referring to teachers using their titles. Her choice of address term in combination with the Indonesian discourse marker *kan* in line 2 responds to the chronotopic frames for familiarity and intimacy and constructs a stance of informal solidarity with her interlocutor. The topic of conversation is focused on Sofia and Elizabeth's shared experiences as students of the economics professor, Pak T at PCC. Sofia's use of the Malay pronoun reproduces the chronotopic frame of relational talk between university students by invoking a chronotope of normal address patterns of students at PCC. As stated earlier in the chapter, students at PCC usually exchange Indonesian or Chinese pronouns when interacting with their peers. The pronoun use emphasises Elizabeth and Sofia's identities as fellow students at PCC. Additionally, the discourse marker *kan* is reportedly used in solidarity-building activities such as marking shared knowledge and requesting agreement or acknowledgement (Wouk, 1998, p. 402). Sofia is using *kan* in line 2 to request Elizabeth's confirmation that Pak T is indeed her economics professor. The use of *kan* frames Sofia's subsequent comments about Pak T's class as the initiation of a rapport building activity based on shared knowledge between the interlocutors.

The interaction can be considered a solidarity and rapport building activity because each collocutor shares their experiences with Pak T and aligns with their hearer. Tannen (1984, p. 101) suggested that sharing experiences implies a metamessage of rapport by suggesting that the interlocutors are intimate, they share their own experiences and are interested in hearing about the other's experiences. Elizabeth adds to the sharing activity by relaying her own experiences in Pak T's classroom. Sofia aligns with Elizabeth's assertion that *kurva BP (bergradien positif)* 'positive gradient curves' are difficult to produce. Elizabeth then asks Sofia to confirm that these curves should have two seeds. Sofia responds by again aligning herself with Elizabeth by claiming that she can only produce curves with two seeds. Sofia's alignment with Elizabeth heightens the solidarity between speakers by suggesting that they both have the same experiences with Pak T and they both have difficulty producing positive gradient curves. The two interlocutors therefore co-contribute to the rapport building activity and emphasise their shared solidarity throughout the interaction.

In sum, Sofia's informal speech style and selection of Malay pronominal form of address positions the conversation as relational talk between college students rather than institutional talk between colleagues. Sofia's stance of solidarity is established by referring to Elizabeth using the forms associated with patterns of peer-to-peer address at university. Additionally, her use of informal language aligns her with the communicative practices of university students. Elizabeth and Sofia's contributions to rapport talk further emphasise their solidarity (Tannen, 1984). This calibrates the close alignment between Sofia and Elizabeth. Sofia's stance therefore frames the conversation as a sharing of college experiences between classmates and friends.

As previously mentioned, interactions occurring within the formal institutional context elicit the use of the use of institutional titles and occasionally KT over other pronoun forms of address. The following two examples are drawn from a faculty meeting involving kindergarten teachers, Wendy and Maria, and their new supervisor. These examples demonstrate a contrast between the use of institutional titles and Chinese KT in a formal workplace setting. The examples (5.6) and (5.7) are drawn from teachers' conversations during their free time before and after school. The teachers use institutional titles, Chinese KT and pronouns to respond to various co-present chronotopic frames and in doing so, take different stances. Institutional titles are used by the teachers to refer to their supervisor. The use of institutional titles indicates respect and deference as well as social distance. The use of Chinese KT and informal Malay pronouns demonstrates the presence of intimacy in relationships between the teachers that is absent from the teachers' relationship to their supervisor. The Chinese KT and Malay pronouns can both be considered a response to chronotopic frames for intimacy. However, their usage coincides with chronotopic frames for different kinds of intimacy. The Chinese KT are used to respond to chronotopic frames for Chinese kinship interactions which involves deference for seniority. The reciprocal use of Malay pronouns, by contrast, responds to the chronotopic frame for social sameness. Therefore, the use of Chinese KT and Malay 2SG pronouns to respond to these chronotopic frames calibrates the speaker's stance of kin-like intimacy and deference to seniority and informal solidarity respectively.

The teachers are engaged in a faculty meeting with their new supervisor, who they refer to as *Mister* in example (5.6). The teachers, Wendy and Maria, are teachers of the same class. Wendy is the main teacher and Maria is the assistant teacher. The two teachers have worked closely together for many years and have developed a personal friendship. Their supervisor has started

working at PPK a month prior to the meeting, and therefore there has not yet formed personal relationships with his colleagues.

(5.6)

1	**Natalia**	Mister dipanggil sama Miss Yanti
		Miss Yanti is asking for you
2	**Supervisor**	Oh oke, PW[9] habis PW..
		Oh okay, PW after PW..
3		coba kalian diskusi dulu ya
		try discussing it yourselves first
4	**Wendy**	(To Maria) Habis PW kita makan-
		After PW we'll eat-
5	**Supervisor**	Nanti sekalian diskusikan minggu ke-empat
		Later you'll all discuss week four

The example begins as another teacher enters the meeting room and interrupts the meeting to tell the supervisor that another school administrator, Miss Yanti, has asked for him. Natalia addresses the Supervisor using the English teacher's title *Mister* in line 1. The English title *Mister* was the most common form of address used by teachers to refer to their male supervisor.

The supervisor acknowledges Natalia's request but does not reciprocate the title, and instead returns to addressing Wendy and Maria. He gives them instructions on what to do while he is away and refers to them both using the Indonesian 2PL pronoun *kalian* in line 3. Wendy attempts to continue talking to Maria and the supervisor interrupts and adds that they will later discuss class planning for week four. The supervisor revises his original address of *kalian* to *sekalian* in the final line of the example.

Natalia's use of *Mister* as a pronoun substitute is a response to several chronotopic frames in the interaction. Firstly the setting is that of a formal meeting, and thus the chronotopic frame for

[9] PW is an initialism for "Praise Worship". PW is a class activity run by teachers during each school day that is aimed at teaching the young students how to pray.

institutional talk which involves the institutional roles of the supervisor and the teachers is present (Ervin-Tripp, 1972; Holmes et al., 2011). As previously mentioned, teachers usually employ English titles to refer to superior administrators and supervisors in the workplace. The title *Mister* emphasises the supervisor's institutional role. Additionally, Natalia's language is consistent with more standard Indonesian language. As previously mentioned, more standard Indonesian is indexed to bureaucracy and transactional talk due to perduring monologic ideologies (cf. Goebel, 2014). Therefore, Natalia's use of *Mister* and more standard Indonesian language invokes chronotopes of monologic ideology and formal institutional communication to respond to the chronotopic frame for institutional talk.

Natalia's selection of *Mister* to respond to the chronotopic frame of institutional talk may additionally be a response to politeness concerns. Natalia is interrupting a meeting, which the supervisor could perceive as a face-threatening act. Natalia's use of the title manages the face-threat by indexing a stance of respect and deference for her supervisor. Her stance enhances the supervisor's positive face and further frames her interruption as a performance of her own institutional role (i.e. a teacher who is alerting her supervisor of another superior's request). Natalia's stance towards the institution creates respectful social distance between herself and the supervisor by emphasising their roles in the institution. Ervin-Tripp stated that the performance of institutional roles in formal, bureaucratic contexts override any personal connections that exist outside of the institution (Ervin-Tripp, 1972).

The supervisor's choice of pronouns is a performance of his own institutional role, and therefore is also a response to the chronotopic frame for institutional talk. He is giving instructions to all the teachers in the room and addresses them as a group. The one-to-many address positions the supervisor as the leader of the group, one whose requests should be ratified. His original instructions in line 3 are produced in relatively informal Indonesian language. He uses the informal 2PL pronoun form *kalian* to refer to the teachers and uses the informal tag *ya* at the end of the utterance. The supervisor could have addressed the teachers using individual names or institutional titles *Miss Wendy* and *Miss Maria.* However, the supervisor's choice of the plural form *kalian* to address the teachers reflects the distal social deixis between speakers because he is addressing them as a group rather than individuals. The form also indexes the supervisor's position as the leader who has the power to address the whole group and direct their discussions. The tag *ya* at

the end of the instruction is used to elicit confirmation from the teachers that they have heard and understood what he wants them to discuss in his absence. The teachers do not ratify his instructions and Wendy attempts to continue talking to Maria in line 4. When his original instructions are not ratified by the teachers, he rephrases his instructions. He specifies in more formal, standard Indonesian that he wants them to discuss week four and uses the more formal standard Indonesian 2PL pronoun *sekalian*. His use of formal standard Indonesian reproduces the chronotopic frame for institutional talk which elevates the interaction to a higher scale (Blommaert, 2015). He removes the discussion from localised, relational talk and positions it firmly in the wider workplace context.

The teachers occasionally diverged from the supervisor's institutional talk during the meeting and moved to relational talk. The shift in content of talk was accompanied by a shift in the relevant chronotopic frames for interaction (i.e. from a chronotopic frame for institutional talk to a chronotopic frame for relational talk). Maria managed this shift in chronotopic frames through deployment of the Chinese KT *ce* in example (5.7) below. The following interaction occurs during the meeting when the teachers and supervisors discuss a proposed jelly-eating competition for the students. The example shows that when Maria invokes a chronotopic frame for familiarity and relational talk, the Supervisor reproduces the chronotopic frame of institutional talk by addressing the teachers using their titles.

(5.7)

1	**Maria**	Atau mau kalau lebih hamat sih mamanya bikin satu potong
		Or do you want to if its more economical for their mums to cut them
2		satu potong ya *ce?*
		into individual pieces yeah, older sister?
3	**Wendy**	[Iya-]
		Yeah
4	**Supervisor**	[Iya] kalau bikin satu ini,
		Yes if they make one like this,
5		maksudnya satu loyang itu-

		I mean one dish-
6	**Wendy**	-Mereka makan *chewing noises*
		-They'll eat it like *chewing noises*
7	**Supervisor**	Yes
		(…)
8		Terus apalagi Miss?
		What's next, Miss?

Maria initiates the interaction by asking Wendy if she thinks it would be more economical for the students' mothers to cut up the jelly into small pieces for the competition. Maria uses the Chinese KT *ce* 'older sister' as a term of address for Wendy. Wendy attempts to respond to Maria but is again interrupted by the supervisor who agrees that it would be better for the parents to make individual dishes of jelly. Wendy follows immediately by joking about how the children will ravenously eat the jelly. The supervisor expresses acquiescence and then asks the teachers what needs to be discussed next, and addresses them using their institutional title, *Miss*.

Maria's use of the Chinese KT is a response to a chronotopic frame for familiarity and intimacy between herself and Wendy. Maria consistently uses *ce* to address Wendy throughout the data. Elsewhere in the data, Maria uses the Malay pronoun *kau* and first names to refer to teachers younger than herself in relational talk. However, she occasionally uses institutional titles to address teachers older than herself, particularly within institutional talk. Maria addresses Wendy differently from how she addresses other teachers because their relationship is different to the relationship between Maria and other teachers at PPK. Maria and Wendy are teachers and close friends, they work together closely at the school and they are also both of Chinese ethnicity. The use of Chinese KT can also be considered a response to a chronotopic frame for difference in seniority as it recognises Wendy's position as the main teacher, who has more say over the planning of the jelly-eating event. Maria is thus constructing a stance of respect and deference by addressing Wendy's seniority. As previously mentioned, use of Chinese KT also invokes chronotopes of Chinese values of recognising and ratifying Chinese ethnicity. Maria is orienting herself towards the Chinese sociocultural values and is positioning Wendy as a fellow ethnic Chinese individual. Therefore, Maria's stance is also one of familiarity and intimacy with her interlocutor, as she emphasises the teachers' shared ethnicity. Agha (2015) and Harkness (2015) established that kinship terminology can indicate intimacy based on shared membership to a family

unit as well as deference when KTs are used to recognise the seniority of family members. Maria's selection of the Chinese KT may intentionally invoke fictive kinship because kin-like relationships can accommodate both the seniority of Wendy's position as well as the intimate, personal relationship between the two teachers (cf. Agha, 2015; Harkness, 2015).

Wendy does not have the opportunity to respond because the supervisor interrupts her and provides his opinion on Maria's suggestion. The supervisor's act of interrupting Wendy's response positions himself at the top of the social hierarchy because he has the institutional power to direct the conversation. His response to Wendy's humour in line 7 demonstrates a disjunct between himself and the teacher. Wendy produces her utterance in Indonesian, and the supervisor responds to it in English. Research has shown that speakers usually converge towards the language choices of their interlocutors to reduce social distance (Auer, 1998; Bell, 1984; N. Coupland, 2007; Goebel, 2014). Contrastingly, speakers diverge from the language choice of their interlocutors to create or enhance social distance (Bell, 1984). The supervisor divergence from Wendy's Indonesian language distances himself from Wendy's behaviour. His use of English is also significant because English is the language used by teachers at PPK to address their students. The supervisor's English language emphasises his role as the teacher and the superior, and secondarily aligns Wendy's utterance with that of the children they teach. The supervisor's reprimand is met with muffled silence, until he reinitiates institutional talk in the final line. The supervisor reproduces the chronotopic frame of institutional talk by using more standard Indonesian language and addressing the teachers as *Miss*. The use of the institutional title repositions the interlocutors as teachers and establishes the higher scale order of subsequent workplace talk.

Outside of formal meetings, teachers often engage in informal talk on topics outside of the institutional context. There are two patterns that emerge in teachers' choice of forms of 2SG address. The first involves teachers referring to their seniors (in age or rank) using Chinese KT. The second involves teachers referring to each other using Chinese and Indonesian 2SG pronouns. The first pattern of address happens most often when the teachers are discussing a matter related to the institution, in which case their institutional roles become more relevant. However, interactions that do not involve the chronotopic frame for institutional talk are more likely to elicit the reciprocal exchange of pronouns.

In example (5.8) below, Maria uses the Chinese KT *ce* to ask Wendy for her advice on an administrative matter.

(5.8)

1	**Maria**	*Ce*, kalau orang tuanya gak masuk
		Older sister, if parents don't come,
2		pasti kita yang repot juga
		we have to deal with it too,
3		biar anaknya oke,
		after the children are okay,
4		urus masing-masing aja *bah?*
		everything will fall into place, right?
5	**Wendy**	Tak sayang sayang itu lo. Tak cinta cinta.
		No pitying that. No compassion.

Maria attempts to get Wendy's attention by addressing her as *ce* 'older sister' in line 1, before posing a question about the procedures for looking after children whose parents have not arrived to pick them up from school. Wendy does not reciprocate the term of address but provides some advice on how Maria should approach the parents' behaviour. As previously mentioned, Wendy is Maria's superior as she is the main teacher of their class. Wendy is also three years older than Maria. Therefore, Maria's use of the Chinese upward-oriented KT is partly motivated by her addressee's superior age and rank, and thus the presence of a chronotopic frame for difference in seniority.

The setting and content of the interaction are also influential on Maria's choice of address terminology. The interaction occurs at the end of the school day, during which time Maria and Wendy are still performing their institutional roles. The content of the conversation includes Maria asking about the teachers' responsibilities which forms part of institutional talk. The chronotopic frame for institutional talk emphasises Maria and Wendy's roles as teachers and guardians.

It is significant that Maria selects the Chinese KT *ce* instead of Wendy's institutional title, *Miss* within institutional talk. As previously stated, Maria and Wendy are both ethnically Chinese and work together closely and have developed a personal friendship. Therefore, Maria may have selected the Chinese KT in order to balance her response to chronotopic frames for difference in seniority, institutional talk, familiarity and intimacy and intraethnic interaction. Furthermore, Maria's decision to respond to all of these frames may be an attempt to position Wendy as an intimate superior, someone who, like an older sister, has superior rank but with whom Maria shares some intimacy. The Chinese KT invokes a chronotopic frame for kinship relations between the interlocutors and defines each individual's role in the interaction. Wendy is positioned as the 'older sister' whose role it is to monitor and advise her 'younger sisters' or junior staff. Maria's positioning of Wendy configures her own stance as that of the 'younger sister' or junior staff who seeks guidance from more experienced staff. Maria's stance creates alignment between herself and Wendy that is based on a combination of kin-like intimacy and institutional deference (Du Bois, 2007; Harkness, 2015). The invocation of the fictive kinship chronotopic frame within the institutional context further invites Wendy to perform her role as the senior teacher by making decisions on how teachers should respond to the situation which Maria describes.

5.4 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has presented an examination of the use of various Chinese and Indonesian 2SG forms of address in young ethnic Chinese people's daily interactions. The analysis has shown that the selection of different forms of address produce different chronotopic formulations that enact different stances in response to the chronotopic frames which emerge from the purpose of interaction and the social deixis between speakers. The use of Chinese KT invoked aspects of kin-like relationships including intimacy, solidarity and deference to seniority. Upward-oriented KT were used in response to overlapping chronotopic frames for familiarity and intimacy as well as difference in seniority. Responses to these frames indicated a stance of familiarity and solidarity involved in shared membership to the same group, whether it be the same university or the same ethnic group. Additionally, upward-oriented KT constructed a stance of deference and recognition of the seniority of older members of the speech community. The decision to deploy the KT to respond to chronotopic frames was often motivated by discursive goals, such as expressing positive politeness and solidarity to compensate for negative face threats.

By contrast, Chinese and Indonesian pronouns were deployed in response to different chronotopic frames and produced different kinds of stances. The use of Malay 2SG pronouns *kau* produced a stance of superiority when used in response to an upward-oriented kin term within interactions featuring chronotopic frames for difference in seniority. However, Malay pronouns could also be used reciprocally in response to chronotopic frames for familiarity and intimacy to produce a stance of informal solidarity that emphasised a shared identity that extended beyond the formal context of the workplace and into the informal setting of the college campus. Chinese 2SG pronouns were used reciprocally to respond to the same chronotopic frame for familiarity and intimacy, as well as the chronotopic frame for interethnic communication. Participants' responses to these frames constructed a stance of intimate solidarity that was based on a pre-existing social relationship that emerged from shared belonging to the same ethnic group and the same college.

Chronotopic frames for institutional and transactional talk elicited the use of institutional titles when solidarity and intimacy were absent. The institutional titles contrasted dramatically with the use of other forms of address discussed in the chapter. The titles emphasised distal social deixis between school supervisors and teachers.

In sum, the use of Chinese kin terms invoked a chronotopic frame of fictive kinship that accommodated the seniority of older members of the community and the close relationship between the individual speakers. The kin terms therefore reproduced these aspects of the relationship between older and younger members of the same family. The kin-like relationships between speakers emerged from their shared identity as members of the same college or workplace, and members of the same ethnic group. Reciprocal use of Chinese and Indonesian pronouns could not express deference to seniority and were therefore only used in interpersonal communications between equals and intimate friends. Likewise, the institutional titles could express deference to seniority but lacked references to solidarity and intimacy and were therefore used when institutional roles were more salient than any pre-existing interpersonal relationship.

Chapter 6: Chinese Discourse Marker *he wa/iya wa/si wa*

6.0 Introduction

Chapter six examines the discourse markers *he wa/iya wa/si wa* in young ethnic Chinese Indonesians' speech. This chapter and those following, explore how and why Chinese discourse markers are used by different groups of individuals in Indonesian and Chinese language interactions. The discourse markers discussed in the following chapters, were selected for examination because they were identified by participants in interviews as characteristic features of the everyday speech of ethnic Chinese people in Pontianak city.

Discourse markers are contextual coordinates that indicate the intended interpretation of talk by connecting utterances to the local contexts in which they are produced (Schiffrin, 2006, p. 322). Discourse markers generally function at the level of discourse, they organise speech by connecting units of talk to what has come directly before or what will come immediately after (Dajko & Carmichael, 2014; Schiffrin, 2006). However, I will show in this chapter how they can also invoke chronotopes of time and space which frame the interpretation of speech within a broader context of talk produced beyond the here and now of discourse (Blommaert, 2015) . The current chapter will show that ethnic Chinese Indonesian speakers' use of Chinese discourse markers is motivated by the communicative styles of the groups to which they belong. Additionally, speakers can use discourse markers to reproduce chronotopes of communicative styles of different social groups to respond to larger and smaller chronotopic frames for interaction in their particular communities and the broader Indonesian society.

At the beginning of the chapter, I discuss the functions of discourse markers in interaction, with reference to stance and indexicality. The first section will also include definitions of terminology used throughout the remainder of the chapter. The relationship between the use of discourse markers, chronotopes and chronotopic frames is presented in the following section. The theoretical framework and discussion therein will serve as a foundation for the analysis of Chinese and Malay discourse markers presented in this chapter as well as the chapters 9 and 10. I then introduce the

Chinese discourse marker *he wa*. Following on, I present a synthesised summary of previous studies of the relevant Chinese discourse markers as well as research on Indonesian discourse markers. The use of Chinese discourse markers will then be examined with reference to examples drawn from recordings of everyday speech. The final discussion will amalgamate the findings of prior studies of Chinese and Indonesian discourse markers with the analysis presented in this chapter to argue that the function of discourse markers in interactions are diverse, however they all contribute to the development of the communicative styles associated with the social groups to which teachers at Pontianak Protestant Kindergarten and students at Pontianak Catholic College belong.

6.1 Discourse Markers

Discourse markers are defined here as "members of a functional class of verbal (and non-verbal) devices which provide contextual coordinates for ongoing talk" (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 42). Schiffrin (1987, p. 32) states that discourse markers are sequentially dependent elements of language which bracket units of talk. Units of talk can include sentences, propositions, speech acts and tone units. The discourse markers 'bracket' talk in the sense that they organise the talk itself (De Rooij, 2000; Schiffrin, 1987). Brackets can initiate or terminate speech activity (Goffman, 1974; Maschler, 2009). They can be anaphoric and cataphoric because they identify the ending of a unit of talk and the beginning of another (Goffman, 1974, p. 255). A discourse particle such as the English discourse marker *well* can act as an initial bracket for talk. It establishes a slot for signals which informs and defines the interpretation of the materials within the unit of talk. The particle also simultaneously acts as a terminal bracket to the preceding unit of talk (Schiffrin, 1987).

The definition of discourse markers here is intentionally broad because discourse markers can include time deictics (e.g. *now, then*), lexicalised clauses (e.g. *you know, I mean*), conjunctions (e.g. *and, but*) and particles (e.g. *oh, well*) (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 327). Additionally, discourse markers can serve many different functions in talk and can be placed in a variety of different positions within an utterance. The present chapter examines the lexicalised clause *he wa*, which can function as a discourse marker as well as an independent clause. The following chapters analyse the discourse particles *a* and *bah*. *A* and *bah* are classified as discourse particles because, unlike other types of discourse markers, they do not have their own lexical meaning (cf. Schiffrin, 1987). For instance, the particle *oh* in English does not have its own lexical meaning, its meaning emerges instead from the interactional context in which it is placed. The particles *a* and *bah* and

the lexicalised clause *he wa* are referred to collectively as discourse markers throughout this chapter.

Schiffrin (1987, p. 322) claimed that "all markers have indexical functions". She explained that discourse markers are deictic elements which define the deictic centre of an utterance. The deictic centre is the locus from which interlocutors, time, space and coordinates are fixed and are assigned a context-specific interpretation (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 322). Discourse markers can show that an utterance is focused on the speaker (proximal deixis) or the hearer (distal deixis) or possibly both. For example, Schiffrin (1987, p. 322) suggested that *oh* focuses on the speaker because it marks the speaker's response to a previous utterance. *Well* focuses on both the speaker and the hearer because it is the juncture between prior and upcoming text. Schiffrin (1987) noted that *well* was often used to indicate that a prior speaker's expectations were recognised but would not be reflected in the upcoming speaker's talk, and hence the marker focuses on the hearer and the speaker. The discourse markers therefore indicate the intended interpretation of the talk they modify (Schiffrin, 1987). Discourse markers can therefore indicate perceptions and attitudes that enact an individual's stance towards an object (Blommaert, 2015; Djenar, Ewing, & Manns, Forthcoming). As previously stated, discourse markers can invoke chronotopes of particular spatiotemporal histories that can infer a particular perception or attitude towards an object. The following example presents the use of the English discourse particle *oh* to enact a stance of intersubjective alignment.

1 **A** It's hot out today

2 **B** Oh yeah it is.

Schiffrin (1987, p. 95) states that the discourse particle *oh* is hearer focused and places the focus on the previous speaker's utterance and indicates that Bs utterance should be interpreted as expressing the same subjective perception of the object as the previous speaker. This creates intersubjective alignment because B has emphasised the relationship between A's subjectivity and their own by taking the same position towards the shared stance object (cf. Du Bois, 2007). Importantly, the use of the discourse marker in this example adds to the 'intensity' of B's orientation towards A's statement (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 95). The discourse marker *oh* upgrades the utterance *yeah it is* by adding emphasis which underlines the speaker's agreement with the

previous utterance and intensifies the speaker's stance towards the stance object (cf. Schegloff, 1996; Schiffrin, 1987). I will return to a discussion of upgraded responses in the discussion of the *he wa* discourse marker.

Prior research has shown that discourse markers are important resources for stancetaking (Englebretson, 2007; Karkkainen, 2003, 2007, Manns, 2011, 2013). Karkkainen (2003) established that American speakers used *I think* as a discourse marker to construct an epistemic stance. Following on, Karkkainen (2007) showed that the discourse marker *I guess* was a reusable evidential (and not really epistemic) fragment that was used as a stance frame. The use of *I guess* in diverse sequential positions could construct, among other things, a "just discovered" subjective stance that emerges in response to prior stimulus and indicates the speaker is inviting others to take a stance (Karkkainen, 2007, p. 212). Englebretson (2007) examined the use of the Indonesian clitic *-nya* to construct epistemic stance towards something external to the speaker. Epistemic stances occurred when *-nya* was combined with lexemes related to cognition, utterance or modality. The stance allowed the speaker to comment on some aspect of the current utterance, for instance how the speaker knows about it, how the speaker evaluates it or how the speaker feels about it (Englebretson, 2007). The clitic could be attached to the stem *pokok* 'main, fundamental, basic' (i.e. *pokoknya*) to create a discourse marker which frames the utterance as something important to be focused on (Englebretson, 2007, p. 91).

Stance-taking activities here have significance for signaling social identities and cultural values. Errington (1998, p. 187) claimed that although discourse markers can act as indexes of interactional stances, their use does not index identities because they are non-referential and peripheral in speakers' awareness of talk. Importantly, this view has been challenged by other linguists working on Indonesian discourse markers. For instance, Manns' (2011, 2013) interviews with youth in Malang indicated that the use (or non-use) of Indonesian discourse particles *deh* and *dong* was often a conscious choice. Further, the particles could be used to construct bold self-confident stances that influenced the listener's interpretation of the speaker's utterance. The bold and self-confident stance also contributed to *gaul* social identity. Additionally, the stylisation of *deh* and *dong* overlapped with the Javanese cultural value of *ramai* 'noisiness, liveliness'.

Similarly, Wouk (1998, 2001) demonstrated that the Indonesian discourse markers *kan* and *ya/iya* were used to build solidarity through shared knowledge and/or fictive common ground. The

marker *kan* could be used as a reminder when it occurred alongside information that was considered by both conversational parties as conjoint knowledge (Wouk, 1998, p. 392). Wouk (1998) found that *kan* could also be used by speakers to reframe information that was not conjoint knowledge as something that was shared between interlocutors. In this sense, the marker instructs the listener to treat what is said as shared information and thus constructs fictive common ground (Wouk, 1998). The marker *ya* does not have this connotative meaning, however speakers can use *ya* to invite agreement from the hearer based on "presupposition, marking new speaker information as old, backgrounded information which the hearer could reasonably be expected to recognise and agree with" (Wouk, 2001, p. 188). Wouk (1998, 2001) explained that the frequent use of *kan* and *ya* in solidarity-building activities was related to Indonesian values of maintaining the appearance of cooperative behaviour in talk.

The discussion of Indonesian discourse markers will be revisited in the discussion of interactional data in the following sections. The following section will demonstrate the relationship between the use or non-use of discourse markers and the invocation of chronotopes as well as responses to chronotopic frames and the production of chronotopic identities.

6.2 Discourse Markers, Chronotopes and Chronotopic Frames

Previous studies have suggested that various types of discourse markers are easily borrowed across languages due to their 'pragmatic detachability' (Dajko & Carmichael, 2014; Myers-Scotton, 1992). 'Pragmatic detachability' here refers to the fact that discourse markers are largely independent of the talk that they modify (Maschler, 2009). For instance, discourse particles are a subset of discourse markers which are not part of the core syntactic structure of a sentence, and are added at particular positions within an utterance to 'bracket' talk (Dajko & Carmichael, 2014; Schiffrin, 2006). Discourse markers such as sentence final particles are commonly borrowed from other languages for a variety of reasons. Some discourse markers are borrowed to fill a semantic gap or to create a greater contrast in discourse through the inclusion of features from another language (Dajko & Carmichael, 2014; De Rooij, 2000). Other researchers have noted that discourse markers are often borrowed, not for purely pragmatic reasons, but to invoke chronotopes of beliefs, identities or relationships that position talk in a particular communicative context (cf. Agha, 2007).

As discussed in Chapter 2, chronotopes reproduce moments in timespace that frame the interpretation of talk (Bloomaert, 2015, p. 111). Chronotopes can be invoked through linguistic features which function as tropic emblems of the points in timespace they invoke. The invocation of chronotopes of timespace reproduces chronotopic frames that influence speakers' expectations of the roles of interlocutors as well as the content and meaning of speech they produce in discourse (Blommaert, 2015). The ordered system of attributions emerges as a result of repeated use of linguistic tokens to produce the same chronotopic formulations. Each time a speaker uses a linguistic token it is grouped together with previous utterances of the token and therefore invokes the same or similar chronotopic formulations as those previously produced in interaction (Bakhtin, 1981; Blommaert, 2015). In the current chapter I show that discourse markers may be used to invoke chronotopes that reproduce chronotopic frames that impact on the interpretation and content of talk as well as the identities of interlocutors involved in talk.

I explained in Chapter 2 that chronotopic frames can be considered identity frames. Chronotopic frames invoke the reproduction of identities through specific patterns of social behaviour which belong to particular timespace configurations (Blommaert & De Fina, 2016, p. 5). Individuals' behaviours can be consistent with or divergent from the roles and identities encoded in the chronotopic frames. Blommaert and De Fina (2016, p. 6) explained that individuals' identity practices emerge in particular timespace conditions. This is evident as changes in the presence or absence of chronotopic frames prompts shifts in roles, discourses and modes of interaction, amongst other things. The invocation of different chronotopic frames therefore impacts on the particular chronotopic identity behaviours that individuals will exhibit.

I will show that the selection of one variant of the discourse marker *he wa* over another may respond and reproduce different chronotopic frames for interaction. The analysis demonstrates that speakers do not use the same variant of the discourse marker in all interactions. I argue that the selection of variants changes depending on the particular chronotopic frames that are present in any given interaction. In this sense, the selection of variants is chronotopically conditioned. Furthermore, the selection of variants to respond to one chronotopic frame over another reflects and reproduces the individual's perduring identity and relationship to different groups. I explained in Chapter 2 that individuals have an interactional (chronotopic) identity that emerges through discourse. The chronotopic identity that individuals present is often influenced by aspects of their

perduring sense of identity. Section 6.4 details the enactment of chronotopic identity through the use of different variants of *he wa*, and how this is linked to individual's perduring identities.

The following section will outline the possible functions of *he wa* in discourse, with reference to prior studies of Chinese and Indonesian discourse markers. This discussion will later be compared and contrasted with the attested functions of *he wa* in the data for the present study.

6.3 Prior research on Chinese discourse markers

There has been considerable research on the use of *a* and *bah* particles in Mandarin Chinese and Malay languages respectively (Chao, 1968; Chu, 2002, 2009; Li & Thompson, 1981; Wu, 2004). However, the discourse marker and lexicalised clause *he wa* has thus far not been documented by linguists in Chinese or Indonesian languages. The discourse marker *he wa* is a combination of the Chinese word *he* meaning "true" and the discourse marker *wa* which is similar to the Indonesian discourse marker *lah.* The Indonesian discourse particle *lah* indicates emphasis, for instance, *lah* can be added onto *iya* 'yes' to form *iya lah* 'yes lah'. *Iya lah* indicates emphatic agreement or emphatic contrast with a previous utterance (Goddard, 1994). Similarly, the *wa* particle adds emphasis to the utterance *he*, hence *he wa* indicates emphatic agreement with or affirmative response to a previous utterance.

Schegloff (1996, p. 175) explained that there are different types of agreement in conversational interaction. Firstly, a speaker can create an utterance which functions as a positive response to a previous utterance. For instance, the agreement token *yeah* can be a positive response to a question in an adjacency pair. Alternatively, a speaker can confirm what another speaker has said by repeating what they agree with (e.g. I did). A speaker can also express an assessment of a previous utterance (e.g. that's right). The forms used to express different types of agreement can also be upgraded through repetition or emphasis. For instance, *I certainly did* is an upgraded form of *I did,* and functions to underscore confirmation of a previous utterance. The analysis shows that forms of *he wa* can function as positive responses to questions or positive assessments or confirmations of previous utterances in discourse.

The data analysis in the following section will highlight three possible forms of the discourse marker as *he wa, si wa* and *iya wa*. The forms *he wa* and *si wa* reportedly originally emerged from Khek Chinese and Teochew Chinese languages respectively, according to participants. However,

due to the frequent contact between these linguistic groups, both forms of the discourse marker are now used interchangeably in Teochew and Khek Chinese speech. The form *iya wa* emerged through the translation of the Chinese *he* and/or *si* in *he wa* and *si wa* as *iya* 'yes' in Indonesian, to form an Indonesianised Chinese discourse marker *iya wa.* The markers *he wa, si wa* and *iya wa* all have the same function in discourse, which is an emphatic agreement with a previous utterance. The different forms of the discourse marker will be collectively referred to as *he wa* throughout the remainder of this chapter. He *wa* occurs as an independent intonational unit and often occurs at the beginning of an utterance. The different realisations of *he wa* all have the same core meaning, however they may appear in different contexts and are used by different groups of speakers.

As previously mentioned, high amounts of variation in ways of "saying the same thing" (Labov, 1972, p. 188) mean that the choice of one form over another is often socially significant (Eckert, 2012). The analysis will show that the selection of one form over another is a response to several chronotopic frames that involve different social identities. These factors will be discussed in relation to the selection of *he wa, si wa* and *iya wa.*

6.4 Discourse marker *he wa/si wa/iya wa*

The distribution of forms of the discourse marker differs across Pontianak Catholic College (PCC) and Pontianak Protestant Kindergarten (PPK). The difference in distribution of the forms can be tied to differences in the social environment and interactions of social groups in these two institutions. In other words, the selection of forms of the discourse marker is dependent on the relevant chronotopic frames for interaction. I explained in Chapter 3 that the teachers at PPK occasionally interact in smaller groups of three or four people before or after school. However, the teachers most often interact as one large group when they gather together for lunch after school. The teachers noted in interviews that they did not feel like there were different social groups of teachers at the school but instead stated that all the teachers were part of the one social group. However, it should be noted that some teachers were more intimate friends than others because their relationships extended beyond the kindergarten institution and into church and college. The social composition of PCC is vastly different. There are salient divisions between different social groups of students, as previously mentioned, there is a physical divide between the left and the right side of the classroom where two larger social groups interact. Each of the social groups on each side of the classroom are non-unified. There are several smaller social groups which exist

within each of the larger left and right social groups in the classroom. There is some interaction between different social groups in the class, however, the majority of social interactions occur within smaller social groups.

6.4.1 Pontianak Protestant Kindergarten (PPK)

An examination of the linguistic practices of PPK teachers revealed consistent patterns in the use of forms *iya wa, he wa* and *si wa*. The form *iya wa* appeared when the teachers interacted together as one large group. The language of communication in large groups was predominantly Indonesian. The teachers stated in interviews that the use of Indonesian was necessary in larger group communications because it was the only language that was shared by all of the teachers. The form *he wa* was used in Teochew Chinese language interactions that emerged in smaller groups of Teochew speaking teachers, who were separated from the larger social group. These teachers stated that they preferred to speak in Teochew Chinese in groups of Teochew Chinese teachers because the use of their shared ethnic language felt more intimate than the use of Indonesian language. Finally, the form *si wa* was only used by one of the teachers at PPK. The teacher, Sofia, used *si wa* in Indonesian and Teochew Chinese language interactions. However, her use of *si wa* was consistent in that it only emerged when the topic of conversation focused on Sofia's personal identity, and therefore her independence from the rest of the teachers' group.

The different forms of the discourse marker all had the same functions in discourse. The various forms of the discourse marker all indicated emphatic confirmation and/or positive response to a previous utterance. This suggests that the selection of one form over another is not based on function. The consistent patterning of the selection of different forms must therefore be relevant to other dimensions of the interactive context. An analysis of the data demonstrated that social groups and their dominant language choices were the only consistent differences in the context in which different forms were used.

I argue that the choice of different forms *iya wa, he wa* and *si wa* can be considered a response to intersecting larger and smaller chronotopic frames which involve two sets of overlapping social identities (a larger and a smaller social identity). Firstly, the choice of discourse marker is affected by the perduring larger chronotopic frame of communications in Indonesia. In Chapter 4, I explained that the effect of monologic ideology in Indonesia was such that Indonesian language became the norm for communications involving individuals from different ethnic backgrounds.

Other language varieties then became the norm for communication within the particular regional, social or ethnic groups with which they were associated. This larger chronotopic frame overlaps with the smaller chronotopic frame which involves the use of particular Chinese discourse markers in interactions within each of the social groups mentioned above. The larger and smaller chronotopic frames include larger social identities (Indonesian national identity and Teochew Chinese ethnic identity), and smaller social identities (the larger teachers' social identity and the smaller Teochew teachers' social identity). Individual teachers' choice of discourse marker can simultaneously respond to larger and smaller chronotopic frames, and therefore indirectly index one or larger and smaller social identities, and hence reproducing a particular chronotopic identity. I will discuss this further in reference to the teachers' use of different forms of the discourse marker in the data examples that follow.

The following two examples feature the use of *iya wa* as a discourse marker in interactions within the larger teachers' group. These interactions are all conducted in Indonesian language. The interactions recorded here both occurred after school, during which time all the teachers gathered in one of the empty classrooms to eat lunch and talk. The teachers talked about an array of different topics, the most common of which were food-related and student-related. The examples demonstrate that the larger conduct of using Indonesian in interethnic interactions applies to smaller behaviour of the teachers in their daily interactions, as they always use Indonesian to interact within the larger group of individuals of different ethnicities. However, the smaller chronotopic frame involves the use of the communicative style of the larger teachers' group which includes the use of Chinese discourse markers. Individuals identified the discourse marker *iya wa* as a feature of the communicative style of Chinese speakers in the language perception tests in Interview 2. It is possible that the variant *iya wa* is used by other groups of speakers in Pontianak, however, the current study focused only on the communicative practices of speakers at PPK and PCC institutions. Therefore, a thorough examination of the use of this discourse marker in the wider Pontianak community is beyond the scope of the current work.

I argue that the selection of the form *iya wa* reproduces the communicative style of the group to respond to both larger and smaller chronotopic frames. As previously mentioned *iya wa* is the Indonesianised form of the Chinese discourse marker. Hence the choice of *iya wa* may accommodate the larger chronotopic frame that requires the use of Indonesian language, as well

as the smaller chronotopic frame that requires the use of a Chinese discourse marker. Bloomaert and De Fina (2016, p. 16) state that chronotopic frames need to be constantly balanced against each other. The larger frame that requires the use of Indonesian persists in the local context, but it needs to fit the smaller frame of in-group communications within the teachers' group. The use of the *iya wa* form is therefore indirectly related to the teachers' membership to the larger social group at PPK and the wider Indonesian community to whom these chronotopic frames apply.

Example (6.1) Vinny uses the form *iya wa* to express a positive response to a question in an interaction that occurs with the whole group. The interaction begins with Vinny telling the group of teachers about an encounter with one of her student's mothers at the mall. She explains that she saw the student's mother at the mall but did not approach her or acknowledge her because she was worried that the mother would not know who she was. Her fellow teachers, Ferry and Natalia contribute to the development of the story through an assessment and a clarifying question. Vinny and Natalia are both ethnically Teochew Chinese. Natalia's primary language is Teochew, however Vinny only has limited knowledge of Teochew language. Ferry is Khek Chinese and speaks very little Teochew Chinese. Therefore, the interaction is conducted in Indonesian.

(6.1)

1	**Vinny**	Kan sampai ketemu gitu lah
		Right up til we met her
2		dia pas-pasan
		she was just okay
3	**Ferry**	Ndak enak ya
		Not good eh
4	**Natalia**	Selama masih bisa menghindar ya Vin?
		Did you manage to avoid her the whole time, Vin?
5	**Vinny**	*Iya wa.*
		Of course.
		Takutlah takut dia ndak kenal kita
		I was scared, scared she wouldn't know who we are

Vinny initiates her story in Indonesian in line 1. The utterance begins with the Indonesian discourse marker *kan.* As previously mentioned, the discourse marker *kan* enacts a stance of solidarity with

interlocutors by referencing shared knowledge, in this case, the teacher's shared knowledge of the mother's appearance (Wouk, 1998). Ferry contributes to the story by adding his assessment in line 3 that the mother does not look good. His utterance ends with the discourse marker *ya* which demonstrates his confirmation of Vinny's purported common ground of presupposition that the mother's appearance is indeed 'just okay'. The discourse marker *ya* therefore also creates a stance of solidarity by maintaining the common ground created in lines 1-2 (Wouk, 2001).

Natalia's question in line 4 also constructs the first part of an adjacency pair in which Natalia is asking for confirmation. The tag *ya* at the end of the question triggers Vinny's response by indicating the type of response that is required (i.e. a yes or no answer) (Schegloff, 2007). Vinny's utterance demonstrates the use of *iya wa* to express a positive response in line 5. The use of the discourse marker creates an upgraded positive response (Schegloff, 1996, p. 170). Vinny could have responded with *iya,* but selected *iya wa* because the particle *wa* intensifies the agreement expressed by *iya,* resulting in an underscored expression similar to the English 'of course' or 'duh/der'. Vinny's response here emphasises Vinny's desire to avoid the mother, and frames Natalia's question as self-evident. Vinny's upgraded positive response therefore enacts an epistemic and affective stance towards Natalia's utterance. Additionally, the discourse marker functions as a closing bracket for the interaction. The data analysis demonstrates that the discourse marker *iya wa* frequently occurs at the end of a sequence of interaction. Conversational participants appear to interpret the discourse marker as a closing bracket for interaction because no further turns are initiated after its' utterance by a speaker. Schegloff (1996) stated that certain responses are designed to propose and enact the closing of a sequence of interaction. The use of *iya wa* may serve to introduce the closing turn of interaction by framing the previous utterance as obvious and thus superfluous. As previously mentioned, Vinny's use of *iya wa* suggests that the relevant information is already shared by the interlocutors which implies that the topic no longer needs to be discussed. The effect is that other conversational participants to not attempt to pursue the topic and therefore the sequence is closed.

It is possible that Vinny's use of *iya wa* is also relevant to her larger social identity as Teochew Chinese, however, it seems more likely that the selection of *iya wa* is in response to the chronotopic frame that involves the use of the communicative style associated with the teachers' group. In interviews, Vinny stated that she rarely uses Teochew Chinese in any of the social situations of

her daily life. Other teachers further claimed, in interviews and in other recorded interactions, that they did not think Vinny could speak Teochew Chinese at all. The teachers at PPK use *iya wa* to express emphatic agreement and/or positive response in whole group interactions. Therefore, Vinny's use of *iya wa* copies the communicative practices of other teachers, in effect reproducing a chronotope of the communicative style of the teachers' group. The discourse marker therefore also indirectly indexes her own social identity as a member of this teachers group who share the same method of expressing agreement and positive response. Furthermore, the use of *iya wa* in Indonesian-language, interethnic communication indicates that the form at least partially responds to the larger chronotopic frame of broader interethnic communications throughout Indonesia.

The following example (6.2) features *iya wa* uttered by a teacher who is not ethnically Chinese Indonesian, which suggests that the feature is less relevant to ethnic Chinese identity and more relevant to the smaller chronotopic frame of in-group communications within the teachers' group as well as the larger chronotopic frame of interethnic communication in Indonesia. Additionally, Goebel's (2005, 2015) examination of language choice in Semarang showed that non-Javanese individuals may use Javanese language to construct stance as an in-group member of a majority Javanese social group. It is therefore possible that non-Chinese Indonesian group members at PPK are adopting the preferred language style of their ethnic majority Chinese peers in order to demonstrate their membership to the teachers' group.

Example (6.2) features Sebastian using the form *iya wa* to mark emphatic confirmation of another teachers' statement. The conversation occurred while the teachers were preparing to have lunch together in the empty classroom. Some of the teachers sitting next to Sebastian are eating *sambal manga* 'chilli mango' with *terasi* 'shrimp paste'. Sebastian does not like the smell of the shrimp paste and complains that he has chosen the wrong place to sit. His complaint prompts Janice to suggest that he move and sit on the opposite side of the table. Sebastian is ethnically Dayak and does not speak Teochew Chinese, but he is familiar with several Teochew Chinese expressions and discourse markers as a result of his interactions with other teachers at PPK.

(6.2)

1	**Sebastian**	Sebenarnya aku salah duduk sini
		In fact I was wrong to sit here

2	**Janice**	Sebastian,
		Sebastian,
3		harusnya kamu duduk sebelah sini *a*
		you should be sitting on this side
4	**Sebastian**	*Iya wa*,
		True,
5		aku mau pindah
		I want to move

Sebastian voices his complaint in Indonesian in line 1. Janice agrees with Sebastian in lines 2 and 3, and suggests that he should be sitting on the opposite side of the table where Janice is sitting. Janice's offer of support contributes to rapport by assisting Sebastian to find a solution to his problem. Janice's utterance is in Indonesian but includes the Chinese utterance-final particle *a*. The particle draws focus to the side of the table where Sebastian should be sitting, and emphasises a contrast between the Sebastian's current position and where he should be. More in-depth discussion of the particle *a* will be provided in the following chapter.

Sebastian's utterance features the function of *iya wa* as a marker of emphatic confirmation. His utterance also includes a modified resaying of Janice's utterance, which underscores what he is agreeing with (i.e. that he should sit somewhere else) (Schegloff, 1996, p. 182). Janice said that he should be sitting on the other side, and Sebastian expresses the same notion by stating that he wants to move. Repetitions in content of talk indicate stance alignment between speakers based on a shared perspective or way of doing something (Eckert, 2012; Schegloff, 1996). Stance alignment emerges from a shared perspective or stance towards a shared stance object. In the example above, Janice and Sebastian share the same purported solution (i.e. moving to the other side of the table), to the object causing the problem (i.e. the smell of the *terasi*). Du Bois (2007) explained that speakers who share the same stance towards a stance object calibrate their alignment to one another.

The discourse marker *iya wa* is again consistent with the norms which emerge within the chronotopic frames of interethnic communication and the teachers' in-group talk. Sebastian is ethnically Dayak and does not speak any Chinese languages. Therefore, his use of the Chinese discourse marker *iya wa* is not an element of any Chinese language repertoire, nor is it connected

to any Chinese ethnic identity. Sebastian's selection of *iya wa* instead is a feature that he has acquired through repeated interaction with the teachers' who use this form. Sebastian's mirroring of the teachers' communicative practices positions him as a member of the group by using the style of talk that is emblematic of the teacher's group.

The following two examples demonstrate that the selection of *iya wa* and *he wa* is conditioned by particular chronotopic frames. In the first two examples above, the group of teachers includes a mix of Teochew and Khek speaking teachers that form part of the larger teachers' social group. In this situation, the two Teochew teachers, Wendy and Natalia, use the form *iya wa* to express emphatic confirmation of a previous utterance. The example (6.3) below shows these same two Teochew teachers interacting in an exclusively Teochew-speaking context with other Teochew Chinese teachers. The teachers used the form *he wa* in interactions within the Teochew Chinese teachers' group. These examples demonstrate that shifts in the chronotopic frames, from interethnic to intraethnic interaction, and from a larger social group to a smaller social group, invoke shifts in language choice and selection of form of the discourse marker.

Example (6.3) below shows Wendy using the form *iya wa* to express acknowledgement and confirmation of a previous utterance. This example is extracted from a conversation between Mary, Wendy and Natalia which occurs while the teachers are all gathering together after school. As previously mentioned, Wendy and Natalia are Teochew Chinese, however Mary is Khek Chinese. Wendy and Natalia usually interact using Teochew Chinese, however, when they are speaking with non-Chinese teachers they use Indonesian language.

(6.3)

1	**Mary**	Stephen nilai sendiri seratus wa.
		Stephen got a mark of 100
2	**Wendy**	*Iya wa*
		Yeah
3	**Natalia**	Dia suka kayak gitu bah,
		He likes to do that,
4		abangnya juga
		his older brother too

5 Kasih bintang empat

Give him four stars

Mary initiates the interaction in line 1 by commenting that their student, Stephen has received a mark of 100 on his last test. Wendy uses *iya wa* in line 2 to acknowledge Mary's statement and emphatically confirms that this is evidently the case. The function of *iya wa* in this context appears similar to Vinny's use of the discourse marker in Example (6.1). Mary's utterance references information which Wendy and Natalia are already familiar with because Mary, Wendy and Natalia have all taught this student. Hence, the utterance references conjoint knowledge. Wendy's response expresses recognition of this joint knowledge. Similar to Vinny's utterance in Example (6.1), Wendy's use of *iya wa* intensifies her confirmation of the information, that suggests that it is obvious that Stephen would receive a score of 100 and implies that the information is obvious based on their previous experiences teaching Stephen. Natalia's utterance furthers the shared knowledge of the teachers by stating that it is usual for Stephen to receive such a score and adding that his older brother was much the same.

The use of *iya wa* in this context reproduces a chronotope of the in-group norms for communications in the larger teachers' group which in turn responds to the larger and smaller chronotopic frames. Wendy uses the discourse marker *iya wa* in interactions that occur within the larger teachers' group. However, she switches to *he wa* when the communications are confined to the Teochew Chinese teachers' group. This suggests that the selection of forms of the discourse marker is connected to chronotopic frames of communications in progressively smaller social groups as well as the perduring norms for interethnic and intraethnic interaction in Indonesia.

The next example features the discourse marker *he wa.* The use of *he wa* at PPK emerges exclusively from interactions between small groups of Teochew Chinese teachers. The Teochew Chinese teachers typically communicate in Teochew Chinese when there are no non-Teochew speakers present. This typically occurs before or after school when the teachers have not yet gathered together. The discussion that follows demonstrates that the selection of *he wa* is in response to the smaller chronotopic frame of in-group talk. This chronotopic frame involves the use of the same form of the discourse marker by all members of the smaller social group of Teochew Chinese-speaking teachers that exists within the larger teachers' group at PPK. The use of *he wa* is also a response to the larger chronotopic frame of intraethnic communication that

includes the use of the ethnic language, Teochew Chinese. The shift in the chronotopic frames also involves a shift in the social identities that are relevant to the speakers. The speakers' use of the forms that respond to the aforementioned chronotopic frames of Chinese intraethnic communication and the Teochew teachers' in group talk reproduces a chronotopic identity as members of these communities.

The example (6.4) is drawn from a conversation between Natalia, Wendy and Sofia which occurs before class. The three teachers are eating breakfast together in Wendy's classroom. They are trying to rapidly eat their food before the students arrive.

(6.4)

1	**Natalia**	*Nang cyaq-i si bo phi tyoq ho*
		We're eating without smelling
2	**Sofia**	*He wa*
		Yeah/true
3	**Wendy**	*He wa*
		Yeah/true
4	**All**	@@

Natalia initiates the interaction in line 1 by commenting that they are eating without even smelling their food. The utterance is a transformation of a Chinese idiomatic expression that implies that someone is eating so quickly that they do not even have time to smell their food. Natalia's comment is in Teochew Chinese, which is consistent with the norms of communication of this smaller group and the larger social norms of intraethnic communication.

Natalia's humorous comment is met with a chorus of emphatic agreement from Wendy and Sofia in lines 2 and 3. The teachers' use of *he wa* is acknowledges and confirms Natalia's assessment of their ravenous eating (cf. Schegloff, 1996). Additionally, the two speakers are converging towards Natalia's language choice in line 1 which increases social proximity between speakers (cf. Auer, 1998). The alignment between speakers is furthered by the repetition in the structure of the teachers' responses. Wendy and Sofia both use the exact same formulation of emphatic agreement, *he wa,* in lines 2 and 3. The use of the same form of the discourse marker emphasises the similarity

between the speakers based on their shared communicative style. Wendy's choice of *he wa* therefore constructs her stance of solidarity with Sofia by using the same expression. The solidarity between the teachers is further emphasised as they all laugh together in the final line of the interaction.

The use of *he wa* is also a feature of communications that typically occur between the Teochew Chinese teachers. The teachers only use *he wa* when they are speaking Teochew within this smaller social group. They use *iya wa* like all the other teachers when communicating with the larger teachers' group. Therefore, *he wa* is used in response to the chronotopic frames of Chinese intraethnic communication and communication within the smaller Teochew teachers' social group. Additionally, the discourse marker *he wa* indicates Wendy and Sofia's identity as fellow Teochew Chinese teachers by reproducing a chronotope of the linguistic practices that are typical of the group.

All the teachers at PPK respond to the chronotopic frames outlined in the discussion of examples (6.1)-(6.4) above. However, one of the teachers sometimes chose not to respond to the smaller chronotopic frames for interaction within the Teochew Chinese social group. Sofia often selected *si wa* instead of *he wa* in Teochew Chinese conversations. Blommaert and De Fina (2016, p. 5) stated that when individuals do not respond to the chronotopic frames, they can be considered "out of place" or transgressive. I therefore argue that Sofia uses *si wa* to highlight her personal identity and difference from other members of the two social groups at PPK.

It is important to note that Sofia is a student at PCC (See following section 6.4.2). The Teochew Chinese students at PCC all used the form *si wa* instead of *he wa* or *iya wa* in their intraethnic, in-group communications. Therefore, it is possible that Sofia is not responding to the smaller chronotopic frame of in-group communication at PPK. Instead, she is responding to the chronotopic frames for Teochew Chinese intraethnic and in-group communications at PCC. The resulting effect is that Sofia highlights her dissimilarity from other teachers at PPK, and her personal identity as a member of a different social group to those present at PPK. Importantly, her use of *si wa* does still respond to the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication in the wider Teochew Chinese community.

The following example (6.5) features Sofia and her fellow Teochew Chinese teacher, Mel, talking about a program that Sofia is installing on her computer.

(6.5)

1	**Sofia**	*Si wa …*
		Yeah…
2		*le mpat qyo thaw a*
		you haven't shaken your head
3		*i matérinya pang kaw sa péq ngow ji-ow a*
		Ih The material has been installed up to 352
4	**Mel**	*Si wa ho?*
		Is that right?
5		*Si wa…*
		True…
6		*pang loncong nang ee*
		send it to everyone

Sofia uses *si wa* in line 1 to respond to something inaudible Mel says from the next room. Sofia's use of *si wa* here does not respond to the smaller chronotopic frame of the Teochew Chinese teachers' group communications. However, it does respond to the larger chronotopic frame of intraethnic communications that involves the use of Teochew Chinese language. It is possible that Sofia uses *si wa* in interactions where her personal identity is more salient than her social identity. The previous example (6.4) involving Sofia participating in a group activity of eating breakfast with her fellow teachers and sharing a joke about how fast they were eating. In example (6.5), Sofia is engaging in a solitary activity of uploading a program to her personal computer. At the beginning of the interaction, Sofia is sitting by herself, and then Mel enters the room to check up on what she's doing. Social identity was therefore less salient in the interaction in example (6.5) than in example (6.4). Research has demonstrated that when social identity is salient, individuals are more likely to follow the norms of the group, in this case, selecting the form *he wa* (Onorato & Turner, 2004). Individuals are more likely to deviate from the norms of the group when their personal identity is more salient than their social identity. Individuals can highlight the characteristics that differentiate them from other members of the same group, by using linguistic forms which differ from those used by the group (Djenar, 2007; Onorato & Turner, 2004). Sofia's

use of *si wa* in example (6.5) may therefore enact a chronotopic identity that reflects her personal identity as someone who is separate and different to others in the teachers' group.

Mel's response in line 4 also features the form *si wa*. Mel's request for confirmation reproduces Sofia's expression *si wa* as a rhetorical question, and a confirmation marker. The discourse marker indicates recognition of Sofia's utterance and confirmation of what she has said (Schegloff, 2007). Elsewhere in the data, Mel regularly uses the forms *iya wa* and *he wa* in line with the communicative norms of the larger teachers group and the Teochew teachers' group respectively. However, Mel diverges from these norms in the interaction above, which indicates there is some discursive goal influencing her choice of the form *si wa*. Mel's choice of the form *si wa* may be an act of copying Sofia's language use which reproduces a chronotope of Sofia's communicative style to create alignment between interlocutors by producing a stance of 'social sameness' (cf. Goebel, 2015, p. 17). Mel's use of *si wa* here can also be thought of as accommodation, as she is using the form of the discourse marker which she knows Sofia prefers. Mel's orientation towards Sofia's language use may be an attempt to express solidarity in exchange for asking her to perform a task (i.e. sending the program to all the other teachers) (cf. Manns, 2015). The expression of solidarity contrasts with Sofia's earlier display of personal identity by reproducing a chronotopic identity that highlights the interlocutors' shared status as Teochew Chinese teachers. The effect of refocusing on social identity may be that Sofia is more willing to perform the task of sending the program to all the other teachers because it has become associated with her role as a member of the teachers' group. Mel's choice of *si wa* therefore does not relate to a particular social group, however, by choosing the form that Sofia prefers Mel is aligning herself with her interlocutor and enacting a stance of social sameness and solidarity.

The following example further supports the assertion that Sofia's choice of *si wa* is an expression of her personal identity. The example shows that the other teachers are aware of Sofia's transgressive behaviour within the smaller Teochew Chinese teachers' group, to the point at which a non-member of this group is able to reproduce it for humorous effect.

(6.6)

1	**Sofia**	Kau baru following aku sekalian lama
		You just started following me, everyone else has followed me for ages

2	**Sebastian**	*Si wa *exaggerated**
		Yeah
3	**Sofia**	*@@*

Sofia takes a jab at Sebastian in Indonesian in line 1 for only just starting to follow her account on Instagram. Sebastian responds to Sofia's jibe in line 2 with an exaggerated *si wa.* The selection of *si wa* here does not respond to the larger and smaller chronotopic frames of interethnic communication and the teachers' in-group talk. Sebastian's deviation from the chronotopic frame suggests that he is invoking a different chronotope of talk in order to create humour. Sebastian constructs his humorous retort by reproducing a chronotope of Sofia's speech style through the selection of a linguistic token which he considers emblematic of Sofia's speech. The humour is further developed through Sebastian's exaggerated imitation of Sofia's personal style of talk. The context of the interaction emphasises Sofia's personal identity instead of any social identity as the topic of conversation focuses on Sofia's personal Instagram account. Additionally, Sebastian could have taken a jab at her social identity by using the forms and linguistic practices associated with her friendship groups, or her ethnic group. However, he uses the form *si wa* because this form of the discourse marker that only she uses. Sebastian's response is therefore a jab at Sofia's personal identity, not her social identity.

Sebastian's retort here demonstrates that Sofia's linguistic behaviour is a salient deviation from the chronotopic frame for communication within the Teochew Chinese teachers' group. It is something that Sebastian is able to reproduce to invoke a chronotope of Sofia's speech style.

The larger chronotopic frames for interethnic and intraethnic communication produce the same responses in terms of language choice across PPK and the other educational institution, PCC. However, the smaller chronotopic frames for in-group communications involve different patterns in the selection of *iya wa, he wa* and *si wa* forms of the discourse marker across the two institutions. The following section will demonstrate that PCC students' selection of forms of the discourse marker in response to larger and smaller chronotopic frames.

6.4.2 Pontianak Catholic College (PCC)

The students at PCC all attend the same class, however, they are not one unified social group. The students instead are members of different groups with clear social divisions. There is a salient

physical divide between two halves of the classroom, the left and the right hand side. Most groups of students on the right side of the classroom rarely interact with the groups of students on the left. Each side of the classroom consists of several smaller social groups. Students will regularly interact with students from other smaller groups on the same side of the classroom, however their most frequent social interactions occur with members of the same smaller group. It is important to note that the divide between Khek and Teochew speakers is far more obvious at PCC than at PPK. The smaller social groups that exist within the larger divisions of the classroom appear to be partially based on language and ethnicity. I will discuss this further as it becomes relevant to the analysis of each example.

This section presents an examination of different social groups' preference for *he wa, si wa* and *iya wa.* The examination will show that *he wa* was only used in communications between groups of intimate Khek Chinese friends, whereas *si wa* was only used in communications between groups of Teochew Chinese friends. Two groups of mixed Teochew Chinese, Khek Chinese and non-Chinese Indonesian friends used the form *iya wa* instead of the competing forms *he wa* and *si wa*. However, *iya wa* was not exclusively used by these groups, instead *iya wa* was used by individuals interacting with others from different social groups who spoke different Chinese languages.

The final discussion of the current section will demonstrate that the selection of forms of the discourse marker is a response to the larger and smaller chronotopic frames for interaction. As previously mentioned, the larger chronotopic frames for interaction in the Chinese community and the wider Indonesian society involve the use of Chinese languages in intraethnic interactions, and the use of Indonesian in interethnic communications. As at PPK, smaller interactions at PCC follow the rules of larger conduct, as intraethnic communications are conducted in Teochew or Khek Chinese, and interethnic communications are conducted in Indonesian. A notable difference between PCC and PPK is that there appears to be an additional intermediary chronotopic frame that is relevant to particular ethnolinguistic groups at PCC. The two Khek-speaking social groups selected the same form of the discourse marker, *he wa*. The two groups sit on opposite sides of the classroom and share only minimal social interaction. Furthermore, one of the Khek speaking groups (Olivia and Wilma) regularly interacts with a Teochew speaking group (Dewi and Harry) in the classroom, yet each group selects different forms of the discourse marker (*he wa* and *si wa* respectively). This suggests that the selection of the discourse marker is not merely a response to

the smaller chronotopic frame of in-group interaction, rather it is also in response to a separate chronotopic frame for talk within the same ethnolinguistic group. I therefore argue that the selection of *he wa* is in response to the chronotopic frame for talk within the Khek ethnolinguistic group, and the selection of *si wa* is in response to the chronotopic frame for talk within the Teochew ethnolinguistic group at PCC. The selection of forms of the discourse marker is a response to several overlapping larger and smaller chronotopic frames.

The following two examples feature the use of the *he wa* form in interactions between close friends in two different social groups on two different sides of the classroom. As mentioned above, the two groups of students represented here rarely interact in the classroom, however, individuals in both groups share the same preference for Khek Chinese language.

The interaction in example (6.7) occurs between Etta and Novi, two close friends who sit together at the back of the right side of the classroom. The two students usually communicate using Khek language, particularly when talking about personal topics. In this example, Novi and Etta are talking about their friend Julius who has lost something that he borrowed from me.

(6.7)

1	**Novi**	**Boi hak sie,**
		He's scared,
2		**nyin ka tungsi mo het**
		he's lost someone else's thing
3	**Etta**	**He sih, nyin ka tungsi…**
		Yeah, it's someone else's thing…
4		**eme sit ka e tung si**
		not our thing
5	**Novi**	**He wa,**
		Right,
6		**asa sit ka tung si sih emboi co mai**
		if it's our own stuff it doesn't matter

Novi explains in Khek in lines 1 and 2 that Julius is scared because he has lost something of mine. Etta responds in Khek in lines 3 and 4, and emphasises that the problem is that Julius has lost

something that does not belong to him. Novi expresses emphatic agreement with the assessment in line 5 by uttering *he wa,* before reformulating Etta's statement that it doesn't matter if one loses something that belongs to them.

The example highlights the alignment between interlocutors through each speaker's participation in the construction of the story and repetition of the other's speech. Etta contributes to Novi's explanation of Julius' fear by providing an assessment of the source of Julius' concern (I.e. the guilt of losing something that doesn't belong to him). The utterance *he sih* is unusual in that it is not found elsewhere in the data. The phrase is a combination of the Chinese positive response *he* and the Indonesian discourse marker *sih*. Wouk (1999) stated that the Indonesian particle *sih* has several functions in discourse including emphasising the truth of a statement and offering an explanation or repair. In the example above, Etta's use of *sih* could function to emphasise the truth of Novi's statement in lines 1 and 2. However, it seems more likely that marker *sih* functions to introduce Etta's elaboration and repetition of Novi's assessment that the problem is indeed that Julius lost something that belonged to someone else. It is likely that Etta used the discourse marker *sih* to introduce her elaboration because this is not a possible functions of the Chinese discourse marker *wa,* which would more commonly occur with *he* in this context.

Novi's use of *he wa* in line 5 functions as a confirmation of Etta's assessment. Novi's use of *he wa* here is also a partial copy of Etta's initial expression *he sih.* Additionally, her statement that it doesn't matter if we lose our own belongings is a reformulation of Etta's assessment in line 3 and 4. Transformations or copies of others' speech underscores the speaker's agreement with their interlocutor's characterisation of the object of discourse (in this case, the source of Julius' worry) (Schegloff, 1996). Reformulating content from previous turns can also construct a stance of social sameness with the interlocutor (Goebel, 2015). Novi's statement suggests that she and Etta share the same position on the issue, which calibrates close alignment between the speakers (Du Bois, 2007).

Novi's use of *he wa* in this example and elsewhere in the data suggests that the selection of this variant of the discourse marker forms part of the communicative norms of the social group. Novi's selection of the form reproduces the chronotope of their in-group talk, in order to respond to the chronotopic frames for in-group interaction. Therefore, when speakers reproduced the form *he wa* in their interactions with the group, the chronotopic identity they reproduce is consistent with the

social group identity associated with this chronotopic frame. The following example features an interaction between students in an entirely separate social group. Wilma and Olivia are best friends who sit together at the front on the left side of the classroom. The only similarity between these two students and those mentioned in example (6.7) is that Wilma and Olivia are also Khek Chinese speakers and tend to communicate with one another in Khek language. Therefore, the selection of *he wa* responds to the chronotopic frame for talk with others from the same ethnolinguistic group.

Olivia and Wilma are discussing a secret relationship between two of their friends that recently came to the surface.

(6.8)

1	**Wilma**	**Kai pu nyit kai ngai mun Nyi e a**
		The other day I was asking you for money from
2		**B kak to A e ako,**
		B who is going out with A's older brother,
		a A kak to B e lo moi
3		A is going out with B's younger sister
4	**Olivia**	**Kai si an kiu e**
		That's been going on for ages
5	**Wilma**	**He wa**, kami tuh gak tau
		Right, we didn't even know
6		cowok nya tuh anaknya si C,
		That guy is C's son,
7		habis itu dia bilang yang pacaran tuh teman kita.
		then she said that his girlfriend was a friend of ours
8		Habis itu aku kepikiran B,
		Then I thought of B
9		kalau B jadian sama A ndak mungkin.
		I thought B couldn't possibly be with A
10		Emank ajung ada abang.
		But A has an older brother

11		Aku juga pikir sih B tuh jarang pulang bah
		I also thought that B rarely goes home
12		Sedangkan, ieie itu bilang dia sering ketemu mereka berdua boncengan.
		Meanwhile, that auntie said she often saw them riding together
13	**Jasmine**	Namanya stalker
		You're a stalker

Wilma introduces the information that A and B are dating and that their younger siblings are also dating. Olivia comments in Khek in line 5 that the relationship has been going on for a long time. Wilma uses *he wa* in line 2 to express emphatic agreement with Olivia's assessment and then adds that they were not aware of the relationship. Wilma's selection of *he wa* in line 6 is influenced firstly by Olivia's language choice in 5. Speakers tend to converge towards the language choices of their addressees to express and enhance social proximity (Auer, 1998; Du Bois, 2007). The discourse marker *he wa* here also appears relevant to conjoint knowledge, as Wilma uses the marker in response to the information that the speakers share (i.e. the knowledge of the length of their friend's secret relationship). As previously mentioned, the emphasis of shared knowledge can highlight solidarity. The selection of *he wa* by Wilma may further be an attempt to offer solidarity in exchange for a divergence from the communicative norms of this couple by switching to Indonesian for remainder of the interaction.

Wilma switches to Indonesian because she wants to include other members of the group who are sitting nearby. Wilma and Olivia usually speak to one another in Khek Chinese. However, Wilma often initiates switches into Indonesian language to include other speakers. Olivia and Wilma usually sit with a group of Teochew Chinese girls in the classroom. Wilma stated in interviews that she likes to include everyone in her interactions by using Indonesian, and she sometimes worries that she and Olivia are being too exclusive in using Khek Chinese to communicate. Wilma's switch to Indonesian appears to be interpreted as an invitation for others to participate as in line 13 Jasmine comments in response to Wilma's story that Wilma is a stalker. Wilma's switch from Khek to Indonesian can be considered a response to the shift in chronotopic frames, from the smaller chronotopic frame of talk between two Khek Chinese friends, to the larger frame of talk between individuals of different ethnolinguistic groups.

The form *he wa* can be considered part of the speech style used by Wilma and Olivia when they are speaking privately. Additionally, the form may therefore be a response to the smaller chronotopic frame of intimate in-group talk by reproducing the forms associated with the speech style of this intimate group. The relationship between the form and intimate communication appears consistent with the usage of *he wa* in example (6.7) as Novi and Etta are also close friends. Therefore, the form *he wa* also responds to another chronotopic frame which involves using the forms associated with communication within the same ethnolinguistic group.

The association between *he wa* and Khek Chinese groups is enhanced by the contrast exemplified in the forms preferred by Teochew-speaking social groups at PCC. Teochew Chinese social groups at PCC appear to preference the *si wa* form in their in-group interactions. Importantly, the speakers, Harry and Dewi, commonly interact with Wilma and Olivia, and both groups sit in the same area of the classroom. However, Harry and Dewi use the form *si wa* in their interactions, whereas Olivia and Wilma use *he wa*. It is possible that the distribution of *he wa* and *si wa* forms is due to the influence of Khek and Teochew Chinese languages. However, as observed in the PPK data, it is not uncommon for Teochew speakers to use the form *he wa*. Therefore, there must be some other reason for the distribution of these forms. I argue that the patterns in use of different forms of the discourse marker are due to the overlapping larger and smaller chronotopic frames.

The following example (6.9) features Teochew-speakers Harry and Dewi discussing a group of students whom they had to work with on a group project in class.

(6.9)

1	**Harry**	*Hiok* aneh *wah,*
		It's weird,
2		*co kang co kang du ho wa,*
		just keep working, keep working,
3		*bo pien wah,*
		there's no other choice
4		*boi* cocok *a,*
		it's not appropriate,
3		*boi hiau jien ha nyo ei*

		it shouldn't be like that
4	**Dewi**	*Si wa,*
		Right,
5		*wa pun cek ei thoi i nang,*
		every time I see them,
6		*mo i se khe ba*
		I don't feel right

Harry begins by complaining in Teochew that there's nothing he can do about the awkwardness he feels when working with some of the students in his assigned group. Dewi responds with *si wa* in line 4 to express emphatic confirmation of Harry's utterance, and adds that she also feels awkward when she sees this group of people. The use of *si wa* creates alignment with the previous speaker's utterance, which is furthered by Dewi's statement that she also doesn't feel right when she sees this group of people. Dewi's language choice is consistent with Harry's choice of Teochew Chinese which again enhances social proximity by converging towards the linguistic practices of the interlocutors.

The selection of *si wa* can be considered a response to the larger chronotopic frame that involves using the ethnic language, Teochew Chinese, in intraethnic communications. Additionally, the discourse marker also responds to the chronotopic frame for talk within the same ethnolinguistic group, by selecting the form associated with the communicative style of this group. Finally, the smaller chronotopic frame for communication within the social group is treated through the selection of the form which represents the communicative style used by this social group in the classroom. The selection of the discourse marker is thus a response to three overlapping chronotopic frames.

Two groups at PCC regularly uses the form *iya wa* instead of the competing forms *he wa* and *si wa*. The following two examples present individuals from both these groups using *iya wa* in interactions within their social group. Both social groups sit at the front on the right-hand side of the classroom. The two social groups include a mix of Teochew Chinese, Khek Chinese and non-Chinese Indonesian students, and they predominantly communicate in Indonesian. The selection of *iya* wa in these groups mirrors the trends in selection of the same form of the discourse marker in interethnic group communications at PPK. This finding strengthens the argument that the

selection of *iya wa* is a response to the chronotopic frame for interethnic communication in Indonesian society, as well as a response to the chronotopic frame of in-group norms for interaction. Importantly, the individuals discussed here are all ethnically Chinese, this suggests that the chronotopic frame involving the use of iya wa is particular to the communicative practices of ethnic Chinese individuals engaging in interethnic communication.

The following example shows Ratna using *iya wa* in interaction with Agustina. The two students are talking about their Mandarin homework, which requires them to read and respond to a text written in Mandarin Chinese characters.

(6.10)

1	**Augustina**	Huruf pertama kan,
		The first character,
2		menurut aku sudah usah banget *a*.
		for me that's already really difficult
3	**Ratna**	*Iya wa*
		Right

In line 1, Agustina states in Indonesian that the first character of the text is already quite difficult to read. Her statement is bracketed by the Chinese discourse particle *a*, which adds emphasis to the difficulty she expresses in trying to read the text. Ratna responds with *iya wa* in line 3. The use of *iya wa* acts as emphatic confirmation of Agustina's statement and implies that Ratna agrees that the characters are indeed difficult to read. Ratna's utterance therefore constructs the same stance towards the stance object (i.e. Chinese characters) as her interlocutor. The interlocutors' shared stance calibrates the proximal alignment between them (Du Bois, 2007). The use of *iya wa* is consistent with the aforementioned functions of the discourse marker at PCC. The difference exhibited here is the selection of the form *iya wa.* This suggests that the selection of the form is a response to the chronotopic frame for talk within this social group. Importantly, the social context in which the form is used at PCC is also consistent with the social context which elicits the form at PPK. The form *iya wa* is used in Indonesian-language interactions that occur between individuals of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. This suggests that the selection of this form of the discourse marker also responds to the chronotopic frame for interethnic communication.

The following example features Farah's use of *iya wa* in an interaction within her social group. The discussion between Farah and her friend, Wati, centres on the location of the Business Management department on their campus. The two speakers use Indonesian language in all interactions in the data because it is the speakers' only shared language.

(6.11)

1	**Farah**	Maksudnya itu di di-
		I mean it's at at-
2		pokoknya gedung SM kan gedung SM
		basically the SM building right the SM building
3	**Wati**	Ye-
		Ye-
4	**Farah**	Oh mereka pindah di situ sekarang
		Oh they've moved over there now
5	**Wati**	XX[10]
6	**Farah**	Bukan di kampus dalam lagi kan?
		They're not in the central campus anymore right?
7	**Wati**	Bukan
		No
8	**Farah**	*Iya wa,*
		Right,
9		aku curiga *wa*
		I doubted it,
10		soalnya kayaknya ya mereka pindah ke situ
		as it seems like yeah they've moved over there

In line 1, Farah asks for confirmation as to whether the management faculty is in the SM building. Her use of the discourse marker *kan* in this utterance matches Wouk's (1998) description of the use of *kan* to indicate uncertainty. Wouk (1998) stated that *kan* could be added on to an utterance to bracket information as something that the speaker is unsure of. In this case, Farah is unsure of

[10] XX: Inaudible (used here and elsewhere in the thesis)

the location of the management faculty. Wati appears to interpret the utterance as a request for confirmation as she starts to confirm Farah's suggestion in line 3, before Farah interrupts in line 4. Farah makes a similar request for confirmation by using *kan* in line 6. Farah is now already aware of the location of the management faculty but uses *kan* as a rhetorical device to elicit a confirmation response from Wati. Wati provides the confirmation response in line 7. In line 8, Farah uses the discourse marker *iya wa* to express emphatic confirmation of Wati's positive response. Farah uses *iya wa* to indicate that Wati provided the response that she was trying to elicit with her use of *kan* in line 6.

Farah's selection of *iya wa* in Example (6.11) follows the same pattern of using *iya wa* to express emphatic confirmation, as that which has been discussed in relation to previous instances of the discourse marker. Furthermore, her selection of the *iya wa* form is consistent with the norms of her social group, and that of Agustina and Ratna's social group. These two social groups rarely interact together but share the same preference for the *iya wa* form. This suggests that the *iya wa* form may be a response to the chronotopic frame for interethnic communication.

The following examples (6.12) and (6.13) further suggest that the selection of *iya wa* is a response to the chronotopic frame for interethnic communication. Importantly, these interactions all occurred between students who did not share the same ethnic language and were often not from the same intimate social group. Individuals usually speak Indonesian when there is no common Chinese language shared by the interlocutors. This suggests that the form *iya wa* is not primarily a response to the chronotopic frames for in-group talk at PCC, but rather the chronotopic frame that requires the use of Indonesian language to facilitate communications across different ethnic and linguistic groups.

The following example features a Teochew Chinese student, Dewi, using the form *iya wa* in an interaction with Jasmine, who is a non-Chinese speaker. Jasmine and Dewi are good friends, and often sit in a similar area, at the front on the left hand side of the classroom.

(6.12)

1	**Jasmine**	Aqua botol di bawah berapa? How much is a bottle of water downstairs?
2	**Wilma**	Empat ribu

		Four thousand
3	**Dewi**	Kau mau beli air kah?
		You want to buy water?
4		Yok
		Let's go
5	**Jasmine**	Ndak
		Nah,
6		aku cuman nanya jak
		I was just asking
7	**Dewi**	Bohong!
		Bullshit!
8		Bohong!
		Bullshit!
9	**Jasmine**	Ndak, ndak (.)
		No, no
10		Kau mau minum kah?
		Do you wanna drink?
11	**Dewi**	*Iya wa,*
		Of course,
12		mau minum *wa*
		I wanna drink

The conversation begins after Jasmine asks about the price of bottled water at the canteen downstairs in line 1. Wilma responds with the price (4000 Rupiah). Dewi then asks Jasmine if she wants to go buy water with her. Jasmine then claims in line 5 that she doesn't want to buy the water but just wanted to know the price. Dewi exclaims that this is clearly a lie. Jasmine denies that she is lying, but after a short pause asks if Dewi wants to drink. Dewi responds in the final lines 11 and 12 with the discourse marker to indicate emphatic confirmation of Jasmine's utterance. Jasmine's question was clearly posed in jest, as Dewi already expressed interest in buying water which implies that she wanted to drink in lines 3 and 4. Therefore, Dewi's emphatic confirmation in line 11 also brackets her answer as information of which Jasmine should already be aware. Dewi's use of *iya wa* in the example above mirrors the use of the discourse marker elsewhere in

the chapter, and hence suggests that it may be a commonly used expression in interactions with people of different ethnolinguistic identities. Therefore, the use of this discoursed marker reproduces a chronotope which invokes a chronotopic frame of talk across different ethnolinguistic identities.

For instance, in example (6.13), Lestari uses the form *iya wa* when asking Wilma to assist her with her photocopying needs. Lestari and Wilma are good friends, and often sit in the same group in class. Lestari and Wilma are both ethnically Chinese, but they do not share the same Chinese language. Lestari speaks Teochew Chinese, and Wilma speaks Khek Chinese, as a result they usually communicate in Indonesian.

(6.13)

1	**Lestari**	Wilma!
		Wilma!
2		Wilma!
		Wilma!
3		Mau fotocopy lebih *a* -
		I wanna photocopy more -
4	**Wilma**	*angry noise*
5	**Lestari**	Fotocopy lebih
		More photocopies
6	**Wilma**	XX
7	**Lestari**	Aku dak ada masuk Sir A nya
		I didn't do Sir A's
8	**Wilma**	Ada lebih?
		There's more?
9	**Lestari**	*Iya wa,*
		Right,
10		aku baru ingat *a*
		I just remembered

Lestari initiates the conversation in Indonesian by calling out to Wilma and informing her that she needs to do more photocopying in lines 1-3. Wilma has just finished a load of photocopying and is understandably annoyed that she now has to go back to the printing shop to help Lestari with her photocopying. Therefore, she interrupts Lestari and produces an angry noise in line 4. Lestari completes her phrase by repeating that she needs to produce more photocopies. After Wilma produces an inaudible mumble in response, Lestari explains that she did not do the photocopying for Sir A in line 7. Wilma asks for clarification that there is more photocopying required for Sir A's class, to which Lestari responds *iya wa*, and adds that she has only just remembered to do it.

Iya wa is used as an upgraded positive response to Wilma's question. The discourse marker is followed by an explanation that Lestari has just remembered about the other photocopying. The explanation Lestari provides is in response to Wilma's disbelief that there really is more photocopying to be completed. The function of *iya wa* here appears similar to the Indonesian discourse marker *dong,* in that it appears to emphasise the truth of information it brackets (Manns, 2011; Sneddon, 2006). In example (6.13), *iya wa* appears to highlight the truth that there really is more photocopying to be completed.

The selection of *iya wa* here is consistent with the notion that *iya wa* is the preferred form of the discourse marker in Indonesian-language communications. Lestari's use of *iya wa* in line 9 could also be a strategic attempt to emphasise solidarity in exchange for the inconvenience she has caused Wilma (cf. Manns, 2015). Additionally, the discourse marker is commonly used in interactions between friends. Therefore, the use of the discourse marker indexes social intimacy. The use and interpretation of the discourse marker is based on the ability to use and interpret Chinese languages to some degree. Thus, *iya wa* may invoke a particular kind of solidarity between speakers that is influenced to an extent by shared Chinese ethnicity. The chronotopic frame for intraethnic communications between people of different ethnolinguistic identities affects the relevant identities exhibited through Lestari's use of the discourse marker. Lestari may be using *iya wa* to reproduce a chronotopic identity that emphasises their 'sameness' (Goebel, 2015) as ethnic Chinese friends so that Wilma may feel less aggravated by Lestari's negligence.

6.5 Summary and Conclusion

The current chapter has shown that the discourse markers *he wa, si wa* and *iya wa* all have the same core meaning in discourse, which is an emphatic agreement with a previous utterance.

Importantly, the analysis demonstrated that the selection of one variant over another was a response to several overlapping chronotopic frames that involve different social identities. The patterns of variant selection varied across different social groups at both institutions. I explained in this chapter that the ethnic composition of different social groups as well as the languages that they use to interact affected the presence or absence of chronotopic frames for intraethnic, interethnic and in-group communication that influenced individuals' choice of variant. At PPK the form *iya wa* appeared when the teachers interacted together as one large group. The language of communication in large groups was predominantly Indonesian. I argued that the use of *iya wa* in this context was a response to the overlapping chronotopic frames for interethnic interaction and the teachers' in-group talk. By contrast, the form *he wa* was used in Teochew Chinese language interactions that emerged in smaller groups of Teochew speaking teachers, who were separated from the larger social group. The selection of *he wa* here emerged as a response to the chronotopic frames for intraethnic communication and Teochew teachers' in-group talk. These chronotopic frames include larger social identities (Indonesian national identity and Teochew Chinese ethnic identity), and smaller social identities (the larger teachers' social identity and the smaller Teochew teachers' social identity). Therefore, I explained that the choice to respond to one or more of these chronotopic frames indirectly indexes one or more of these identities. Finally, the form *si wa* was only used by one of the teachers at PPK. The teacher, Sofia, used *si wa* in Indonesian and Teochew Chinese language interactions. However, her use of *si wa* was consistent in that it only emerged when the topic of conversation focused on Sofia's personal identity, and therefore her independence from the rest of the teachers' group.

The trends in selection of variants of the discourse marker differed at PCC. The form *he wa* was only used in communications between groups of intimate Khek Chinese friends, whereas *si wa* was only used in communications between groups of Teochew Chinese friends. Two groups of mixed Teochew Chinese, Khek Chinese and non-Chinese Indonesian friends used the form *iya wa* instead of the competing forms *he wa* and *si wa*. However, *iya wa* was not exclusively used by these groups, instead *iya wa* was used by individuals interacting with others from different social groups who spoke different Chinese languages. Therefore, *iya wa* was used to respond to chronotopic frames for interethnic communication at PCC as well as at PPK. However, the different patterns in usage of *he wa* and *si wa* indicated that these variants were used to respond to chronotopic frames for talk within the Khek ethnolinguistic group and talk within the Teochew

ethnolinguistic group respectively. The selection of one variant over another again enacted a chronotopic identity that indirectly indexed the speaker's membership to one or both of these ethnolinguistic groups.

In the following Chapter, I investigate the use of the Chinese discourse particle *a*. I will show that in contrast to the *he wa* discourse marker, all the participants at both institutions use the same variant of *a* to perform identical functions in discourse. However, there are differences in the frequency with which different social groups and individuals use the particles in discourse. I will argue that the differences in rates of use pattern against particular social categories and social groups at both institutions. Importantly, variation on the individual level stems from both the individual's interactional (or chronotopic) identity as well as their perduring sense of identity.

Chapter 7: Chinese Discourse Particle *a*

7.0 Introduction.

The previous chapter showed that the selection of one form of a discourse marker over another invoked chronotopes of communicative styles in order to respond to one or more overlapping chronotopic frames. Additionally, individuals' use or non-use of different variants of the discourse marker reflected their chronotopic identity and perduring membership to different groups, as well as their own personal identity. The current chapter will investigate the social significance of the frequency of use of the discourse particle *a* across different social groups at PPK and PCC. Frequency is an important component of the study of linguistic styles and identities. Various studies have revealed that the distribution and frequency of linguistic features often patterns against social categories (Drager, 2015; Eckert, 2000; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Zhang, 2005). The saliency of the distribution patterns of linguistic features can vary across different communities. However, most members of a speech community are at least subtly aware of the patterns of distribution of linguistic forms, even when the variation in frequency is not considered striking across different segments of society. This subtle awareness is evident as individuals tend to reflect the same frequency of use of linguistic features as others within their social group. This chapter will show that differences in frequency of use of *a* pattern against differences in frequency of occurrence of the chronotopic frames that require the use of the discourse particle across different social groups. Furthermore, I argue that the rate of use of *a* is motivated by the individual's perduring sense of identity.

The chapter begins with an overview of prior research on the use of the particle *a* in Mandarin Chinese. Although there is no dialectal relationship between Mandarin Chinese and Teochew and Khek Chinese, it is possible that there is a relationship between the particle's use in these languages based on the genetic relationship between the languages themselves. The use of the particle in Mandarin is compared and contrasted with the present research on *a* in Chinese and Indonesian language interactions in the following sections. Following on, I present an analysis of the difference in frequency of use of *a* across different groups of individuals at PPK and PCC. I argue that the (in)frequent use of *a* to respond to chronotopic frames and enact chronotopic identities is influenced by the individual's perduring sense of identity.

7.1 Previous research on *a*

There has been considerable research on the use of the *a* particle in Mandarin Chinese (Chao, 1968; Chu, 2002, 2009; Li & Thompson, 1981; Wu, 2004). The findings of prior research are very diverse. Chao's (1968) seminal work on spoken Mandarin grammar originally listed ten possible functions of *a*. Li and Thompson (1981) claimed that many of the meanings Chao listed should not be attributed to *a*. Li and Thompson argued that most of the meanings of *a* that Chao discusses are understood based on the meaning of the sentence to which *a* is attached. They proposed that the various meanings of *a* can be summarised as "reduced forcefulness" (Li & Thompson, 1981, p. 313). For instance, Chao (1968, p. 804) stated that *a* can indicate a command. Li and Thompson (1981, p. 315) contended that the utterance itself signals a command, and the *a* only functions to soften the force of the command.

More recent work has suggested that the particle *a* can indeed serve different functions in different sentence types. Wu (2004) showed that *a* can be used to invoke a contrast. Wu (2004, p. 104) stated more specifically that the particle is "used to mark a discrepancy in knowledge, expectation, or perspective regarding some state of affairs between the current speaker (i.e. the *a* user) and the prior speaker". Additionally, the particle can frame an entity as deviant from how it normally is or should be. The usage of *a* in this context was dependent on the speaker's attitudes towards the hearer and the object of evaluation. Chu (2009) echoed Chao's claim that *a* had a wide variety of different functions that were based on the sentence type and the tone of the utterance. High-tone *a* was 'speaker-oriented' and could indicate agreement, exclamation or endorsement of an object by the speaker. Low-tone *a* was 'hearer-oriented' and may imply a warning, challenge, defense or question to the hearer. An investigation of the role of tone is beyond the scope of the current chapter, however it is possible that tone is relevant to the different usages of *a*, and this is an important direction for future research.

The participants of the current study suggested in interviews that the particle *a* functioned to add emphasis to an assessment. Other participants likened the particle *a* to an exclamation point and suggested that it indicated intensity or surprise. The description of the functions of *a* here is similar to the description of some of the functions of the particle *oh* in English. Schiffrin (1987, p. 73) stated that the particle *oh* is often used as an exclamation of strong emotional states such as surprise,

fear or pain. The particle could further be used to enhance the intensity of a speaker's position in reaction to what is being said. Importantly, the intensification of a position does not only occur in argumentation, but can occur whenever speakers strengthen their reactions to their interlocutors' utterances (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 96). Schiffrin also stated that *oh* was used in information management tasks to replace one information unit with another. In other words, a speaker uses *oh* when they are presented with new information that must be integrated into an already present knowledge base. Schiffrin's description of the functions of *oh* shares some overlap with Wu's (2004) description of the particle *a*, as in both cases the particles are used to register new information that contrasts in some way with pre-existing knowledge. The perceptions expressed by participants suggest that the particle *a* may be used to add emphasis to an assessment and/or indicate a contrast with previous knowledge or information. I will return to a discussion of the functions of *a* in the following section on the use of *a* at PPK and PCC institutions.

7.2 Frequency of *a* use across two institutions

The students at PCC and the teachers at PPK all use the discourse particle *a* in their Indonesian and Chinese language interactions. The particle appears most commonly in utterance final position in the instances recorded in the data. There are several functions of the particle *a* featured in the examples discussed. The particle can be used in declaratives to indicate a contrast between the expectations or information presented in the current utterance and a previous utterance. Similarly, the particle can also function to emphasise disagreement with a previous utterance (cf. Wu, 2004). Additionally, the particle can add emphasis to an assessment or the epistemic strength of a statement (cf. Chu, 2002; Wu, 2004). Finally, the particle can occur in exclamatives to frame the information conveyed in the utterance as unexpected or surprising (cf. Chu, 2002, 2009).

There were no differences in the functional use of *a* across different social and ethnolinguistic groups at both institutions. However, there were significant differences in the frequency of usage of *a* across different speakers and different social groups.

The data analysis in this section will demonstrate that the difference in the distribution of the particle *a* is dependent on several factors affecting interaction. Firstly, the distribution of *a* is relevant to the social identit(ies) and therefore the communicative norms of the peer groups to whom individual speakers belong. Additionally, the use of the particle *a* is part of the norms for Chinese intraethnic communication which require the use of Chinese languages. The use of the *a*

is therefore a response to the smaller chronotopic frame for communications within particular social groups, as well as the larger chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic communication. I explained in previous chapters that larger and smaller chronotopic frames include larger social identities (i.e. Indonesian national identity and Chinese ethnic identity), and smaller social identities (i.e. different peer groups within the classroom). The analysis will show that the frequency of the *a* particle in individual's speech reproduces a chronotopic identity that reflects the larger and smaller social identities involved in the chronotopic frames above. A larger chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic communication is more frequently present in the interactions within some social groups in comparison to interactions within other social groups at both institutions. The frequency of the presence of the larger chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic communication is relevant to the composition of different social groups and the social identities that they consider most pertinent. For instance, the chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic communication is more frequently present in social groups consisting exclusively of ethnic Chinese members than those consisting of members of different ethnic identities. The frame for intraethnic communication is more salient within exclusively ethnic Chinese peer groups because the ethnic Chinese identity involved in the frame is relevant to every group member. On the individual level, the analysis will also show that in some cases, ethnic Chinese identity or Indonesian national identity (i.e. the larger identity) is more relevant or salient to the individual's perduring sense of identity than their peer group identity (i.e. the smaller identity) or vice versa, and this affects the degree to which individuals respond to larger and smaller chronotopic frames and enact particular chronotopic identities in interaction.

7.2.1 Rates of use of *a* at PPK

Table 8 Number of *a* tokens produced at PPK

Teachers at PPK	Ethnolinguistic Identity	Languages Spoken	Tokens of a	Per 1000 words
Wendy	Teochew Chinese	Teochew Chinese, Indonesian	75	36.64
Sofia	Teochew/Khek Chinese	Teochew Chinese, Khek Chinese, Indonesian	26	16.99
Natalia	Teochew Chinese	Teochew Chinese, Indonesian	52	24.06
Janice	Khek Chinese	Teochew Chinese, Khek Chinese, Indonesian	24	16.33
Maria	Khek Singkawang Chinese	Khek Singkawang Chinese, Indonesian	5	8.65
Alice	Teochew Chinese Indonesian	Indonesian	7	10.71
Atin	Teochew Chinese	Teochew Chinese, Indonesian	7	14.31
Fiona	Teochew/Khek Chinese	Teochew Chinese, Khek Chinese, Indonesian	17	22.57

The distribution of the particle *a* was relatively consistent in the speech of teachers at PPK, compared to the distribution of the particle in the speech of PCC students. The particle *a* appears to form part of the communicative style shared by all members of the teachers' group. All the teachers use the particle in their everyday interactions within the group. However, the particle is used most frequently in interactions between individuals who share the same ethnolinguistic identity as fellow Teochew Chinese people. I will first discuss the relevance of the particle *a* to the smaller chronotopic frame for in-group interaction within the teachers' group. I will explain that the communicative style of the group is influenced by the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic

communication that is frequently present within interactions in the group. I will then outline the reasons for which the particle is used more frequently in interactions between fellow Teochew Chinese teachers.

In the previous chapter, I explained that the teachers at PPK formed one large social group. The majority of their interactions occur within the whole group. The social dynamics of the teachers' group promote the reproduction of in-group norms in every interaction between fellow teachers at the school. Otherwise stated, the teachers reproduce chronotopes of the communicative style of the group to invoke the smaller chronotopic frame of in-group talk in their interactions within the teachers' group. The smaller chronotopic frame encompasses the teachers' peer group identity, therefore a response to the smaller chronotopic frame reproduces the chronotopic identity of in-group member. The particle *a* is part of the communicative style that is used to invoke and respond to this smaller chronotopic frame for in-group communication. The majority of the teachers are ethnically Chinese and speak Chinese language to some degree. Therefore, the smaller chronotopic frame for in-group interaction regularly intersects with the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic interaction. In this case, the particle can also be considered a response to the larger chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic interaction.

The following example (7.1) shows Fiona using the particle *a* to add emphasis to her assessment and frame Janice's utterance as deviant. The example is drawn from a conversation between Fiona, Janice and Sofia, that occurs as the teachers are waiting for their students to be picked up by their parents. They are discussing their skin care routines. The conversation occurs in the school foyer, where the other teachers Alice, Vinny and Sebastian are also standing around. The example was analysed in brief to demonstrate the utility of an in-depth application of chronotopic frame theory to the understanding of identity practice in Chapter 2. The following analysis will focus more specifically on the use of the *a* particle.

(7.1)

1	**Fiona**	Biasa aku pake cream.. apa?
		Usually I use…which cream?
2		Susu pembersih.
		Purifying milk.

3		Habis tuh bersihkan,
		After that I clean it off,
4		habis itu pake toner.
		after that I use toner.
5		Habis pake toner baru tekan.
		After using toner, then I pop them.
6		Habis tekan bersihkan lagi,
		After popping them, I clean it again,
7		habis itu pake yang dingin-dingin lagi.
		after that I use cold water again.
8		Masker.
		A face mask.
9		Habis itu baru cuci muka.
		After that, then I wash my face.
10	**Janice**	Aku mana ade?
		Where am I gonna get all that?
11		Aku habis pecet selesai.
		After popping them, I'm done.
12	**Fiona**	Tak boleh ***a!***
		You can't!
13	**Janice**	Kau tak lihat?
		You didn't look?
14		Muka aku biasa-biasa aja
		My face is normal

The example begins as Fiona lists her in-depth skin care routine that includes several steps before popping pimples, as well as several steps after. Janice responds in line 10 with a rhetorical question, asking where she would get all the products Fiona lists. She states that after popping her pimples, she doesn't take any extra steps in her skin care routine. Fiona responds with an exclamative, *tak boleh*, to which she adds the particle *a* at the end. The particle *a* has several functions in this utterance. First the particle may strengthen the assertion that Janice's skin care routine can't or

shouldn't end after popping pimples. The utterance *tak boleh* instructs the hearer that they cannot or should not do whatever it is that they're doing. The addition of *a* enhances the intensity of the utterance, similar to the English *oh* in an expression such as 'oh you can't do that' (cf. Schiffrin, 1987). It is important to note, however, that the English *oh* is generally more speaker-focused, whereas the particle *a* here appears to be hearer focused. This is evident in the hearer's response to the use of *a.* The analysis in this chapter shows that stances constructed through *a* are often taken up or at least acknowledged by the hearer. This indicates that *a* is focused on the hearer's response and perhaps their uptake of the speaker's stance.

The use of the particle in line 12 may also register a contrast between Janice's assertion of her minimalist skin care routine and Fiona's belief that the skin care routine should be more involved. Wu (2004) found that the particle *a* in Mandarin Chinese could be used to register disagreement and construct an oppositional stance towards a previous utterance. Fiona may therefore be using the particle to construct an opposing stance towards Janice's utterance.

Fiona's use of the discourse particle is firstly a response to the smaller chronotopic frame for in-group talk. She uses the same Chinese discourse particle in Indonesian speech, as do others when communicating in the teachers' group. Therefore, she invokes a chronotope of the communicative style of the group to respond to the smaller chronotopic frame of in-group talk. Her response to the communicative frame enacts her chronotopic identity as an in-group member. The speakers in this interaction are both ethnically Chinese and both have the ability to speak and understand Chinese language. Therefore, the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic interaction that involves speaking Chinese language in interactions between ethnic Chinese people is present here. However, the interaction is conducted in Indonesian language. This suggests that the larger chronotopic frame that requires the use of Indonesian in interethnic communication may also be present because the speakers are aware that their audience of auditors includes individuals who do not speak Chinese languages. The inclusion of the Chinese particle in Indonesian speech may be a way of balancing responses to both chronotopic frames in interaction (cf. Blommaert & De Fina, 2016).

Fiona's decision to respond to the chronotopic frames may be an attempt to emphasise in-group identity to lessen the threat of disagreement in her utterance. Manns (2015) stated that individuals may attempt to offer solidarity to lessen the face threat of an utterance. The intended effect is that the utterance is positioned within the context of intimate friendly talk between individuals who

share a social identity which is in this case that of fellow ethnic Chinese teachers. The social proximity between speakers can reduce the offensive force of disagreement (P. Brown & Levinson, 1987).

I argue that the use of the particle is not exclusive to ethnic Chinese teachers at PPK but is part of the communicative style of the whole group. This is evident as individuals who are not ethnically Chinese use the particle consistently in in-group talk. The following example shows Sebastian, a non-Chinese Dayak Indonesian teacher using the particle *a* in an interaction with Wendy and Natalia. The teachers are discussing one of their supervisors over breakfast in Wendy's classroom before school. Sofia has just voiced a complaint about their supervisor who attempted to give her poor advice on how to handle one of her students. The example below features the other teachers' reactions to this story.

(7.2)

1	**Wendy**	Hmpf iya,
		Hmpf yeah,
2		dia suka tak nyambung *wa*,
		she's often disconnected,
3		blahaw *a* diya tu. (..)
		she's a smartass (..)
4	**Sebastian**	Dia bukan guru *a* [dia pengawas]
		She's not a teacher [she's a supervisor]
5	**Natalia**	[Dia pengawas]
		[She's a supervisor]
6	**Sebastian**	Kayak Miss X
		Like Miss X
7	**Natalia**	X tu guru moyang kita ye?
		X was our old teacher, right?
8	**Wendy**	Iya dia tu guru moyang *a*.
		Yeah, she was our old teacher
9	**Natalia**	Di angkatan pertama baru buka dia gurunya ye

She was a teacher back when it first opened yeah

Wendy reacts to Sofia's story in lines 1-3 by claiming that the supervisor is disconnected and stating that she is a smartass. She uses the particle *a* to add emphasis to her assessment of the supervisor. Sebastian uses the particle in the following line 4 to emphasise that the person being referred to is not a teacher, but a supervisor. The particle here may also function to mark a contradiction between the supervisor's desire to give advice to teachers, and the fact that the supervisor herself is not a teacher, and hence may not be qualified to give advice. Sebastian suggests in line 6 that the supervisor's position is similar to that of Miss X. His suggestion causes Natalia to question if Miss X was their old teacher. Wendy responds to Natalia in line 8 that Miss X was indeed their old teacher. Her utterance includes the particle *a*. Wu (2004, p. 119) stated that the particle *a* could be used to enhance epistemic stance by asserting the truth of an utterance. Wendy's use of *a* may construct a stance of certainty that Miss X was once a teacher. The particle *a* in line 8 may also invoke disagreement with Sebastian's suggestion that the supervisor's position was similar to that of Miss X. Wendy is implying that the supervisor's position is not similar to that of Miss X because Miss X was once a teacher. Therefore, Wendy's use of *a* may construct epistemic and oppositional stances based on her response to Sebastian and Natalia's utterances.

Wendy uses the particle in line 3 as part of her response to Sofia's story. Her use of the particle is partly a response to the smaller chronotopic frame of in-group interaction by reproducing talk that is typical of members of the group. Her decision to respond to the frame may be to highlight the teachers' shared social identity as members of the same peer group. Wendy may have chosen to highlight solidarity in order to comfort Sofia and indicate that her experience with the supervisor is shared by the other teachers. Sebastian's use of the particle in line 4 may have been prompted by Wendy's use of the particle in the previous line. Goebel (2015) stated that speakers can copy the linguistic choices of their interlocutors to construct a stance of 'social sameness'. Therefore, Sebastian's use of *a* reproduces a chronotope of the communicative style of the group to respond to the smaller chronotopic frame for in-group interaction and enact a chronotopic identity as an in-group member. His choice to respond to this chronotopic frame indicates that he perceives a degree of social sameness between himself and those in his group. He does not share the same ethnic identity as those in his group, therefore the 'social sameness' must emerge from his membership to the peer group. This shows that the particle is not exclusive to the communicative styles of the Chinese teachers but is instead part of the communicative style shared by the entire teachers' group.

The use of the particle, in the example above, is primarily a response to the desire to accomplish an in-group stance through a response to the smaller chronotopic frame for in-group talk. However, it is important to note that, as I argued in Chapter 6, the communicative style of the teachers' group is influenced by responses to the larger chronotopic frames for Indonesian interethnic and Chinese intraethnic interaction. All but one of the teachers at PPK are ethnically Chinese, therefore the larger chronotopic frame that requires the use of Chinese language in intraethnic communication is frequently present in interactions within this group. However, the teachers do not all share the same ethnic language or ethnolinguistic identities, and so, the larger chronotopic frame for interethnic communication that requires the use of Indonesian language is also consistently present. Teachers' responses to these frames may have influenced the communicative norms of the group, and hence impacted on the requirements of the smaller chronotopic frame for in-group interaction. I explained that the use of the Chinese discourse marker *iya wa* in Indonesian speech was a product of balancing responses to these chronotopic frames. The use of the particle *a* can equally be considered both a response to multiple overlapping chronotopic frames, in particular, the smaller chronotopic frame for in-group interaction and the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication.

The particle *a* was most likely incorporated into the communicative style of the group because the ethnic Chinese teachers used it frequently to respond to the larger chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic talk which emerged regularly in interactions within the teachers' group. Another possible reason for which this particle was included is due to the influence of speakers such as Wendy. The teachers at PPK all use the particle at approximately the same rate. However, one teacher, Wendy, used the particle almost twice as frequently as the other teachers. The mean rate of occurrence of *a* in the teachers speech was 18.78 times per 1000 words of speech. However, Wendy produced *a* 36.64 times per 1000 words of speech. Wendy was considered a big personality at PPK, she often figured centrally in the whole group interactions and she held the floor more regularly than other teachers in the group. Wendy was popular amongst the teachers and would often take the lead in conversation and gossip.

Teachers interacted most regularly before school, when they gathered together to talk and eat breakfast, as well as after school when they gathered to discuss the day and eat lunch. Wendy initiated the breakfast interactions when she started bringing food for the teachers from her

family's restaurant every morning. The gathering of teachers at the end of the school day, most frequently occurred in Wendy's classroom because it was one of the larger classrooms. Therefore, Wendy was an instrumental component of most in-group interactions. Wendy's position within the group may increase the influence of her language use on the communicative style of the group. She may be leading the other teachers' in their use of the particle *a*. I will return to this point in the discussion of examples (7.3) and (7.4).

The following example features Wendy gossiping about another teacher Atin, with Sofia and Sebastian. The example demonstrates Wendy's typically dominant position in in-group interactions, particularly those pertaining to gossip. Wendy uses the particle *a* in lines 4 and 5 to add emphasis to her assessment and indicate new information that contrasts with previously held assumptions about Atin's character. The interaction occurs directly after Alice has been summoned by Atin from the other room.

(7.3)

1	**Sebastian**	Garang *cece* itu eh
		That girl is fierce eh
2	**Wendy**	Atin tu garang!
		Atin is fierce!
3	**Sofia**	Embér.
		True.
4	**Wendy**	Cerewet *a* kata Alice tu.
		She's fussy, according to Alice.
5		Di luar dia suka marah @@ (.)
		Outside she gets mad easily. (.)
6		Alice bilang,
		Alice says that,
7		Atin *a*
		Atin yeah
8		mémang suka marah katanya.
		really gets mad easily, she said.

9		Padahal tak kelihatan bah
		But you just don't see it
10	**Sofia**	@@

Sebastian comments in line 1 that Atin is fierce. His utterance is finalized with the particle *eh* which invites confirmation from the interlocutors. Wendy responds by repeating Sebastian's assessment as an exclamative in the following line. Sofia briefly expresses agreement in line 3 before Wendy launches into gossip. Wendy states that Alice claimed that Atin is fussy. She uses the particle *a* to add emphasis to the assessment. Following on she adds that Alice stated that Atin gets mad easily in lines 5-9. The particle *a* is uttered following the mention of Atin's name. The particle therefore places the emphasis on Atin as being the individual who gets mad. This is one of only a few instances where the particle appeared following a noun phrase instead of following the end of an utterance. The placement of the particle in this example indicates that although the particle most often appears in utterance final position, it may also occur following a noun phrase to emphasise the information contained therein.

The particle may be used to indicate a contrast in line 7 between the new information that Alice has provided to Wendy and previously held assumptions about Atin's character. The particle indicates that it is unexpected that Atin is the one who gets mad easily. This interpretation is supported by Wendy's exclamation in line 2 which indicates that Atin being fierce is surprising or shocking. Furthermore, Wendy's utterance in line 9 which suggests that most people would not realise that Atin is a hothead because they don't see it.

Wendy's use of the particle mirrors other teachers' use of the particle to respond to the relevant smaller and larger chronotopic frames as explained in the discussion of examples (7.1) and (7.2). However, as mentioned previously, Wendy uses the particle more frequently than the other teachers. Wendy's frequent use of the particle is easily explained by her frequent contributions to interactions within the group. However, it is important to examine the effect of her language ideologies and perduring sense of identity, as her position in the group may influence the communicative practices of the group as a whole. Wendy expressed a strong sense of Chinese identity in interviews, and claimed it was important for ethnic Chinese people to communicate in Chinese language. Furthermore, Wendy expressed quite extreme views of interethnic relations in Pontianak. She stated that the relationship between ethnic Chinese and non-Chinese people was

very tense. She claimed that the situation in Pontianak was such that people looked out for those from their own ethnic community. As a result, she expressed distrust for people of non-Chinese ethnicity, and claimed it was safer for Chinese people to stay within their community rather than integrate with others outside of it. It is possible that Wendy's language ideologies and perduring sense of personal identity may influence her perception of the importance of responding to the larger chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic communication within interactions in the teachers' group. As previously mentioned, the larger chronotopic frame for Indonesian interethnic communication and the larger chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic communication can both be present within interactions between teachers at PPK. The speakers can choose to respond to one or both of the chronotopic frames to different degrees, for example, by using Chinese discourse markers in Indonesian speech. Wendy may be choosing to respond to the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication more frequently because she views it as being more consistently important than others in her group due to her personal language ideologies and the importance of ethnic Chinese identity to her perduring sense of identity.

Wendy's tendency to respond to the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication appears to affect the linguistic practices of others in her group, as was observed in Sebastian's use of the particle in example (7.2). The following example (7.4) shows that Wendy's language use and language ideologies appear to influence the linguistic practices of others in her group. The example below features Alice responding to Wendy using Teochew Chinese language and using the particle *a.* The teachers were previously discussing their plans for lunch.

(7.4)

1	**Wendy**	Tak jadi Jumat ini kah?
		So it isn't happening this Friday then?
2	**Alice**	*Bwe hyaw a*
		Can't
3	**Wendy**	Ya udah,
		Alright,
4		Jumat ini kita pergi makan yang lain lah.
		this Friday we'll go eat somewhere else

Wendy asks Alice to confirm that the plan to go to lunch at a particular restaurant will not be going ahead on Friday. She constructs the question in Indonesian in line 1. Alice responds in Teochew Chinese in line 2, and states that the plans can't go ahead. She uses the particle *a* to upgrade her response. Schegloff (1996) stated that speakers often upgrade their responses in order to underscore confirmation with a previous utterance. In this case, Alice may have used the particle to highlight her confirmation of Wendy's assumption that the plans would not go ahead. The use of the particle in combination with the phrase *bwe hyaw* 'can't' may also serve to emphasise the truth or certainty of the utterance and, in effect, express that the plans definitely cannot go ahead. This function of the particle *a* appears similar to Djenar's (2003) and Manns' (2013) description of the Indonesian discourse marker *deh* which can be used to add to the epistemic strength of an utterance. The effect is evident in that Wendy does not question the truth of Alice's utterance but instead takes the same stance towards the issue in the following line. Her utterance *ya udah* 'yeah, alright' shows that she has accepted Alice's claim as true and thus takes the same stance that the event cannot occur on the Friday. As the following examples will show, utterances featuring the use of *a* to add epistemic strength are often not challenged by the hearer, rather the hearer(s) usually take the same stance as the speaker. I argue that the use of *a* encourages the hearer to accept information by emphasising that the speaker knows what they are saying is true and correct.

Alice is ethnically Chinese but has a very limited ability to speak Teochew Chinese. She explained in interviews that she rarely uses the language outside of the family home. Wendy's question was constructed in Indonesian, so it would have been acceptable for Alice to respond in Indonesian language. Her choice to respond in Teochew Chinese is therefore socially significant.

Alice's language use in line 2 invokes a chronotope of intraethnic communication with Wendy. Her choice to respond to the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication may be motivated by several factors. Firstly, her use of Teochew Chinese language to respond to the chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication may be motivated by a desire to construct social proximity with Wendy by using what she believes to be Wendy's preferred language. Research has shown that individuals sometimes engage in token use of commonly used expressions in the languages that they do not speak in order to construct a stance of intimacy with interlocutors who do speak these languages (Goebel, 2015; Manns, 2011). Therefore, Alice may have borrowed the expression *bwe hyaw a* 'can't' in order to emphasise social intimacy with Wendy. However, it

seems more likely, given her responses in interviews, that Alice's response to the larger chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic communication may be a challenge to Wendy's response to the larger chronotopic frame for Indonesian interethnic communication in the previous line. Wendy's use of Indonesian language indicates that she is responding to the smaller chronotopic frame for in-group talk which intersects with the larger chronotopic frame for interethnic communication. Her Indonesian speech is indubitably influenced by the larger chronotopic frame for interethnic communication because Wendy uses Teochew Chinese to communicate with fellow Teochew Chinese teachers elsewhere in the data (See Section 6.4.1). Her response to the frame for interethnic communication indicates her perception that this frame is applicable to the interaction because she and Alice do not share the same ethnic language and/or ethnic identity because she does not consider Alice a Teochew Chinese person. Alice's use of Teochew language in the following line may therefore be a rejection of the larger chronotopic frame for interethnic communication based on her perception that she and Wendy share the same ethnolinguistic identity as fellow Teochew Chinese individuals. This indicates that Alice is constructing her chronotopic identity as an in-group member of the Teochew Chinese teachers' group based on her perduring sense of identity as a Teochew Chinese individual. Wendy's response in line 3 reproduces the frame for interethnic communication through the use of Indonesian language. Wendy's response to the larger chronotopic frame for interethnic communication can be considered an attempt to accommodate her perception of Alice's linguistic proficiencies as well as a rejection of Alice's invocation of the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication.

In interviews, Alice expressed shame that she was not able to speak Teochew Chinese and stated that her friends had previously made fun of her for not being able to speak Teochew Chinese correctly. Her perceptions indicate an understanding of the cultural values that are incorporated in the larger chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic communication that include the use of Chinese language. Additionally, Alice and Wendy are friends and have worked together for several years, thus they are aware of each other's linguistic practices and language ideologies. This is evident in the interaction as both speakers appear to be accommodating the other's language preferences. Alice uses Teochew Chinese because she knows that Wendy prefers to speak in Teochew Chinese with fellow Teochew Chinese teachers, and Wendy uses Indonesian because she knows that this is the language in which Alice usually communicates. It is possible that Alice's

sensitivity to the norms for Chinese intraethnic interaction is heightened in interactions with Wendy because Alice is familiar with Wendy's language ideologies and linguistic practices. Her choice to use Teochew Chinese language, and in particular, the particle *a*, may be an imitation of Wendy's style of speech that is salient and recognisable due to her dominant position in the group. Alice may use this speech style to respond to the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication that becomes more salient in interactions with Wendy. Alice's linguistic practices indicate that Wendy is a dominant figure within the teachers' group at PPK because other teachers around her attempt to ratify her language ideologies and reproduce her linguistic style in interaction.

The use of the particle *a* in the example (7.4) correlates with an overarching trend in the data, which is that ethnic Chinese speakers used the particle most frequently in interactions with fellow ethnic Chinese interlocutors at PPK. All the teachers used the particle *a* at similar rates in interaction. However, the particle appears most prolifically in interactions with others who shared the same Teochew Chinese ethnolinguistic identity.

The following example (7.5) shows Sofia's repeated use of the particle *a* in a conversation with a fellow Teochew Chinese teacher, Atin. Significantly, half of the total number of utterances of *a* in Sofia's recorded speech emerge from this conversation. This suggests that there is something about chronotopic conditions of the interaction that is affecting Sofia's use of the particle. I argue that the shift from interacting within the whole group to interacting privately with someone of the same ethnolinguistic identity produces a shift in the relevant chronotopic frames for interaction. The shift in chronotopic frames influences the frequency of the use of the particle *a*.

Sofia is relaying a story to Atin about the difficulties she experienced in attempting to submit a college assignment to her supervisor at PCC. Prior to the interaction Sofia had been complaining about her supervisor's lack of experience and knowledge of administrative procedures at the college.

(7.5)

1	**Sofia**	Pemimbing utama dulu baru anggota pembimbing,
		My primary advisor just became an advisor,
2		baru itu *a*,

		he just did that,
3		penguji *a*!
		got approved!
4	**Atin**	Oh utama pemimbing penguji?
		Oh the primary supervisor was approved?
5	**Sofia**	Hmm. (.)
		Hmm. (.)
6		Gelarnya tak boleh salah tu,
		That title can't be wrong
7		terus yang masih belum ada kan [ditunggu kehadirannya]
		and those who don't have it are waiting for it
8	**Atin**	[Tunggu kehadirannya]
		[Waiting for it]
9	**Sofia**	Mereka *hiok ua* kemarin *a*,
		They confirmed with me the other day,
10		*I kan ta cap it tiam* kan,
		they said 11 o'clock
11		*ho tit wa cap tiam gue tu kha tien lou wa.*
		Just after 10 o'clock, he called me.
12		maksudnya *wa ta* Pak, jadi *me*?
		so I asked him, is it happening?
13		*I taw a cita ken kampus lou wa.*
		He was downloading it on campus,
14		*I bo taw a cai* kan
		if he didn't download it, you know
15		*Me me wa ceng khe mi wai kau cap ji tiam*
		Quickly, I forced him to stay until 11,
16		*wa* antri *I jak e*.
		I lined up for a while
17		mereka tu masih banyak yang resign,

A lot of them there have resigned,

18 tandatangannya lama *a*.

getting a signature takes a long time.

The example begins with Sofia stating that her supervisor has recently been approved to work as a supervisor. The particle *a* appears in Sofia's utterance in line 2 and again in line 3, as part of a self-initiated clarification that she is referring to the supervisor's approval (cf. Schiffrin, 1987, p. 79). The particle may be used to add emphasis to Sofia's utterance, by highlighting that the supervisor's approval was very recent. This interpretation is supported by Sofia's repeated use of *baru* which underscores that the supervisor 'just recently' achieved his position. Chu (2002) stated that the particle *a* could be added onto exclamatives in Mandarin to express surprise or shock. Sofia's use of the particle in her Indonesian speech may likewise frame the statement that the supervisor had been so recently approved as surprising or shocking. This interpretation is bolstered by Sofia's comments in lines 6 and 7 that the title of supervisor cannot be wrong. Sofia's comment implies that the position of supervisor usually comes with certain expectations as to the supervisor's abilities or experience, that appear not to have been met in this case. Sofia's story about her difficulties submitting her assignment further indicate that her supervisor is disorganised or unreliable because he tried to download her assignment on campus an hour before it was due for submission.

Sofia's story in lines 9-18 features two instances of the particle *a*. The particle *a* in line 9 appears to establish a contrast between the time at which Sofia was supposed to submit the assignment, and the time at which the supervisor called her to indicate that he was attempting to download the assignment on campus. Sofia stated in line 15 that she had to force her supervisor to stay on campus until 11am. This indicates that there was some discrepancy between the supervisor's expectations regarding his role in the submission and how long the submission process would take, and her own. Therefore the particle *a* may be used to indicate a mismatch of expectations (cf. Wu, 2004). Sofia used the particle in line 18 to upgrade her assessment of the length of time required to get a signature which was required for the submission of the assignment.

The functions of the particle *a* in example (7.5) correspond to the various functions of *a* in the speech of other teachers at PPK. However, the frequency of the use of *a* is significantly higher in this interaction that the average use of *a* in interactions of approximately the same size within the

larger teachers' group. This indicates that the chronotopic conditions of the interaction are affecting the frequency of the use of the particle *a*. The only way in which this interaction differs from others in the larger teachers' group is that it occurs exclusively between two teachers who are both Teochew Chinese individuals. The data showed that teachers consistently used the particle more frequently in interactions with individuals who shared the same Teochew Chinese ethnolinguistic identity.

The distribution of the particle *a* in the data reinforces the argument that the particle *a* is affected by the larger chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic communication. The larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication may be more salient in conversations between fellow Teochew Chinese individuals because the chronotopic frame for interethnic communication is absent. The larger chronotopic frames for intraethnic and interethnic communication may both be present in interactions within the whole group. Speakers can decide to balance these overlapping frames (as in the use of *iya wa*) or else choose to respond to one or the other (Blommaert & De Fina, 2016). The cooccurrence of multiple larger chronotopic frames is not present in interactions between people of the same ethnolinguistic identity at PPK. Therefore, the use of the Chinese particle *a* would not be constrained by the requirements of the larger chronotopic frame for interethnic communication that involves the use of Indonesian language.

The use of the particle *a* in example (7.5) and elsewhere in the data echoes the theory proposed by Bloomaert and De Fina (2015, p. 6) that shifts in the chronotopic frames of interaction can incur vast differences in the linguistic practices of individuals and the identities that they choose to exhibit. Furthermore, slight shifts in the chronotopic frames for interaction not only impact on the selection of variables (as seen in Chapter 6), but also on the frequency with which linguistic features are used.

7.2.2 Rates of use of *a* at PCC

The analysis of the particle *a* demonstrated that all the participants at PCC use the particle in their everyday speech. However, some groups of students use the particle more frequently than others. Below is a map of the layout of the social groups examined within the classroom. The students who belong to the social groups below but were not participants of the study are labelled Female No. (F#) and Male No. (M#).

Figure 10: The layout of the classroom

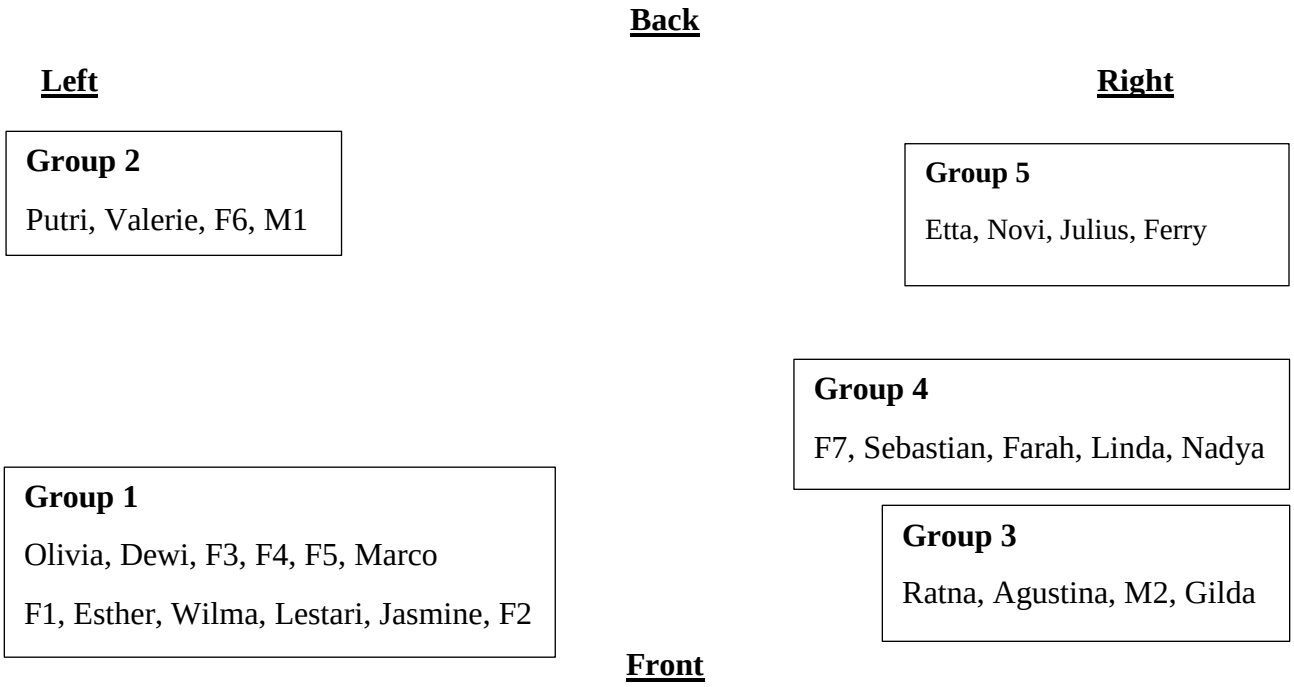


Table 9 Number of *a* tokens produced at PCC

Peer Group	Student	Tokens of *a*	Per 1000 words
1	Lestari	61	14.63
1	Dewi	11	12.19
1	Wilma	19	8.95
1	Olivia	25	16.29
1	Jasmine	7	12.68
1	Esther	0	0
2	Putri	36	22.87
2	Valerie	27	19.73
3	Agustina	8	4.78
3	Ratna	35	17.36
3	Gilda	3	3.37
4	Farah	6	4.61
4	Linda	5	4.45
4	Nadya	0	0
5	Novi	38	20.11
5	Etta	52	24.4

The data analysis revealed that individuals from groups 1, 2 and 5 used the particle *a* on average four times more frequently than the individuals in groups 3 and 4 (excluding Ratna). The perduring differences between Groups 1, 2 and 5, and the Groups 3 and 4 include their composition, their linguistic practices and their sense of ethnic identity. The groups 3 and 4 are composed of individuals of different ethnic and linguistic identities. The individuals in these groups communicate predominantly in Indonesian language. The individuals in these groups expressed the lowest orientation to Chinese identity in interviews. The groups 2 and 5 are composed of individuals of the same Teochew and Khek Chinese ethnolinguistic identity respectively. These individuals use Chinese languages more frequently in their in-group interactions. The individuals in these groups expressed the highest orientation to Chinese ethnic identity in interviews.

The composition and social dynamics of group 1 differ from the other groups in the classroom. Group 1 is the largest social group within the classroom, it consists of twelve individuals of different ethnolinguistic backgrounds. Individuals interacting with the larger group as a whole will usually speak Indonesian. However, individuals use Khek or Teochew Chinese language in more intimate interactions with others who share the same ethnolinguistic identity as Khek or Teochew Chinese individuals. For instance, Wilma speaks Indonesian when she is addressing all of Group 1, but frequently switches to Khek Chinese when speaking to Olivia. Therefore, the use of Indonesian and Chinese languages is approximately equal within this group, however the languages are used in different communicative settings.

I argue in the following sections that the frequency of the *a* particle is a response to the smaller chronotopic frame for interactions within these social groups. Additionally, the high frequency of the particle *a* in the speech of Groups 1, 2 and 5 is due to the prevalence of the larger chronotopic frame of Chinese intraethnic communication in the interactions within these groups. Therefore, the low frequency use of the particle *a* in Groups 3 and 4 is due to the frequent absence of this chronotopic frame.

There were some individuals who defied the norms of their respective groups. For instance, Ratna, from Group 3, used the particle *a* at the same rate as the individuals in Groups 1, 2 and 5. This suggests that there is some social significance to her use of *a.* The only similarity between herself and other students who share similar patterns of *a* is the sense of Chinese ethnic identity. Therefore,

I argue that Ratna's frequent use of *a* is a product of her perduring sense of identity and in particular, her perception of the importance of the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication, and the associated larger social identity (i.e. ethnic Chinese identity) over the smaller chronotopic frame for in-group talk and the associated smaller social identity (i.e. membership to Group 3). I will discuss this further in relation to examples of Ratna's speech in the following section.

7.2.2.1 Groups who use the particle rarely

The following examples are drawn from the interactions within Groups 3 and 4. As previously mentioned, the individuals in these groups use the particle *a* four times less frequently than those in Groups 1, 2 and 5. The social composition of this group is such that there is a mix of different ethnolinguistic identities, therefore the larger frame for Indonesian interethnic communication occurs more frequently than the larger frame for Chinese intraethnic communication. The analysis of the instances of the particle *a* demonstrate that individuals in these groups only use *a* in situations where the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication is highlighted.

Individuals in groups 3 and 4 used the particle *a* in two particular communicative contexts. The speakers used the particle *a* in interactions with an in-group member who shared the same ethnolinguistic identity as either Teochew or Khek Chinese. Speakers in groups 3 and 4 also commonly used the particle *a* when interacting with individuals from groups 1, 2 and 5 who used the particle more frequently.

In example (7.6) below, both speakers, Agustina and Ratna, are ethnically Chinese and both speak Teochew Chinese language, however they usually communicate in Indonesian. The two students are talking about their Mandarin homework, which requires them to read and respond to a text written in Mandarin Chinese characters. Agustina uses the particle *a* to add emphasis to her assessment of the homework as being very difficult. Importantly, the individuals in Group 3 only use the particle *a* in interactions with Ratna. I will discuss the significance of this pattern in relation to the smaller and larger chronotopic frames for interaction below.

(7.6)

1	**Augustina**	Huruf pertama kan,
		The first character,
2		menurut aku sudah susah banget_***a*****.**

for me that's already really difficult

3 **Ratna** *Iya wa*

Right

Agustina uses the particle *a* at the end of her utterance in line 2. As previously stated, the particle functions to add emphasis to the assessment about the difficulty of the homework. The particle *a* can be considered an optional upgrade that can be added to increase the intensity of an assessment (cf. Schegloff, 2007). Agustina could have just said that the homework was *susah banget* 'very difficult' but added the particle *a* to emphasise the degree of difficulty. Ratna responds with the discourse marker *iya wa*, as discussed in the previous chapter. Agustina only used the particle *a* when she was interacting with Ratna. This suggests that her use of the particle is influenced by Ratna's personal communicative style. Therefore, the particle *a* is a response to the smaller chronotopic frame for interaction with Ratna within this peer group.

Ratna diverged from the norms of her group by using the particle *a* as frequently as students in Groups 1, 2 and 5. Ratna differs from other members of her peer group because she expressed a strong sense of ethnic Chinese identity in interviews. Additionally, she has a well-recognised preference for Chinese language use, to the point at which other members of her class nicknamed her *Ama* 'grandmother' in Teochew Chinese. The nickname *Ama* is also a reflection of Ratna's language attitudes. Ratna expressed concern in interviews that ethnic Chinese individuals should speak Chinese language with fellow ethnic Chinese people or else be labelled *cina bodoh* 'stupid Chinese'. This ideology is more commonly associated with elderly people in the Chinese community who are concerned with the preservation of Chinese language and culture. Hence, the nickname *Ama* invokes a chronotope of the values of the Chinese community.

The larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication is more salient in interactions with Ratna because other members of this group are aware of Ratna's language ideologies and perduring sense of identity. Therefore, Agustina's use of the particle *a* can be considered a response to the larger chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic communication that becomes salient in interactions with Ratna.

In the following example (7.7), Gilda uses the particle *a* in her interaction with Ratna. Gilda differs from Ratna because she is of mixed-ethnicity, she has one Teochew Chinese parent and one non-Chinese Indonesian parent. She speaks some Teochew Chinese but prefers to speak Indonesian. In

interviews she said that she does not consider herself ethnically Chinese. Moreover, she said that she does not feel connected to any particular ethnic identity and prefers to consider herself Indonesian. In the interaction below, Gilda and Ratna are on break in between classes. Gilda has just told Ratna that she has been sick for two weeks, which prompts a conversation about the nature of Gilda's illness. Gilda uses the particle *a* to emphasise that she cannot eat anything at the present time. Gilda, like Agustina, only uses the particle *a* in interactions with Ratna.

(7.7)

1	**Gilda**	Dua minggu (.)
		Two weeks
2		Oh enak!
		Oh yum!
3	**Ratna**	Namanya sakit enak ya?
		So it's called good sickness yeah?
4	**Gilda**	Makan apa-apa tak boleh *a*
		I can't eat anything
5	**Julius**	Minum air putih aja
		Just drink water
6	**Gilda**	Kau diam ya
		You be quiet,
7		jangan curhat ya
		don't make fun

The example begins with Gilda's statement of the length of her sickness in line 1. Following a brief pause, Gilda notices someone else eating a snack during their break and says that it looks delicious. Gilda's remark prompts Ratna to formulate a joke in line 3 by suggesting that Gilda's utterances in lines 1 and 2 are related, and hence Gilda's sickness is a good sickness. Gilda does not appear to respond to Ratna's joke but explains that she can't eat anything. Gilda uses the particle *a* to add emphasis to her statement. The statement might be translated into English as "I *really* can't eat anything". Gilda's use of the particle could indicate opposition to Ratna's utterance in the previous line which implied that Gilda's sickness would allow her to eat something. This use of the particle here reflects Wu's (2004) observation that the particle could be used to indicate

a disagreement with a previous utterance. Additionally, the function of the particle appears similar to the Indonesian particle *deh* which can be used to emphasise the truth of an utterance (Djenar, 2003; Manns, 2013). The particle in example (7.7) is used in combination with a statement that Gilda cannot eat anything, which is positioned in opposition to Ratna's inference that Gilda can eat something. Therefore, the particle may emphasise the truth that she *really* cannot eat anything. The particle thus constructs an epistemic stance that contrasts with Ratna's utterance in the previous line.

The use of the particle *a* in example (7.7) supports the argument that the individuals in Group 3 use the particle *a* in response to the smaller chronotopic frame of communications with Ratna, which intersects with the larger chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic communication.

Ratna uses the particle *a* in interactions with individuals of different social groups and different ethnolinguistic identities. This suggests that the high frequency of use the particle *a* is part of Ratna's personal communicative style and is therefore influenced by her perduring sense of personal identity. Ratna's use of *a* also suggests that she responds to the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication more frequently than others in her group. Ratna's personal identity described in interviews suggests that she may view the larger chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic communication as being more relevant to communications than other people in her social group. Ratna often responds to the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic interaction and enacts the ethnic Chinese chronotopic identity consistent with this frame even when others in her group refuse to do so.

The following example (7.8) features Ratna using the particle *a* when talking with Gilda. Gilda does not respond to the smaller chronotopic frame for interactions with Ratna, as she did in the previous example. Additionally, she does not respond to the larger chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic communication in this example. Based on Gilda's interview responses, she may not always perceive the larger chronotopic frame of Chinese intraethnic communication as important in in-group communication. Gilda stated in interviews that she did not personally identify as Chinese and preferred to consider herself Indonesian. Additionally, she felt that Indonesian language was far more important than Chinese or other minority languages for everyday communication. She further explained that she used Teochew Chinese language most often at work to communicate with young children who had not yet developed Indonesian language skills. This

suggests that she may not consider the use of Chinese language to respond to the larger chronotopic frame of intraethnic communication as important in in-group communication. Instead, she most often uses Chinese language to serve particular interactive goals, as shown in the analysis of the previous example.

Gilda and Ratna are engaged in a minor argument in the example below. It is possible that Gilda does not respond to the smaller chronotopic frame for interaction with Ratna or the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication because she is distancing herself from Ratna. She chooses to instead respond to the larger chronotopic frame for interethnic communication in order to construct stance and chronotopic identity that highlights the difference between the interlocutors.

(7.8)

1	**Gilda**	Eh, makan rotinya lagi
		Eh, you're still eating this bread
2	**Ratna**	*Mi wa kai a*
		It's not mine
3	**Gilda**	Siapa?
		Whose is it?
4	**Ratna**	Tak tau dia (.)
		Don't know who (.)
5		iii, bukan sampah aku..
		IIIh, it's not my rubbish…
6		bukan sampah aku
		it's not my rubbish
7	**Gilda**	iii, buang sampah sembarangan
		Iii, leaving rubbish about randomly
8	**Ratna**	itu bukan sampah aku *a*,
		It's not my rubbish,
9		itu sampah Julius *a*
		it's Julius'

Gilda accuses Ratna in Indonesian line 1 of continuing to eat the bread that has been left on the table. Ratna responds in Teochew Chinese in line 2 and claims that the bread does not belong to her. Gilda then asks whose bread it is, to which Ratna answers that she doesn't know. Gilda does not appear to believe Ratna's claim which causes Ratna to add that it is not her rubbish. Gilda scolds her for leaving her rubbish about randomly. Ratna reaffirms that it is not her rubbish in line 8 and claims that it is instead Julius' rubbish. The truth condition of her statement is emphasised through the repetition of her utterance in lines 5 and 6. Ratna repeats her claim in line 8 because Gilda clearly did not believe her as she chastised Ratna in line 7. Ratna's use of the particle *a* upgrades the original statement *bukan sampah aku* 'it's not my rubbish' to emphasise that the rubbish truly does not belong to her. The particle *a* therefore functions here to emphasise the truth of Ratna's claim. Gilda's lack of response following Ratna's utterance indicates no challenge to Ratna's claim. As previously discussed, *a* encourages the hearer to take the same stance as the speaker towards the stance object. In this case, Gilda does not take the same stance as Ratna, but she also does not choose to contradict her. This shows that the particle may additionally discourage the hearer from voicing opposition to their utterance because the particle emphasises the speaker's investment in the perceived truth of their utterance. As shown above, Ratna uses *a* to show her investment in the truth that the rubbish is not hers. Ratna's use of the particle *a* could also be registering opposition in that Ratna is attempting to dispute Gilda's accusation that the rubbish belongs to her. The effect of the use of *a* is that it reproduces the chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication that Ratna attempted to invoke in line 2.

Ratna uses Teochew Chinese to respond to Gilda's question in line 2. The use of Teochew Chinese here may be an attempt to invoke the chronotope of Chinese intraethnic communication. Ratna may be attempting to shift from the higher scale larger chronotopic frame of Indonesian interethnic communication to the lower scale chronotopic frame of Chinese intraethnic communication. The invocation of this frame enacts Ratna's stance of solidarity based on the interlocutors shared ethnic Chinese identity. Gilda clearly understands Ratna's utterance because she asks a follow up question about who the rubbish belongs to. However, she does not respond to the chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication, but instead responds to the previous larger chronotopic frame of interethnic communication by using Indonesian language. It is possible that Gilda doesn't respond to Ratna's invocation of the chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication because she is distancing herself from Ratna. Her question in line 3 appears as a challenge to Ratna's assertion

that the rubbish does not belong to her. Gilda's dismissal of Ratna's claim and subsequent reprimand in line 7 construct an elevated moral stance towards what she believes to be Ratna's littering. Gilda's stance positions Ratna as the perpetrator of this misdeed who must be rebuked by the more principled and responsible interlocutor. Gilda's use of Indonesian to construct this stance invokes a chronotope of monologic ideology that positions Indonesian language as the language of power and authority (Goebel, 2015; Sneddon, 2003a). By contrast, Ratna's use of Chinese language in lines 2 and the Chinese particle *a* in lines 8 and 9 invokes the chronotope of Chinese as the language of the solidarity within the Chinese community. Ratna may be attempting to emphasise solidarity and shared Chinese identity in lines 8 and 9 in exchange for Gilda's confidence that she is telling the truth.

Ratna and Gilda's invocation of opposing chronotopic frames is as relevant to their own personal identities as it is to the communicative context. The reason why Gilda invoked the chronotopic frames associated with Indonesian identity is because she associates more strongly with this social identity than the Chinese identity invoked by Ratna. Likewise, Ratna invoked the chronotopic frames associated with Chinese identity she orients towards ethnic Chinese identity more strongly than the national Indonesian identity invoked by Gilda. As previously mentioned, Gilda expressed in interviews that she identified as Indonesian and did not feel connected to any particular ethnic identity. She did not consider herself to be ethnically Chinese. Ratna, by contrast, stated that she felt very connected to her Chinese ethnic identity. It is likely that Gilda responds to the chronotopic frame for interethnic communication more frequently that the chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic communication because she feels more connected to her Indonesian identity than her ethnic Chinese identity. Likewise, Ratna responds to the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication more frequently than Gilda because she sees this frame as more relevant to her perduring sense of personal identity as an ethnic Chinese person.

The individuals in Group 4 rarely use the particle *a.* The patterns in the of use of *a* echo those found in Group 3's use of the particle. The individuals in this group use *a* most frequently when speaking with individuals outside of their group, in Groups 1, 2 or 5. The second most frequent occurrences of the particle occur within this group in interactions between Linda and Farah. Linda and Farah are the only members of their social group who share an ethnic language, Teochew Chinese. The use of the particle *a* in this group is therefore a response to the smaller chronotopic

frame of the communicative style of groups 1, 2 and 5, as well as the smaller chronotopic frame for interaction between Linda and Farah. Additionally, the larger chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic communication is present in these communicative situations. Therefore, the use of the particle can also be considered a response to this larger chronotopic frame.

The following example (7.9) shows Farah using the particle *a* to emphasise her assessment that her friend works slowly. The example is drawn from a conversation between Farah and another student from Group 1. The interlocutors are discussing who their partners will be for the upcoming group project. Both interlocutors are ethnically Chinese, and they share the same ethnic language.

(7.9)

1	**Farah**	*Wa kak i,*
		I'm with her,
2		*le kak di diang?*
		who are you with?
3	**Emi**	*Wa sio em chut ai kak di diang ge wah*
		I haven't thought of who I want to be with yet
4	**Farah**	Ferny sih *cio wa,*
		Ferny asked me,
5		cuma tuh Ferny nih *hiok je a***.**
		only Ferny is slow
6	**Emi**	*Si wa*
		True

The example begins with Farah asking Emi in Teochew Chinese who her partner is for the group project. Emi then explains in Teochew Chinese that she has not yet thought of who she wants to partner with. Farah states that another student, Ferny, asked to be her partner but she states that this person is slow. Farah's assessment is emphasised by the particle *a*. The particle *a* here upgrades her assessment to infer that Ferny is a really slow worker, and hence may not be a good partner. Again, the use of *a* to add emphasis to the assessment encourages the interlocutor to take the same stance towards the stance object. This is shown in Emi's immediate uptake of Farah's stance towards the student. Emi expresses emphatic confirmation of this assessment using the discourse marker *si wa*, discussed in the previous chapter.

Farah rarely uses Teochew Chinese language in interactions within her own social group. However, she often shifts to Teochew Chinese language when interacting with the Teochew Chinese members of Groups 1 and 2. Emi usually communicates in Teochew in recorded interactions in the data. Like Ratna, this student is well known for using Teochew Chinese language and was given a similar nickname to that of *Ama.* Therefore, the use of Teochew Chinese language is a response to a shift in the relevant chronotopic frames for interaction. This includes a shift from the chronotopic frame of interethnic communication within her social group, to the chronotopic frame of intraethnic communication within Group 1. Additionally, there is a shift in the smaller chronotopic frames from interactions within her own social group, to interactions within a different social group.

Farah's use of the particle in Teochew Chinese speech reproduces a chronotope of the communicative style used by this social group. Farah may reproduce the communicative style of the group in order to take a proximal stance towards the group and highlight some aspect of her identity that is shared by others in this group, in this case, Teochew Chinese ethnolinguistic identity. The larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication is arguably more salient in interactions with individuals in Group 1 than it is in interactions with individuals within Farah's social group. The perduring identity of individuals in Group 1 generally is more strongly influenced by Chinese identity and they more frequently use Chinese language as the medium for interaction. The communicative norms of this in-group are connected to the larger-chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication that involves the use of Chinese languages in interactions between fellow ethnic Chinese people. Farah's use of the particle *a* can thus be considered part of her response to this larger chronotopic frame that frequently occurs in interactions within this social group.

Farah uses the particle *a* most frequently in her interactions with people from Group 1, however, the remainder of her utterances of the particle most commonly occur in her interactions with Linda. Linda is a fellow member of her social group. Like Farah, Linda most often uses the particle *a* in interactions with individuals from Group 1, and occasionally in her interactions with Farah. Linda is of mixed-ethnicity, she has one Dayak parent and one Teochew Chinese parent. She usually communicates in Indonesian, but she has the ability to speak and understand Teochew Chinese.

The following example (7.10) features Linda using the particle *a* in an interaction with Farah. Farah and Linda, along with the rest of their class, have just been told that their class has been cancelled, and so they have a free period. The students then discuss what to do with their spare time.

(7.10)

1	**Farah**	Ke bawah yuk
		Let's go downstairs
2	**Linda**	Tiga menit lagi a *(yelling across the room)*
		Just three more minutes

Farah suggests in line 1 that she and Linda should go downstairs to visit either the canteen or the nearby food stalls. Linda responds by requesting that Farah wait for her for three minutes while she finishes what she's doing. Linda's request is emphasised by the particle *a*. The particle *a* seems to function as an exclamative marker, as per Chu's (2002) description. This function was identified by participants in interviews. The particle *a* may enhance the force of the request as it is yelled across a crowded classroom. Linda is trying to convince Farah not to leave without her, and instead wait until she has finished completing her task. The particle *a* may serve to indicate that Linda really wants Farah to wait for her. Farah appears to share this interpretation of the utterance as she does not respond but instead stands around and waits for Linda to finish. This further demonstrates that utterances upgraded through *a* discourage the hearer from further challenging the speaker.

Linda's use of the particle *a* is a response to the smaller chronotopic frame of interactions with Farah which occasionally include the use of the discourse particle. Additionally, both interlocutors share ethnic Chinese identity and they speak the same ethnic language, Teochew. Therefore, the particle may also be a response to the larger chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic communication. This frame does not occur frequently in interactions within Group 4 but is more common in interactions between Farah and Linda because they are the only two members of their group who share an ethnic language.

In sum, the individuals in Groups 3 and 4 use the particle *a* more rarely that students in Groups 1, 2 and 5. The suggested reason for this difference in frequency is due to the smaller chronotopic frames for interaction in these groups that involve infrequent use of the particle. Additionally, the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication is not often present in the interactions

within these groups. Individuals use the particle most often in response to chronotopic conditions which increase the salience and relevance of the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication. The larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication is most frequently present in interactions within Groups 1, 2 and 5.

7.2.2.2 Groups that use the particle frequently

The individuals in Groups 1, 2 and 5 use the particle *a* approximately four times as frequently as individuals in Groups 3 and 4. The majority of utterances of the particle *a* across the Groups 1, 2 and 5 in the data occur between individuals of the same ethnolinguistic identity. The particle does, however, commonly occur in interactions between individuals of the same ethnic identity (i.e. Chinese) but different ethnolinguistic identity (i.e. Teochew or Khek Chinese). The remainder of the utterances of the particle occurred between individuals who did not share the same ethnic identity but were part of a Group whose communicative style involved the frequent use of the particle. As stated previously, I argue that the reason for the high frequency of utterance of the particle in these groups is due to the increased occurrence of the larger chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic talk in the everyday interactions of individuals within these groups. Additionally, the particle is used in response to the smaller chronotopic frame of the communicative style of the peer groups discussed here.

The Groups 2 and 5 consist of individuals of the same ethnolinguistic identity. The individuals in Group 2 are all Teochew Chinese, and the individuals in Group 5 are all Khek Chinese. The communications within Groups 2 and 5 occur primarily in Teochew and Khek Chinese respectively. Group 1 differs from the other two groups in this section in terms of its size and composition. As I mentioned in the introduction to this section, the group 1 consists of students of different ethnolinguistic identities. All but one of the members of this group are ethnically Chinese to some extent and have varying levels of ability in using Chinese languages to communicate. The individuals in these groups 2 and 5 used the particle *a* at approximately equivalent rates. The rates of usage in Group 1 were more varied between individuals in the group compared to members of Groups 2 and 5. I will discuss the reasons for this difference in relation to data examples later in the chapter.

The following example features the most common chronotopic conditions of the utterance the particle *a* which include interactions between two fellow Khek Chinese students. Julius uses the

particle *a* to add emphasis to an assessment in the following example (7.11) below. The example is drawn from an in-group conversation between fellow members of Group 5. The individuals in this group are all Khek Chinese, and most often use Khek Chinese language or code-switched Khek and Indonesian language to communicate.

(7.11)

1	**Julius**	Aku tak cantik *a*
		I'm not pretty
2	**Etta**	Iya lah kamu kan cowok,
		Of course, you're a boy,
3		siapa yang bilang kamu cantik?
		who said you were pretty?

In line 1, Julius jokingly complains that he is not pretty. He emphasises his assessment by adding the particle *a* at the end of the utterance. The particle upgrades the assessment and underlines how lacking in beauty he perceives himself to be. The addition of emphasis here also furthers the humorous effect of the utterance because not only is Julius suggesting that he is really unattractive, but he is also suggesting that he wishes to be pretty. Etta does not play along with the joke and instead states in line 2 that of course he would not be considered pretty because he is a boy, thus implying that one must be female in order to be considered pretty. She then asks who suggested that Julius was pretty in the first place.

Julius' use of the particle *a* responds to the same chronotopic conditions as those present in the use of the particle by members of Groups 3 and 4. Julius uses the particle to respond to the smaller chronotopic frame of in-group talk because the particle forms part of the communicative style most commonly used by members of this group. Additionally, the particle also responds to the larger chronotopic frame of intraethnic communication present in interactions between these two ethnic Chinese interlocutors. The important difference in the pattern of use of *a* between the aforementioned groups is that the members of Group 5 use the particle approximately four times more frequently than those in Groups 3 and 4 (excluding Ratna). The members of Group 5 interact most frequently with members of their own group. The members of their group are all Khek Chinese individuals. Therefore, the chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication is more frequently present in interactions within this group. The individuals in this group all expressed a

strong sense of Chinese ethnic identity in interviews. Additionally, they each mentioned the perceived importance of speaking Chinese language in interactions with fellow Chinese people. These characteristics were not shared by those in Groups 3 and 4. The chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication may appear more salient to this group than other groups. The social identity invoked by this chronotopic frame is more relevant for the members of Group 5 than the members of Groups 3 and 4.

The following example features the use of the particle *a* by Putri, a member of Group 2. Putri and Valerie are both Teochew Chinese and usually interact in Teochew Chinese or code-mixed Teochew Chinese and Indonesian. The individuals in Groups 2 and 5 rarely interact, and both groups have different ethnolinguistic identities. However, members of both groups use the particle *a* at approximately the same rate. This suggests that the frequency of use of the particle *a* must be related to the chronotopic conditions that are common to both groups of speakers. The common features of both groups are that all members of each group share the same ethnolinguistic identity. Interview responses showed that individuals in both groups share a strong sense of ethnic Chinese identity, and a preference for the use of Chinese languages in interactions with fellow ethnic Chinese people. This finding bolsters the argument that the frequent use of the particle *a* is more than just a response to the smaller chronotopic frame of in-group interaction. It is a response to the larger chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic communication that regularly emerges in interactions within groups 2 and 5. Additionally, the individuals in this group respond to this frame more frequently than other ethnic Chinese individuals in other groups in the classroom because the feel more connected to the ethnic Chinese identity invoked by this frame.

In the interaction below, Putri and Valerie discuss a top that Valerie is considering buying from an online store.

(7.12)

1	**Putri**	Baju apa?
		Which top?
2	**Valerie**	**Shows picture on phone**
3	**Putri**	*Mboy ngya a*
		It's not pretty

4	**Valerie**	Bagus sih kalo...
		It'll be good if…
5		kalo dipermak bagus.
		if it's altered it'll be good

Putri asks Valerie in line 1 to indicate which top Valerie is thinking of buying. Valerie responds non-verbally by showing her a picture of the top on her phone. Putri responds in Teochew Chinese by stating that the top is not pretty. Putri uses the particle *a* to upgrade her assessment, and to emphasise that the top is certainly not pretty. Valerie claims in Indonesian that the top will be pretty if it is altered.

Putri's switch to Teochew Chinese in line 3 is significant because it was not prompted by anything Valerie said in the previous line. The switch to Teochew Chinese here may be prompted by the content of Putri's utterance. Putri's negative affective stance towards the top could be perceived as a positive face threat because it suggests that Valerie's taste in clothing is not good. Manns (2015) explained that speakers can invoke solidarity to reduce the face threat of an utterance. Putri does so by using Chinese language to invoke the chronotope of intraethnic in-group talk. The invocation of in-group talk simultaneously enacts a chronotopic identity that highlights the interlocutors' shared ethnicity and peer group membership, and hence solidarity. The resulting chronotopic frame shapes her utterance as the honest opinion of a close friend and member of the same group.

Valerie does not respond to the chronotopic frame Putri has invoked. She uses Indonesian language to state that the top will be good if it is altered. Her use of Indonesian rejects Putri's offer for in-group talk and creates social distance between the speakers. Furthermore, the Indonesian particle *sih* is used as a contrastive marker (Wouk, 1998, p. 198) which frames Valerie's assessment that the top will be good as a contradiction of Putri's assessment of the top. However, Valerie is also demonstrating agreement with Putri's utterance in that she acknowledges that the top may not be pretty now, but it will be if it is altered. Valeri's response is therefore only a minor contradiction of Putri's assessment. As previously mentioned, the use of *a* encourages the hearer to take the same stance as that of their interlocutor. However, Valerie wishes to construct a different stance. Her choice to include the qualification that the top could be pretty if it were altered may be an attempt to downgrade or soften her disagreement. Sneddon (2006) indicated that *sih* can have a

softening effect when it is used to mark contingency between *sih* marked utterances and other information. Furthermore, Djenar, Ewing and Manns (Forthcoming) explained that "s*ih* indexes collaborative positioning in which responsibility is either assumed or assigned for smaller-repairs, modifications or clarifications to common ground". Therefore, Valerie may be using *sih* to soften her disagreement by taking responsibility for modifications of her original utterance and creating common ground. She creates common ground by marking a contingency between her assessment that the top will be good, and her qualification that the top should be altered. Her qualification establishes a middle ground between the interlocutors' affective stances towards the shared stance object (i.e. the top in question) based on their shared view that the top is not pretty now.

The use of the particle *a* in the example above is consistent with the use of the particle in the previous example from Group 5. It is again a response to intersecting smaller and larger chronotopic frames for in-group intraethnic communication. These frames are common to the interactions of both Groups 2 and 5 as both groups consist of individuals of the same ethnolinguistic identity (Khek and Teochew Chinese respectively). Additionally, Putri and Valerie, like Julius and Etta, share a strong sense of ethnic Chinese identity. They often use Chinese language to communicate because they feel that it is important to speak Chinese languages with ethnic Chinese people. Hence, both groups of people respond to the chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication because it reflects their language ideologies and social identities.

The individuals in Groups 2 and 5 had relatively uniform patterns in their use of *a* in their everyday interactions. The rates of usage of *a* were less homogenous in Group 1. As previously discussed, Group 1 was the largest social group at PCC and consisted of individuals of diverse ethnolinguistic backgrounds. The individuals in this group more frequently used Indonesian in their in-group interactions, but often used Chinese language in more isolated communications with fellow Teochew or Khek Chinese group members.

Lestari and Olivia were the most frequent users of the particle *a* in their group. Lestari and Olivia used the particle most often in interactions with Teochew Chinese and Khek Chinese individuals respectively, as per the pattern outlined in relation to Groups 2 and 5 above. Lestari and Olivia's use of the particle *a* follows the same response to the smaller and larger chronotopic frames for in-group intraethnic communication as those in previous examples. However, they also used the particle in interactions with non-members of the Teochew and Khek-Chinese ethnolinguistic

groups. The frequency with which they used the particle may be due to their perception of the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication as consistently present and important across all their interactions with individuals of the same ethnic identity. Lestari explained in interviews that she viewed the ability to speak Indonesian as very important, because it allowed individuals of different linguistic backgrounds to communicative effectively. However, she considered speaking Chinese language and practicing Chinese culture as extremely important. She claimed that if she were to have children, her children would be forced to speak Teochew because she feared if they did not, Chinese identity would be lost. Similarly, Olivia stated that she preferred speaking Khek Chinese with her close friends because *'merasa lebih ahkrab'* 'it feels more intimate'. She further suggested that her Khek Chinese identity was so important that she felt that anyone who would want to befriend her should learn Khek Chinese language. She said in interviews, *'kalau mau berteman sama aku, belajar Bahasa aku sih'* 'if you want to be my friend, learn my language'.

Therefore, Lestari and Olivia choose to respond to the larger chronotopic frame in every interaction with individuals of the same ethnic identity because their language ideologies and perduring personal identity lead her to view this frame as consistently important. Their regular use of the particle *a* with individuals of different ethnolinguistic identities may additionally be an act of balancing the larger chronotopic frame that involved using Indonesian as a lingua franca against the competing larger chronotopic frame that involved using Chinese language in intraethnic communication.

Lestari uses the particle *a* in the example (7.13) below in her discussion of Kalimantan's smog problem with Wilma. At the time of the interaction, Kalimantan was in the midst of the 2015 Southeast Asian Haze crisis due to the forest fires resulting from illegal slash and burn practices in the region. It was thought that the majority of forest fires emerged from Sumatra and Kalimantan.

(7.13)

1	**Lestari**	Tau gak kenapa kita nih banyak asap?
		Do you know why we're having so much smog?
2		Teman aku bilang nih
		My friend said

3		Pangkalan Bun bakar hutan *a*
		They're burning forests in Pangkalan Bun
4	**Wilma**	Iya,
		Yeah,
5		sekalimantan barat Pangkalan Bun nih
		this Pangkalan Bun is in west Kalimantan

The example begins as Lestari poses a rhetorical question in line 1 about the cause of the smog in Kalimantan. Lestari then explains that a friend of hers said that the forest fires in Pangkalan Bun are the cause of the problem. Lestari uses the particle *a* to construct a stance of surprise towards the information that she has presented. The particle implies a contrast between new information and pre-existing knowledge or assumptions surrounding the topic (Wu, 2004). The information that Lestari presents is clearly new knowledge because her rhetorical question implies that Wilma is not familiar with the cause of the smog, and further, she states that her friend relayed this information. Therefore, the forest fires in Pangkalan Bun is information that contrasts with the assumption that there may be some other cause of the smog. Wilma accepts and agrees with Lestari's information in line 4 and adds that Pangkalan Bun is in West Kalimantan and implies that those forests fires would undoubtedly have an effect on the whole area. Wilma's response displays an immediate uptake of Lestari's epistemic stance in her claim that Pangkalan Bun is the source of the smog. This once again illustrates that epistemic stances constructed using *a* are usually taken up by the following speaker. The discourse particle therefore encourages the hearer to accept information as true and correct by emphasising that the speaker knows what they are saying is true.

Lestari's use of the particle *a* in this case may be a balanced response to the chronotopic frames that include using Indonesian with individuals who do not share the same ethnic language and using Chinese language with individuals of the same ethnic identity. Lestari's choice to respond to both the frames simultaneously may be a product of her personal identity which includes a strong sense of ethnic Chinese identity. It was noted in the previous chapter that Lestari and Wilma are close friends. The close relationship between the interlocutors may increase the importance of responding to the chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication because a response to this frame allows speakers to construct a chronotopic identity that acknowledges the speakers' shared social identity as ethnic Chinese individuals. If she did not use the particle, the interaction between

Lestari and Wilma above could equally be framed as one between two individuals who did not share a common identity.

Wilma used the particle slightly less frequently than Lestari. In section 8.4.3, I explained that Wilma often invokes the larger chronotopic frame for interethnic communication in interactions within her group. As mentioned previously, Wilma explained in interviews that she would speak Indonesian as often as is required to include everyone in her group. She was concerned that speaking Khek Chinese with her friend, Olivia, could be considered exclusionary. Lestari and Wilma have equivalent exposure to the larger chronotopic frame for Chinese intraethnic communication because they both interact most often with others from their same social group. However, the larger chronotopic frame for Indonesian interethnic communication appears more important to Wilma than the chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication within interactions in her social group. As a result, Wilma responds to the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication less frequently, and thus uses the particle *a* less frequently than others in her group such as Lestari. I argue that the differences in frequency of the particle *a* in the speech of Lestari and Wilma emerge because individuals respond to the chronotopic frames that they view as being most important. The perceived importance or relevance of chronotopic frames is dependent on individuals' language ideologies as well as their perduring sense of identity.

Interestingly, one non-Chinese speaking individual in Group 1 used the particle *a* at similar rates to her Chinese-speaking group members. Jasmine used the particle as frequently as some of the Chinese-speaking members of her group. Jasmine is of mixed-ethnicity as she has one Chinese and one non-Chinese parent. Jasmine does not speak any Chinese language and does not identify as being ethnically Chinese. Instead, she refers to herself as *campuran* 'mixed'. However, despite her lack of Chinese-language ability and ethnic Chinese identity, she uses the particle in her Indonesian-language interactions within Group 1. This suggests that Jasmine's use of the particle *a* is primarily a response to the smaller chronotopic frame for talk within this social group.

The following example features Jasmine using the particle *a*. The example is drawn from a larger conversation between Wilma, Olivia and Jasmine. Wilma and Olivia share an ethnic language, however Jasmine does not. Wilma and Olivia commonly code-switch between Khek Chinese and Indonesian. I argue that Jasmine's use of the particle *a* is an attempt to situate herself within the group by copying Wilma's language use and responding to the larger chronotopic frame for

intraethnic communication. I will elaborate on this argument in the paragraph following the example (7.14) below.

(7.14)

1	**Wilma**	Aku lihat di berita kan,
		I saw on the news
2		titik api itu paling banyak di Kalimantan *a woi*
		that fires are most common in Kalimantan
3	**Jasmine**	Ya ke?
		Oh yeah?
4	**Wilma**	Kalimantan Barat-
		West Kalimantan-
5		eh bukan, seluruh Kalimantan.
		eh no, throughout Kalimantan
6	**Jasmine**	Apa?
		What?
7	**Wilma**	Titik api,
		Fires,
8		titik api kebakar hutan.
		fires for forest burning.
9		Ada 313 titik api.
		There were 313 fires
10		sedangkan yang Riau sana cuma dua ratusan
		At the moment in Riau there are only around two hundred
11		Aku pertama kire-
		At first I thou-
12		kira Riau sana,
		thought Riau there,
13		Riau, Batam, sederet itu lah Medan
		Riau, Batam, around there Medan

14		atau ke mana,
		Or somewhere,
15		Aceh gitu.
		like Aceh.
16		Aku kira mereka tuh paling banyak.
		I thought they would have the most
17		Terus tiba-tiba dia move kan ke pulau Kalimantan (…)
		Then suddenly it moved to Kalimantan island
18	**Jasmine**	Kebun kami kemarin kebakar *a* Wil
		Our garden was burnt the other day Wil
19		kami sampai panggil pemadam kebakaran *a*
		it was so bad we had to call the fire brigade
20	**Wilma**	Kemarau kah?
		Was it dry?
21	**Jasmine**	Bukan,
		No,
22		gara-gara sambil bebas bakar sampah
		it's because of all the rubbish burning

Wilma initiates the discussion of Kalimantan's forest fires in lines 1 and 2. She uses the particle *a* in combination with the exclamative *woi* to express surprise that most of the forest fires in Indonesia are in Kalimantan. The particle *a* functions identically to the particle in example (7.13). In both cases, the particle frames new information as contrasting with previously held assumptions about the number of fires in Kalimantan. The contrast is furthered in lines 11-16 when Wilma explains that she first assumed that the majority of fires were coming from places outside of Kalimantan.

Wilma's use of the particle may be a response to the smaller and larger chronotopic frames for in-group and intraethnic talk. Wilma and Olivia were just previously gossiping about another friend in Indonesian with occasional switches to Khek Chinese. The larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication may be salient for Wilma in this case because she and Olivia share the same ethnolinguistic identity and usually communicate in Khek Chinese language. Therefore, she

continues to respond to the frame in the example above because Olivia is still present and the chronotopic frame is therefore still relevant.

Jasmine echoes Wilma's use of the particle in lines 18 and 19. The addition of the particle in lines 18 and 19 frames the information as surprising or shocking. The particle positions the new information about the fires in Jasmine's hometown as contrasting with Wilma's previously held assumption about the location of fires in Indonesia. In both instances of the particle, the following speaker asks for more information, this indicates that they assume that the information provided by the previous speaker is true. This is consistent with the responses to utterances featuring *a* discussed previously, as it shows that the particle instructs the hearer to take the same stance as the speaker and/or assume that what the speaker is saying is true and correct.

Jasmine's use of the particle here could also be a response to the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication as well as the smaller chronotopic frame for in-group communication. Jasmine does not usually respond to the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication. She does not speak Chinese language and seldom uses the particle *a*. She may have chosen to do so in this case because she wanted to be included in the group. Individual speakers can attempt to position themselves as members of the group by reproducing a chronotope of the communicative repertoire of those with whom they wish to align (Kiesling, 2009; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). Jasmine's use of the particle therefore positions her as an in-group member by responding to the same chronotopic frame for intraethnic interaction as Wilma and Olivia. As previously stated, the choice to respond to a chronotopic frame involves acknowledgement that the frame applies to the interlocutor. The chronotopic identities invoked in the chronotopic frame are therefore relevant to the individuals to whom the chronotope applies. Jasmine responds to this chronotopic frame to construct a stance of in-group identity with the other conversational participants.

The high frequency of the particle *a* in Groups 1, 2 and 5 is due partly to the frequent occurrence of the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication in in-group talk. This is seen as most individuals use the particle most frequently with people of the same ethnolinguistic identity (either Teochew or Khek Chinese). Individuals who diverged from the norms of their group did so due to their own perduring sense of identity in relation to the peer group. Lestari and Olivia, for instance, chose to respond to the larger chronotopic frame more often than other members of their speech group because they viewed the frame as consistently present and important across all their

interactions with individuals of the same ethnic identity. Their response to the chronotopic frame emerges as a result of their language ideologies and strong sense of Chinese ethnic identity. Jasmine, by contrast, did not identify as ethnically Chinese and so only responded to the larger chronotopic frame for intraethnic interaction in order to enact a chronotopic identity as a member of a group from which she may have otherwise been excluded. Therefore, the choice to respond to different chronotopic frames is relevant to the individual's language ideologies and perduring identity.

7.3 Summary and Conclusion

The analysis presented in this chapter has shown that the particle *a* can serve multiple functions in discourse. The particle can indicate a contrast between expectations or knowledge, as well as opposition or disagreement with a previous utterance. Additionally, the particle can add emphasis to an assessment or the epistemic strength of a statement. Finally, the particle can occur in exclamatives to frame the information conveyed in the utterance as shocking or surprising. The effect of the particle is such that it encourages the hearer to take the same stance as the previous speaker towards a shared stance object.

The particle was used in response to chronotopic frames for Chinese intraethnic communication and in-group talk within peer groups at the school. Importantly, the chapter demonstrated that the rate of use of the particle patterned against the social identities of groups within which speakers interacted. The *a* particle was used more often in interactions within groups of individuals who shared the same ethnic identity as Chinese Indonesians, expressed high orientation to this ethnic identity, and who frequently used Chinese languages in their everyday communications. In these groups, the chronotopic frames for intraethnic communication were more persistent and salient than in interactions within groups of individuals of mixed-ethnicity who did not regularly use Chinese languages. Finally, I explained that individuals such as Wendy and Ratna used the particle at least twice as often as other members of their social groups. All of these individuals shared a strong sense of ethnic Chinese identity, which included adherence to particular cultural and linguistic ideologies that preferenced the use of Chinese language in intraethnic communications. I therefore argued that individuals' rates of use of the particle and construction of chronotopic identities in discourse were influenced by their perduring sense of ethnic Chinese identity.

Chapter 8: Malay Discourse Particle *Bah*

8.0 Introduction

The current chapter examines the use of *bah* at PPK and PCC institutions. The *bah* particle differs from other particles discussed in this thesis because it appears to originate from Malay language. Many participants claimed to be unaware of the particle's origins but considered it part of Pontianak City style of speech. Participants' explanations of the functions of *bah* were ambiguous. Some described the particle as similar to the Malay particle *lah*, in that it could be used to strengthen the force of an utterance. Other participants compared *bah* to the Chinese particle *wa*, most frequently used in the expression *iya wa/he wa/si wa* discussed in Chapter 6. The analysis presented in Chapter 6 demonstrated that *iya wa/he wa/si wa* could be used to underline common ground or shared knowledge. The discussion in the current chapter will show that the function of the particle *bah* relates to shared knowledge but it is not necessarily a Malay equivalent of the Chinese *wa*.

As discussed in previous chapters, discourse particles perform organising functions in discourse. Haselow (2012) explored the role of English final particles in creating a link between a preceding utterance and a current utterance after the current utterance is produced. He found that particles serve as instructions to the hearer as to the interpretation of the current utterance and its relationship to preceding and ongoing discourse. In effect, a discourse particle can point back to a preceding utterance and change its status (e.g. from an assertion to a concession, from private knowledge to shared knowledge), whilst also providing a framework for ongoing discourse (Haselow, 2012) . In the current chapter, I argue that the *bah* particle can perform this role in discourse by invoking a chronotope of a kind of shared knowledge, and reproducing a chronotopic frame for shared knowledge which may alter the status of the utterance and provide a framework for speaker and hearer roles in ongoing talk (Blommaert & De Fina, 2016). The speaker and hearer roles assigned by particular chronotopic frames can include socially recognisable identities (cf. Morita, 2015). Several researchers have shown that the repeated use of discourse markers to enact stances and reproduce social identities can be a reflection of an individual's perduring sense of personal identity (Drager, 2015; Mendoza-Denton, 2008).

The current chapter opens with discussion of prior research on the Chinese particle *ba* and the Malay particle *bah.* Following on, I present an examination of the various functions of *bah* in discourse. Finally, I will show in the current chapter that the use of *bah* contributes to particular stances and socially recognisable identities that emerge from their use in response to particular chronotopic frames for interaction. I argue that the use of *bah* in this way reflects and reproduces aspects of an individual's perduring identity.

8.1 Prior Research on *ba/bah*

A particle spelt *ba* or *bah* exists in both Chinese and Malay languages, however it is unclear as to whether the *bah* used by ethnic Chinese Indonesian youth in Pontianak has a Malay or Chinese root. In the following paragraphs, I discuss research on the particle in Chinese and Malay languages and compare this research with participants' claims about the meaning and functionality of the particle. Ultimately, I conclude that the particle should be treated as a feature of Pontianak Malay because participants perceive it as such. Participants perceptions of the particle are considered paramount in this case because research has shown that perceptions of linguistic features (including the languages from which they originate and the social groups who are perceived to have ownership of them) can impact on how and under what circumstance the features are deployed (Bailey, 2013; Bucholtz, 2010; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). I will return to this point in Section 8.2.

Considerable scholarship has been focused on the core meaning and functionality of the particle, spelt *ba*, in Chinese language research. Despite these developments, there remains little consensus on the core meaning of the Chinese particle *ba*. Chao (1968) explained that *ba* was used in the utterance-final position to indicate uncertainty or hesitation in questions and statements. Chu (2002) agreed that *ba* often indicated hesitation or uncertainty. However, he identified other uses of *ba* that included reference to some previous context, such as previous advice or a previous warning.

Research on the particle, usually spelt *bah*, in several Malay and non- Malay Bornean language varieties is similarly diverse, owing to the appearance of the particle in a large number of different language varieties. The particle has been attested in Bornean language varieties including West Coast Bajau (M. Miller, 2006), Kadazan (Antonissen, 1958), Timugon Murut (Nathesan, 1993), Belangin (Adelaar, 2006), Bisaya and Lun Bawang (Ozog & Martin, 1996), Bruneian Malay and Bruneian English (Ozog & Martin, 1996) as well as Sabah Malay (Hoogervorst, 2011).

Hoogervorst (2011, p. 70) noted several different functions of *bah* in Sabah Malay including its use as an agreement marker, politeness marker, emphatic marker, question marker, exhortative marker, interruptive marker and end conversation marker. The Sabah Malay marker *bah* differs from the Chinese particle *ba* because it is used in a greater variety of different positions within utterances. The Sabah Malay marker can occur in utterance initial, utterance-medial and utterance final position, depending on its function in a sentence. For instance, when *bah* is used as a politeness marker, it occurs most often in the sentence final position and has the effect of softening the assertive force of an utterance (Hoogervorst, 2011, p. 70). Alternatively, *bah* can occur at the beginning of an intonational segment to mark agreement with a previous utterance (Hoogervorst, 2011, p. 70). Additionally, the Malay discourse marker *bah* can constitute an intonational segment by itself. This does not reflect the usage of the Chinese particle *ba.* Throughout the chapter, I have followed Hoogervorst's spelling of the Malay particle as *bah*, however, other researchers have represented it as *ba*. It is unclear whether the difference in spelling represents different pronunciations, and unfortunately an exploration of this component of the particle is beyond the scope of the chapter.

The research on the Malay marker *bah* and the Chinese particle *ba* suggests that there may be some overlap in the function and use of the two discourse markers. The analysis of *bah* in this chapter will show that the particle only occurs in utterance-final position in the data and appears to draw the hearer's attention towards a previous utterance. The findings appear to align more with previous descriptions of the functions of the Chinese particle *ba*. However, attitudinal data from interviews with participants suggested that the particle was often classified as part of Pontianak Malay vocabulary. Hoogervorst (2011, p. 63) explained that Malay varieties including Sabah Malay borrowed many features of Southern Chinese dialects, although he stated that most speakers do not recognise the features as loan words. Hoogervorst (2011, p. 63) listed several lexical items that were originally borrowed from Hokkien and Hakka Chinese through contact emerging from trade in the region. It is possible that the discourse marker *bah* was originally borrowed from Hokkien or Hakka Chinese into some varieties of Malay spoken in the Borneo region.

A thorough evaluation of all the purported usages of *bah* is not possible within the scope of this chapter. I will refer to some of the aforementioned functions of *bah* as they become relevant to the examination of the particles' use in Indonesian speech in the data.

The data analysis shows that the particle occurs most frequently in clause final position in the data. The analysis of this chapter will show that *bah* serves three main functions in interactions which all tie back into the perduring core meaning of the particle. Previous research on another Indonesian discourse particle, *kan*, has demonstrated that although the particle can serve a variety of different functions in discourse, the overarching meaning of *kan* is 'presumed knowledge' (Djenar et al., Forthcoming; Wouk, 1998). I argue similarly that the core meaning of *bah* is 'shared knowledge'. 'Shared knowledge' is used throughout this chapter to refer to information of which all conversational participants are aware. Shared knowledge can exist prior to interaction or it can emerge during interaction as a result of information transfer. I will talk more about this in relation to the interactional meaning of *bah* in the following sections on analysis. Importantly, I posit that there are several different interactional meanings of *bah* that are negotiated across different contexts. Kiesling (2009, p. 180) stated that a variant can have several possible social meanings and potential stances that can emerge from the combination of linguistic features with which the variant cooccurs. Analysis of the particle indicates that there are three main interactional functions of *bah* that emerge in discourse. The three functions identified in the following sections were developed through an analysis of the particle in comparison with work on Indonesian discourse particles, in particular that of Wouk (1998, 2001) on *kan* and *ya* as well as Djenar, Ewing and Manns (Forthcoming) on *kan, deh* and *dong*. I will refer to these works throughout the chapter as they become relevant to the analysis. The particle is used most commonly as a gentle reminder of previously uttered information. This may be information that was uttered immediately prior to the utterance or information that was uttered in a separate, prior interaction. *Bah* can be employed in this way to invoke a chronotope of knowledge that emerged in a prior interaction and reproduce a chronotopic frame for shared knowledge. The discussion in the following section will show that speakers often deploy *bah* in this way to accomplish discursive goals such as eliciting hearer support.

The second most common function of *bah* is to extend common ground to put pressure on the hearer to accept information as conjoint knowledge. This second function of *bah* cooccurs with chronotopic frames for explanations and storytelling which involve a speaker presenting new information to a hearer. These chronotopic frames enact the speaker's stance of epistemic authority which positions them as the more knowledgeable 'explainer' or 'storyteller', and the hearer as the less knowledgeable 'explainee'. The use of *bah* bolsters the speaker's epistemic authority encoded

in their role as the ‘explainer’ because the particle forces the hearer to treat the explanation as shared knowledge which indirectly acknowledges the information as ‘truth’. In the following sections of the chapter, I explain how this use of *bah* contributes to the speaker’s epistemic authority involved in their role as the more knowledgeable explainer.

Finally, the particle was also occasionally used to highlight an utterance as containing information that the hearer is expected to already know but claims not to. The particle here again invokes a chronotope of a previous utterance and reproduces a chronotopic frame for shared knowledge. However, it differs from aforementioned functions of *bah* in that the particle is used in joking interactions. These joking interactions included a chronotopic frame for playful derision in which a more powerful ‘joker’ makes fun of a less powerful ‘patsy’. *Bah* was used in this context to scold or chide a hearer by framing an utterance as obvious or self-evident. The primary purpose of the derision was to create humour and enhance solidarity. Importantly, the resulting effect of humour and/or solidarity depends on the pre-existing relationship between the speakers. If the speakers are close friends, the derision is most often considered a playful jab, whereas if the speakers are non-solidary colleagues, the derision can appear as more genuine criticism.

The patterns of usage of *bah* differ from those of other particles discussed in previous chapters, in that the use of *bah* does not appear to be related to ethnic identity. Instead, the use of the *bah* particle coincides with particular types of interactions (e.g. explanation, gossip, playful derision) which encode particular types of speakers (e.g. explainer, joker) and hearers (e.g. explainee, patsy). The *bah* particle assists in emphasising the speaker and hearer roles and shapes their responsibilities in discourse. Interestingly, the individuals who use the particle most frequently are those who most frequently enact one of the chronotopically conditioned identities mentioned above. Their role as the explainer, for instance, is one which reoccurs through multiple isolated interactions and emerges as part of their perduring sense of personal identity. Therefore, I argue that the use of the particle to enact and enhance the chronotopic identities is a product of the individual speakers’ personalities and perduring identities, as well as the communicative context. I explain this in further depth in the following sections that detail the functions of the *bah* particle and the speakers who use them most frequently.

8.2 Functions of *bah*

In this chapter, I argue that *bah* has a perduring core meaning of 'shared knowledge' from which other interactional meanings are drawn. Different interactional meanings of *bah* arise due to the different forms "shared knowledge" can take in discourse. For instance, shared knowledge can refer to general knowledge or wider sociocultural experience, or knowledge that emerged in a prior engagement or interaction between interlocutors. Alternatively, information that was speaker-privileged can be reframed as 'shared knowledge' to put pressure on the hearer to accept the information and take it on board. *Bah* can therefore invoke different chronotopes of "shared knowledge" depending on the speech environment in which the particle is produced. Factors affecting the invocation of chronotopes can include the identities of the speaker and hearer, their relationship, the purpose of the interaction and the topic of conversation.

The different chronotopes invoked by *bah* all reproduce chronotopic frames for shared knowledge. However, the function of *bah* may differ across different contexts depending on the chronotopes of shared knowledge invoked, and the other chronotopic frames that have emerged prior to its utterance. For instance, *bah* may be used in an interaction that involved a speaker explaining a concept to a hearer. The type of interaction (i.e. explanation) involves a chronotopic frame for explanations which involves a more knowledgeable speaker relaying information to a less knowledgeable hearer. The chronotope of shared knowledge invoked by *bah* in an explanation interaction may vary considerably from the chronotopes invoked by *bah* when it is used in, for instance, a joking interaction. The difference in chronotopes invoked by *bah* also involves a difference in function of *bah*. Furthermore, the different functions of *bah* in conjunction with other chronotopic frames present in interaction impact on the stances and expected social identities that are reproduced in discourse. In this section, I will be examining the three principle interactional functions of *bah* that emerged in the analysis of conversational data.

The three functions of *bah* are, as previously mentioned:

1. To refer back to previously uttered information
2. To extend common ground
3. To deride a hearer by framing information as obvious or expected knowledge

The three functions of *bah* will be discussed in the above order as this reflects the order of frequency with which these functions of the particle occurred in the data. It is important to note

that although these functions are discussed separately, they can overlap in actual discourse. I will explain how the particle *bah* can serve multiple functions in discourse in the discussion of conversational examples in each segment of the present chapter. It is possible that the overlap in functions of *bah* emerges from the basic, prototypical meaning of the particle, which refers to shared knowledge.

8.2.1 Referring to shared knowledge

The use of *bah* to refer back to something previously mentioned in the discourse was the most common function of the particle found in the data. The particle *bah* can refer to information that was presented earlier in the same conversation or to information that was produced in a separate interaction that occurred prior to the present conversation. In both cases, all participants in the present conversation are presumed to be familiar with the information being referenced, hence it can be considered 'shared knowledge'. The use of *bah* to reference 'shared knowledge' most commonly co-occurs with *gitu* 'like that' (18 co-occurrences) and *itu* 'that' (7 co-occurrences). The next most common co-occurrence sees *bah* co-occurring with pronouns and personal names. These co-occurrences will be discussed in detail in the examination of the examples below.

The patterns in co-occurrences of *bah* with *gitu/itu* are similar to findings of other research focused on the Indonesian particle *kan*. Djenar, Ewing and Manns (Forthcoming) found that *kan* most commonly co-occurred with *gitu* and *itu.* They claimed that the co-occurrence of *kan* with these words reflected the function of the particle to refer to something earlier in the discourse. The particle "marks a contingency between current knowledge and knowledge available through a prior text" (Djenar, Ewing & Manns, Forthcoming). The connection between current and prior knowledge may be analysed in terms of chronotopes. The use of the particle *bah,* like the use of the particle *kan,* may invoke a chronotope of knowledge that was produced in prior discourse. This may serve as a reminder to the hearer of information which the speaker has previously provided. The invocation of prior knowledge reproduces a chronotopic frame which brackets information as shared or conjoint knowledge. The effect of the invocation of this frame is that it creates or enhances solidarity and intimacy between interlocutors based on their shared knowledge and/or experience. The discussion of examples that follows will demonstrate that participants often use the particle *bah* to invoke a chronotopic frame of shared knowledge to enhance solidarity and intimacy with their interlocutors in exchange for their assistance or support. Additionally, speakers can use *bah* to reclassify information as shared knowledge in order to share responsibility for the

management of information in ongoing talk. I will return to this point in the discussion of example (1) below.

It is important to clarify here that despite the apparent similarities between *bah* and *kan*, the function and uptake of the particles are not identical. For instance, the particle *kan* usually requires a minimal response when it co-occurs with *gitu.* This is not a requirement of *bah* when the particle co-occurs with *gitu.* Interestingly, although the participants of the study use the particle *kan*, *gitu* co-occurred with *bah* more frequently than *kan* in the data. This finding may indicate the existence of regional variation, as Djenar, Ewing and Manns (Forthcoming) noted that there were, for instance, differences in the preferred particles used alongside *gitu* in Bandung and Malang. A thorough treatment of the differences between *bah* and *kan* is beyond the scope of the current study but serves as a point of departure for future research on variation in the use of discourse particles in Indonesia.

The following two examples feature the use of *bah* to refer back to something that has been previously mentioned. The examples include references to familiar concrete objects and people and a previously mentioned event. In both situations, the participant who utters *bah* is trying to get their interlocutor to perform a favour. I argue that the use of *bah* in these cases is motivated by the desire to exchange solidarity and intimacy for assistance or support.

The following example is drawn from a conversation between Olivia and Wilma, two best friends at PCC. Olivia uses the particle *bah* in the example to reference a particular accessory that she has previously mentioned to Wilma. Throughout the example, Olivia is trying to garner Wilma's assistance in finding this accessory. Olshop and Stroberi are two accessories stores in Pontianak.

(8.1)

1	**Olivia**	Kau ada ketemu itu ga Wil?
		Did you find that thing Wil?
2		Olshop yang aksesoris
		Olshop accessories
3	**Wilma**	Yang aksesoris?
		The accessories?
4	**Olivia**	Aku mau cari ini, **shows picture on phone**

		I want to find this
5		Itu tuh
		That one
6		itu bah
		That one
		(..)
7		Kayak gini,
		Like this
8		aku pengen cari bah
		I've wanted to find it
9		Dari dulu
		From the beginning
10	**Wilma**	Oh ada
		Oh they have them
11	**Olivia**	Di mana?
		Where?
12		Aku cari di Stroberi
		I looked at Stroberi
13		Semua tak ada
		They don't have any

Olivia is asking Wilma if she was able to find the Olshop accessory that she has been looking for. Wilma doesn't immediately understand what accessory Olivia is referring to, so she initiates a repair in line 3, which places the responsibility on Olivia to provided clarification (cf. Schiffrin, 1987). Olivia responds in line 4 by showing Wilma a photo of a similar accessory on her phone. She goes on to repeatedly state that she is looking for *ini* 'this', *itu tuh* 'that', and finally *itu bah* 'that one'. The repetition of *itu* 'that' may be an attempt to clarify and emphasise the object that Olivia is referring to. The inclusion of *bah* in line 6 upscales the reference by emphasising that the accessory that Olivia is referring to is one which she has previously identified to Wilma (cf. Schegloff, 2007). The resulting expression in line 6 is similar to the English *you know* in an expression such as *"that one, you know"*.

Olivia's utterance does not receive a response, so after a brief pause, Olivia goes on to repeat that she is looking for something *kayak gini* 'like this'. The particle *bah* in line 9 functions to refer back to something that Olivia has previously told Wilma (i.e. that she has been looking for this particular accessory from the beginning). Therefore, the use of *bah* in lines 6 and 9 frames the accessory as 'presupposed joint knowledge'. Additionally, the particle serves as a reminder of something mentioned in a previous interaction. Wilma's response indicates that she understands Olivia's clarification of her reference to the aforementioned accessory and can now confirm that she does know where to find it. Schiffrin (1987, p. 81) explained that the discourse marker *oh* can be used in English interaction to indicate acknowledgement of clarification and the completion of a repair sequence. It is possible that *oh* functions similarly in Indonesian interaction as Wilma's response appears to recognize and understand Olivia's repair because she then responds to Olivia's earlier question about the accessory by saying *ada* 'they have them'.

Olivia's use of the *bah* particle invokes a chronotope of a previous utterance in prior discourse involving both the current conversational participants. The previous utterance includes a reference to the particular accessory that she is searching for. The chronotope reproduces a chronotopic frame of shared knowledge which positions the accessory as something that Wilma has already heard about in a previous interaction. Wilma does not produce a response to the chronotopic frame invoked in line 6. Her lack of response prompts Olivia to invoke a chronotope of another previous utterance (or even several previous utterances) that includes a reference to an object that Olivia has been searching for since the beginning. This again reproduces a chronotopic frame of shared knowledge which implies that Wilma is aware that Olivia has been looking for this accessory for a long time.

The invocation of a chronotopic frame for shared knowledge is, as already discussed, partly a memory aid for Wilma. Olivia's choice to reproduce this chronotopic frame is also strategic because the frame emphasises the solidarity between the interlocutors based on their shared knowledge of Olivia's search for the accessory. Researchers have suggested that individuals can attempt to offer solidarity to lessen the imposition of a request, in this case the request is for assistance and support in dealing with a problem (P. Brown & Levinson, 1978; Manns, 2015). The intended effect is that the utterance is positioned as a problem or struggle that both speakers are familiar with and can conjointly address. The chronotopic frame for shared knowledge positions

Olivia's search for the accessory as a longstanding endeavour that Wilma is familiar with and with which she should therefore be able to sympathise. In effect, Olivia is using the chronotopic frame to prompt Wilma to aid in her search by framing her search for the accessory as a problem that is shared between the two speakers. Wilma responds to this chronotopic frame favourably by stating that she knows where to find the elusive accessory.

The particle *bah* can therefore invoke a chronotope of a previous utterance which reproduces a chronotopic frame of shared knowledge. I argue that participants often reproduce this chronotopic frame in order to accomplish discursive goals. Principal among these is the redistribution of responsibility. The chronotopic frame for shared knowledge brackets information as conjointly possessed. This means that both interlocutors share some responsibility for a problem or an issue because they both have knowledge of it. In effect, the chronotopic frame for shared knowledge can serve to reclassify something that might otherwise be considered one person's struggle as a shared struggle. The resulting effect that both interlocutors share responsibility for resolving the issue.

The following example (8.2) shows Farah using the particle *bah* to invoke a chronotope of a previous incident at school that her interlocutor, Dewi, is familiar with. The incident that Farah is referring to occurred earlier that day when Farah made an offhand remark to another student that she fears may have caused offence. Farah reproduces a chronotopic frame for shared knowledge in an attempt to get Dewi to assist her in resolving the resulting conflict.

(8.2)

1	**Farah**	Dia marah ndak?
		Are they mad?
2		Aku ndak kenal,
		I don't know them,
3		ndak deket, gitu bah. (.)
		I'm not close to them, like that.
4		Jadi marah berapa?
		How much longer will they be mad?
5	**Dewi**	Tuh ada Wilma.
		There's Wilma

6	**Farah**	Suruh Wilma bah**,**
		Ask Wilma
7		yang itu.
		about it.
8		Wil-
		Wil-
9		kalau yang itu lah,
		if it's like that,
10		Wil yang pastiin dikit
		Wil can find out
11	**Dewi**	Kau lah
		Do it yourself
12	**Farah**	*(To Wilma)* Wil, aku sih mau pastiin.
		Wil, I want to check.
13		Takut die marah bah.
		I'm scared they're angry.
14		Aku tuh ndak dekat sama dia.
		I'm not close to them.
15		Kan gurau *wa*,
		I was just joking,
16		cuma aku tuh takut die marah.
		only I'm scared they're angry.

Farah begins by asking Dewi whether the student involved in the incident is upset. She clarifies that she doesn't really know her and that they aren't close. The particle *bah* co-occurs with *gitu* in line 3. Djenar et al (Forthcoming) explained that the form *gitu* is generally used to close an interactionally relevant unit and can stand on its own. However, *gitu* frequently occurs alongside particles, such as *kan*, which provide additional instructions on the way in which the preceding text should be perceived by the hearer. In example (8.2), *gitu* serves to summarise the information

pertaining to the relationship between Farah and the student, i.e. ‘it’s like that’. The inclusion of *bah* frames the relationship between Farah and this other student as something that Dewi already knows about. The use of the particle invokes a chronotope of previous interactions between Farah and the student based on which Dewi is presumed to know that these individuals do not share a close friendship. In other words, Dewi is presumed to know that ‘it’s like that’. The combination of *gitu* and *bah* results in an expression similar to the English, ‘it’s like that, you know’. The expression *gitu bah* serves as a reminder to Dewi of the relationship between Farah and the student which is used to infer an explanation as to why Farah is not sure if the student is upset.

Farah uses the particle *bah* again in line 6 following a personal name. As previously mentioned, the second most common cooccurrence found in the data was the particle *bah* with a personal name or pronoun. This example highlights another similarity between *bah* and *kan,* as Djenar et al (Forthcoming) note that *kan* can act as a topicalization marker when it follow pronouns or personal names. *Kan* can further be used in this context to position an individual (the speaker or a named other) in relation to the story or events to which the individual is connected (Djenar et al, Forthcoming). The particle here functions similarly to position Wilma in relation to the incident by invoking a chronotope of the incident, as if to say, “ask Wilma about it”. The “it” here is clearly the incident that occurred earlier that day. The use of *bah* to invoke a chronotope of this incident immediately following Wilma’s name implies that Wilma is someone who knows about the incident and will perhaps know how to handle it. The inclusion of *bah* may additionally reproduce a chronotopic frame for shared knowledge which frames the act of asking Wilma about the incident as something that Dewi will recognise as a viable option based on her knowledge of the incident and Wilma’s familiarity with it. The reproduction of this chronotopic frame may additionally be intended to emphasise solidarity between Farah and Dewi based on their shared knowledge of the incident. Farah is attempting to emphasise solidarity in exchange for a favour. She wants Dewi to ask Wilma on her behalf. Importantly, Dewi does not respond favourably to Farah’s attempt to persuade her to talk to Wilma, and instead insists that Farah talk to Wilma herself.

Farah does not attempt to further persuade Dewi to act on her behalf but instead does as Dewi suggests and asks Wilma to help her. Dewi implies her request for Wilma’s assistance through repeated references to the incident that transpired. First, she says *aku sih mau pastiin* ‘I want to check’. The utterance contains no mention of what she wants to check, so her interlocutor is left

to infer that Farah wants to confirm whether or not the student is upset. Additionally, Farah says this to Wilma, not the student herself, which implies that Farah wants Wilma to confirm with the student on her behalf. Following on, in line 13, Farah again uses the particle *bah* following her utterance *takut dia marah* 'I'm scared they're angry'. The particle here again serves as a reminder to Wilma by invoking a chronotope of the incident that may have caused the student in question to be angry. The invocation of the chronotope of the incident further serves as an explanation as to why Farah would be concerned that the student is upset. Farah is again reproducing a chronotopic frame for shared knowledge. The chronotopic frame emphasizes solidarity between Farah and Wilma based on their shared knowledge of the incident. Farah is attempting to emphasise solidarity in exchange for Wilma's assistance. Farah is reframing her problem as something that is shared between herself and Wilma in order to share the responsibility for solving it. Farah further states in line 14 that she is not close with the student which again implies an explanation as to why Farah is concerned that the student is upset and why Wilma should address the student on Farah's behalf.

Therefore, Farah has used the *bah* particle to invoke a chronotopic frame of shared knowledge to imply her request for Wilma's help and to encourage Wilma to act. The strategy of implying her request avoids the potential negative face threat of posing the request to Wilma directly.

8.2.2 The extension of common ground

This section explores the second most frequent use of *bah* seen in the data. As previously mentioned, *bah* can be used in combination with explanations and stories to extend common ground. This function of *bah* appears in conjunction with chronotopic frames for explanations and storytelling. The presentation of new information can invoke chronotopic frames for explanations and storytelling which position the speaker as the more knowledgeable explainer or storyteller and the hearer as the less knowledgeable recipient of information. The invocation of this chronotopic frame implies that the speaker knows what they're talking about based on their purported superior knowledge. These chronotopic frames enact an epistemic stance of the more knowledgeable individual who conveys information to the less knowledgeable hearer (cf. Du Bois, 2007).

Participants used *bah* following the presentation of new information in the form of storytelling or explanations to invoke a chronotopic frame of shared knowledge which reclassified speaker-privileged information as common ground. The particle therefore functions to instruct the hearer

to treat the new information as conjoint knowledge. The extension of common ground facilitates the transformation of speaker-privileged knowledge to knowledge that is shared between the speaker and the hearer. Speakers can use *bah* to extend common ground to put pressure on the hearer to take the information on board and own it as shared knowledge. The hearer's uptake of the information can be expressed in several forms, for instance through minimal response or repetition of information. Although, it is important to note that response is not always provided.

The particle draws the hearer's attention to the information being presented and demonstrates the speaker's investment in the hearer accepting and understanding the information. In this sense, the use of *bah* to extend common ground can contribute to the enactment of epistemic stance because the speaker is emphasising their investment in the hearer "getting it" (cf. Djenar et al., Forthcoming). The enactment of epistemic stance can contribute to the speaker's role as the 'explainer' which emerges from the chronotopic frames for explanations and storytelling. The epistemic stance enacted through *bah* contributes to the speaker's epistemic authority encoded in their role as the 'explainer' because the particle forces the hearer to treat the explanation as shared knowledge which indirectly acknowledges the information as 'truth'. The acceptance of the information as truth adds to the speaker's epistemic authority because it implies that the hearer assumes that the speaker knows what is true by virtue of the speaker's role as the explainer.

The use of *bah* to extend common ground overlaps with the use of *bah* to refer back to a previous utterance. In both cases, the use of *bah* invokes a chronotopic frame for shared knowledge. However, the use of *bah* to extend common ground differs from the use of *bah* discussed in 10.1.1 because the hearer is not familiar with the information conveyed by the more knowledgeable speaker.

The following two examples feature the use of the *bah* particle in storytelling and explanation interactions to invoke a chronotopic frame of shared knowledge in order to reclassify new information as conjoint knowledge. The use of the particle in this way coerces the hearer to take the information on board and register it as shared knowledge. I argue that the use of *bah* in these examples reinforces the speaker's stance of epistemic authority because it requires the hearer to acknowledge that the information provided is true and correct. This acknowledgement feeds back into the speaker's chronotopic identity as the explainer/storyteller because there is an underlying

assumption that they are the more knowledgeable interlocutor, and thus the information they provide is presumed true.

Ratna uses the particle *bah* in the following interaction to extend the common ground of her explanation that the students are in fact not allowed to collaborate on their assignment. The conversation between Agustina and Ratna presented below occurred during Computer Class at PCC. Their class have been tasked with an assignment that they must complete individually. Agustina is suggesting that both herself and Ratna can use the same format for completing the assignment.

(8.3)

1	**Agustina**	Kau pakai ke?
		You're using it?
2		Aku pakai nih
		I'll use this
		(.) [reading instructions]
4	**Ratna**	Tak boleh sama bah
		They can't be the same
5		Aku cek kok
		I checked
6	**Agustina**	XX wa meh?
		XX oh yeah?
7	**Ratna**	*Le* cek *a!*
		You check!
8	**Agustina**	*Mai a*
		Don't wanna
9	**Ratna**	Hmph

Agustina initiates the interaction by asking if Ratna is going to use a particular program and format for her assignment and stating that she intends to use it too. Ratna then explains in line 4 that they are not allowed to do the same thing on the assignment. Initiating an explanation invokes a

chronotopic frame of explanations which involves the transmission of knowledge by a more knowledgeable speaker to a less knowledgeable hearer. This chronotopic frame therefore positions Ratna as the "explainer' and Agustina as the 'explainee'. Following on, Ratna's utterance includes the particle *bah*. Agustina is clearly not acquainted with this information because she has just suggested that they do the same thing for the assignment. Ratna states in line 5 that she has already checked and confirmed that the rules are as she has stated. Ratna's inclusion of this evidence to support her claim further indicates that knowledge of this assignment rule is not something that Ratna expects of Agustina, and hence she does not consider it to be conjoint knowledge. This suggests that the particle *bah* is not being used to refer back to previously uttered information. Instead, the particle functions to reproduce a chronotopic frame of shared knowledge which instructs Agustina to treat this new information as conjoint knowledge. The function of *bah* here can be thought of as extending common ground (cf. Wouk, 1998).

Ratna's use of *bah* here emphasises her investment in Agustina accepting her explanation. She wants Agustina to take her word for it that they are not permitted to collaborate on the project. Her invocation of the chronotopic frame for shared knowledge serves to encourage Agustina to accept the explanation because the particle implies that Agustina already knows that the information is true. The hearer may be expected to know that the information is true and correct, not necessarily based on their familiarity with the information itself but based on their position as the explainee. The chronotopic frame for explanation positions the speaker, Ratna, as the explainer, who possesses the knowledge and conveys it to the recipient, Agustina. This chronotopic frame requires the hearer to assume that the information being presented is true and correct by virtue of the speaker being the more knowledgeable party (i.e. having epistemic authority). In this sense, the use of *bah* by the speaker can extend common ground in order to emphasise the speaker's stance of epistemic authority by requiring the hearer to accept their explanation as truth. Furthermore, the extension of common ground functions to calibrate the interlocutors' shared alignment towards the knowledge presented based on their shared recognition of its truth.

The shared alignment between the interlocutors may further enhance pre-existing solidarity. Nordenstam's (1992) work on the Swedish discourse marker *vet du* 'you know' and Wouk's (1998) research on the Indonesian discourse particle *kan* have suggested that discourse particles can be used to extend common ground in order to enhance solidarity and intimacy between interlocutors.

It is possible that Ratna may have chosen to emphasise solidarity and intimacy in order to soften the threat to Agustina's positive face which arose as a product of the positioning of the hearer as the less knowledgeable recipient of the explanation. This solidarity emerges from the interlocutors shared alignment towards the knowledge of the assignment rules because it implies that both speakers know this information to be true. Agustina may be more inclined to take on the information Ratna has presented because Ratna has tended to her face needs and has implied that the factual correctness of her statement is something that both speakers can and should recognise.

The effect of Ratna's use of the particle is observable in Agustina's response in line 6. Agustina does not immediately accept what Ratna has said as truth because she asks for further confirmation. However, she offers only minimal resistance to Ratna's stance as the more knowledgeable explainer as evidenced by her inaudible mumbled response and the minimal request for confirmation. She does not claim that Ratna is wrong, rather just wants Ratna to affirm that what she has previously claimed is true. Ratna responds to Agustina's resistance by challenging Agustina to check for herself in line 7. Agustina responds that she does not want to. Agustina's response suggests that she is willing to take Ratna at her word and does not intend to pursue any further questioning of Ratna's knowledge of the aforementioned rule.

The use of *bah* in the example above invokes a chronotopic frame for shared knowledge which extends common ground, bolsters the speaker's stance of epistemic authority and contributes to their role as the explainer. The following example (8.4) shows how *bah* can be used in interactions which involve the chronotopic frame for storytelling. Speakers can reproduce a chronotopic frame for storytelling when they initiate a recount of events. This chronotopic frame calibrates the speaker's stance as the more knowledgeable storyteller and the hearer as the less knowledgeable listener. The use of *bah* reinforces the speaker's stance of epistemic authority by encouraging a hearer to accept the speaker's version of events. I argue that this second use of *bah* can be considered an epistemic stance which highlights the speaker's investment in the hearer's understanding of the story (cf. Djenar, Ewing & Manns, Forthcoming).

Novi is telling Etta about an incident that occurred earlier in the week at PCC whilst Etta was away. The incident transpired when one of their classmates Eric, placed a small cake on a chair for safe keeping, and another student, Tessi, accidentally sat on it. The two students got into an argument and Novi and Etta are discussing who was really at fault.

(8.4)

1	**Novi**	Tessi sih **cin ma gak wa (.)**
		Tessi got mad too
2		**Ki ma a,**
		He was mad
4		**Dia tuh**
		Him yeah
5		**Dia bilang "Tessa.."**
		He said "Tessa.."
6		Dia bilang "**em mo ganti rugi nga,**
		He said "don't overcompensate
7		**jiu eme nya salah a"**
		you're not the one at fault"
8	**Etta**	Huh?!
		Huh?!
9	**Novi**	Dia ganti rugi katanya
		She was overcompensating
10	**Etta**	Harusnya kan **ki jiu muk cu**
		She should use her eyes
11	**Novi**	Salah dua-dua nya bah,
		They're both at fault
12		**Co mai Eric piong lek bi?**
		Why did Eric leave it there?
13		Salah Eric tuh
		Eric was wrong
14		Kenapa dia taruh di kursi?
		Why did he leave it on the chair?
15	**Etta**	Hmmm
		Hmmm
16	**Novi**	Bukan di meja,

		And not on the table
17		Salah Tessi
		Tessi was wrong
18	**Etta**	Gak lihat
		She didn't look
19	**Novi**	Gak lihat
		She didn't look
20		kenapa dia gak liat,
		Why didn't she look?
21		Terus malah kenapa dia marah?
		Following on why did she get angry?
22		Gitu bah
		That's how it is, you know

Novi begins by telling Etta that the two students involved got very angry with one another as a result of the cake squashing incident. Novi's recount of the events invokes a chronotopic frame of storytelling which positions Novi as the more knowledgeable storyteller and Etta as the less knowledgeable recipient of the story. The chronotopic frame enacts Novi's stance of epistemic authority as the storyteller who has the knowledge required to chronicle the recount of an incident that occurred at the school and indicate the appropriate conclusion to be drawn from the recount.

Etta states in line 10 that Tessi should have looked before sitting down on the chair, thus suggesting that Tessi is the one who is at fault. Novi corrects Etta in the following line, stating *salah dua-duanya bah* 'they're both at fault'. Novi includes *bah* at the end of the assertion to invoke a chronotopic frame of shared knowledge in order to extend common ground. The *bah* particle invokes a chronotopic frame for shared knowledge which instructs Etta to treat the revised conclusion as conjoint knowledge. *Bah* enhances Novi's stance of epistemic authority because it emphasizes Novi's investment in Etta's understanding of her interpretation. Her stance then puts pressure on Etta to accept Novi's conclusion. Novi is therefore using the particle to imply that Etta already knows that, based on Novi's preestablished position as the storyteller, Novi's conclusion

is the correct one because she was actually present during the altercation and thus has superior knowledge of which student is at fault.

Novi further supports her conclusion with an explanation of why Eric was in the wrong in lines 12-14. The inclusion of this evidence reproduces a chronotopic frame for explanations which again reinforces Novi's stance of epistemic authority because she has positioned herself as the more knowledgeable 'explainer'. Etta does not challenge Novi's stance but offers a minimal response in line 15 to indicate that she understands and accepts Novi's correction and her explanation. Novi continues to then explain why Tessi was in the wrong, at which point Etta interjects and offers her interpretation of why Tessi was wrong (i.e. because she did not look before sitting down on the chair). Etta interjects with this statement to indicate that she understands Novi's reasoning. Etta's minimal response and interjection in lines 15 and 18 respectively may be considered a response to the chronotopic frame invoked by *bah* which requires her to confirm that she shared the knowledge of Novi's explanation and recognizes its truth value. Etta's responses therefore serve as recognition of Novi's epistemic authority and add to her role as the 'explainer' in the example.

Novi finalizes her explanation with the expression *gitu bah* 'that's how it is, you know" in line 22. As previously discussed, the form *gitu* is often used to conclude and summarise and interactional unit. The inclusion of *bah* at the end may serve several functions. Firstly, the utterance invokes a chronotopic frame of storytelling which enacts Novi's stance of epistemic authority as the storyteller who knows "how it is". Secondly, the inclusion of the particle invokes a chronotopic frame of shared knowledge, which may be a response to Etta's uptake of her role of the student. Etta consistently indicated that she recognized Novi's authority, and accepted and understood her explanation of who was at fault. Novi may have invoked a chronotopic frame of shared knowledge to indicate that she recognizes that the information that was originally speaker-privileged has now become conjoint knowledge, hence both interlocutors now know "how it is". Therefore, the particle *bah* can be used in storytelling interactions to encourage the hearer to extend common ground and accept the storyteller's version of events.

8.2.3 Playful derision

The third most frequent use of *bah* in the data was to mark information as obvious or self-evident. This use of *bah* frequently occurred in miscommunications where an interlocutor failed to

understand the speaker's intended meaning, and the speaker was forced to explain themselves. In this situation, a chronotopic frame for miscommunications was reproduced which involves the speaker being misunderstood by the hearer. The speaker would often gently admonish the hearer for not understanding or not perceiving the speaker's intention. Bah was used in this communicative setting to invoke a chronotope of expected knowledge which reproduced the chronotopic frame for shared knowledge. The effect of this chronotopic frame was that the speaker's intended meaning is framed as something that the hearer is expected to know and understand.

Additionally, *bah* was repeatedly used for humorous effect whereby the particle was used to invoke a chronotope of general or expected knowledge. The chronotope of general or expected knowledge reproduced the chronotopic frame for shared knowledge. The chronotopic frame classified information uttered by the speaker as that which should be obvious or presumed knowledge for the hearer. This function of bah coincided with playful or joking interactions between intimate friends. Therefore, the particle's use was affected by the chronotopic frame for playful insults in which speaker plays the role of the joker who makes fun of the hearer for some misstep. The intended effect of the use of *bah* in this context was thus to construct a joke by playfully chiding the hearer.

I argue that this third use of *bah* contributes to the speaker's chronotopic identity as the joker who playfully insults the hearer because it implies that hearer has failed to meet expectations, as if to say, "you should know that" or "this should be obvious to you". This meaning component of *bah* echoes meaning attributed to the use of the Indonesian discourse particle *dong*. *Dong* is often described as an emphatic particle that enhances the perceived truth value of an utterance (Djenar, 2003; Ewing, 2005; Kartomihardjo, 1981; Rafferty, 1982). Additionally, several researchers have noted that *dong* conveys a sense that the hearer should already be aware of the information being provided (Djenar et al., Forthcoming; Manns, 2011; Sneddon, 2006). Manns (2011, p. 224) further noted that the use of *dong* with certain intonation contours constructs a 'sassier', more playful effect. It is noteworthy that despite the purported prevalence of *dong* in colloquial Indonesian vernacular, the particle is not as commonly used in Pontianak. There are only very few occurrences of the particle in the data from the present study. This is possibly due to the association between *dong* and colloquial Jakartan Indonesian which several participants did not feel comfortable using.

It is possible that *bah* can be used to serve a similar function to *dong* in Pontianak in that it suggests that a hearer should already be aware of the information being presented. *Bah* here usually has a playful and lighthearted effect, that emerges primarily from the pre-existing relationship between the speakers. I will return to a discussion of the impact of the relationship between the interlocutors in the analysis of examples (8.5) and (8.6).

Etta uses the particle *bah* in example (8.5) to jokingly chastise Julius for trying to move seats in order to sit next to his 'husband', Ferry, and chat to him during their upcoming class. Etta jokes that Julius should know that he doesn't have to move seats, as Ferry will continue to talk to him as he is seated directly behind Julius.

(8.5)

1	**Etta**	Kamu mau pindah?
		You want to move?
2	**Julius**	Aku mau pindah
		I want to move
3		aku dak mau lihat-
		I don't want to see-
4	**Etta**	Udahlah!
		Enough already!
5		Duduk di sini aja
		Just sit here
6		ga usah pindah – pindah bah
		there's no need to keep moving around
7	**Julius**	Aku mau duduk sama-
		I want to sit with-
8	**Etta**	Ada suami kau di belakang bah,
		Your husband is just behind you
9		suami kau masih ngomong sama kau.
		your husband will still talk to you.
10		Dia sudah capek – capek

		He's already tired
11		carikan kamu tempat
		From finding you a place to sit

Etta opens the interaction by asking Julius if he wants to move seats. Julius responds that he wants to move seats in line 3. He begins to provide an explanation for this desire to move when Etta interrupts him in line 5. She berates him by exclaiming *udahlah* 'enough already!' and stating that he should just sit where he is. The relationship between Julius and Etta is very close. They are part of the same social group at PCC, they are both Khek speakers and they sit together in most of their classes. The close relationship between the interlocutors indicates that their high level of familiarity and intimacy may permit them to "clown" each other without engaging in genuine conflict (cf. Mendoza-Denton, 2008, p. 69). Mendoza-Denton (2008, p. 69) states that intimate groups of friends can engage in affectionate banter and ritual insults without risking damage to anyone's emotional state. The intonation of the utterance is also clearly exaggerated, this indicates that Etta is not genuinely annoyed with Julius but is taking a playful dig at him. The exaggerated interruption and subsequent scolding invokes a chronotopic frame for playful derision in which the more powerful 'joker' derides the less powerful 'patsy' for a perceived misstep. Etta's decision to take the floor from Julius enacts her stance as the more powerful 'joker'. Her interruption dismisses Julius' explanation as unimportant and regulates his position to that of the butt of the insulting joke.

Etta's castigation of Julius continues in line 6 as she tells Julius *ga usah pindah-pindah bah* 'there's no need to keep moving around'. The assertion *ga usah pindah-pindah* further develops Etta's role as the as she is the one who scolds Julius for moving around. Etta's assertion is upgraded with the inclusion of the *bah* particle. *Bah* invokes a chronotope of general or expected knowledge which reproduces a chronotopic frame for shared knowledge. The chronotopic frame for shared knowledge classifies the utterance as containing information that Julius should already know. The use of the particle further denigrates Julius by suggesting that it is obvious that he shouldn't need to keep moving around.

Julius attempts to defend his decision to move by offering the explanation that he wants to sit with someone. Etta interrupts and takes the floor again in line 8, stating that Julius' 'husband' is seated directly behind him. Etta's interruption indicates that she does not need to hear Julius' explanation

because she has anticipated what he is about to say. This is evident in her utterance *ada suami kau di belakang* ‘your husband is just behind you’. The utterance here implies that she knows that Julius wants to sit next to his best friend, Ferry. Etta refers to Ferry as *suami kau* ‘your husband’ to playfully mock Julius for being so eager to sit next to Ferry, by implying that Ferry is more than Julius’ friend, he is his husband. Etta’s selection of the Malay 2SG pronoun to address Julius is also significant. As explained in previous chapters, the form *kau* is typically used to address equals or those of lower status. Therefore, Etta selects *kau* because it emphasizes Julius’ inferior position relative to herself. Finally, the utterance includes *bah* at the end which contributes to Etta’s playful insult by reproducing a chronotopic frame for shared knowledge which indicates that Julius should know that his ‘husband’ is behind him. The use of the particle bolsters Etta’s position as the more powerful joker and Julius’ position below her because she is the one chiding Julius for not recognizing this obvious truth. Additionally, Etta continues to make clear that the two friends will still be able to communicate during class. She terminates her insult by telling Julius that his ‘husband’ is already tired out from trying to find him a seat.

It is significant here that Etta and Julius are close friends and, through the context it is evident that Etta is only playfully mocking him. She does not genuinely think that Ferry is Julius’ husband, and she is not trying to belittle Julius. She is just playing around with him. Several researchers have suggested that engaging in ritual insults such as that shown in the example above can serve to enhance the pre-existing solidarity between speakers because it emphasizes their intimacy. The exchange of playful insults can demonstrate that interlocutors are sufficiently intimate so that they know that the other person is not likely to attack or attempt to engage in actual conflict, which frames insults as more non-threatening. Importantly, the effect of these playful insults on solidarity is very dependent on the pre-existing solidarity between speakers. If speakers are non-intimate and non-solidary, the use of *bah* particle may not have a humorous effect. *Bah* can also be used in situations where a miscommunication has arisen as a result of one party not interpreting the intended meaning of another party’s utterance. These interactions, like the one below, are often not constructed for humorous effect. In example (8.6) below Sebastian misinterprets the reference of Sofia’s utterance *sayang* ‘pity’. This forces Sofia to clarify her intended meaning. However, Sebastian doesn’t accept or recognise her clarification. Sofia uses the particle *bah* to indicate that Sebastian should know what she means.

(8.6)

1	**Sofia**	Sayang
		Pity
2	**Sebastian**	Tapi tidak Miss-
		But no Miss-
3		Kok sayang mau bagi kami?
		Why is it a pity to share it with us?
4		Panggil itu sarapan.
		That's called breakfast
5	**Sofia**	Makan lah**.**
		Eat
6		Aku bilang sayang kalau buang,
		I said it's a pity to throw it away
7		itu masih lama
		That was a while ago
8	**Sebastian**	*whispers something inaudible to another teacher*
9	**Sofia**	Argh! Aku bilang gini bah
		Argh! I was saying it's like this
10		aku tuh baru kumpul.
		I just collected these
11		Sayang bah
		It would be a pity
12		kalau kau buang.
		if you threw it away

The interaction above occurs while the teachers are eating breakfast. All the teachers are gathered together in an empty classroom. Sofia brought some food from home and is sharing it with the teachers. Sofia says *sayang* 'pity' in the opening line of the interaction. Sebastian is in the middle of responding to another teacher when he registers what Sofia has said and challenges her comment by asking why it should be a pity to share with the teachers in lines 3 and 4. His comment indicates

that he has interpreted Sofia's initial utterance as referring to the sharing of her food. Sofia responds in line 5 by insisting that the teachers should eat. She further clarifies in lines 6 and 7 that she said it would be a pity to throw out the food (and hence it is good that the teachers are eating it). Sebastian does not respond to Sofia's clarification but instead whispers something inaudible to another teacher. Sofia clearly interprets this as a rejection of her clarification, as she reconstructs her clarification *aku bilang gini bah* 'I was saying it's like this'. The form *gini* draws focus to the succeeding utterance by cataphorically signaling that a an important proposition is about to be made (Ewing, 2005, p. 250). Sofia's utterance further reproduces a chronotopic frame for misunderstanding and repair in which the speaker attempts to clarify a previous utterance that the hearer has misinterpreted.

Importantly, the inclusion of *bah* in this context invokes a chronotope of expected knowledge which reproduces a chronotopic frame of shared knowledge. This frames Sofia's intended meaning as something that Sebastian should already know. The intended effect of the invocation of this chronotopic frame is that the speaker expresses derision by implying that the hearer has failed to meet expectations by not recognizing information with which they are expected to be familiar. Sofia is evidently frustrated with Sebastian, as she produces a noise of exasperation 'Argh!'. This indicates that Sofia expected Sebastian to understand her and is frustrated that he has not accepted and recognized her attempt to clarify her meaning. Sofia has previously clarified her intended meaning, so at this point in the dialogue, Sofia expects Sebastian to understand the reference of her initial utterance. Sofia's use of *bah* may be intended to compel Sebastian to listen to Sofia's clarification by drawing his attention to the utterance and implying that the information contained should be obvious. The derisive effect of this use of *bah* may place more pressure on Sebastian to accept this explanation because the particle highlights his failure to perceive the implication of Sofia's utterance.

Sofia proceeds to clarify in line 10 and 11 that she said that *aku tuh baru kumpul, sayang bah kalau kau buang* 'I just collected these, it would be a pity if you threw them away'. Sofia's use of *bah* following *sayang* 'pity' can serve several functions. Firstly, the expression *sayang bah* invokes a chronotope of expected knowledge which again reproduces a chronotopic frame for shared knowledge which further emphasizes that Sebastian should already know this information. The use of *bah* may also refer back to Sofia's initial utterance *sayang* 'pity' in line 1. In effect, the

particle is used in line 11 to suggest ‘you know what I meant by *sayang*’. Sofia spells out this meaning in the following line by stating it would be a pity *kalau kau buang* ‘if you threw it away’.

Sofia’s use of *bah* in the example contributes to her stance of derision by implying that Sebastian is the one who failed to meet Sofia’s expectations. Sofia’s stance calibrates Sebastian’s position below her because he is the one who did not perform as expected. Sofia’s position above Sebastian is further enhanced by her epistemic authority. Her epistemic authority is established because Sofia’s use of *bah* in the example above overlaps with its use in explanations. Sofia is introducing an explanation, as evidenced by her use of the cataphoric reference *gini* ‘it’s like this’. A chronotopic frame for explanations may therefore be concurrently present in the interaction. Importantly, the effect of this chronotopic frame is slightly different as the information that the speaker is providing in this case is that which the hearer should already know (i.e. it is not new information). As previously explained, a chronotopic frame for explanations positions the speaker as the more knowledgeable explainer and the hearer as the less knowledgeable explainee. Sofia is clearly the explainer because she is providing the clarification, and as the person who produced the initial utterance, she has superior knowledge of her own intended meaning. Sofia adds *bah* to the end of her utterance to reproduce the chronotopic frame for shared knowledge, as mentioned above. The effect of this chronotopic frame in conjunction with the chronotopic frame for explanation may be that Sebastian is forced to accept Sofia’s explanation of her intended meaning. He is encouraged to do so because Sofia implies that the information is something that he should already know, and as the more powerful explainer, she has more knowledge than him on this matter.

It is of note that, as in the previous example, the speaker who assumes the speaker who assumes the more powerful role addresses the subordinate hearer using the Malay 2SG *kau*. As previously explained, this form of address can be used to position the addressee below the speaker. I argue that Sofia uses *kau* to address Sebastian in order to belittle him and reaffirm her own superiority.

This section has explored the three principle functions of *bah* in discourse; (1) to refer back to a previous utterance, (2) to extend common ground and (3) to denigrate a hearer by highlighting information as that which the hearer should already know. I have shown that *bah* consistently invokes a chronotopic frame for shared knowledge. However, the functions of *bah* differ across contexts depending on which other chronotopic frames are concurrently present. This indicates that *bah* has a perduring meaning that is associated with ‘shared knowledge’. The different

interactional functions of *bah* emerge from the context in which the particle is uttered. Following on, each of the uses of *bah* contributed to different speaker and hearer roles and identities. For instance, the use of *bah* in explanations contributed to the speaker's stance of epistemic authority which emphasised their identity as the more knowledgeable 'explainer'. In the following section 8.3, I argue that the individuals who use *bah* most frequently in particular modes are those whom are personally invested in the identities which emerged from the use of the particle in conjunction with other chronotopic frames in discourse.

8.3 Most frequent users of *bah*

The students at PCC and the teachers at PPK all used the particle *bah* in their interactions. However, several students at PCC used the particle more frequently than others. In the current section, I propose that some individuals use the particles to perform particular functions in discourse that enhance the roles and identities that these individuals perceive as being especially relevant to them. In other words, the individuals' tendency to adopt these chronotopic identities is connected to their own perduring sense of personal identity, and the roles they consistently play within their social groups.

Participants at both institutions used the particle *bah*, however, the frequency of use was more consistent within the teachers' group than within the various social groups at PCC. This finding mirrors those highlighted in previous chapters. The consistency in use of *bah* is likely due to the unified nature of the teachers' group. In previous chapters, I explained that the members of the teachers' group converge towards each other's linguistic practices, resulting in the production of a communicative style that is common to everyone who identifies as a member of this group. Therefore, predictably, all the teachers at PPK used the particle at the same rate.

Interestingly, unlike the students at PCC, the teachers at PPK most often used *bah* to extend common ground by reproducing a chronotopic frame of shared knowledge. There are several possible explanations for this trend. Firstly, the individuals at PPK are all teachers, therefore their perduring identities as teachers would naturally influence their tendency to adopt the role of the 'explainer' in explanations. Additionally, the majority of social interactions at PPK occur during meetings and informal gathering at the school during meal times. During these interactions, teachers usually discuss gossip, share stories and review plans for upcoming classes. These types of interactions involve the transmission and uptake of knowledge which favour the aforementioned

use of *bah* to extend common ground. Finally, PPK is a workplace where the teachers are expected behave in a more formal manner than they might elsewhere in their social lives. Therefore, the use of *bah* to frame information as obvious for the purpose of denigrating or poking fun at a hearer was unsurprisingly relatively uncommon.

The students at PCC displayed similarly predictable variation in the frequency of their use of *bah.* The variation in frequency of *bah* in the students' talk reflected the findings of earlier chapters. These findings indicated that there are a series of non-unified social groups at PCC which have different norms for interaction and different communicative styles. Additionally, there is a clear social division between student groups on the left and right sides of the classroom. This division appears to impact on the linguistic practices of individuals who belong to groups on found on either side of this divide. Analysis of the data showed that all groups of students used *bah* most frequently to refer back to shared knowledge. However, students who sat in the front left quadrant of the classroom used the particle in explanations to extend common ground more frequently than students on the right. Students who sat in the back right quadrant of the classroom were more frequent users of *bah* to mark information as obvious or expected knowledge in order to playfully mock their friends. This finding appears consistent with the findings of other chapters which indicated that the students in the front left quadrant of the classroom were wealthy, education-oriented students who were highly involved in the school community. These students' orientation towards the school is reflected in their use of *bah* to support their stance as the more knowledgeable 'explainer' in explanations. Students in the far back quadrant of the classroom were not education oriented or involved in the school. They often chatted and joked during classes, or else were absent altogether. The high frequency of joking interactions within these groups influenced their frequent use of *bah* to playfully mock their friends.

Importantly, within these groups, there were individuals who used *bah* for the aforementioned purposes more frequently than any others in their groups. Their frequent use of *bah* was connected to their perduring social roles within their groups. For instance, one student at PCC consistently performed the role of the 'explainer' by explaining concepts to other students. Another student consistently adopted the role of the playful joker, who heckled their friends for a laugh. I argue that the students who most frequently use the *bah* particle to extend common ground and deride their interlocutor do so because these functions of *bah* contribute to chronotopic identities of the

'explainer' and the 'joker' respectively. I argue that these students perceive these identities as being consistently relevant to them. Essentially, their enactment of these chronotopically conditioned identities reflects their personal sense of who they are in relation to their social environment.

In the following section, I will discuss the most frequent users of *bah* at PCC. These students used *bah* at least twice as often as other students in their class. Importantly, the data analysis indicated that these students most commonly used one particular function of *bah.* For instance, Lestari used *bah* to extend common ground and enhance her stance of epistemic authority more frequently than other students at PCC. Ratna was the most frequent user of *bah* to denigrate a hearer by highlighting information as that which the hearer should already know. In the following paragraphs I will discuss the identities and practices of these pairs of students' to demonstrate the relationship between their perduring sense of identity and their use of *bah.*

8.4 *Bah* and Identity

Lestari was the most frequent user of *bah* to extend common ground. Lestari used the particle *bah* approximately three times as frequently as other students at PPK. There were 14 recorded instances of Lestari using the *bah* particle in two hours of recorded interaction. Eleven of these instances involved Lestari using the particle in interactions which involved the chronotopic frame for explanations. In previous sections, I demonstrated that the use of *bah* can extend common ground in explanations in order to encourage the hearer to accept information as shared knowledge. This use of *bah* invokes a chronotopic frame for shared knowledge which puts pressure on the hearer to acknowledge information as shared knowledge because the particle implies that the hearer already knows that the information is true. Although the hearer is not expected to be familiar with the information itself, they are expected to know that the information is true based on the speaker's position as the more knowledgeable explainer, and the hearer's position as the less knowledgeable explainee. I explained that the hearer's acceptance of shared knowledge by the hearer involves acknowledging the speaker's epistemic authority. The use of *bah* by the speaker can thus extend common ground in order to bolster the speaker's stance of epistemic authority by requiring the hearer to accept their explanation as truth. Therefore, the use of *bah* can reproduce a chronotopic frame for shared knowledge which extends common ground, bolsters the speaker's stance of epistemic authority and contributes to their role as the explainer. Lestari often plays the role of the

explainer within her social group at PCC. She is a confident English speaker and is regarded as one of the highest performing students in their class. She is frequently asked to lead classroom discussions and explain concepts to other students. Lestari often helps other students complete class work or homework tasks. I therefore argue that it is because of this perduring social identity that Lestari is the most frequent user of *bah* at PCC, because she is the student who is most likely to enact the explainer role encompassed in the chronotopic frame for explanation interactions.

The following example shows Lestari using the particle *bah* to extend common ground and bolster her epistemic authority in order to perform this 'explainer' role in the classroom. At the time of the interaction, Lestari is attempting to help her friend and classmate, Marco, complete some class work on English morphology. She is telling Marco what to write as she explains the answer to the question he is working on.

(8.7)

1	**Lestari**	Phonetic form
2		F-O-R-M
3		of a morpheme
4	**Marco**	Alternatif kah?
		Is it alternative?
5	**Lestari**	Alternatif phonetic form of a morpheme (.)
		Pauses to observe Marco's writing
6		*Si wa,*
		Right,
7		*kin ulang kin* salah kayaknya
		the longer it takes the more incorrect it gets, it seems
8	**Marco**	Alternatif phonetic form-
9	**Lestari**	Form of a morpheme
10	**Marco**	Of a morpheme
11	**Lestari**	Jadi tuh
		So it's like
12		ada yang bilang 'cats' tuh pake 's'

		Some say ‘cats’ with an ‘s’
13		ada yang bilang pake z,
		Some say it with a ‘z’
14		gitu bah
		It’s like that
15		‘s’ kan
		‘s’ right
16		dua morpheme kan?
		Has two morphemes, you know?
17		Kayak, cats, dogs, ujungnya ‘s’,
		Like cats, dogs end with ‘s’
18		tapi kalo (.)
		But for (.)
19		kalo beberapa kata kita pake ‘z’
		But for a few words we use ‘z’
20		gitu bah
		It’s like that
21	**Marco**	Hmmmm

The example begins as Lestari is instructing Marco on how to write his answer to the question he is tasked with responding to. Lestari is clearly guiding Marco, as she even spells out the word ‘form’ to help him. Marco asks a clarifying question in line 4, to confirm if he should have added ‘alternative’ into the sentence. Lestari responds by repeating the words that Marco should write: ‘Alternative form of a morpheme’. She then comments that the longer it takes for Marco to write the answer, the more incorrect it becomes. It is evident at this stage of the interaction that Lestari has reproduced a chronotopic frame for explanations and she has enacted a stance of epistemic authority and adopted the role of the ‘explainer’ involved in this frame. She is instructing Marco on what to write and is even commenting that he is not performing as well as she would have hoped. Following on, Lestari again restates what Marco should be writing, and he repeats it after her. Marco plays the role of the less knowledgeable explainee, he is recognizing and confirming that he has understood Lestari’s direction and is completing the work as instructed.

In line 11, Lestari launches into an explanation of the answer that she is helping Marco to write. Her explanation centers on two forms of the plural /s/ ending in English, [s] and [z]. Her explanation is, unfortunately, incorrect however this has no bearing on the development of the interaction as neither speaker realizes the mistake. She states briefly that the word 'cat' can take [s] or [z] endings in lines 12 and 13. She concludes this statement with *gitu bah* 'it's like that, you know'. The form *gitu* is an anaphoric reference to the explanation she has just provided. The particle *bah* is added to the expression to reproduce a chronotopic frame for shared knowledge. The inclusion of the particle therefore instructs the hearer to treat the new information as shared knowledge. As a result, the utterance *gitu bah* may infer a meaning akin to 'I have explained this to you, now we both know that this is how it is'.

Bah additionally enhances Lestari's stance of epistemic authority because it emphasizes her investment in Marco's understanding and acceptance of her explanation. The particle serves to put pressure on Marco to accept Lestari's information as correct. Lestari is therefore using the particle to imply that Marco already knows that Lestari's explanation is accurate based on her pre-existing position as the more knowledgeable explainer, and Marco's position as the less knowledgeable explainee. As previously mentioned, the extension of common ground calibrates the interlocutors' alignment towards the information being presented because both are presumed to know that the information is correct. The effect of calibrating speaker alignment can be a strategic move on the part of the speaker to emphasise solidarity and intimacy to lessen the face threat of the power imbalance created through the invocation of a chronotopic frame for explanations.

Lestari continues to provide a more elaborate explanation of the /s/ plural ending in lines 15 to 20. She states more explicitly that the [s] and [z] forms of the plural ending constitute two different allomorphs of /s/. She provides the examples of 'dogs' and 'cats' to illustrate how the 'morpheme' (read: allomorph) [s] is used. She then claims that there are several other words which take the [z] plural ending. She closes her explanation by repeating the expression *gitu bah.* The repeated use of *gitu bah* further emphasises Lestari's stance of superior knowledge. The explanation is evidence that she understands (or at least thinks she understands) the rules regarding plural formation in English. The particle again encourages Marco to treat the explanation as shared knowledge and by so doing, indirectly acknowledge Lestari's stance of epistemic authority which supports her position as the more knowledgeable 'explainer'. Marco appears to perceive the use of *gitu bah* in

line 20 as a request for confirmation that he has taken the information on board, as he murmurs confirmation in response. His response acknowledges Lestari's stance of epistemic authority and her role as the more knowledgeable 'explainer', because he indicates that he has accepted Lestari's explanation as correct and true.

It is possible that Marco was more willing to recognise Lestari's stance of epistemic authority due to her perduring role as the 'explainer' within the class. In this sense, the explanation invokes a chronotope of previous interactions in which Lestari has acted as the explainer. Lestari's frequent use of the particle is likewise a product of the social role she consistently performs. She may continue to use the particle to invoke a chronotope of previous interactions where she has extended common ground following an explanation. These chronotopes may serve to enhance the impact of Lestari's stance of epistemic authority and her role as the explainer as she has previously frequently enacted this stance and this identity. The repeated instances of Lestari's use of *bah* may have developed an association between herself and the 'explainer' identity (perhaps as much in her own mind as in the minds of others). It is evident therefore that the use of *bah*, not unlike other socially meaningful discourse particles, contributes to the enactment of socially recognisable identities that can feed back into an individual's perduring sense of personal identity.

The students on the right side of the classroom, in contrast to Lestari, and the other students who populate the left side of the classroom, spend little of their time discussing class work. Instead, these students spend their school hours joking around and discussing topics that fall outside of the educational sphere. Analysis of the data demonstrated that these students most frequently used *bah* to frame information as obvious or expected knowledge in joking interactions. These joking interactions included a chronotopic frame for playful derision which involved a more powerful joker 'clowning' a less powerful patsy. I explained in previous sections that this function of *bah* enhances the speaker's stance as the more powerful joker because it emphasises the hearer's failure to recognise obvious or expected knowledge.

Ratna was the most prolific user of *bah* to denigrate a hearer in joking interactions at PCC. Ratna is known for being highly social and funny. She spends most of her time at PCC goofing off with her friends, and the majority of her interactions involve making jokes and playfully teasing other students. At the beginning of the school year, she sat at the front of the class with more school oriented peers. However, she later began sitting at the back of the class because she wanted to chat

and have fun during class. I argue that Ratna's perduring identity affects her frequent use of *bah* because she is the individual who is most likely to perform the playful joker identity encoded in the chronotopic frame for playful derision within interactions in her social groups.

In the following example (8.8), Ratna uses the *bah* particle to playfully deride her friend, Gilda. Gilda is calling out to Ratna to ask if she can use Ratna's phone charger. She doesn't ask Ratna to use her phone charger directly but instead asks if she has one. Ratna responds playfully by stating that Gilda knows the answer to her question. Ratna includes *bah* at the end of the utterance to chide Gilda and imply that she shouldn't need to ask because she should already know who has a phone charger.

(8.8)

1	**Gilda**	Ratna!
		Ratna!
2	**Ratna**	Apa sih?
		What?
3	**Gilda**	Itu kau punya?
		Do you have one?
4		Punya siapa?
		Whose is this?
5	**Ratna**	Kau tahu bah,
		You know,
6		ga usah gitu
		no need to be like that
7	**Gilda**	Mau ngecharge hp
		I wanna charge my phone
8	**Ratna**	Semoga lah
		Good luck,
9		kau bentuk doain lah!
		you should be praying!
10		Jahat kau!

You're evil!

Gilda asks Ratna in lines 3 and 4 whether she has a phone charger or else if someone else owns the one she is referring to. Ratna responds in line 5 stating *kau tahu bah* 'you know'. Ratna's utterance, *kau tahu,* directly states that Gilda already knows the answer to her own question. The inclusion of *bah* at the end of the utterance upgrades the response by reproducing a chronotopic frame of shared knowledge which reclassifies Gilda's question as one which she should already know the answer to (cf. Schegloff, 2007). This adds to her initial utterance *kau tahu* 'you know' by indicating that the answer is not only something that Gilda knows but something that is obvious or self-evident and therefore need not be posed as a question. The reproduction of this frame enacts Ratna's stance as the more powerful joker who chides the 'patsy', Gilda, for her foolish question. Importantly, Ratna uses the Malay second person singular (2SG) term of address *kau* which is considered part of very informal or even vulgar speech. The form is typically used to address equals or those of lower status. Therefore, Ratna's use of *kau* to address Gilda emphasizes Ratna's status as the powerful joker because she is positioning Gilda below her and is talking down to her.

Gilda does not appear to respond to Ratna's derision but instead continues to justify her question by stating that she wants to charge her phone. Ratna then reinforces her stance as the more powerful joker in the following lines 8-10. She continues to refer to Gilda using *kau,* which as previously mentioned, highlights her stance as the more powerful speaker, and Gilda's inferiority. Moreover, Ratna states that *kau bentuk doain lah* 'you should be praying' and *jahat kau* 'you're evil'. These moral judgements contribute to Ratna's powerful position by implying that Ratna has moral superiority over Gilda.

It is significant here that Ratna and Gilda are close friends, and, through the context, it is evident that Ratna is playing around. She does not genuinely think that Gilda is evil, she is merely messing with her. Ratna's intention to playfully deride Gilda is likely made clearer because Ratna regularly performs this joking role in her social group. Her friends know that she is not actually trying to make fun of them or hurt their feelings because she frequently formulates these kinds of jokes. In other words, the joking interaction and the use of *bah* invoke chronotopes of previous instances where Ratna has played the role of the joker and derided her friends by implying that they have

failed to recognize obvious information. The effect of these chronotopes is that her friends know not to take her insults seriously in the current interaction. Gilda's lack of response to Ratna's joking indicates that she does not perceive Ratna's insults as threatening or even marked. When Ratna starts to chide her, Gilda simply continues to explain that she wants to use the charger to charge her phone. This shows that Ratna's use of *bah* to reproduce a chronotopic frame for shared knowledge to emphasise her playful derision is unremarkable. Ratna's use of *bah* may therefore add to her pre-existing identity as the playful joker, as Lestari's use of *bah* adds to her pre-existing identity as the explainer. The examples discussed in this section therefore show that the use of *bah* contributes to the enactment of socially recognisable identities that can feed back into an individual's perduring sense of personal identity.

8.5 Summary and Conclusion

The chapter examined the following three functions of *bah:*

1. To refer back to previously uttered information
2. To extend common ground
3. To deride a hearer by framing information as obvious or expected knowledge

I explained that the three functions of *bah* indicate that *bah* has a core meaning pertaining to shared knowledge. I demonstrated that these functions of *bah* emerged in response to particular chronotopic frames that emerged in particular kinds of interaction. For instance, *bah* was most often used to extend common ground in storytelling and explanation interactions where one more knowledgeable speaker conveyed new information to a less knowledgeable hearer. By contrast, *bah* was most often used to deride a hearer by framing information as obvious or expected knowledge in joking interactions.

Importantly, I noted that although all the participants used *bah* to perform all of these functions, different groups of teachers and students at PPK and PCC showed different trends in their use of *bah*. The teachers at PPK most often used *bah* to extend common ground by reproducing a chronotopic frame of shared knowledge. I suggested that this trend may have emerged because the majority of social interactions at PPK occur during meetings and informal gathering at the school during meal times. During these interactions, teachers usually discuss gossip, share stories and review plans for upcoming classes. These types of interactions involve the transmission and uptake

of knowledge which favour the aforementioned use of *bah* to extend common ground. At PCC there was a clear division in the usage of *bah* between the left and right sides of the classroom. I mentioned in earlier chapters that students in the front left quadrant of the classroom were wealthy, education-oriented students who were highly involved in the school community. These students' orientation towards the school was reflected in their use of *bah* to extend common ground in explanation interactions. Students in the far back quadrant of the classroom were not education oriented or involved in the school. They often chatted and joked during classes, or else were absent altogether. The high frequency of joking interactions within these groups influenced their frequent use of *bah* to playfully mock their friends.

The chapter further showed that the use of *bah* on an individual level contributes to the enactment of socially recognisable identities that can feed back into an individual's perduring sense of personal identity. Ratna, who was known as the joker of her social group, used *bah* for playful derision more frequently than any other student at PCC. Lestari, as a gifted student, was often required to explain classroom content to other students, and so she easily slipped into the explainer role in interactions. Her use of *bah* reflected this trend as she used the particle to extend common ground approximately twice as often as any other student at PCC. I argued that Ratna's use of *bah* added to her pre-existing identity as the playful joker, just as Lestari's use of *bah* adds to her pre-existing identity as the explainer.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.0 Overview

Chapter 9 definitively responds to the key research questions posed in the introduction to the thesis. Firstly, I outline how and why features of Chinese and Indonesian languages are used to respond to different chronotopic frames for interaction. I then summarise how Chinese and Indonesian language features can be used to respond to chronotopic frames and in doing so, construct chronotopically conditioned identities. The conclusion demonstrates how the findings of each analytical chapter gradually build towards an overall understanding of the relationship between language ideology, linguistic practice, chronotopic frame response and identity production. These findings are linked to wider implications for the perceived relationship between identity and chronotopic frame response. The discussion will illustrate the utility of chronotopic frame theory as a way of understanding both perduring and interactionally based chronotopic identity work. The chapter additionally indicates the study's limitations and indicates directions for future research.

9.1 Key Findings

The results of the study demonstrated that Blommaert and De Fina's (2016) chronotopic frame theory can be extended to quantitatively and qualitatively account for language use and identity construction across different interactive contexts. Blommaert and De Fina (2016) noted that identities emerge in response to particular chronotopic frames that may be present in interaction. The results of the study likewise showed that interactional identity emerged as a result of chronotopic frame response. Significantly, the study further demonstrated that the choice to respond to one or more chronotopic frames was influenced by an individual's perduring sense of identity. The findings of the study show that Chinese and Indonesian languages are used to invoke chronotopes to respond to different chronotopic frames that are tied to different kinds of identities.

I found that features from Chinese languages can invoke chronotopes of Chinese cultural values, fictive kinship, ethnic identity and solidarity that are intrinsic to the Chinese community of Pontianak. By contrast, features of standard Indonesian language invoked chronotopes of monologic ideology, national identity and social distance that are connected to the Indonesian state.

The chronotopes invoked by features from Chinese and Indonesian languages are linked to particular Chinese and Indonesian identities. The chronotopes emerging from the use of Chinese language features are indirectly indexical of an in-group ethnic identity. The chronotopes invoked by Indonesian language features are indirectly indexical of Indonesian national identity. Previous research has indicated that Indonesian is an out-group language, and therefore is not connected to a particular ethnic or regional identity (cf. Errington, 1986; Sneddon, 2003a). Therefore, the chronotopes that contribute to Indonesian national identity are not indexical of any specific ethnic or regional identity. Importantly, the chronotopes invoked by Chinese and Indonesian languages are relevant to different scale orders and therefore the identities that they relate to can be considered different scale identities. In Chapter 2, I explained that Chinese and Indonesian languages are positioned on lower and higher scale orders respectively due to perduring Indonesian monologic ideology. I argued in subsequent chapters that ethnic Chinese identity and Indonesian national identity were likewise positioned on lower and higher scale levels. The results of Chapter 4 showed that monologic ideology endured on the local level in Pontianak as participants consistently drew on local attitudes and national monologic ideology to classify the ethnicity of others. This was reflected in participants' perceptions of Indonesian language use as not indexing any particular ethnic or regional identity. However, it was perceived to invoke chronotopes of higher levels of social capital and prestige than other ethnic and regional languages such as Teochew and Khek Chinese. The perception of Indonesian language as prestigious is a product of monologic ideology, and more specifically, monologic language policy which instated standard Indonesian as the language of business, education and government – domains which are typically associated with higher socioeconomic status and education levels. Therefore, the social class identity that was invoked through the use of standard Indonesian features can be considered a higher scale identity than the ethnic identity invoked through the use of local Chinese languages.

In addition to monologic ideology, local language attitudes also impacted on participants' perceptions of the relationship between ethnic and regional languages and the groups of individuals who use them most frequently. I noted in Chapter 4 that previous research indicated that interethnic tensions and separation of ethnic groups can increase the articulation of ideologies of ethnic difference (McIntosh, 2005). The boundaries between ethnic groups can produce linguistic differentiation whereby particular language varieties become strongly associated with the groups who use them most frequently (Irvine & Gal, 2000). The results of the current study showed that

participants perceived Khek and Teochew Chinese language features to invoke a chronotopic frame of Chinese ethnicity. Likewise, participants considered local Malay language features to invoke the chronotopic frame of Malay ethnicity. In the chapters that followed, I showed that these same perceptions of language and ethnicity appeared to affect participants use of Indonesian and Chinese languages to respond to various chronotopic frames for interaction, and by so doing enact stance and identity.

In Chapter 5, I built on the findings of Chapter 4 by examining how language ideologies and chronotopes come to bear on emerging discourse. Chapter 5 focused on the use of Chinese and Indonesian kin terms and pronominal forms of address. Forms of address were examined in the present study because participants identified variation in the selection of forms of address, in particular the use of ethnic KT, as salient marker of ethnic identity in interviews. The analysis revealed elucidated a perceived link between the use of Chinese kin terms and ethnic Chinese identity. Individuals use Chinese KT to respond to chronotopic frames for intraethnic communication and difference in seniority by invoking aspects of kin-like relationships with their interlocutors which enacts the speaker's stance of familial solidarity and deference for seniority. The intersecting chronotopic frames for intraethnic communication and kin-like relationships involve a shared identity of being members of the same ethnic group. This finding therefore demonstrates participants perceptions of the relationship between Chinese and Indonesian linguistic features and ethnic identity appear to be relevant to their own use of these features to invoke chronotopes of fictive kinship, ethnic identity and solidarity that are intrinsic to the Chinese community of Pontianak.

Following on, the chapter also contrasted the use of KT with the reciprocal use of 2SG pronouns. I show that the speakers use of Malay and Chinese 2SG pronouns to respond to chronotopic frames for intimacy and social sameness and simultaneously enact a stance of informal solidarity. This finding again reflected participants' perceptions of the lower scale level of Chinese and Malay languages, identified in Chapter 4, as they were used in a particular local context for personal talk (cf. Blommaert, 2007). Finally, I explained that the use of English institutional titles such as *Mister* and *Miss* is a response to chronotopic frames for institutional talk and formal social distance. Interestingly, the institutional titles were only ever used in Indonesian and English-language interactions. This finding indicated that English and Indonesian languages, as the languages of the

institution, were placed on a higher scale level because they were used in impersonal, institutional interactions. The chapter closed with a discussion of the motivations behind the choice to respond to one or more chronotopic frames through the use of these forms of address. I argued that this decision is influenced by the speaker's desire to accomplish one or more discursive goals, as well as their own sense of identity. Chapters 6-8 expanded on the idea of a relationship between the selection of linguistic forms to invoke particular chronotopes to respond to particular chronotopic frames and the individual's perduring sense of identity.

Chapter 6, 7 and 8 focused on the use of Chinese and Malay discourse markers in Chinese and Indonesian language interactions. The discourse markers examined in these chapters were selected because participants identified them as important ethnographic variables that were tied to particular ethnic and/or group identities. Chapter 6 investigated the Chinese discourse marker *he wa/iya wa/si* wa. The markers *he wa*, *si wa* and *iya wa* all have the same function in discourse, which is an emphatic agreement with a previous utterance. However, participants' selection of one variant of the discourse marker over another differed depending on the communicative styles of the groups to which they belong. I explained that the ethnic composition of different social groups as well as the languages that they use to interact affected the presence or absence of chronotopic frames for intraethnic, interethnic and in-group communication that influenced individuals' choice of variant. For instance, at PPK the form *iya wa* appeared when the teachers interacted together as one large group. The language of communication in large groups was predominantly Indonesian. I argued that the use of *iya wa* in this context was a response to the overlapping chronotopic frames for interethnic interaction and the teachers' in-group talk. By contrast, the form *he wa* was used in Teochew Chinese language interactions that emerged in smaller groups of Teochew speaking teachers, who were separated from the larger social group. The selection of *he wa* here emerged as a response to the chronotopic frames for intraethnic communication and Teochew teachers' in-group talk. Importantly, I noted that these chronotopic frames include larger social identities (Indonesian national identity and Teochew Chinese ethnic identity), and smaller social identities (the larger teachers' social identity and the smaller Teochew teachers' social identity). Therefore, I explained that the choice to respond to one or more of these chronotopic frames indirectly indexes one or more of these identities. It is possible to suggest then that the choice to respond to one or more chronotopic frames and not others influences and is influenced by an individual's perduring sense of identity.

I further examined the relationship between chronotopic frame response and identity in Chapter 7 by focusing on the use of the Chinese discourse particle *a*. In difference to the other chapters on discourse markers, Chapter 7 focused on a quantitative analysis of *a*. All teachers and students at PPK and PCC used the particle to upgrade or add emphasis to an utterance in discourse. More specifically, the particle was used in declaratives to indicate a contrast between the expectations or information presented in the current utterance and a previous utterance; to emphasise disagreement with a previous utterance and finally, the particle was used to add emphasis to an assessment or the epistemic strength of a statement. Finally, the particle can occur in exclamatives to frame the information conveyed in the utterance as unexpected or surprising (cf. Chu, 2002, 2009). However, there were consistent differences in the frequency of use of the particle across different groups. Therefore, a quantitative analysis of the use of *a* was required to analyse how rates of use of *a* coincided with different social identities. Further investigation into the use of *a* showed that differences in rates of use of the particle were dependent on the presence of the chronotopic frames for intraethnic communication and interethnic communication. Some social groups at PPK and PCC more frequently interacted with interlocutors of the same ethnicity and hence the chronotopic frame for intraethnic communication was more frequently present than in communications within groups of individuals of different ethnicities. In addition to social group variation, individual variation in rates of use of *a* was also identified in the analysis. I argued that individuals' rates of use of the particle were influenced by their personal sense of identity. All the individuals who exhibited high rates of usage of the particle shared common traits. They all had a strong sense of ethnic Chinese identity, which included adherence to particular cultural and linguistic ideologies that preferenced the use of Chinese language in intraethnic communications. I suggested that these individuals were more likely than others at their respective institutions to respond to chronotopic frames for intraethnic communication that required the use of Chinese language. I explained in this chapter that individuals responded to chronotopic frames which involved identities or roles which aligned with their own personal perduring attitudes, beliefs and identities. Participants such as Gilda often did not respond to chronotopic frames such as those for Chinese intraethnic communication because the ethnic identity included in this frame was not consistent with her personal sense of self. When she did occasionally respond to these frames, the decision appeared to be motivated by discursive goals. Therefore, the choice to respond to a chronotopic frame is not exclusively determined by an individual's identity. However, this

decision appears to be at least influenced by an individual's perduring sense of personal identity. This finding is consistent with other research which has suggested that individual's enactment of stance and interactional identity is connected to one or more aspects of their perduring sense of self (cf. Bailey, 2013; Bucholtz, 2010; Mendoza-Denton, 2008).

Finally, Chapter 8 explored the use of the Malay discourse particle *bah*. I examined three functions of *bah* found in the data and discuss how these functions are informed by the chronotopic frames that emerge in different types of interactions (e.g. explanations, jokes and storytelling). *Bah* could be used to refer to shared knowledge, extend common ground in the transmission of information and playfully deride a hearer for not recognising presumed knowledge. I explained that these functions of *bah* emerged from a core meaning of 'shared knowledge'. The analysis demonstrated that different groups of individuals exhibited different preferences for the different functions of *bah.* I concluded that the patterns in the use of *bah* were reflective of the characteristics and social identities that are most relevant to each of these groups. For example, some groups of students at PCC commonly located at the back of the classroom spent most of their class time gossiping and mucking around. These groups preferenced the use of *bah* for playful derision in joking interactions. By contrast, the educationally-motivated students at the front of the class more often used *bah* to extend common ground in explanations. The chapter further showed that the use of *bah* on an individual level contributed to the enactment of socially recognisable identities that can feed back into an individual's perduring sense of personal identity. Ratna, the joker of her social group, used *bah* for playful derision more frequently than any other student at PCC. By contrast, Lestari, a gifted and committed student, used the particle to extend common ground approximately twice as often as any other student at PCC. She was often asked to explain classroom content to her fellow students, and so she easily slipped into the explainer role in interactions. I argued that Ratna's use of *bah* added to her pre-existing identity as the playful joker, just as Lestari's use of *bah* adds to her pre-existing identity as the explainer. The findings here relate to research on iconic speakers (Eckert, 2000; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Stuart-Smith, 2004; Zhang, 2005). Iconic speakers are those who present as archetypal characters in their social spheres. Their perduring roles in their communities make them leaders of linguistic trends. They are not necessarily the innovators of language change, but they project a salient and recognizable style and identity that is easily imitable by others in their social spheres (Eckert, 2000; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Zhang, 2005). It is possible that Lestari and Ratna are iconic speakers at PCC who, through their dominant social

roles, influence the linguistic practices of others in their social groups. Chapter 8 therefore encompassed findings from the previous two chapters by showing that the selection of discourse markers to respond to different chronotopic frames for interaction can be informed by social and personal identities that form part of an individual's perduring sense of identity.

The combined results have demonstrated that Blommaert and De Fina's (2016) chronotopic frame theory can be extended to account for both language use and identity production in both qualitative and quantitative terms. The theory can be applied to not only the selection of one variant over another, but also the frequency with which one might use a particular variant to enact socially salient stances and identities. Chronotopic frame theory can further be employed to clarify the role of identity in motivating the selection of socially salient variables in interaction, this component of the theory has thus far not been given much academic attention. Further research might illuminate whether more subtle variation such as sociophonetic variation and phonemic tone variation can be explained through chronotopic frame theory.

Furthermore, the results have identified consistent patterns in the chronotopes invoked by Chinese and Indonesian language features that are connected to particular places and identities in Pontianak. As previously mentioned, Chinese languages features invoked chronotopes of Chinese cultural values, fictive kinship, ethnic identity and solidarity that are intrinsic to the Chinese community of Pontianak. By contrast, standard Indonesian language invokes chronotopes of monologic ideology, national identity and social distance that are connected to the Indonesian state. These findings indicate that there is a relationship between the larger societal ideologies regarding language and how these higher and lower scale languages are used on the local community level. These findings indicate directions for further research regarding the interaction between national and local language ideologies and attitudes and how these affect the chronotopes invoked through particular linguistic tokens. I will discuss the directions for future research in more depth in the following section.

9.2 Limitations and Directions for Further Research

The most important limitation of the study is that the results only stand for a group of 24 participants. Moreover, the study focused exclusively on female participants aged 18-26, currently residing in Pontianak and. All the participants had at least one Chinese parent and all attended at least one of the two predominantly-ethnic Chinese educational institutions in which the study was

conducted. These selection criteria were carefully constructed to fit the needs of this study. However, a change in the selection criteria or the recruitment of a larger pool of participants may have likely produced different results. Further, the findings of this thesis are specific to the Chinese community of Pontianak. If the study were expanded to other communities throughout the Chinese diaspora in Indonesia or elsewhere in the world, there would likely be a large disparity between the findings of this study and those conducted outside of Pontianak. Prior research on other Chinese communities in Indonesia has demonstrated that there are vast differences between the Chinese community in Pontianak and those in Java (Handoko, 2007; Heidhues, 2003; Oetomo, 1987). The distinctness of the Pontianak Chinese community in comparison to other Indonesian Chinese groups is one of the principal reasons for which Pontianak was chosen as the site for research.

Studies of Chinese communities in other areas of the diaspora would likely be a fruitful source of future scholarship. The current study has indicated that the Chinese community of Pontianak exhibits vastly different trends in their use of Chinese languages and their perceptions of their ethnic identity as compared to other groups of Chinese in the archipelago (Handoko, 2007; Oetomo, 1987). The results of the present study have further shown that it is likely that the chronotopes invoked by Chinese languages may differ across different communities. Beyond the Indonesian archipelago, the differences in chronotopes and chronotopic frames reproduced through Chinese languages may be even more vast. Differences in the position of Chinese communities and their relevant languages, as well as differences in the relationship between the Chinese community and other local groups would conceivably affect differences in the chronotopes and identities invoked through Chinese linguistic features. Questions abound as to how Chinese languages and Chinese identities are constructed in different sociocultural settings, if these languages invoke consistently similar or different chronotopes and whether they are used to respond to the same or different chronotopic frames in different places. I hope that the present study can act as a point of departure for future scholarship on the use of chronotopic frame theory to examine the relationship between Chinese languages and identities throughout the Chinese diaspora.

Finally, the study revealed that there were several differences in the communicative styles used by Teochew and Khek Chinese individuals. For example, in interviews it was noted that the discourse marker *eh* was particular to Khek Chinese communities, specifically those originating from rural areas just outside of Pontianak. The occurrence of this particle was not significant enough to as to

warrant thorough investigation within the current study. However, I could predict that this may be influenced by perceived stigma attached to purported rural speech styles as identified in interviews. It would be potentially revealing to delve deeper into the linguistic differences between these Chinese communities, and perhaps investigate changes in the use of linguistic styles by young people who move to the city from rural villages in surrounding areas. The Khek Chinese discourse markers and other linguistic features may invoke different chronotopes in rural areas than in urban cities, and therefore may have different consequences for the enactment of stance and identity.

Following on, the current study focused on a narrow set of linguistic features that were identified in ethnographic work as salient variables. Other linguistic variables may invoke different chronotopes and therefore relate to different kinds of identities. I did collect data on sociophonetic variation in the realization of /r/ as [r] and [ɾ], following participants identification of the variation in interviews. A small number of participants claimed that there was variation in the pronunciation of the /r/ trill in words like *terkenal* 'well known', stating that *pribumi* Indonesians' realisation of [r] was *kuat* 'strong', contrasting with the Chinese flapped [ɾ] which was described as *pelat* 'lispy/flat'. Examinations of this level of variation did not fit within the parameters of the current study, however, it would be potentially beneficial to investigate these claims of sociophonetic variation in further studies. Research has indicated that phonetic variation can pattern against particular social identities, meanings and social roles in discourse (Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Drager, 2011). In terms of chronotopic frame theory, this suggests that phonetic variants may invoke chronotopes of particular identities, interactions and attitudes much like other linguistic items. Therefore, phonetic and tone variants may be used to respond to chronotopic frames for interaction. However, several questions arise regarding their role in this process. To what degree are individuals aware of the variation in their phonetic production across different social contexts? Participants indicated that they were at least partially aware of the presence of sociophonetic variation which apparently pattered against Chinese and non-Chinese ethnic identities. However, the number of participants that explicitly identified this variation was relatively small. Therefore, it is unclear as to what degree the relationship between the use of sociophonetic variation and chronotopic frame response is different from the use of other linguistic features and chronotopic frame response.

Other studies of Indonesian discourse markers have indicated that tone may play a role in the functionality of these discourse markers in interaction (Djenar et al., Forthcoming; Sari, 2009; Wouk, 1998, 2001). It is possible then that tone variation may similarly have an effect on the functionality of the Chinese discourse markers examined in this thesis. Tone variation may additionally affect chronotopic frame response in a similar way to sociophonetic variation. The same questions therefore emerge as to what degree participants are aware of tone variation and to what extent this awareness affects the possible use of tone to respond to one or more chronotopic frames for interaction.

The Chinese community in Pontianak has proven a unique and rich source of research into language and identity. I sincerely hope to have the opportunity in the future to pursue the directions for further research outlined in this section of the conclusion. It is my estimation that this thesis may act as a launching pad for further studies on the chronotopic identities of the Chinese communities in West Kalimantan and throughout the world.

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Appendix A: Interview Schedule for Interview 1 (Bahasa Indonesia)

Below is the list of questions posed to participants in Interview 1 in Bahasa Indonesia.

1. Siapa namamu?
2. Berapa umurmu?
3. Tinggal di mana? Dengan siapa?
4. Udah berapa lama di Pontianak? Kenapa pindah ke sini?
5. Agama apa? Keluarga semua agama _____?
6. Kamu orang apa?
7. Ada kerja nggak?
8. Berapa lama kerja di sana?
9. Apa yg kamu suka di tempat kerja? Dan yang gak suka?
10. Ada orang apa di tempat kerja?
11. Ada gak kelompok teman yang berbeda? Apa perbedaannya?
12. Siapa temanmu di tempat kerja?
13. Bagaimana temanmu di tempat kerja?
14. Orang apa mereka?
15. Pakai bahasa apa sama teman di tempat kerja? Kenapa?
16. Pakai bahasa lain di tempat kerja?
17. Kuliah di mana?
18. Apa cita-cita setelah wisudah?
19. Kenapa pilih Universitas ini?
20. Apa yang kamu suka di universitas ini? Dan yang gak suka?
21. Ada orang apa di Universitas ini?
22. Ada gak kelompok teman yang berbeda di kelasmu? Apa perbedaannya?
23. Ada gang sendiri di Universitas? Bagaimana mereka?
24. Temanmu di Universitas orang apa?
25. Berbahasa apa sama teman di Universitas? Kenapa?
26. Selain itu, pakai bahasa apa di Universitas?
27. Teman lain di luar tempat kerja dan di luar universitas orang apa?

28. Biasanya pakai bahasa apa di kehidupan sehari-hari?
29. Bisa bahasa apa?
30. Apa bahasa utama?
31. Apa bahasa ibu?
32. Biasanya pakai Bahasa A di lingkungan apa?
33. Biasanya pakai Bahasa B di lingkungan apa?
34. Biasanya pakai Bahasa C di lingkungan apa?
35. Bahasa Chinesenya itu apa? Coba jelasin sedikit.
36. Kamu merasa penting gak kemampuannya berbahasa A/B/C? Kenapa?
37. Biasanya orang apa bisa berbahasa A/B/C? Kenapa?
38. Kalau ketemu sama orang baru, biasanya pakai bahasa apa? Kenapa?
39. Kamu sendiri merasa orang _____?
40. Papa mama juga orang _____?
41. Apa ciri khas orang Chinese?
42. Orang Chinese biasanya pakai bahasa apa? Kenapa?
43. Bisa gak bedakan orang tiociu sama orang khek? Gimana caranya?
44. Pernah gak orang bilang kamu bukan orang Chinese? Menurut kamu, kenapa itu terjadi?
45. Coba ceritakan sedikit tentang perayaan budayamu.
46. Kamu merasa penting gak merayakan _____? Kenapa?
47. Apa perbedaan antara istilah cina, Chinese dan Tionghoa?
48. Kamu sendiri lebih suka dipanggil orang apa? Kenapa?
49. Kamu sendiri lebih cenderung pakai istilah yang mana?
50. Budaya Pontianak itu apa?
51. Coba ceritakan sedikit tentang orang Chinese yang khusus di Pontianak.
52. Bagaimana pendapatmu terhadap orang Chinese di Pontianak? Dan orang Chinese di luar?
53. Pernah gak dengar kata kiose? Apa itu?
54. Bagaimana pendapatmu terhadap orang kiose?
55. Bagaimana pendapatmu terhadap orang Chinese yang tidak bisa berbahasa Chinese?

Appendix B: Interview Schedule for Interview 1 (English)

Below is the same list of questions posed to participants in Interview one that have been translated into English.

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Where do you live? And with whom?
4. How long have you lived in Pontianak? Why did you move here?
5. What's your religion? Is your whole family _____?
6. What kind of person are you?
7. Do you have a job? Where?
8. How long have you worked there?
9. What do you like about your workplace? And what don't you like?
10. What people are there at your workplace?
11. Are there different groups of friends in your workplace? What are their differences?
12. Who are your friends in the workplace?
13. What are they like?
14. What kind of person are they?
15. What language do you speak with your work friends? Why?
16. Do you use other languages in the workplace? Why?
17. Where do you go to university?
18. What do you want to do after graduating?
19. Why did you choose this university?
20. What do you like about your university? What don't you like?
21. What people are at your university?
22. Are there different groups of friends in your class? What are their differences?
23. Do you have your own group in class? What are they like?
24. What kind of person are they?
25. What language do you speak with your university friends? Why?
26. Besides that, are there other languages you speak at university? Why?
27. What kind of people are your friends from outside work and university?
28. What language do you usually speak in daily life?
29. What languages can you speak?
30. What's your primary language?
31. What's your mother tongue?
32. In what environment do you use language A?
33. In what environment do you use language B?
34. In what environment do you use language C?
35. What's your Chinese language? Try to explain a bit about the language.

36. Do you feel it's important to be able to speak language A/B/C? Why?
37. What kind of people usually speak language A/B/C?
38. If you meet with someone for the first time, what language do you use? Why?
39. So you feel you are _____?
40. And your mother and father are also _____?
41. What are the characteristics of Chinese people?
42. What language do Chinese people usually speak?
43. Are you able to differentiate Khek and Teochew people? How?
44. Has anyone ever told you that you do not look Chinese? If so, why do you think this happened?
45. Tell me a little bit about your culture's celebrations.
46. Do you feel it's important to celebrate _____? Why?
47. What is the difference between the terms *cina*, *Chinese* and *Tionghoa*?
48. What do you prefer to be called? Why?
49. Which term do you tend to use most often? Why?
50. What is Pontianak's culture?
51. Tell me a bit about Chinese people in Pontianak specifically.
52. What's your opinion of Chinese people in Pontianak? And Chinese from outside Pontianak?
53. Have you heard of the word *kiose*? What does it mean?
54. What is your opinion of *kiose*?
55. What do you think of Chinese people who cannot speak Chinese language(s)?

Appendix C: Transcript of Stimulus from Interview 2

Transcript of stimulus for Interview 2 speaker identification activity. Indonesian languages are indicated in italics, and Chinese languages are indicated in bold italics. The English translation is provided below each extract.

Dayak Speaker 1:

Suku ya? Banyak ya, uh..kalo Kalimantan sendiri itu terkenal dengan suku Dayak, Melayu, Madura, ada Chinese.. atau Tionghoa sekitarnya, terus ada suku Bugis dan suku Jawa, suku Jawa itu suku pendatang. Jadi mereka dari luar Kalimantan Barat gitu…ada banyak sekali.

[Ethnic groups? There's a lot uh…so Kalimantan itself is known for the Dayaks, Malays, Madura, there's Chinese…or *Tionghoa* roughly, then there's Bugis ethnicity and Javanese ethnicity, the Javanese are a foreign ethnic group. So they came from outside of West Kalimantan…there's a lot]

Khek Speaker 2:

A (Interviewer): *Hari ini kamu ga- gak ke mana ya?*

B (Speaker): *Ga **ah**, di kos terus **eh**, ga tahu ke mana **eh***

A: *Ga main game?*

B: *Ga **wa**, Wifi **lelet eh**.*

[A: You didn't go anywhere today?

B: Nah, I was just at the boarding house, I didn't know where to go.

A: You didn't play games?

B: Nah, the Wifi was slow]

Malay Speaker 3:

Rekam ni? Name saye Putinanda, umur saye.. 19 tahun, saye tinggal di jalan Tanjungpura saye anak ke…ke…keberape? Pertama dari tige bersaudara.

[Is this recording? My name is Putrinanda, I'm…19 years old, I live in Tanjungpura Street, I'm the…which one? The first of three siblings]

Teochew Speaker 3:

Wa ai ke *beli sayur gitu. […] Kamu bilang, Mister M sedikit dingin?? Ya* ***wa, siee*** *gitu.*

[I want to go to buy vegetables […] You're saying Mister M is a bit cold? Yeah! Kill me.]

Chinese Speaker 5:

Itu saya nggak begitu jelas perbedaannya, pada dasarnya ada perbedaan tapi perbedaan hanya sedikit..mmhm..perbedaan lainnya..kalau bahasa udah pasti berbeda ya..mmm..adat istiadat pada dasarnya hampir sama..uhh.. dalam misalnya adat istiadat perkawinan pada dasarnya sama dan ada perbedaan itu sedikit sajah.

[I'm not really sure of the difference, basically there is a difference but the difference is only small..mmhm..other differences..language is definitely different yeah..mmm..customs are basically the same..uhh..marriage customs for example are basically the same and the differences are only small.]