

Speech Modelling and Style Shifting in Javanese

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Though this paper is part of a broader project on bilingual Indonesian/Javanese interaction, it is intended to show why such usage cannot be dealt with independently of patterns of Javanese monolingual interaction. I deal here with aspects of Javanese usage which have implications for understanding Javanese-Indonesian usage and, I think, conversational code-switching more generally. But I back into these broader issues through a series of examples I hope are neither too numerous nor rapidly presented for proper digestion.

The payoff I seek is an empirically based argument against notions of code switching which are, in Erving Goffman's words, (1981:155) "too mechanical and too easy." I take it as no coincidence that Goffman's remark, in his paper "Footing," also cites work on code-switching by John Gumperz, which has since developed into the best known if not dominant paradigm in the study of bilingual interaction. So I sketch what I call Javanese speech modelling and speech style use in broad terms before moving on to conversational style shifting. Along the way I hope to raise some questions concerning convenient but perhaps misleadingly categorical assumptions about the strategic nature of codeswitching in bilingual interaction.

I should mention right away two unusual features of the Javanese Indonesian case. One which you may know of, at least as in its standard issue, *Language and Culture* 101 version, is the system of so-called Javanese speech levels, what I prefer to call speech styles. I've described them elsewhere (1988, 1985) in their most elaborate forms and within broader codes of polite interaction, focusing on style struc-

ture and normative use. The heuristic assumptions of that work led me to marginalize the kinds of transcriptions and interactional aspects of speech style use I take up today.

The other unusual feature of Javanese-Indonesian bilingualism stems from the social history and character of Indonesian which, at least in Central Java, where I've done research, has no native speaking community. Indonesian began to enter the awarenesses and repertoires of most Central Javanese no earlier than the mid 1950's or so under the sponsorship of the Indonesian state; but the Indonesian state is itself dominated by ethnic Javanese. Javanese have mostly learned Indonesian from and used it with other Javanese, and have no ethnically distinct Indonesian speech community or outgroup: a "they" group, as John Gumperz (1982) would put it. Because Javanese speakers have no exposure to a native Indonesian reference point, or distinguishably native Indonesian interactional modes, there is good reason to look for an ethnic Javanese cast to Javanese use of Indonesian.

Some questions about Javanese dialects of Indonesian might fall under Uriel Weinreich's traditional rubric (1951) of 'interference', which could cover issues of structure at all levels from phonology to lexicon. But other questions, the kind I take up here, involve broader aspects of what might be called interactional practice. Bilingual, interlinguistic "code" switching needs to be considered with an eye to monolingual Javanese usage, specifically, intralinguistic "subcode" shifting between speech styles. Style shifting in turn needs to be relativized to another specifically Javanese conversational practice which I call speech modelling.

Speech modelling

My use of the phrase "speech modelling" may make me a termmonger, but it is sufficiently less misleading than the better known 'reported speech' that I am willing to run that risk. If there is a common assumption in the huge, various, and burgeoning literature on 'reported speech', it is that

reported speech is intrinsically bipartite. Vološinov (1986) described this doubleness as speech about speech which is simultaneously speech within speech. Roman Jakobson's binarist classification (1974) schematized it as one type of reflexive language, messages about messages (M/M). Much attention has been devoted more recently to complex relations which can exist between the two parts of reported speech: that which frames and that which re-presents the content and perhaps form of an originary act-utterance. Reported speech which re-presents speech in ways which attenuate links between its originary form and re-produced content counts as relatively indirect, in Vološinov's terms or, as John Lucy (1993:18) suggests, relatively analytic. Other reportings which re-present qualities and forms of speech, and so have more similitude or iconic fit with originary utterances, count as relatively direct or imitative reported speech.

But distinctions between indirect or analytic reported speech on one hand, and direct or imitative reported speech on the other, all presuppose this underlying distinction between one part which re-presents speech and another which frames it with metalinguistic verbiage (*verbum dicendi*), setting it off and subordinating it in a reporting context. My first task here is to demonstrate the notable absence of such obligatory bipartiteness in Javanese ways of re-presenting talk, or modelling speech. I will try to show how this makes modellings difficult to identify and construe, at least for foreigners, because of the shifts in interactional roles which they presuppose. To model speech is to animate or ventriloquate utterances which are somehow not one's own. One then shifts what Goffman calls footing, that is, one's participant role in interaction. One temporarily adopts the guise of mediator between the speech event which one models, and the interactional here and now in which one conducts oneself as its animator or modeller. So correlatively those copresent, minimally a former addressee, are

then temporarily accorded a different relation to the speakers' utterances as an audience or ratified bystanders.

A first example of modelled speech, text I, is extracted from the transcription of a recording made by my coworker and consultant, who can go by the name of Endhang.¹ Endhang recorded this at the home of a relative who

Text I

- | | | |
|---|------|---|
| W: Kandhani rong sasi ki
blánjá
dhité dhéwé kok. [laughs] | [1] | W: I'll tell you, two months
I've been living on my
own money. [laughs] |
| A: Blánjá dhité
dhéwé? | [5] | A: Living on your own
money? |
| E: Lha biasané
nggo dhité sápa? | | E: Well whose money do
you usually live on? |
| W: Dhité wong-wong kuwi,
dhit turahan ngono
adaté, rong sasi ki
blánjá nggo dhité dhéwé.
[laughs] | [10] | W: Those other people's
money, the money left
over, usually, two months
now I'm spending my
own money.
It's gotten so I haven't
given the wife anything,
yeah well |
| Mbokné ngantèk ra
takdhumi,
wa is | | A: "I'm not giving
you anything. Not work-
ing now mom." |
| A: "Saiki kowé ra
takdhumi sik, préi
sik, mbokmu." | [15] | W: "Not [working]
now," I
[said] like that. |
| W: "Préi
sik" aku
ngono. | | |

lives, like her, in a rural community in the uplands north of the city of Solo, in central Java. Endang is visiting with her Aunt Atma, represented as A on the transcription, and chatting on the veranda together with one of Atma's distant relative, a man named Wid, marked as W. This entire conversation, between persons of long acquaintance, is carried on in the ordinary, casual low style of Javanese called *ngoko*. Wid had been describing hard times in the livestock business, in which he works as a broker specializing in cows. At once

exasperated and resigned, he half humorously says (lines 1-3) that he hasn't made a profit (i.e., has had to live on his own money, not other people's) for two months. Then he confesses (lines 12-13) with a rueful laugh that he hasn't even been able to contribute to household expenses.

Atma's utterance at line 15 appears to be a sympathetic response to Wid's story of hard times; she models an utterance which she imagines Wid might have addressed to his wife at some time or other during the difficult period he has just described. Atma, self-evidently absent from any such original event, claims no knowledge of any such utterance from direct first-hand observation, or an observer's report. Instead, she transforms Wid's prior descriptive statement at line 8, which was addressed to herself, into a modelling of an utterance which Wid might have addressed to his wife in the past, referred to with deictic 'now' (*saiki*). Atma thus models words which Wid might have spoken as 'I' (*tak*- 'passive first person clitic', line 16) to his wife--referred to as 'you' (*kowé*, at line 15).

Atma's utterance is not licensed by first-hand knowledge, is not offered as a report in any common sense of the word, and is assigned no mimetic or informational value. That is not at issue, as is apparent from Wid's acceptance of its appropriateness if not its accuracy. He responds by modelling (line 18) a putative past utterance--his own, framed explicitly as such with the tag phrase *aku ngono*, literally, 'I [did/spoke] like that'--which echoes exactly the part of Atma's modelling which was not based directly on his own previous utterance. Wid has no trouble construing Atma's utterance as a modelling; this is clear from the overlap which occurs between the last parenthetical *mbokmu* in Atma's modelling, and the beginning of Wid's rueful repetition of her modelling's main part.

So Atma has not reported a past utterance. She has done something more like what Goffman (1981:504) calls a replaying, "something that listeners can empathetically insert

themselves into, vicariously reexperiencing what took place." But here she is imaginatively replaying the experience of another, refracted in an utterance that other might have made. As Atma empathetically inserts herself into Wid's position, Wid himself becomes part of an audience. Atma assigned Wid and he assumed a double relation to her speech modelling, as putative author of the modelled event, and witness (or audience) for the modelling event.

The absence of overt framing verbiage for Atma's modelling makes it strikingly vivid and immediate, at least for speakers of languages like English in which such transpositions of voicings and deictic grounds must be explicitly framed. Such shifts presuppose considerable interactional attunement, and creates the impression (at least for this foreigner) of striking, sometimes confusing polyphony in Javanese interaction, which gives it what Bakhtin would call its centrifugal character.

Prescriptive modelling: mbasakaké

Speech modellings have a broader range than that commonly imputed to "reported speech," because they can be construed not just as models *of* previous act-utterances, but *for* future act-utterances. Speech modelled in this latter, broadly modal manner provides a kind of image of what will, could, or should be uttered at some future time, in some future context, by some speaker. And when modelling future speech of a copresent audience, a speaker takes on a pedagogic or prescriptive stance. Such speech is called in Javanese *mbasakaké*, a metapragmatic term which can be translated, with Koentjaraningrat, (1957:99) as 'to speak the speech of the children'. To speak as a copresent person should or would presupposes that speaker's relatively greater age and status, as well as their right to appropriate addressee's social position. It is broadly analogous to occasions when my daughter asks "Dad, can I have some cereal?," to which I immediately add "please?"

An example is text II, recorded while Endhang, marked as E, and Iman, an elderly neighbor marked as I, rest from work in neighboring fields. They chat with Mas Nur, a twentyish man (marked as N) passing by with his young niece Lik (marked as L). Lik is addressed here with *ndhuk*, a term of familiar address for younger women and girls transcribed in boldface (line 10). Endhang does not know Nur, and therefore uses high Javanese to him at lines 9-10. At the beginning, Endhang has told little Lik (line 1) to go look for a kind of edible grub called *gasir* in the dirt Endhang has been digging. When Pak Iman affectionately ribs Lik (lines 4-6) about her chubbiness, Lik responds with low Javanese *iyá* rather than polite high Javanese *inggihi*. Uncle Nur steps in at this point, at line 11, to correct her. He does this by modelling the utterance she should have just addressed to the venerable Iman--*inggihi mbah*, transcribed in italics--and so he models also the high style of speech with

Text II

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|------|---------------------------------|
| E: Káná, golèk gasir sik | [1] | E: There, look for <i>gasir</i> |
| káná | | over there. |
| L: E kéné | | L: Hey, here there's |
| okih | | alot |
| I: Gé | | I: Quick, |
| gagé, awakmu ka | [5] | quick, your body like a |
| babi ka ngono thik golèk | | pig's like that, why look |
| gasir aé. | | for <i>gasir</i> . |
| L: Iyá. | | L: Yeah [to I] |
| E: Nggihi niku lemuné, | | E: Yeah, she's fat from |
| pakanané pohung niku. | [10] | eating cassava. |
| N: "Nggihi <i>mbah</i> " ngonoá | | N: "Yes, grampa," like that |
| ndhuk. | | <i>ndhuk</i> . |

which she should address Iman in the future. Nur punctuates this modelling with the low Javanese demonstrative *ngono* 'like that', suffixed with the optative/imperative suffix *-á*, which overtly signals the prescriptive import of the utterance

he has just modelled.

One more example contrasts usefully insofar as it is entirely in high Javanese, and occurred not among rural peasants but members of the traditional Javanese elite. This text is taken from the very beginning of a bit of interaction I recorded during a visit to an elderly gentleman, a different Pak Atmo, marked as A. He and I had been chatting for about twenty minutes when another visitor appeared: Pak Wig, about fifty, who had been under Pak Atma's command in the Indonesian army during the revolution. Wig, marked as W, had since maintained close ties with and often undertook chores for Pak Atma like that around which this conversation developed. The transcription of Pak Wig's speech begins at just the point where his voice was loud enough to be recordable and transcribable, that is, after he quietly uttered the formulaic greeting *kulá nuwun*, and entered the room.

Text III

- | | | |
|--|------|--|
| A: Mánggá. | [1] | A: Come in. |
| W: Inggih. [enters the room
and sits down next to me
on a sofa] | | W: Yes. |
| A: Saking tindak
pundi? | | A: Where are you coming
from? |
| W: Saking kantor
tilpun. | [5] | W: From the telephone
office. |
| A: Lajeng dos pundi? | | A: So how about it? |
| W: Nuwun inggih
"Panjenengan kulá aturi
ngisèni formulir,
sampun rampung, lajeng
punfotokopi rangkep kalih
lajeng Ka Té Pé,
rangkep tigá." | [10] | W: Well,
"Will you please
fill out the forms,
when done, then
copy them, two copies
then identification card,
three copies." |

Wig had undertaken, I inferred from the conversation, to act as Pak Atma's agent in negotiating with the telephone com-

pany to get an extension line for Pak Atma's house. In response to Atma's query about his trip to the office, Pak Wig first offers the polite prefatory phrase, *nuwun inggih*, which in no way signals that he is about to model the speech which begins with second person pronoun ('you', *pan-jenengan*, at line 9) which the office employee apparently addressed to Wig as A's surrogate.

Expository and conversational "strategies"

With some sense of the conversational practice to which I apply the phrase "speech modelling," let me briefly reconsider these three examples as a group vis-a-vis the expository logic I've used in presenting them. I do this because I am concerned about the relation between any strategic or intentful character one might impute to speakers on one hand, and the expository assumptions or strategy which guide my own re-presentations of them here. It is obvious but not trivial that "modelled speech" is my classificatory rubric. It lets me juxtapose tiny, textualized bits of diverse interactional flows; I have transposed the rubric across contexts, topics, and interlocutors to select brief excerpts of much, much longer recordings and transcriptions to show you. I know of no Javanese metapragmatic term comparable in meaning or scope to "speech modelling."

My examples and my classification are in this respect mutually motivating: the former justifies the latter as tokens of its type; the latter motivates the selection and abstraction of the former from transcriptions of huge amounts of talk. To develop this approach I have effectively foregrounded these act-utterances in ways and for reasons quite extrinsic to their originary circumstances. Gathered as otherwise disparate texts, in the service of my expository thematic, they are figured or thematized in ways extrinsic to what I make appear as their interactional contextual backgrounds. By adducing them individually and collectively I make them the focus of my version of the question Jack Bilmes has

posed (1985:319-355) as "why that now?"

But I do not think this is a question Javanese necessarily ask themselves, if only because they are so often so singularly unforthcoming when it is posed to them. When I replayed recordings of conversations from segments like those in texts 1, 2, and 3, with or without transcriptions to inspect, Javanese had very little to say about them. I was largely unsuccessful in applying Gumperz' technique of "indirect conversation analysis" to gain access to speakers' "unconscious knowledge" (1982:72), that is, in proffering a range of alternate interpretations which speakers might choose between. I suggested to Endhang, for instance, that in text I Bu Atma might have been trying to empathize with Wid, and in text III that Wig modelled the phone company employee's instructions in order to avoid any impression that he, Wig, was responsible for these onerous requirements. Such suggestions were neither accepted nor rejected; they seemed simply beside the point. I was unable to hit upon or develop a useful vocabulary of "intention" in Javanese (*karep*) or Indonesian (*maksud*). Nor did a vocabulary of "meaning" (*teges* in Javanese, *arti* or *makna* in Indonesian) help much in my efforts to verbalize or elicit verbalized "understandings" or interpretations of such modellings. By and large people declined to comment on texts of interaction they did not observe first hand, and they were hardly more forthcoming for those which they did observe or, for that matter, which they themselves performed. Such modellings seemed in this respect remarkable to me as much for their opacity to "interpretation" as for their ubiquity in interaction.

So it seems to me that questions of strategy and motivation need to be directed as much at my task as their interaction. My lack of attunement engenders a kind of experiential gap between me and participatory flow in which speech modelling happens. I sought then and seek now to close this gap with some sort of analytic *post hoc* construal. To impute a strategy, imaginatively reconstructing a pro-

jective orientation, is one strategy for bridging this break between subjective interactional immediacy on one hand, and my foreigner's retrospective re-view of its recorded and orthographic traces on the other.

I cannot avoid the possibility, then, that the strategic or intentful appearances of such conduct is artifactual of my analytic point of view. I cannot discuss further the interpretive and methodological aspects of this point,² but can try to demonstrate its empirical significance by contrasting the examples of "speech modelling" in texts I-III with another which might seem more genuinely or strongly strategic from native speakers' points of view. Text IV offers more purchase for readings of agentivity, imputable to a speaker; notions of strategy, or interactional means and ends, fit it in significantly better ways.

The modelling in text IV had a strategic feel not just for me as I reviewed it in recording and transcription, but also for the man who recorded the event. This is one bit of a much longer conversation among members of a family, five men and two women, who are discussing the ticklish business of land inheritance. They have gathered for a regular meeting at their mother's house for a kind of rotating credit association (*arisan*). The mother had made it known that she had wished to pass on rights to farmland to her children before she died, in part to be sure that the process engendered no bad feelings. But she has left up to them decisions about how to divide the land, and how to deal with the daunting bureaucratic hurdles involved in transferring title from one to seven owners. Indonesian lexical material is in boldface. The lead discussant in all of this conversation has been the fourth of her children, a man of about forty called Pak Ratna here. Some fifteen years younger than his eldest sibling, Pak Ratna is nonetheless qualified as spokesperson by his education--highest of the group, as a graduate of high school--and the only white collar worker in the family.

Text IV

- R: *carané maju bareng nyang klurahan,*
 "Pak lurah, gandheng sabin menika taksih naminé simbah, tasihi naminé tiyang sepah kulá rumiyin, lha samenika kulá **keluarga** badhé kulá pecah. Lha kulá nyuwun [10] pandangan kalih pak lurah dos pundi.
 Ning menawi kulá gadhah pemanggih. Kulá nyuwun **keterangan, biayanipun** [15] antawis pinten reginipun. Lha **biaya**, mangké badhé kulá dolaken sawah menika.
 Kulá anggé **mbiyai** [20] menika."
- [1] *The way is to go together to the lurah's office.*
 "Pak Lurah, as this land is still in
 [5] mother's name, still the name of my parents from before, now I and my **family** want to break it up. So I ask for advice from pak lurah how to do it.
 But I have an idea. I ask for [15] **information, the cost [is]** roughly how much. So for **payment**, later I'll sell off some of the land.
 [20] I'll use that **to pay** for it.

The other men are all farmers. Pak Ratna exchanges low Javanese with all of his siblings and with his mother, as at lines 1-2, which are italicized. Borrowings from Indonesian are in boldface.

Having agreed to participate in a lottery for sections of the land, the group has shifted attention to the mechanics of transferring title. In the section presented, Pak Ratna offers his idea on how this should be done, modelling an act of address in high Javanese to the village head, or *pak lurah*. His modelling leaves unspecified, though, the identity of the spokesperson (or animator) who will represent the group at the office. Although there is mention of a joint visit (*maju bareng*, at line 1) there is no term referential of the person who will actually speak. But since, as my consultant noted, Ratna is the most comfortable speaking high Javanese, he is

most interactionally qualified to act as the group's delegate. So he is able indirectly to presuppose himself as future animator of words he is modelling here. When he utters a performative request at lines 10-11 (*Lha kulá nyuwun pandangan kalih pak lurah dos pundi*, 'I ask pak lurah's opinion') he enacts without claiming his own future speaker-ship, modelling a merely possible future speech act.

At the same time, this modelling helps Ratna put forward his thoughts on how to take care of the problem: selling one part of the land to pay for changes in title to the rest. By presenting it to the siblings as modelled speech, he presents it as an already collectively authorized decision, so, modelled as *fait accompli*. This is a case in which relatively strong lines of instrumental inference offer themselves; speech modelling here stands in contrast to other ways of speaking as a salient verbal means to extrinsic social ends. In such cases, the notions of strategy, intent, or "deployment" of micro-rhetorical strategy seems less forced. In such events, speech modellings have what Judy Irvine (1992) calls "implicational 'reach'" backward and forward within the social event, and so they appear relatively strategic. Grounded in a social project which transcends the interaction, it presents a graspable strategic appearance which seems to be missing for texts like I-III.

With this thumbnail sketch of speech modelling, and of a difference between its weakly and strongly strategic use, I turn next to use of Javanese speech styles.

Shifting styles and addressees

My purposes here require only a very simple sketch of the broadest generic contrasts between the basic, ordinary, or low Javanese language, *ngoko*, and all relatively polished or polite styles of high Javanese, or *básá*. I can contrast low and high Javanese in three different ways, moving from most abstract to most concrete. The first contrast, schematized in figure 1, is what I think of as a pragmatic

Figure 1: Generic markedness relations between speech styles

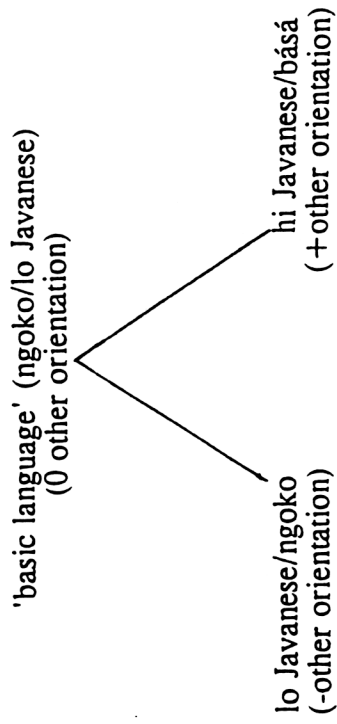
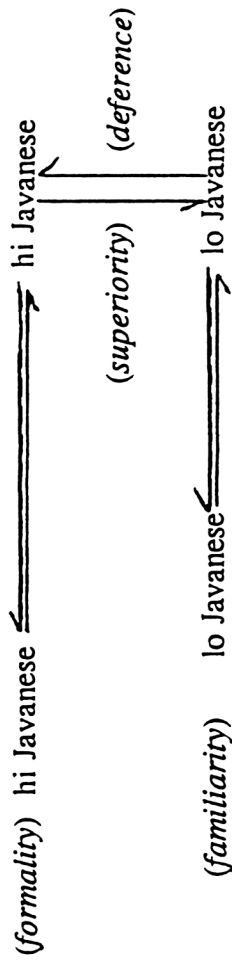


Figure 2: Patterns of speech style exchange



markedness relation between low and high Javanese, considered as genres independent of any occasion or context of use. High Javanese is pragmatically marked, over and against low Javanese, for its presupposed orientation to an interactional other, an addressee. By this I mean that high Javanese usage marks speaker's regard for prototypically unfamiliar or respected addressee: it has then what Karl Bühler (1990) called a broadly appellative function. Low Javanese stands not just in opposition to high Javanese stylistically as the language of intimate or condescending address, but it is also the basic language, Javanese, itself. It is the mode of expression first learned, most spontaneously used and, most relevant here, the language of internal experience and thought. This markedness relation is important for discussion of shifts in footing which can be accomplished by shifts between low and high Javanese.

The second generalization involves detemporalized patterns of exchange as schematized in figure 2. The point here is simply that the social import of what one gives, low or high Javanese, is partly dependent on what one gets. This model, borrowed quite directly from Brown and Gilman's famous article on T and V forms (1960) in Western European languages, shows that deference and superiority are marked by asymmetric patterns of exchange, but intimacy or formality are marked by symmetric patterns.

The third aspect of style use, most complex and interesting here, has to do with the interactional significances of shiftings between low and high Javanese. These shifts create part/whole relations conditioned by and conditioning of interactional flow, and they often go together with acts of speech modelling. Shifts to low Javanese from otherwise high Javanese address can mark a temporary suspension of speaker's orientation to an addressee, who is then temporarily transformed into an audience or bystander. I am thinking here especially of shifts which mark a mode of verbal self-disclosure, what is sometimes called in Javanese

ngunandika: to utter speech which is not overtly directed to an independent addressee but performed in their presence. It thus resembles what we might call "thinking out loud," but resonates much more strongly with the kinds of speech modelling practices sketched earlier.

Text V illustrates three different ways style shifting can integrate into interaction, with and without speech modelling. One shift between high and low Javanese keys a shift between speaker's orientations to respected and intimate addressees; another occurs within and helps to perform a modelling of conversation which occurred at an earlier time between the speaker and her husband. And finally, at line 23, there is a brief shift from high to low Javanese which allows the speaker to model interior speech or thought, reenacting a line of reasoning rather than performing an act of address.

The speaker is Mbok Praya, P on the transcript. She has long known both her speech partners, Endhang's father and Endhang, who have dropped by for a visit on their way home from the major regional market. To Endhang's father, twenty years her senior and classificatory elder sibling, Praya addresses respectful high Javanese and the kin term *mas*. This high Javanese is transcribed in roman letters. Endhang, her classificatory younger sibling, she familiarly gives low Javanese, italicized on the transcript, with the kin term *ndhuk* we encountered earlier. Praya has been talking about her problems with her unfaithful husband, S, who is doing little to disguise his evening visits to the house of a neighbor. Speaking in the presence of two persons to whom she gives different speech styles, P's choices between high and low Javanese effectively accord them distinct, complementary roles as either primary addressee or ratified bystander. Shifts between styles thus throw into relief shifts in attention between interactional others.

Text V

- P: Nèk kulá, mboten semerep,
ngoten men. Dados nggih mpun sok kulá niku sok nèk ajeng, nèk lé lénang mboten ènten niku, rak ajeng mára niku. Nèk tangi, rindhik-rindhik nika, mengké ngancing lawang nggih rindhik-rindhik. [10]
Mapan turu rindhik ngèn ra ngerti aku ndhuk.
[P] *Kowé kimu ká ngendi S?*
[S] *Ká ngendi?*
[P] *Lha yá ká ngendi kowé ki mau?*
[S] *Ra ká ngendi-ndi, genah ká kebon!* [20]
[P] *Oh ká kebon!*
aku yá ngéné iki. Ning menggahnèn kulá niku, mas, *ájá, ájá* jenengé kulá niku, ning kulá éman niku si bocah lénang siji lan sijiné. Mbok kulá niku diná-diná nangkep uwong enjoh mas. Ning kulá éman niku mung siji lan sijiné. [30]
Ngko aku jenengé étuk jásá karo wong okèh ngko trus aku èntuk èlèk karo cahé lénang sijiné [35]
Lha nggih tá niku?
- [1] P: Me, I don't know about it, just [leave it] like that. So sometimes I'm [asleep] sometimes if, if he's not here, he's going there. When he gets up, its quietly, later latches the door also quietly.
Lies down quietly, so that I don't know, ndhuk.
[P] *Where were you just now S?*
[S] *Where?*
[P] *Yeah where were you just now?*
[S] *Nowhere, of course in the yard.*
[P] *Oh, the yard.*
I said like that. But as for me, mas *don't, don't*, it's like for me, the one I pity is the boy and his sister. Well I, any day to catch him I could, *mas*. But I only pity the boy and his sister.
Later I'll be well regarded by most, but I'll do badly by the boy and his sister
Isn't that right?

Most of the preceding narration and commentary she addressed to Endhang's father in high Javanese, marking him as addressee explicitly with parenthetical *mas* at lines 24 and 29. But at line 12 she momentarily shifts attention to Endhang, to whom she addresses in low Javanese the explanation

('Lies down quietly, so that I don't know'), closed with parenthetical *ndhuk*.

The next low Javanese passage occurs when Praya models a past conversation between herself and her husband (marked as S, whose speech she models at lines 16 and 19). Turns are marked as parts of question/answer pairs by use of parentheticals and intonation; only in modelling her closing retort at line 21 does Praya frame the utterance and identify herself as the originary speaker, with the phrase *aku ngono*. In so doing, she tacitly identifies Endhang as her primary audience by making that framing remark in low Javanese. At line 23 she shifts back to high Javanese to explain to Endhang's father her dilemma: she can only call her husband to account by jeopardizing the security and happiness of her children, (literally, 'the one and one other, *siji lan sijiné*).

The third shift, from high to low, occurs at the end of this segment. At line 32 Praya broaches her reasons for staying silent by modelling the thought process by which she arrived at it. That this modelling is addressed to Endhang's father is clear from Praya's concluding request for agreement, which is in high Javanese. She here exteriorizes and rehearses an interior thought process, using low Javanese not in intimate address of another, but in a modelling a past interior reflection.

This communicative practice seems related to the sorts of modelling discussed and illustrated earlier. High Javanese, marked as it is for orientation to addressee, fits here Goffman's observation that some ways of speaking "systematically undermine[] the possibility of conveying--at least with any ease--certain matters that are handily conveyed in another..." (1981:533). At issue here are not particular referential topics, but subjective positionings vis-a-vis hard social circumstances being narrated on one hand, and an interactional surround of narration on the other. Something like modelled thought helps disclose by modelling a subjective position for an audience.

Space does not allow for discussion of this or other examples at any length, but texts VI, VII, and VIII, should give some sense of the potential ubiquity of shifting and modelling thought. In VI Endhang has been talking with her neighbors, T and S, about the hazards of driving on Java's crowded roads. She has been talking in high Javanese, transcribed in roman type, about a bus driver who brought trouble on himself with some uncaredful talk within earshot of the police. She briefly models her own reactions to his speech which she witnessed, with brief shifts to *ngoko*, at lines 5-6, 16, and 22, which are transcribed in italics.

Text VI

- | | | |
|---|------|--|
| E: Lha sakniki niku kalih
bangsa wong ngoten-
ngoten niku, nèk kulá
sakniki nápa-nápa angur
meneng kok lik,
<i>ora kenèng</i>
<i>gluwah-gluwèh</i> | [1] | E: Nowadays with that kind
of person like
that, as for me
now whatever [happens
[I] stay quiet, <i>lik</i> , [one]
<i>can't</i>
<i>shoot one's mouth off.</i> |
| S: Wah wong kuwi alam
adat thik piyé | [5] | S: What's he doing acting
like that. |
| E: Nggih ngerti, kulá niku
ngerti nápa-nápa mung
meneng | [10] | E: [I] know, me, if I
know, whatever, just stay
quiet. |
| S: Wong kuwi yá salah lé
muni | | S: Well it was wrong, what
he said. |
| T: Lé muni gur anggeré
metu | [15] | T: Just talking to say
something. |
| E: <i>Barang káyá ngono</i> kok
disindhír niku lho. Wong
muni niku nggih kená
mawon ning lak kudu
mpan papan. Pokoké
kulá niku roh
<i>yá is meneng.</i> | [20] | E: <i>Something like that</i> , why
mock, right? Well
say something, fine,
but it has to be the right
place and time. The main
thing, I see something,
<i>OK, that's it, stay quiet.</i> |

Text VII shows a shift from high to low which accompanies shifts in discursive attention to more subjective topics; it shows how speech styles shifts can modulate expression of that which is "experience-near." A villager is discussing here in high Javanese some difficulties he is having with a neighbor, and he shifts at line 3 to low Javanese, modelling and disclosing in its most natural form his subjective attitude to the person with whom he is having trouble.

Such shifts can also serve to model subjective positions belonging to another, including an addressee, as in text VIII. Here W, who has been listening sympathetically to another's hard luck story, frames his response in appropriately high Javanese. But he then empathetically models his speech partner's interior state, introjecting his own internal voice to display, as it were, the subjective position of his audience/addressee.

Text VII

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>H: Ha pripun
 kulá niku pamané sing
 terus terang lho niku
 <i>mbok ènèngá wongé ki</i>
 <i>aku yá wani waé.</i>
 Kados bayané mriki
 niku sing genah, anggeré
 dilapuri niku mlengos.
 Sebabé <i>mbuh</i>, kulá
 mboten ngerti.</p> | <p>[1] H: Well how about it, as
 for me, for instance, to
 be honest, right,
 <i>if that guy's around,</i>
 <i>I'm willing.</i>
 Like the bayan here,
 it's for sure, if he
 is reported to he ignores
 it. <i>Why I don't know,</i> I
 don't know.</p> <p>[5]</p> <p>[10]</p> |
|---|--|

Style shifts like those in texts V-VII--highly transient, occurring between people of long and firmly grounded acquaintance, and conspicuously unopen to interpretation by native speakers--have little apparent import beyond their expressive immediacy. As such, like instances of monostylistic speech modelling discussed earlier, they seem only weakly or artifactually strategic, without extrinsic interactional ends to which they can be seen read as means.

But some occasions of style shift do appear relatively strongly strategic, and contrast with texts like V-VII as do strongly and weakly strategic instances of speech modelling discussed earlier. Text VIII was recorded during a chat with another older member of the Solo elite, Pak Sis, who was interested in having me as a student of Javanese puppetry.

Although he felt constrained to address me in high Javanese, his own high status and opinion of himself led him to use the rather old-fashioned, condescending second person pronoun *sampéyan*. He obliged me, in turn, to address him with the highly deferential first person pronoun *dalem*. (Indonesian lexical material is in boldface.) In the segment I've provided here his topic has shifted from me to puppetry, and his style of speech likewise from high to low Javanese. Given his normative use of high Javanese to me, this lends him the guise of a thinker-out-loud; it is significant in this respect that he uses markedly formal and literary low Javanese which conveys an elevatedness to his topic. At the same time, my personal knowledge of the biography of our relationship makes me feel comfortable in imputing strategic intent to Pak Sis' shift here. First, it allows him to enact a higher status role as teacher in relation to a lower status student/bystander, someone to whom he can use the familiar second person pronoun *kowé* at line 12, rather than the relatively polite *sampéyan* (as at line 3). By shifting styles, and ostensibly bracketing my role as addressee, he models one side of a social relation which he might appropriately adopt as teacher to say, me. But he makes no claim to that status, or rather, can dissimulate any such claim in the content, if not the form, of what he says. By performing a demeanor he cannot assume to me, at least for the time being, he can try to nudge our social relation in a particular direction. This, it seems to me, is strongly strategic in ways that the other examples of style shifting and most of the texts of speech modelling are not.

Text VIII

- J: Menawi sinau
pedhalangan mboten
kiyat.
- S: Sampéyan?
- J: Rumaos dalem dereng
kiyat.
- S: Anu, **garis besar**ipun
mawon. **Garis
besar**ipun. Jeneng
dhalang menika, bau
ceritá. Ceritá thok.
*Sinajaná ora ngerti
swaraning gamelan
tabuhan, ora
ngerti gendhingé.*
*Ning bau caritané
menika, yá kuwi dhalang.
Kowé isa nyeritakké
lelakon, isiné,
ceritané wayang sing*
*nganggo wulangan,
minangka dadi*
pendidikan. Ngerti
*tabuhané ning ora bisá
caritané sing, mengenai*
pendidikan, nul. Wong
*dolanan, wong
dolanan wayang,
ditabuh, ning
ora teges.*
Dus bakunipun,
upaminipun
sampéyan *isá ceritá
kabèh, énak dirungokké
kená dianggo tuladan,*
wis dadi dhalang.
Sampun mudheng,
dèrèng?
- [1] J: As for studying
puppetry, [I'm] not
up to it.
- S: You?
- [5] J: I don't feel
up to it yet.
- S: Umm--just the **broad
lines**. The **broad
lines**. The word
[10] "dhalang" means 'carry
the story'. Just the story.
*Even if one doesn't know
about the gamelan
accompaniment, doesn't
know the music.*
[15] *But to carry the story,
now--that's a dhalang.
You can tell
the story, its contents, a
shadow play story*
[20] *for teaching,
so that it can be
educational. Know
the music but can't do
the story which is, about*
[25] **education**, it's nothing. A
person plays, a person
plays with puppets, with
music, but
[30] it's meaningless.
So basically,
for instance
you can do the whole
story, it's easy to listen
to, can be a model,
[35] [one is] a puppeteer.
Understand yet,
or not?

One last example, taken from Wolff and Poed-
josoedarmo's monograph on communicative codes in south-

central Java, is part of their description of such style shifts as non-directed speech, that is, "speech that is on the surface directed only to oneself, although in most cases it really is aimed at someone else" (1982:70). As this phrasing shows, they assume such acts to be categorically strategic. Examples like Text X seem to fit nicely these assumptions, given the overt awkwardness of the topic in relation to the interaction. Guests are normatively given a snack with their drink, something this speaker here confesses is not forthcoming by modelling that thought.

Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo also describe speech style shifts which occur within acts of what they call (1982:69) "quoting others," and which are normally, as they put it, on the level of the original utterance. Such was the case with Praya, modelling the conversation with her husband. My prior examples show why the rubric of "quotation" is as overspecific as "reported speech," sometimes having no original utterance to be a quotation of. Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo devote scant attention to speech modellings which occur without style shifting, perhaps because these are likewise "normal," and so presumably not rhetorical or strategic. By residualizing speech modellings in which style shifts don't occur, they likewise residualize indications of underlying parallels between "normal" quotations of others, speech modellings, and strategic or rhetorical modes of non-directed speech. Their implicit assumptions that acts are either strategic or "normal" draws attention away from broader aspects of interactional practice which are enabling of strategic and non-strategic style shifts and speech modellings alike .

Conclusion

Javanese/Indonesian bilingualism seems on the face of things highly salient for models of bilingual code-switching, just because there is no native Indonesian speaking community, in apparent exception to Gumperz' universal distinc-

tion between we-code of subordinate ethnic in-group on one hand, and they codes of a superordinate majority group on the other. Gumperz explicates and articulates this we/they distinction as a kind of social metaphor which speakers can strategically invoke in more or less nuanced strategies of conversational code-switching. It is then taken as enabling of a universal micro-rhetoric, a source of communicative cues for signalling different kinds of communicative intentions.

I want to argue that Javanese-Indonesian code-switching needs to be considered relative to the two kinds of interactional practice I've sketched here, and the common cultural/interactional ground which they both presuppose: an openness to shifts in voicing and ventriloquations of words not one's own; a sensitivity to multiple presentations and interactional engagements of self; an attunement to shiftable participant relations. These appear to differ in fundamental ways from the enabling assumptions which underly shifts in voice in, say, English. But also Indonesian, which has little stylistic elaboration and is strongly associated with modernity and nationalism. So too no examples of speech modelling in Javanese use of Indonesian are forthcoming in my corpus. I want to argue that Indonesian counts contrastively on the Javanese scene as the language of neither thee nor me; it is a kind of third person language relatively uninflected for the interactional perspectives of speaking subjects or addressed others.

This fairly elaborate argument, which I can't go into here, brings together issues of language ideology, interactional practice, and bilingual code-switching. It also involves something like a Javanese interactional ethos which, I have suggested, enables speech modelling and style shifting alike. So too it grounds strongly and weakly strategic acts of both.

To relativize instances of both practices to something like an interactional ethos is to work against the grain of

Gumperz' account of code-switching and code-switchers, and to worry about *a priori* assumptions regarding code-switching's intrinsically strategic character. Gumperz and others who have followed his lead unproblematically decontextualize and analyse bits of text with recourse to unanalysed assumptions about interactional intention and agency. So too Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo assume that "code-switchings" subserve and can be read as tokens of universal means-ends types of reasoning, that is, as instances of strategies recoverable by suitably informed analysts, if not participants. All have recourse to notions of strategizing agentive selves, detached manipulators of all forms of interactional engagement.

Gumperz extends Gricean notions of implicature to develop a kind of social analog to cause-effect reasoning, and so to describe bilingualism in universalizing ways which leave no room for the kinds of practice I've described here. I've argued that such assumptions seem at odds with my experience of how Javanese talk, and foreclose on the investigation of culturally specific aspects of face-to-face interaction. When strongly strategic instances of practices get conflated with those which seem only weakly or perhaps artifactually intent-laden, there is a flattening out of the contours of conduct. All instances of speech modelling, style shifting, or code-switching get reduced to a single horizon of relevance which belongs, ultimately, to the analyst.

I think speakers in fact have fairly fine-tuned senses of what might count as strategic use, but they do not so interrogate or interpret every instance of, say, speech modelling as evidence of an isolable or fixable communicative intention. That is why I worry about the epistemological status of analysts' reconstructions of what speakers are doing, presented as if they understand what is going on better than speakers themselves. It seems to me a potential category mistake like that which underwrites the old joke about the psychiatrist who, when greeted with 'good morning' by a

passing colleague, wonders "Hmm, I wonder what he meant by that."

Speech modelling and style shifting may not be uniquely Javanese, but they are not universal either, and I believe by bracketing universalizing assumptions, such practices have a chance to emerge from the data. Whether or not you agree with that assertion, I hope you now have some sense of the subtlety and vividness which those practices can enable in Javanese interaction.

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Notes

1. I use here for the sake of convenience the standard orthographies of Indonesian and Javanese, the latter modified only to distinguish between low back semi-rounded [á] and its central allophone [a]. Orthographic *th* and *dh* represent postalveolar stops, which contrast phonemically with interdental *t* and *d*. Vertical lines are intended to mark transitions in speaker role without perceptible gaps, and points at which overlaps in speech begin. Boldface words are of Indonesian provenance.

2. The term "interpretive" can be referred here to Schutz' phenomenological critique of Weber's notions of strategy and rationality, and what he calls "motivational understanding" (1967:27) of actions vis-a-vis "a series of future events

future events whose occurrences [an actor] proposes to bring about." In this way is imputed to each actor/speaker what Schutz calls an "in-order-to" motive for modelling speech, that is, a social project conceived of prior, and as completed prior and as completed prior to the (speech-)act which implements it. (1967:87ff.) This imputation of a kind of future-perfective temporality to a strategizing imagination binds "strategic" action together with the temporal flow of the interaction of which it is part.

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