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DIACRITICS OF ETHNICITY IN MASS-MEDIA VERSIONS OF SUNDANESE-INDONESIAN

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Studies of "contact phenomena" between Indonesian and regional languages have typically followed the model of language contact pioneered by Uriel Weinreich, in which a bilingual speaker's native language is regarded as a source of "interference" in the acquisition of a second language, namely Indonesian. Joseph Errington, in his recent book *Shifting Languages: Interaction and Identity in Javanese Indonesia* (1998), encourages linguistic researchers to reevaluate Weinreich's model in cases of "hybrid language" that may not accord with a view of the bilingual repertoire as consisting of two discrete, mutually exclusive codes. Errington's analysis of what Javanese call *bahasa gadho-gadho* (salad language) suggests that conversational interaction among Javanese Indonesians is marked not only by extensive code-switching but by the "syncretic" mixing of Javanese discourse particles and other lexical items in otherwise Indonesian speech, and likewise ostensibly Indonesian items in Javanese. But unlike what might be expected from the traditional model of language contact and interference, Errington finds these elements "have relatively little salience as markers of speakers' Javanese and Indonesian identities" and are "interactionally negligible as diacritics of speakers' ethnicities."

In this paper I reevaluate Weinreich's model of language contact from another perspective, by analyzing how this model and the standardist language ideology of which it is a part have been institutionalized via mass-media portrayals of regional-language "interference" in Indonesian speech. In particular, I examine samples of Sundanese-Indonesian speech both "natural" and "scripted" as they have appeared both in print and on television. Unlike Errington's findings on naturally occurring Javanese-Indonesian interaction, these samples indicate that individual Sundanese lexical items, particularly discourse particles such as mah and *teh,* serve as crucial diacritics to identify the Sundaneseness of the portrayed speakers. Such items appear as a kind of "local color" in representations of colloquial Indonesian speech, carefully circumscribed insertions of non-standard lexical material that index Sundanese identity for readers and viewers, many of whom may themselves be non-Sundanese. I argue that mass-media versions of Sundanese-Indonesian reflect a pervasive language ideology regarding Indonesian that flags salient "non-standard" lexical items (whether derived from regional languages like Sundanese or from vernacular Malay/Indonesian dialects) as manifestations of "local" or "ethnic" speech. Simultaneously, however, even the most carefully scripted representations of "hybrid language" may undermine notions of Indonesian as an autonomous code subject to lexical "interference" from local vernaculars.

1 INTRODUCTION

For more than half a century of Indonesian independence, the nation's hundreds of regional languages *(bahasa daerah)* have played at best an ambivalent role in the national language-planning project. Though the 1945 Constitution officially pledges that the major regional languages will be "respected and protected" *(dihormati dan dipelihara),* they have by and large been held subservient to the interests of promoting *bahasa Indonesia* as the unifying language of a cohesive and coherent nation-state. In this immense nationwide project of linguistic standardization and modernization, the task of disseminating standard usage of "good and true" Indonesian *(bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar)* has been borne not only by officIal language planners but by surrogates in public institutions such as schools, universities, and the mass media. In such institutional contexts, the regional languages have been largely viewed as mere "contributors" to the

national language project, for instance as sources of loanwords for Indonesian as part of an effort to avoid reliance on lexical borrowing from foreign languages. But such "contributions" are at the same time considered potentially dangerous and disruptive, lest they disturb the propagation of "good and true" Indonesian.

The term typically used to describe this feared disruption of standard Indonesian is *interferensi,* defined by the authoritative dictionary Kamus *Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (1997:384) as "the intrusion of elements absorbed from another language that conflict with the grammatical norms of the absorbing language" *(masuknya unsur serapan ke dalam bahasa lain yang bersifat melanggar kaidah gramatika bahasa yang menyerap).* This sense of *interferensi* is clearly drawn from English "interference," a term popularized by the sociolinguist Uriel Weinreich in his pioneering work, *Languages* in *Contact* (1953) and further refined by Einar Haugen (1956) and others. In Weinreich's formulation of language contact, a bilingual speaker's native language is regarded as a detrimental source of phonological, morpholexical, or syntactic interference in the acquisition of a second language. Like other sociolinguistic models advanced during the heyday of developmental ism in the 1950s and 1960s -particularly Charles Ferguson's model of "diglossia" (1959) and its later elaborations by Joshua Fishman (1967) -Weinreich's paradigm proved highly influential in terms of policymaking for "developing nations" coming to grips with the "problem" of multilingualism (Fishman, Ferguson, and Gupta 1968)[1]. Weinreich, like Ferguson and Fishman, has continued to be heavily cited in studies by Indonesian linguists, not only on interference of regional languages in Indonesian (e.g., Rusyana 1975), but also interference of Indonesian in regional languages (e.g., Soekotjo et al. 1984) or between regional languages (e.g., Soegianto 1986). Primarily, however, *interferensi* tends to be regarded as a one-way phenomenon, a kind of "contamination" of the national language by local vernaculars (including vernacular Malay/Indonesian dialects) that leads to "errors" in speech and writing, as well as a loss of "communicative function.[2]

Recent work in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology has cast new light on translingual phenomena, taking to task Weinreich's long-standing model of language contact for its tacit prescriptivist assumption that bilingual and multilingual "interference phenomena" represent corruptions of ostensibly pure, autonomous codes. As Kathryn Woolard remarks, a new kind of sociolinguistics has emerged in recent years, which --drawing on the work of Mikhail Bakhtin --emphasizes such concepts as hybridity and multiplicity, and hence "place[s] bilingual and multilingual speakers and communities at its center, as prototypes rather than exceptions" (Woolard 1998:4). Such a perspective has a strong resonance in an intensely multilingual country such as Indonesia, and indeed a prime example of this new sociolinguistic approach is Joseph Errington's insightful study of "contact" between Javanese and Indonesian, *Shifting Languages: Interaction and Identity in Javanese Indonesian* (1998). Errington's work encourages linguistic researchers to reevaluate the model of language contact in cases of "hybrid language" that may not accord with a view of the bilingual repertoire as consisting of two discrete, mutually exclusive codes. His analysis of what Javanese call *bahasa gadho-gadho* (salad language) suggests that conversational interaction among Javanese Indonesians is marked not only by extensive code-switching but by the "syncretic" mixing of discourse particles and other lexical items from Javanese in otherwise Indonesian speech, and likewise ostensibly Indonesian items in Javanese. In such cases of syncretic usage, Errington argues, speakers are not

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[1]See Heryanto (1985) and Errington (1998a) for closer examinations of how the rhetoric of developmental ism has structured Indonesian language policy.

[2]Interference from European languages, particularly Dutch and English, has been treated as an even greater threat to the integrity of Indonesian. The official grammar of Indonesian warns against any interference that "disturbs the effectiveness of communication," but also notes: "The number of adopted elements from Javanese can be considered an enrichment of Indonesian, but the intrusion of English adoptions is regarded by some as a contamination of our language's authenticity and purity. People can still accept Sundanese-style *(kesunda-sundaan)* pronunciation of Indonesian; this is not so with Dutch-style *(kebelanda-belandaan)* pronunciation" (Alwi et al. 1998:8-9).

necessarily making a choice between discrete "Javanese" and "Indonesian" codes, but rather may choose both (or neither) simultaneously.[3]

Errington finds that in naturally occurring face-to-face interaction, the opposition between Javanese and Indonesian codes may be muted to such an extent that the provenance of different lexical items has little if any social significance. In his words, these elements are "interactionally negligible as diacritics of speakers' ethnicities" and their origins "have relatively little salience as markers of speakers' Javanese and Indonesian identities" (Errington 1998b:98, 106-7). This finding runs counter to the expectations of the traditional model of language contact, where "interference" from a vernacular to a second language indelibly marks a speaker both phonologically, in terms of a regional "accent," and grammatically, in terms of a "dialect."

In this paper I would like to explore how "interference" in Indonesian from one regional language, Sundanese, has been portrayed in mass-media representations of "mixed" speech. In particular, I examine samples of Sundanese-Indonesian speech both "natural" and "scripted" as they have appeared both in print and on television. Unlike Errington's findings on conversational Javanese-Indonesian interaction, these samples indicate that individual Sundanese lexical items, particularly discourse particles such as *mah* and *teh,* serve as crucial diacritics to identify the Sundaneseness of the portrayed speakers. Such items appear as a kind of "local color" in representations of colloquial Indonesian speech, carefully circumscribed insertions of non-standard lexical material that index Sundanese identity for readers and viewers, many of whom may themselves be non-Sundanese. I argue that mass-media versions of Sundanese-Indonesian reflect a pervasive "language ideology"[4] regarding Indonesian that flags salient non-standard lexical items (whether derived from regional languages like Sundanese or from vernacular Malay/Indonesian dialects) as manifestations of "local" or "ethnic" speech. Simultaneously, however, even the most carefully scripted representations of "hybrid language" may undermine notions of Indonesian as an autonomous code subject to lexical interference from local vernaculars. I end by considering the possible consequences of new sociolinguistic approaches for rethinking issues of language and ethnicity in post-New Order Indonesia.

As stated, the focus of this analysis is on media representations of Sundanese "mixtures" or "interference" in Indonesian speech, rather than on spontaneously occurring face-to-face interaction. Aside from Weinreichian studies of "interference" between Sundanese and Indonesian (Rusyana 1975; Soekotjo et al. 1984), some intriguing work on Sundanese- Indonesian code-switching, code-mixing, borrowing, and other interlingual phenomena has been pursued primarily by Indonesian linguists based at Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung (Widjajakusumah 1986; Djajasudarma et al. 1993; Sobarna et al. 1995; Sobama 1998; 2000). The breadth of data in these studies suggests that any serious study of "contact" between Indonesian and Sundanese cannot be solely viewed through the lens of interference, but rather must take into consideration the full range of pragmatic choices available to bilingual Sundanese-Indonesian speakers in any given interaction. Sobama (2000) has suggested that researchers on Sundanese-Indonesian interaction follow the lead of Errington (1998b) and investigate the Sundanese equivalent of *bahasa gadho-gadho,* which he aptly terms *basa karedok,* after the spicy Sundanese salad of cooked vegetables.[5]

2 HISTORIES OF PURISM IN INDONESIAN AND SUNDANESE

Before analyzing the data collected from media sources, I would like to provide some brief historical background on how Malay /Indonesian and Sundanese came to be regarded as discrete, mutually exclusive codes. By examining this history we can ascertain how ideologies of linguistic purism dating to colonial

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[3]"Syncretism" is a term that was introduced into structural linguistics by Kurylowicz (1964), who defined it as "the suppression of a relevant opposition under certain determined conditions," Hill and Hill (1986) then applied the term to forms of bilingual usage where putatively "contrasting" elements in a speaker's repertoire are cooccurrent in a stretch of discourse.

[4]"Language ideologies" may be broadly defined as "shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world"(Rumsey 1990:346). See further discussion in Silverstein (1979); Woolard (1994); Schieffelin et al. (1998).

[5]It should be noted that such culinary labels for "mixed" language (another one being *bahasa capcai,* after a Chinese dish of stir-fried vegetables) have been used pejoratively since colonial times to deprecate varieties of Malay/Indonesian considered non-standard, falling outside the bounds of state-enforced linguistic purism as discussed below (Oetomo 2000:171).

times, by which nonnative standards of the two languages were constructed, have dovetailed with the modern rhetoric of language development. Before Dutch efforts at language purification and standardization in the mid-nineteenth century, linguistic differences in Java and other parts of the East Indies did not constitute strong boundaries along "ethnic" or "racial" lines. As Maier (1993:46) puts it, "It was a mixed and fragmented society, in ethnic, linguistic, and cultural terms, a confusing network of groups and castes held together by a certain degree of tolerance and indifference." When Dutch interests in Java intensified after the end of the Java War in 1830 and the beginning of the *cultuurstelsel* (cultivation system), colonial officers soon set about to "purify" and "rationalize" spoken languages, beginning with the Malay dialects that they encountered in Batavia and other coastal trading areas. The Dutch were quick to distinguish between "high" Malay, which they identified as derived from a "pure" center in the Riau archipelago, and varieties of "low" Malay, which they characterized as the degenerate babble of the marketplace *(brabbelmaleisch).* When Malay began to be standardized for use as the primary administrative language for the Indies, colonial language officials sought to craft a unifonn "cultured" language (with unifonn Roman orthography) that could be taught in schools and reproduced in literature other printed material (Hoffman 1979). Philologists consulted in this standardizing project believed that the basis for "correct and good Malay" should be the written language as it appeared in literary texts from the Malay homeland, as opposed to any spoken varieties: written Malay "was thought to be more pure, more real, more direct." (Maier 1993:52) The result was an authoritative fonD of Malay which no one spoke as a first language, an unfamiliar and perhaps unreachable cosmopolitan ideal for inhabitants of the Indies. As is typical in cases of "diglossia" (Ferguson 1959), spoken varieties of "low" Malay were considered ungrammatical, chaotic, or not even "language."

At roughly the same time, the Dutch launched standardizing projects for Javanese, Sundanese, and other major vernaculars, driven by the belief (largely derived from Herder and other figures of Gennan Romanticism) that language --as the "soul" of the people --should dictate how the map of the Indies was to be carved into named "ethnic" regions. In the case of Sundanese, once colonial officials recognized that it was a distinct language and not merely "mountain Javanese" *(bergjavaans),* they set about pinpointing a "pure center" of language use as they were doing with Riau Malay. An obvious choice for the Dutch was the dialect region of the Priangan highlands, a center of aristocratic prestige cultivated first by the central Javanese Mataram empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and then by the Dutch after tea and coffee plantations there proved immensely profitable[6]. The city of Cianjur, a distribution point for coffee plantations, was the first capital of the Preanger Regencies, and through the first half of the nineteenth century Cianjur was deemed the most "refined" dialect --a judgment still expressed today by many Sundanese. But when the Pre anger administrative center was moved to the city of Bandung in 1865, linguistic prestige followed. The Bandung dialect was selected as the standard *(basa lulugu),* which the Dutch proceeded to propagate through institutions such as schooling and print media (Moriyama 1996:164-6).

In standardizing Malay and Sundanese, the Dutch saw it as their mandate to protect the purity of the languages from the "contamination" of vernacular usage. In the case of Malay, this required drawing a strict line between "High" and "Low" varieties. The case of Sundanese was further complicated by the fact that in the mid-nineteenth century the language was no longer in use as a written medium among the Priangan aristocrats with whom the Dutch were most familiar; the literate elite favored Javanese (and eventually Malay and Dutch) for official purposes. Karel Holle (1829-96), a tea plantation owner and colonial advisor for indigenous affairs, made the first early efforts to promote Sundanese printed materials in both Roman

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[6]By selecting Priangan Sundanese as the "purest" dialect, Dutch officials fashioned a curious alignment between linguistic "purity" and "refinement." Ever since the Mataram empire used Priangan as its base for westward expansion, Priangan Sundanese had been most readily distinguished from other dialects by the prevalence of a hierarchical system of speech styles *(undak-usuk basa),* in which "refined" speech *(basa femes)* contains vocabulary derived from the same Javano-Sanskritic roots as Javanese *krama.* By valorizing Priangan Sundanese as "pure," the Dutch encouraged the Sundanese to treat this Javanese-derived vocabulary as their "own," not a foreign imposition. Note, however, that when Sundanese today are asked to pinpoint the "purest" speakers of the language, they will in:variably select the Baduy, the isolated group in the mountains of the southern Banten region (Lebak regency), whose speech is widely believed to be *Sunda asl;* (authentic Sundanese) as it is lacking refined vocabulary.

and Javanese scripts, working closely with H. Moehamad Moesa (1822-86), a leading Priangan aristocrat, religious leader, and writer.[7] In 1867, in one of his early printed writings, Moesa was already bemoaning the "impurity" of Sundanese:

Anoe matak basa Soenda,	The reason why *basa Sunda*
Diseboetkeun hoedang gering,	Can be said to be convalescent,
Tapi tatjan djagdjag pisan,	But not entirely recovered,
Boektina tatjan walagri,	The proof that it is not yet sound,
Basana tatjan bersih,	Is that the language is not yet pure,
Tjampoer Djawa djeung Malajoe,	Mixed with Javanese and Malay,
Soemawon basa Arab,	Not to mention Arabic,
Eta noe redja teh teuing,	All this finery is just too much,
Malah aja noe enggeus leungit djinisna.	In fact original forms have been lost.

(Moesa 1867)

Thus the assumption that Sundanese needed to be purged of elements from Javanese, Malay, or other languages was swiftly established as a puristic norm. Moesa was no doubt reacting to the mixed Sundanese-Javanese code (known as *Jaware,* short for *Jawa saware,* 'half-Javanese') in use among Priangan aristocrats still oriented towards central Java, as well as mixed Sundanese- Malay usage in the hinterlands of Batavia. Holle's 1882 language map of Java, the first of its kind, depicted most of West Java as Sundanese-speaking (except for the Malay of Batavia and the Javanese of Banten and Cirebon on the north coast), but showed a large area of the Batavia and Krawang residencies as "Malay mixed with Sundanese" (Holle 1882). It is not certain whether Holle meant that this region (which according to current administrative boundaries would cover much of the Bogor, Tangerang, Bekasi, and Karawang regencies) had Malay *speakers* mixed with Sundanese or Malay *speech* mixed with Sundanese, or indeed both. In any case, the map made clear that this mixed Sundanese-Malay zone was doubly marginalized, existing on the peripheries of both Batavian Malay and Priangan Sundanese.

As the projects of language purification and standardization continued unabated after Indonesian independence, the colonial legacy of linguistic boundary-making was wedded to new discourses of "modernization" and "development." For Indonesian to take its rightful place among the world's "modem" languages, it was argued (most forcefully by Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana), regional language loyalties had to be relinquished so as not to disturb the development of the national language. With Weinreich's notion of "interference" in hand, linguists under the aegis of the Center for Language Cultivation and Development *(Pusat Pembinaan dun Pengembangan Bahasa* or P3B) have sought to identify what disturbances in Indonesian usage may be engendered by the local vernaculars. At the same time, the standardization of Sundanese has followed suit on a smaller scale, with organizations such as the Sundanese Language and Literature Association *(Lembaga Basa jeung Sastra Sunda)* entrusted with fostering proper usage. State-sponsored "language congresses" are held periodically for both Indonesian and Sundanese, where experts gather to make recommendations on such policies as language curriculum, proper usage in print and broadcast media, and standardization *of* grammar and orthography[8].

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[7]On Moesa's pivotal role in the development ofSundanese print literacy, see Moriyama (2000).

[8]See Heryanto (1996), who cogently argues that P3B and other institutions involved in language standardization were heavily implicated in the New Order regime's "totalitarian" scheme of discursive control over the Indonesian populace. It is worth further exploring parallels between the colonial policing of linguistic boundaries and latter-day New Order efforts, though this is beyond the scope of this paper.

3 REPRESENTATIONS OF SUNDANESE-INDONESIAN IN PRINT MEDIA

Since independence and especially since the inception *of* the New Order, newspapers and other print media have played a crucial role in the dissemination *of* a state-sponsored image *of* "good and true" Indonesian usage. But reporters and editors have had to grapple with how best to represent colloquial Indonesian quoted in their articles that deviates from the norms set down by language standardizers. Such non-standard usage often come from the mouths *of* "common folk" interviewed for articles, but also pop stars and other celebrities, and even presidents -from Soeharto's use *of* the verb suffix *-ken* instead *of* standard -kan (apparently "interference" from the suffix *-aken* in refined Javanese), to such well-known "Gus Dur-isms" as *biarin* ('don't worry about it') and *kok repot-repot aja* ('what's the fuss'). In accordance with P3B's orthographic guidelines (known since the spelling reforms *of* the early 1970s as *Ejaan Yang Disempumakan,* or 'Perfected Spelling'), print media uses italicization for any lexical items that are deemed to fall outside *of* standard usage, including colloquialisms, regionalisms, and unassimilated foreign terms (Arifin and Tasai 1995:47).[9] Italicization is a visual mark *of* linguistic "otherness," yet at the same time indicates how "interference" from the vernaculars is allowed to penetrate the public display *of* standard Indonesian, albeit in limited and often stereotyped ways.[10]

Let us turn first to examples *of* mixed Sundanese-Indonesian speech that have recently appeared in the daily newspaper often considered Indonesia's "paper *of* record," the Jakarta- based *Kompas.*[11] One section *of* the newspaper where italicized non-standard items are often found is the *Nama dun Peristiwa* ('Names and Events') column, a daily feature with two short pieces on (Indonesian and foreign) celebrities *of* the moment. When celebrities *of* Sundanese origin are quoted, their Indonesian speech often includes Sundanese lexical items, most frequently discourse particles such as the emphatic markers mah, *teh,* and *atuh.*[12] Miiller-Gotama (1996) analyzes *mah* and *teh* in terms *of* their pragmatic roles marking information flow, arguing that *mah* is a focus marker introducing new information or perspective, while *teh* marks known information; both particles occur immediately after any maximal phrase. The particle *atuh* is also emphatic but occurs initially or finally in an utterance or intonation unit[13]. In the first example (Text 1), rock star Nicky Astria is interviewed about her upcoming album. Her Sundaneseness is immediately flagged in the first paragraph *of* the piece, where she is referred to as *"Teh* Nicky", using the Sundanese kin term *Teh* (from *teteh,* no relation to the particle *teh),* meaning "older sister." *Teh* Nicky's first sentence reproduced here ends with the particle *atuh,* while the second contains mah after the Indonesian adjunct *of* time *sekarang* ('now'), apparently formed on analogy with the typical Sundanese collocation *ayeuna* mah ('now, as opposed to some other [already discussed] point in time'). Note that in other parts *of* the text representing the voice *of* the reporter, non-standard items are also italicized: the English loanword *rock; tul,* an informal contraction *of betul* ('correct, true'); and the prefatory particles *rho* and *kok,* marking surprise. Though *rho* and *kok* are *of* Javanese provenance, their appearance here does not seem to function as a diacritic *of* the reporter's Javanese ethnicity, in keeping with Errington's observation that these are "syncretic" particles that "can count as both, or neither, ethnic or national" (Errington 1998b:107). In other words, the pseudo-colloquial

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[9]P3B's official guide to Indonesian orthography does not actually mention the italicization of terms from regional languages or vemacular Malay dialects, but only that "scientific terms and foreign expressions" *(kata nama ilmiah atau ungkapan asing)* should be italicized (Tim Penyusun Kamus P3B 1997:1151). But regionalisms are often considered by Indonesian language scholars to be "foreign" *(asing).* See for instance the provocatively titled book 9 *out of 10 1ndonesian Words are Foreign* (Munsyi 1996), which treats any lexical item with a "regional" provenance (including Jakarta Malay!) as "foreign".

[10]A worthy point of comparison is the often racist history of orthographic representations of African-American vernacular English (Hadler 1998).

[11]According to 1998 figures from the A.C. Nielsen marketing research company, *Kompas* has a circulation of 3.1 million, tying it with *Pos Kota* as the nation's most widely read newspaper *(Jakarta Post* 1998).

[12]The particle *mah* is the most frequently appearing Sundanese regionalism in Indonesian print, which accords with the particle's high frequency of use in the informal Indonesian speech of Sundanese speakers, and even non-Sundanese Jakartan speakers. One Bandung native has wittily termed this tendency to insert *mah* into informal Indonesian *sakit* mah *('mah-sickness'),* a pun on *sakit maag* ('stomachache') (personal communication, Michael Ewing).

[13]On "intonation units" and their significance in the distribution of Cirebon Javanese discourse particles, see Ewing (1999: 165-73).

voice *of* Indonesian celebrity journalism can assimilate syncretic discourse particles from Javanese without being marked as "ethnic," but the voice *of Teh* Nicky is immediately flagged as Sundanese by her use *of* mah and *atuh.*

Text 2 also quotes a pop music celebrity, Acil Bimbo, a singer in the musical Bimbo family and a prominent figure in the Sundanese cultural scene *of* Bandung. Acil's Sundaneseness is on conspicuous display with his first words, *teu kedah* "no need," and *mah* is unsurprisingly not far behind, following the Indonesian first-person pronoun *aku* (the particle is commonly found after personal pronouns in Sundanese). As with Nicky Astria being called *Teh* Nicky, the reporter further accentuates Acil's Sundaneseness, first pointing out his "Sundanese accent" and later in the piece referring to him as *"urang Bandung"* ('a person from Bandung'), using the italicized Sundanese word *urang* instead *of* Indonesian orang. In the quotation reproduced here, Acil strikes an informal tone by mixing Sundanese into Indonesian speech already marked as colloquial, with the intimate pronoun *aku* and the contracted form *aja* (from *saja,* 'only, just'). But the printed representation *of* this utterance also illustrates one difficulty with the stylistic rule *of* italicizing only those words that are considered colloquial or regional. Some lexical items straddle the border between national and regional; in other words, they are "bivalent," Woolard's term to describe "words and segments that could 'belong' equally, descriptively and even prescriptively, to both codes" (Woolard 1998:7; see also Errington 1998b:107-13). Thus Acil's first sentence, printed as *"Teu kedah* bingung", is actually a well-formed sentence in standard Sundanese,[14] but since *bingung* ('confused') is bivalent, found in both Indonesian and Sundanese, it is not italicized. In my reproduction *of* this and other texts, I use solid underlining to indicate Sundanese segments and dotted underlining to indicate bivalent segments.[15] As we shall see, the journalistic rule *of* thumb not to italicize any (orthographically) bivalent segments becomes increasingly confusing when there is a preponderance *of* Sundanese items in a reproduced utterance.

Beyond the *Nama dan Peristiwa* column, italicized Sundanese most frequently appears in the pages *of Kompas* when "ordinary folk" from the Sundanese-speaking area are interviewed on a given topic. Texts 3 and 4 are typical examples, both quotations *of* villagers describing their plight during the financial crisis. Notably, both quoted speakers are from the mixed Malay- Sundanese region *of* West Java outside *of* Jakarta first mapped by Holle (1882), which covers a large part *of* the "Jabotabek" megalopolis (Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasi) and the Karawang region to the west.[16] If the speakers exclusively used Sundanese, their quotations would have to be translated into Indonesian, but these examples *of* mixed speech push the limits *of* what is acceptable for inclusion in *Kompas.* As such, the problem *of* "bivalency" discussed above is especially apparent. For instance in Text 3, the sentence printed as *"An* lauk mah apa saja bisa," only *an* ('as for...') and *mah* are italicized, although *lauk* ('side dishes eaten with rice') and *bisa* ('to suffice') are also found in Sundanese. But when *lauk* reappears a few sentences later in a semantically restricted sense *of* the word specific to Sundanese ('fish'), it is still left unitalicized. Similarly in Text 4, the sentence printed as *"Tapi an teu* aya *deui nu dituju naon atuh kala nggak kawin,"* begins with *tapi* ('but'), which is bivalent but is italicized because its Indonesian form is considered colloquial (a contraction of *tetapi).* This is followed by a run of Sundanese ending in *atuh,* followed by colloquial Indonesian *kala nggak* ('if not'), leaving only the final word, the bivalent *kawin* ('to marry'), unitalicized. Other orthographic difficulties faced by the reporter and editors are also evident in these texts. The first sentence in Text 3 contains the word *sakarang,* which represents a typical Sundanese (and possibly Jakartan) pronunciation of *sekarang,* yet the word is for some reason not italicized, perhaps because it only slightly differs from the standard form. Even more vexing is

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[14]Some Sundanese speakers attentive to the subtleties *of* the speech-style hierarchy *(undak-usuk basa)* might object to the fact that *feu kedah* is drawn from the *lemes* (refined) vocabulary set, while *bingung* is not. A more refined lexical alternant for *bingung* is *ewed,* although it is not a particularly common term.

[15]Only orthographically bivalent items are marked here, though many other cognate forms in Indonesian and Sundanese may indeed be phonologically bivalent in colloquial speech despite slight spelling differences. Also, in Texts I through 4 I retain the italicization as it appears in the Indonesian text, but in this and other transcriptions I use italics in the English translation only to mark items left untranslated.

[16]For Holle's modern successors in the mapping *of* language regions in Jakarta's hinterlands, see Nothofer (1980), Foley (1981), and Grijns (1991). *Of* these, only Grijns follows Holle's cartographic lead by marking a mixed Malay-Sundanese region.

the problem of morphologically mixed lexical items, such as *kaisi* ('filled') in Text 3, which combines the Sundanese passive prefix *ka-* with the Indonesian root *isi* ('fill'); or what is represented as *penghasilana* ('the salary') in Text 4, apparently a combination of Indonesian *penghasilan* with the Sundanese defmite suffix *-na* instead of Indonesian *-nya* (although note in standard Sundanese an epenthetic *-a-* must be inserted between a form ending with the *-an* suffix and *-na;* thus the standard form would be *panghasilanana)* .

In the heavily mixed Sundanese-lndonesian of the last two examples, one wonders whether selective italicization serves any useful purpose, since it is no longer a question of representing limited "interference" from Sundanese in otherwise Indonesian speech. In the next newspaper sample to be analyzed, another solution is offered: italicizing the entire text. This sample is taken from *Pikiran Rakyat,* the largest-circulation newspaper in Bandung. Every Sunday, an anonymous column runs on page two under the heading *"Madhapi,"* often accompanied by a cartoon. The text of the column always contains a dialogue between two fictional "Everyman" characters, Madhapi and Endun. This journalistic genre, known as *pajak* ('comer-columns'), has a long tradition in Indonesian newspapers, as discussed by Anderson (1966). Anderson notes that anonymous *pajak* in Jakarta newspapers of the 1960s often took the form of a dialogue between two proletarian figures with names like "Bang Dul" and "Pak Otong," offering homespun wisdom and pointed criticism on current issues in an earthy Jakartan Malay.[17] Though the *Madhapi* column -in keeping with the genre -has run unattributed in *Pikiran Rakyat* since its first appearance in the early 1990s, it has in fact had only one author, Aan Merdeka Permana, a journalist and occasional writer of Sundanese fiction.[18] Permana, though he hails from Ciamis in the far southeast of the Sundanese-speaking area, writes dialogue in the Jakarta *pajak* tradition, mixing Jakarta Malay with *kasar* (unrefined) Sundanese as one would expect in the outskirts of the capital (as with Texts 3 and 4).

Text 5 is a typical *Madhapi* column. (Since, as mentioned, the entire column is italicized, I have chosen to represent standard Indonesian text in a plain typeface, with colloquial Indonesian in boldface, Sundanese with underlining, and bivalent segments with dotted underlining; I reserve italics for untranslated terms in the English translation.) Interestingly, this column grapples with the same issue as Text 3, the difficulty villagers faced in late 1998 and early 1999 when the price of their staple food, rice, skyrocketed, in part due to hoarding by merchants. Even though the *Madhapi* column is fictional, it carries much the same weight as the quotation of the real-life villager in Text 3. Crucial to *Madhapi's* credibility is the verisimilitude of the mixed Sundanese-lndonesian speech it represents. The column is fairly popular in Bandung, and Sundanese friends have told me it strikes them as very "real"; they are surprised to learn that it is written by someone from Ciamis, and not, say, from Bekasi or Karawang.

As with the "natural" examples quoted in *Kampas,* the most frequently occurring regionalisms in the *Madhapi* columns are the particles *mah, teh,* and *atuh.* In these columns, however, there does not seem to be a conscious attempt to flag Sundaneseness exclusively; "Jakartan" expressions like *kagak* ('not'), the topic marker *sih, laen* for *lain* ('other'), or *pigimana* for *bagaimana* ('how'), appear just as frequently as Sundanese expressions. Even many of the Sundanese terms, such as *mah* and *atawa* ('or') are common enough in non-Sundanese Jakartan speech. Also, many columns contain long stretches of mostly standard Indonesian, usually when Madhapi is explaining a political or social issue to his rather slow friend Endun; in these passages Madhapi temporarily takes on the "objective" journalistic voice, which naturally requires a standard Indonesian register. Inevitably this is followed by a misunderstanding or irrelevant comment from Endun, which Madhapi usually answers with the very coarse Sundanese expression *"Raing* mah!" ('Oh you...!'). For the most part, the Sundanese terms used are those that would be widely understood by a non-Sundanese audience, for instance the kin term *Mamang* ('uncle'), used as a first- or second-person pronoun for Madhapi, or its vocative form Mang. In the case of *Madhapi,* where there is a need for wide

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[17]The significance of anonymity in *pojok-writing* can be compared to Michael Warner's study of how American republicanism in the eighteenth century was imagined through anonymous and pseudonymous newspaper articles-voices that were authoritatively "representative" because they belonged to "no-one-in-particular" (Warner 1990; Gal and Woolard 1995:134-5).

[18]Permana wrote one of the seven Sundanese literary works to be published in 1999, a two-volume novel titled *Silalatu Gunung Salak (Kompas* 2000).

comprehensibility without a loss of linguistic verisimilitude, bivalency becomes an important strategy; stretches of bivalent dialogue, with the occasional mah or atuh, are enough to retain a suitable level of Sundaneseness without alienating non-Sundanese readers. When Sundanese content words are used, it is often to convey emotions or sensations, a domain where Indonesian is often felt by Sundanese speakers to be lacking (Sundanese often proudly call their language *basa rasa*, 'language of feeling'). Thus, for instance, when Endun wavers on Madhapi's challenge to give up rice, he laments, *"Masih nineung* sarna *pulennya* beras *Cianjur,* Mang" ('I'm still fond of how smooth-tasting Cianjur rice is, Uncle'), using the verb *nineung* ('to have a deep longing for, as for a faraway loved one') and describing Cianjur rice as *pulen* ('soft and smooth when cooked, easy to eat with the hands').

4 REPRESENTATIONS *OF* SUNDANESE-INDONESIAN IN BROADCAST MEDIA

Television and radio broadcasts, which are not as reliant on standard written Indonesian (and Sundanese) as print media, would seem to be likely sources for the representation of "non-standard" interlingual phenomena. To be sure, radio broadcasts from Bandung and other West Javanese cities often feature call-in shows and talk shows where the speech of announcers and other participants is marked by code-switching, code-mixing, or the kind of "interference" that we have seen represented in print media. Television on the other hand, though it has long been a more widely consumed broadcast medium than radio in Indonesian homes, is more similar to print media in its depiction of mixed Sundanese-Indonesian speech, which is to say that it only appears in occasional, carefully circumscribed contexts. One possible explanation for this is that television has, like print media, been seen as a prime vehicle for disseminating standard Indonesian, especially since the Palapa satellite was launched in 1976 and allowed the entire archipelago to receive Indonesian-language broadcasts for the first time. Another explanation is the extremely limited "local" content on television as opposed to radio; the state-run TVRI transmits locally produced television shows from Bandung as it does in other major cities, but the five private television stations that have sprung up since 1989 are almost entirely "national" in content[19]. The private stations do occasionally broadcast *sinetron* (dramatic series) with Sundanese settings and sometimes feature variety shows where the performers' Sundaneseness is linguistically flagged (especially comedic troupes with Sundanese members such as *Bagito* and Project F). However, it is largely left to TVRI Bandung to depict the "everyday" speech of Sundanese Indonesians.

TVRI Bandung has made an effort to produce *sinetron Sunda,* most notably their long-running *Inohong* di *Bojongrangkong* (broadcast since 1990) and the recently launched *Colenak;* both of these series portray ordinary Sundanese village life and cast both professional and amateur actors in roles (Jurriens 1998; *Pikiran Rakyat* 2000). Other *sinetron,* however, also have Sundanese village settings but use Indonesian as their primary language, the most popular example being *Astahiam,* a biweekly series centering on the well-meaning but hapless title character. Here I examine some dialogue of an episode of *Astahiam* broadcast on November 16, 1999, the plot of which revolves around a "city" woman coming to Astahiam's nameless village and being mistaken by local women for a *genno* ('procurer, pimp'). Interestingly, the scenes featuring female members of the cast are the ones with the most "mixing" of Sundanese into Indonesian (scenes featuring Astahiam and his male friends usually only have an occasional rude interjection in Sundanese thrown in, most commonly, *"Belegug sial"* or "You idiot!"). It is evident in the scenes with the Sundanese women that only some of the dialogue is scripted, sometimes only what is needed to advance the plot, while much of the rest is improvised. However, the actresses have apparently been instructed that their improvisations, like their scripted lines, should neither be too Indonesian nor too Sundanese, since nearly every line of dialogue in these scenes can be considered "mixed".

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[19]One exception is Sundanese *wayang Kolek* perfonnance. Indosiar's Saturday night *wayang* broadcast features *wayang Kolek* on a regular basis, and the *dalang* (puppeteer) Asep Sunandar Sunarya has appeared in his own *Asep Show* on TPI. However, this is virtually the only time that Sundanese speech is heard on private Indonesian television.

In the first scene selected here (Text 6), two of the regular characters, Idah and Euis, are gathered with other women in front of Bi Eha's *WanIng* (roadside stall). The city woman was introduced in an earlier scene, and now the local women suspiciously discuss her presence in the village. In this as in other scenes with the women, the Sundanese lexical item that most frequently occurs is the discourse particle *teh,* which as Millller-Gotama (1996:119-20, 123-4) discusses can mark a "known" or "given" referent of which the participants have shared knowledge. In the first two instances in lines 2 and 3 *("Siapa wanita yang cantik tadi teh?"* "0, *iya, lupa, Bi Eha. Siapa perempuan yang tadi teh?"), teh* is used as an (optional) question marker, where Euis and Idah seek new information about a given topic, the mysterious city woman. These lines also illustrate that when *teh* is used in these scenes, it is frequently preceded by a "bivalent" items (in this case the adjunct of time *tadi* 'before, a while ago'). In the three scenes analyzed, *teh* is preceded by a Sundanese item four times, an Indonesian item eleven times, and a bivalent item sixteen times. The use of *teh* after an Indonesian term is limited to certain collocations, following a personal pronoun (five cases), an adjunct of time (four cases), or an item ending with the definite or possessive suffix *-nya* (two cases). This suggests that bivalency is used strategically as a "bridge" between Indonesian dialogue and introduced Sundanese items (compare Woolard 1998:7-9). Some Sundanese items require no such "bridging", particularly interjections such as *euh, euleuh(-euleuh), alah,* or *atuh,* which stand alone or are used in a vocative construction.

As with the *Madhapi* column, the Sundanese items used in these scenes tend to be those that would be comprehensible to a non-Sundanese audience, particularly discourse particles *(teh, mah, atuh),* demonstrative pronouns *(ieu, eta, tea)* and kin terms used as pronouns or vocatives *([Bi]bi, [Ne]neng, [Am]bu, [A]bah, [Ceu]ceu, [Te]teh).*[20] When an entire phrase appears in Sundanese, it is often preceded or followed by an Indonesian translation equivalent, spoken by the same character or another one:

(Text 7, line 1) Enok: Ke mana itu, rame-rame? Pada ka mana eta teh?
Where are you going to so noisily? Where are you all going to *teh*?

(Text 7, lines 19-20) Idah: Enggeus, tong mikiran jagung...
Enough, don't worry about the corn...

Euis: Jangan mikirin jagung terus...
Don't keep worrying about the corn...

(Text 8, line 21) Ooy: Keun antepkeun, antepkeun, biarin aja!
Leave it be, leave it be, just leave it be!

Though this strategy of repetition with translation may seem unnatural, it is an understandable technique by the writers and actors of the *sinetron* to avoid alienating non-Sundanese viewers. Regardless of this technique, however, some actors are apparently given a great deal of leeway in the amount of Sundanese material that they introduce into their lines. The dialogue of some of the older characters, in particular "Ambu", the wife of the village chief in the third scene transcribed here (Text 8), mostly consists of Sundanese or bivalent segments, and in these lines strictly Indonesian segments appear as "insertions" or "interference". In the scene where Enok comes in search of the village chief (but is really looking for his son, Astahiam), she confronts Ambu, who is constantly muttering invective in Sundanese about Enok. Enok's lines in this scene, where she frantically tries to describe what a *germo* is, contain far more Sundanese than the previous one (Text 7), apparently accommodating the Sundanese speech of Ambu and her friend Ooy. As with *Madhapi,* "emotional" dialogue, such as Ambu's irritated snarls towards Enok, are represented entirely in Sundanese. While Madhapi says *"Raing mah!"* when frustrated with Endun, Ambu mutters *"Dasar tah si Enok-belenok!"* ("Hmmph, that's just like *Enok-belenok!")* making nonsense out of Enok's name using a reduplicative pattern typical in Sundanese.

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[20]Of the kin tenus, *[Bi]bi* ('aunt') is common enough in Indonesian as used throughout Jakarta and West Java, usually in reference to an older working-class woman, and I have marked it in the transcript as bivalent.

5 CONCLUSION: RAMIFICATIONS FOR POST-NEW ORDER SOCIOLINGUISTICS

The new sociolinguistic appreciation of "hybrid language" described in the introduction owes much to Bakhtin's conception of discourse, in which any use of language is viewed as irreducibly "dialogical," with multiple "voices" interacting simultaneously. This interaction is not an "either/or" binary, "not a mere wavering between two mutually exclusive possibilities," but a case of "both/and" (Bakhtin 1981:281). According to Bakhtin, the essential hybridity of discourse, which he terms "heteroglossia," is masked by institutions of linguistic authority that seek to suppress all forms of multiplicity in an effort to present a single, unitary language. Thus in any utterance, both "centripetal" and "centrifugal" forces are at work, that is, both centralizing and decentralizing forces.

The Bakhtinian view of discourse seems especially provocative for post-New Order Indonesia, emerging out of more than three decades of authoritarian centralization and now considering "decentralization" in all its many guises. Perhaps then this is an opportune time to rethink issues of language and ethnicity with an eye to the "heteroglossia" that typifies so much of the nation's discourses. To be sure, in the reevaluation of the opposition between "national" and "regional" that has been underway since Soeharto's resignation, the revitalization of regional languages and literatures has come to the fore in many parts of Indonesia (Setiawan 2000). But these revitalization efforts often inevitably reinscribe the old colonial ideologies of linguistic purism, where hybrid forms are elided or discouraged. Nonetheless, new spaces for linguistic hybridity may be opening up in public discourse, extending beyond the circumscribed roles previously tolerated in mass-media venues such as *Madhapi* and *Astahiam.* At the same time, linguists both Indonesian and foreign may be taking more of an interest in researching hybrid linguistic usage in various regions of the country. Future research ought to be conducted on contemporary usage, such as regional varieties of the youth slang *prokem* (Chambert-Loir 1984; Sobama 1998), but also on historical forms that have previously been neglected, such as the mixed Sundanese-Javanese among colonial Sundanese aristocrats mentioned above, or the hybrids of Dutch with Malay and other vernaculars known as *pecoh* (Cress 1998). Indeed, the variety of mixed linguistic forms is so great in Indonesia to justify the creation of a new field of "hybrid linguistics." Only then would Indonesian language studies encompass not only the nation's Unity in Diversity, but its Diversity in Unity as well.

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Texts 1-4: *Sundanese-Indonesian speech quoted in* kompas

1 Soal album barunya yang berisi 10 lagu barunya itu, Nicky [Astria] belum mau cerita lebih banyak. Yang jelas, katanya, album itu akan beredar tidak lama lagi, sesudah hiruk-pikuk kampanye dan pemilu berakhir. ***Lho kok***, apa hubungannya lagu ***rock*** dan kampanye? "Yah biar banyak yang beli *atuh*. Sekarang *mah* orang lagi konsentrasi ke politik," katanya tertawa. ***Tul***!

("Nama dan Peristiwa," 29 May 1999)

About her new album containing 10 new songs, Nicky [Astria] doesn't want to say anymore. What's clear, she says, is that the album will come out soon, after the commotion of the campaign and election ends. ***Lho kok***, what's the connection between **rock** songs and the campaign? "Ya, so lots of people will buy it *atuh*. Now *mah* people are concentrating on politics," she said laughing. **True**!

2 Acil Bimbo (57) ikut-ikutan jadi komentator.*"Teu kedah* bingung. Aku *mah* jadi moderator ***aja***," ucap Acil dengan logat Sunda-nya.

("Nama dan Peristiwa," 18 April 2000)

Acil Bimbo (57) is following the trend of becoming a commentator. "No need to be confused. I *mah* am **just** being a moderator," said Acil with a Sundanese accent.

3 "Yang penting buat kita sakarang *mah* beras. *Mun tos gaduh beas*, lega *rasana*. *Ari* lauk *mah* apa saja bisa. Ada daun singkong ya dimakan, ada daun papaya ya dimakan. *Pan* ***nggak*** beli, bisa ambil di kebon atau minta tetangga. Sukur-sukur bisa *meser* lauk asin ***kalo*** ada rezeki. ***Kalo nggak*** garem ***aja*** cukup, asal perutnya *kaisi*..."

("Yang Penting, Punya Beras, 24 January 1999)

"What's important for us now *mah* is rice. If you already have rice, you feel relieved. As for side dishes *mah*, anything will do. If you have cassava leaves, ya you eat that, if you have papaya leaves, ya you eat that. **You don't** buy it, right, you can take it from the garden or ask a neighbor. Luckily you can buy salted fish **if** you're fortunate. **If not** then **just** salt is enough, as long as your stomach is filled..."

[Speaker: Chusaemi, age 46, Desa Tajur, Bogor]

4 "***Gimana*** ya... Saya *mah* ***penginnya*** *sakola* terus. *Tapi ari teu aya biaya kumaha*... Bapak saya cuma buruh tani. Mak sakit-sakitan, dan saya punya empat adik. Saya pernah kerja di pabrik biskuit. *Tapi penghasilana* kecil *pisan*. *Saminggu* cuma *tilu puluh rebu*. Waktu emak sakit saya berhenti kerja. ***Abis*** itu terus kawin. Suami saya kerja di pabrik. Gajinya Rp 270.000 *sabulan*." ... "*Tapi ari teu aya deui nu dituju naon atuh* ***kalo nggak*** kawin?" ujar Rohani.

("Membangun Hari Depan dengan Pendidikan Anak Perempuan," 3 May 2000)

"**What can I say** ya... I *mah* **really want** to keep going to school. But if there's no money then what... My father is just a farmer. Mom is always sick, and I have four younger siblings. I once worked in a biscuit factory. But the salary was really small. One week, only thirty thousand. When mom got sick I had to stop working. **After** that I got married. My husband works in the factory. His wages are Rp 270,000 a month." ... "But if there's nothing else to aim for, what is there *atuh* **if not** marriage?" said Rohani.

[Speaker: Rohani, age 16, Desa Mekarsari, Tangerang]

TEXT 5: [Aan Merdeka Permana], "Madhapi: Kabar dari Cireundeu ['News from Cireundeu']," *Pikiran Rakyat*, 13 September 1998

1	+	"**Kalo kagak** salah mah, Mamang the pernah mendongeng, Ndun....."	+ "**If I'm not** mistaken *mah*, *Mamang*$_{1P}$ *teh* once told a story, Ndun..."
2	–	"Dongeng Sakadang Kuya, Mang?"	– "The Story of the Turtle, *Mang*?"
3	+	"Wuah, anak zaman sekarang mah, **udah kagak** senang dongeng **kayak gitu**," keluh Madhapi.	+ "**Ah**, kids in this day and age *mah* **already don't** like stories **like that**," complained Madhapi.
4	–	"Jadi, dongeng apa atuh?"	– "So, what kind of stories *atuh*?"
5	+	"Inilah kabar dari Kampung Cireundeu di wilayah Leuwigajah Cimahi, Bandung!"	+ "Here's news from the hamlet of Cireundeu in the Leuwigajah district of Cimahi, Bandung!"
6	–	"Kabar apa?"	– "What's the news?"
7	+	"Kabar bahwa sejak ratusan tahun silam, orang Cireundeu mah **udah** bisa melepaskan jenis makanan pokok. Alhasil, saat orang **laen** antre beras murah, orang Cireundeu mah **enak-enak aja** makan singkong saat musim singkong, atawa makan beras jagung saat musim jagung. Kata orang Cireundeu, makan nasi beras teh **suka ngantuk** dan tak bawa semangat kerja," kata Madhapi menerangkan.	+ "The news is that for hundreds of years the people of Cireundeu *mah* have **already** been able to give up relying on one kind of staple food. The result is, when **other** people are standing in line for cheap rice, Cireundeu folks *mah* **take it easy** eating cassava when it's cassava season, *or* eating corn meal when it's corn season. Cireundeu folks say, eating rice *teh* **makes you sleepy** and doesn't give you energy to work," explained Madhapi.
8	–	"Bangsa lain yang berani melepaskan jenis makanan pokok pun jadi maju, Mang. **Liat aja** Jepang atawa Korea!" sambung Endun.	– "Other countries that take the risk of giving up relying on one staple have succeeded, *Mang*. **Just look at** Japan or Korea!" Endun continued.
9	+	"Mari atuh kita ubah kebiasaan! **Kalo** terus-terusan mempertahankan beras, repot kita. Banyak orang butuh beras, jadi melahirkan kaum spekulan, atawa pedagang dadakan yang menjual-belikan DO dan mengejar untung semata. Ayo, berani **nggak** mengganti beras?"	+ "Let's *atuh* change our habits! **If** we continue relying on rice, we'll be in trouble. Many people need rice, which gives rise to speculators, *or* last-minute merchants who buy and sell delivery orders just for profit's sake. Come on, are you willing **or not** to substitute rice?
10	–	Ditantang begini, Endun malah mengeluh.	– Thus challenged, Endun complained instead.
11	+	"Masih nineung sama pulennya beras Cianjur, Mang....." jawabnya.	+ "I'm still fond of how smooth-tasting Cianjur rice is, *Mang*..." he answered.
12	–	"Eh... ilaing mah!"	– "Eh... you *mah*!"
13	+	"Mamang berani **kagak**? **Kalo** semua guyub mah, ya **boleh-boleh aja**. Tapi jangan lantas saya pindah ke tiwul, Mamang tetap makan beras Cianjur. Makan nasi itu enak, Mang. Suku lain **aja**, yang dulunya terbiasa makan sagu atawa ketela, **udah** ganti makan nasi?" Ujar Endun.	+ "Does *Mamang*$_{2P}$ dare **or not**? **If** everyone pulls together *mah*, **sure why not**. But don't make me switch straight to cassava snacks, while *Mamang*$_{2P}$ keeps eating Cianjur rice. Eating rice is tasty, *Mang*. Haven't **even** other ethnic groups, who once used to eat sago or yams. **Alreday** switched to eating rice?" said Endun.

4 – "Eh, ilaing mah. **Dikasih** saran malah jadi **ngomel**, sepertinya ilaing teh masih mampu beli beras!"

5+ "Ya... **kalo udah nggak** mampu beli mah, da pada akhirnya apapun dimakan, Mang!" Endun **ngeloyor** pergi.

– "Eh, you *mah*. **You're given** a suggestion and you just **gripe**, it's as if you *teh* still have no problem buying rice!"

+ "Ya... **if I no longer** can buy it *mah*, then in the end I'll eat anything, *Mang*!" Endun left, **walking away while still talking.**

TEXT 6: *Astahiam*, episode broadcast Nov. 16, 1999, TVRI Bandung
Scene A: Idah, Euis and other women are gathered in front of Bi Eha's roadside stall

1	Euis:	Ada apa, Idah?	Euis:	What is it, Idah?
2	Idah:	Siapa wanita yang cantik tadi teh?	Idah:	Who was that beautiful woman before *teh*?
3	Euis:	O, iya, lupa, Bi Eha. Siapa perempuan yang tadi teh?	Euis:	Oh ya, I forgot, *Bi* Eha. Who was that woman before *teh*?
4	Eh:	Aduh... Lupa, Bibi teh. Ngak nanya...	Eh:	Oh my... Plumb forgot, $Bibi_{1P}$ *teh*. Didn't ask...
5	I:	Siapa namanya?	I:	What was her name?
6	Women:	Euuhhhh...	Women:	*Euuuhhh*...
7	I:	Di mana alamatnya... mau ke mana...	I:	What was her address... where was she going...
8	W:	Atuh...	W:	*Atuh*...
9	Eh:	Lupa, lupa namanyana si eta teh...	Eh:	I forgot, I forgot the name of that one *teh*...
10	I:	Bi Eha, mau apa dia datang ke sini, mau apa?	I:	*Bi* Eha, what did she want coming here, what?
11	Girl:	Ya, ngobrol apa saja sareng Bi Eha teh?	Girl:	Ya, what did she talk about with $Bi\ Eha_{2P}$ *teh*?
12	Eh:	Ngobrolnya mah di bumi, ya Neng ya? Katanya teh anak Bibi...si Yani tea, kan cantik...dia ajak kerja ke kota. Katanya di kota teh nanti banyak duit.	Eh:	We talked *mah* at home, ya *Neng* ya? She said *teh* to the daughter of $Bibi_{1P}$...Yani *tea*, she's pretty you know...she offered her work in the city. She said in the city *teh* she'd make lots of money.
13	W:	Banyak duit...	W:	Lots of money...
14	Eu:	Idah, pasti malahan saya juga ditawarin kerja, diajak ke kota sama perempuan tadi teh...	Eu:	Idah, sure in fact I was offered work too, I was invited to the city by that woman before *teh*...
15	G:	Euleuh, Ibi. Siapa tahu, dia teh, wanita yang suka menjual-belikan wanita desa ke kota?	G:	*Euleuh*, *Ibi*. Who knows, is she *teh* a woman who likes to trade village women to the city?
16	I:	Ya Bi Eha, mungkin juga, ya Bibi ya? Moal kitu Nyi Euis juga dijual ke kota.	I:	Ya *Bi* Eha, maybe so, ya *Bibi* ya? No way will *Nyi* Euis be sold in the city too.
17	G:	Bibi, kita lapor saja ke Pak Kades...	G:	*Bibi*, let's just report this to the Village Chief...
18	W:	Ya Bi Eha, ya Bi, hati-hati...	W:	Ya *Bi* Eha, ya *Bi*, let's be careful...
19	I:	Aduh bagaimana eta, meni kareueung begini atuh, Bi Eha.	I:	Oh, how about that, it's so disturbing this way *atuh*, *Bi* Eha.
20	Eu:	Alah, kumaha Bi Eha...	Eu:	*Alah*, how about it *Bi* Eha...
21	W:	...Itu sabaraha...Langkung sabaraha... Jadi sarebu lima ratus, Bi Ha... Ini uangnya ya...Ditukar...	W:	... How much is that...How much more...That's 1500, *Bi* Ha... Here's the money...Change this...

Text 7: *Astahiam*, episode broadcast Nov. 16, 1999, TVRI Bandung
Scene B: Idah, Euis and other women pass in front of Ceu Enok, selling corn

1	Enok:	Ke mana itu, rame-rame? Pada ka mana eta teh?	Enok: Where are you going to so noisily? Where are you all going *teh*?
2	Eu:	Euleuh-euleuh, ari Ceu [?] tidak tahu, kan di desa kita teh lagi gawat…	Eu: *Euleuh-euleuh*, *Ceu* [?] doesn't know, our village *teh* is in trouble, you know…
3	En:	Gawat?	En: Trouble?
4	Eu:	Ya!	Eu: Ya!
5	En:	Ada apa gawat? Ratih, cepat atuh. Kasih tahu Ceu Enok, biar tidak ketinggalan jaman	En: What's the trouble? Ratih, hurry *atuh*. Tell *Ceu* Enok$_{1P}$, so I'm not behind the times.
6	I:	Itu geura, Ceu Enok. Ceu Enok, ieu mah lain bohong, lain heureuy, lain gosip, ieu mah serius, Ceu Enok! Sumpah, Idah mah, daek disamber geredek sumpahna oge. Sumpah, Idah mah! Serius, serius!	I: Just look, *Ceu* Enok. *Ceu* Enok, this *mah* isn't a lie, it isn't a joke, it isn't gossip, this *mah* is serious, *Ceu* Enok! Swear, Idah$_{1P}$ *mah*, I swear, may I be struck by lightning. Swear, Idah$_{1P}$ *mah*! It's serious, serious!
7	En:	Paling-paling soal si Astahiam, iya kan?	En: At most it's a problem involving Astahiam, right?
8	G:	Di kampung kita teh, ada seorang gadis dari kota yang akan menjual gadis-gadis desa, Ceu Enok!	G: In our hamlet *teh*, there's a girl from the city who's going to sell village girls, *Ceu* Enok!
9	En:	Yang suka menjual wanita mah, namanya teh, ge-… germo, betul, germo, Idah, germo.	En: Someone who sells women *mah*, the name for that *teh*, pro-… procurer, yes, procurer, Idah, procurer.
10	Eu:	Apa, germo itu, Ceu Enok?	Eu: A procurer, what's that, *Ceu* Enok?
11	En:	Germo itu, iya… itu, ya germo aja, germo!	En: A procurer, yes… well it's a… it's just a procurer!
12	Eu:	Itu Ceu Enok!	Eu: Ah, *Ceu* Enok!
13	I:	Makanya, Ceu Enok, jangan keluyuran, bisi dijual…	I: Because of that, *Ceu* Enok, don't loiter outside, or else you'll end up getting sold…
14	Eu:	Kalau dijual, gimana?	Eu: If you get sold, then how is it?
15	En:	Amit-amit atuh kalau Ceu Enok dijual mah, ih… Tapi Idah… Ceu Enok bade dijual juga, tidak apa-apa, ke kota, biar banyak uang…	En: God forbid *atuh* if *Ceu* Enok$_{1P}$ got sold *mah*, *ih*… But Idah… If *Ceu* Enok$_{1P}$ would get sold too, it's okay, going to the city, so you get lots of money…
16	I:	Ceu Enok, di kota teh bukan jualan jagung kaya gini, Ceu Enok. Dijual teh nanti teh kita di kota ya, kalau dijual teh nanti teh, lihat, lihat, Idah nih lihat… nanti teh di kota teh suruh gini-gini: Ciihh! Gitu.	I: *Ceu* Enok, in the city *teh* it's not like selling corn like this, *Ceu* Enok. If we're sold *teh* later *teh* we'd be in the city ya, if we're sold *teh* later *teh*, look, look at Idah$_{1P}$, look… later *teh* in the city *teh* they'll make us do this:

		Ih! Idah mah nggak mau, amit-amit! Idah amit-amit, cih!	*Ciihh*! Like that. *Ih*! Idah$_{1P}$ doesn't want to, god forbid! Idah$_{1P}$ god forbid, *cih*!
17	G:	Makanya, ayo kita pulang!	G: So because of that, let's all go home!
18	En:	Kalau dijual begitu mah, disuruh begini-begini, nggak mau, Ceu Enok juga... Tunggu dulu, ini jagung Ceu Enok masih banyak, bagaimana?	En: If we're sold like that *mah*, made to act that way, I don't want it, *Ceu* Enok$_{1P}$ too. Wait, this corn of *Ceu* Enok$_{1P}$, there's still plenty, what about it?
19	I:	Enggeus, tong mikiran jagung...	I: Enough, don't worry about the corn...
20	Eu:	Jangan mikirin jagung terus, Ceu Enok, tidak takut dijual ke kota...	En: Sure *mah* I'm afraid, but if I don't worry about it, this corn *teh* will get spoiled, what about that?
21	I:	Nya engke teh dijual.	I: Then it's better if we just go home, better
22	En:	Takut mah takut, tapi kalau tidak dipikirin, ini jagung teh basi, bagaimana ya?	Eu: Don't keep worrying about the corn, *Ceu* Enok, aren't you afraid of getting sold in the city...
23	I:	Makanya mending pulang saja, mending pulang aja...	I: Later on *teh* you'll get sold, you know.just go home..

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