

Pronominal choice: Indonesian diglossic code-switching on the *Kick Andy Show*

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ABSTRACT

Indonesian contains a variety of pronouns and pronoun substitutes which enable speakers to position themselves in a variety of ways in relation to others for communicative purposes. Factors including social standing, age, gender and cultural background influence pronominal choice but also reflect language alternation between standardised formal and informal Indonesian, a phenomenon known as diglossic code-switching. The aim of this study is to examine the effects of pronominal choice by speakers on an episode of the popular Indonesian television talk show, *Kick Andy*. We first applied quantitative Discourse Analysis to sample conversations to identify the range of pronominal choice by speakers and instances of diglossic and English code-switching. Next, we examined the use of diglossic code-switching through qualitative Conversation Analysis, to explore how speakers index themselves and others through individual linguistic choices of pronoun selection. In this study, we applied social positioning theory as a useful framework to analyse these dynamics. We detailed how pronouns reflect social positioning of speakers and serve as a key indicator of societal power dynamics that broadly link to cultural norms. Our study contributes to sociolinguistic literature arguing that pronominal choice in Indonesian language is closely linked to diglossic code-switching.

Keywords: Code-switching; diglossia; Indonesian; pronominal choice

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INTRODUCTION

Pronominal choices in the Indonesian language reflect complex social norms and reveal various relational positionings of self and other. In formal and informal styles, Indonesian language “has an open pronoun system that provides speakers with a range of first and second person terms” (Ewing & Djenar, 2019, p. 253). One of the key areas of focus is the first-person pronoun choice between *saya* and *aku*, with *saya* regarded as formal or even ‘neutral’, whereas *aku* is informal. This choice reflects power dynamics and solidarity, and indirectly suggests how the addressee is perceived (Mutisari et al., 2019). The relaxed nature of casual conversation can be perceived as trivial talk; however, studies suggest conversation serves much deeper purposes

and “often produces more naturalistic data” (Swain & King, 2022, p. 1).

This study explores how Indonesian speakers on an episode of the television talk show *Kick Andy*, position themselves and others in conversation through their choices of pronouns. Of particular interest is the specific pronoun choice and the mixing of formal and informal lexical items that is diglossic code-switching (CS). *Kick Andy* is a popular Indonesian talk show, hosted by Indonesian journalist Andy F. Noya which airs on Metro TV each Friday at 20:05 (WIB), and repeated on Sundays at 13:30 (WIB). *Kick Andy* has been referred to as “The Oprah Winfrey TV show of Indonesia” (Maulana & Hikmah, 2014) due to its style, popularity and content. Analysing the

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language used on a popular television show such as *Kick Andy* is cutting edge linguistic research. The popularity and reach of such a television show reflects contemporary Indonesian language use, but also has the potential to shape Indonesian language.

By analysing conversations on the *Kick Andy* show, we examine how speakers index themselves and others through individual linguistic choices of pronoun selection. We detail how the speakers' and addressees' social status, age and cultural background contribute to pronominal choice within the Indonesian context, and how this pronominal choice can trigger CS. We argue that pronominal choice in Indonesian language is closely linked to diglossic CS.

Positioning the study in the literature

This sociolinguistic study recognises the importance of interlocutors' traits in shaping language use, where key speaker traits likely to affect language use include gender, age, status and place of origin. Considering such variables, we draw on social positioning theory as conceptualised by Harré and Van Langenhove (Van Langenhove, 2021). In data analysis, we consider the importance of how context and domain influence language use, also recognising that language produced in conversation provides rich insights into cultural assumptions and positions. Within these conversations, we look for discursive acts where participants "use pronouns to localize themselves and others" (Van Langenhove, 2021, p. 276). In this exploration, we recognise the complexity of Indonesian language and the deeper meanings and semiotic significance of speakers' pronominal choices in aspects of power, solidarity and politeness (Yusuf et al., 2019).

Indonesian language contains an array of pronouns and pronoun substitutes used by speakers to position themselves and others, across various social contexts and domains. Additional societal factors such as ethnic and cultural background shape particular dialects of Indonesian as the national language and reflect regional cultural identities. Within this richly diverse linguistic context, an individual's diglossic switching of the national language and variable pronoun usage can reflect much about self-positioning, and the positioning of others within the national, regional and local societies that they inhabit.

Unlike English but similar to some European languages, "Indonesian also has more than one form of 'you'", along with "multiple forms of 'I' and various other kinship terms" (Djenar, 2021, p. 1). Djenar's work in person deixis is significant in the field of Indonesian language. Her most recent work on the complexity of Indonesian pronoun and kinship terms (Djenar, 2021) builds on numerous publications over more than a decade (see for example Djenar, 2006). Similarly, Ewing (2019) has explored first- and second-person reference

among Indonesian youth in the city of Bandung, and Ewing and Djenar (2019) have detailed Indonesian second-person address in informal conversation. However, there is no research which specifically focuses on the correlation between pronoun choice and CS between formal and informal Indonesian.

Linking in with pronoun usage, CS is an important aspect of this study. In the Indonesian context, CS is often perceived as problematic, symbolising disorderliness and even regarded as unpatriotic (Martin-Anatias, 2018). Yet CS may also reflect a sense of empowerment as speakers expand the traditional notions of Indonesian identity positions (Martin-Anatias, 2020). Our previous work recognises CS as a common linguistic phenomenon in Indonesian multilingual communities (Foster & Welsh, 2021a) frequently involving Indonesian as the national language, indigenous languages and foreign languages, notably English and Arabic. We note that CS is often an individualised choice that reflects specific relational dynamics between interlocutors and includes diglossic switching (Foster & Welsh, 2021b). The concept of diglossia was originally coined by Ferguson in 1959 as being "when two distinct varieties of the same language are used in the community for different and complementary functions" (Wilson & Holmes, 2022, pp. 33 & 698). In this study we focus on diglossic CS between formal and informal Indonesian language and the link between pronominal choice which we show correlates to diglossia.

Standardised formal Indonesian language

Following Indonesian independence in 1945 formal Indonesian language became "standardized to a significant degree, due to its use in education and in the mass media" (Sneddon, 2003, p. 520). This has been significant in producing a standard, formal variety of Indonesian language (known as *Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar* – 'good and correct Indonesian') as used in government administration, news reporting, and formal education. However, it is uncommon to hear Indonesian speakers entirely using this formal variety of the language in daily conversations (Djenar, 2006, p. 226). Whilst we frame this study in terms of high and low forms of Indonesian language as diglossia, we also acknowledge that this may be an oversimplification. Within a diglossic language, the high variety represents power and prestige, while the low variety is perceived as lacking these traits (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2021). However, Indonesian diglossia is not a clear-cut dichotomy but rather a continuum where formal elements can occur in informal settings (Sneddon, 2003, p. 523). In a similar vein, Nataprawira and Carey (2020) find that Indonesian language demonstrates a standard (high) variant, an informal variant and also a middle

variant, yet note that the parameters for this differentiation remain ill-defined.

Informal Indonesian language

The diglossic nature of Indonesian language is influenced by regional languages, notably but not limited to Javanese. Yusuf et al. (2019) point out that second-person pronoun use is particularly influenced by regional languages. In fact, regional languages have added to both formal and informal varieties of Indonesian. Informal varieties of Indonesian language are known by many names, some of which include colloquial Indonesian, informal Jakartan Indonesian, non-standard language (*bahasa tak baku*), street jargon (*bahasa Prokem*), social language (*bahasa gaul*), and teen language (*Bahasa ABG*). As Djenar (2006, p. 2.22) explains, while these terms for informal varieties are not “equivalent”, they share similar linguistic characteristics relating to a casual, non-standard language variety largely associated with Jakartan youth.

While informal ‘Jakartan’ Indonesian language has its origins in the nation’s capital, it influences the language of millions of Indonesians outside the capital from where the national media and many forms of popular culture are produced and disseminated. In broad terms, the Jakartan variety of Indonesian “has also become the common contemporary spoken language of Indonesian popular culture” (Nataprawira & Carey, 2020, p. 383). However, slang and informal language varieties differ from city to city across Indonesia, influenced by local dialects and regional language.

Research Objectives

For the purposes of this study, we specify diglossic states of Indonesian CS as either ‘formal’ or ‘informal’, where the definitions provided above from contemporary literature are appropriate. A more comprehensive examination of the qualities of what may constitute formal or informal varieties is beyond the scope of this study. Rather, our focus is on the practice of diglossic CS – and as a secondary issue English CS as it arises in the sample data. We explore the notion that pronouns signify this diglossic CS which in turn represents a powerful marker of identity and social positioning. Our subsequent analysis across the different speakers in this *Kick Andy* episode identifies one of the key implications to be a tension between exercising power and politeness between interlocutors.

METHOD

Researching code-switching in conversation

This study explores a corpus of spoken Indonesian language transcribed from a one-hour television episode of *Kick Andy*. The particular episode of focus is entitled ‘*Asa Pariwisata Kita*’ (Our Tourism

Hope) and was broadcast on Metro TV on 3 January, 2021. We selected a television show for research because of television’s universal prevalence in Indonesian popular culture, and the role it plays in representing and potentially shaping Indonesian language.

This episode was selected as a focus for analysis for several reasons. It involved three male guests who were each interviewed separately. As such, the conversations were separate speech events but shared a great deal in common. There was uniformity in gender and similarity in age of the guests, yet each guest originated from different parts of Indonesia. This allowed opportunities for the influence of different Indonesian regional dialects, which would generally be considered to reflect informal Indonesian language. The guests were **Alimin**, a 43-year-old male from Pela in East Kalimantan, **Muhammad Ikhwan** a 40-year-old male from Salenrang, South Sulawesi, and **Ricky Santoso** a 29 male who lives in Bali, but is originally from Bandung, West Java.

An inherent limitation within the sample data is that all interlocutors are males. However, it is noteworthy that many Indonesian pronouns are ‘gender neutral’, including first-person pronouns, which are a key focus here. As such, the absence of first-person gender opposition in the Indonesian pronominal system reduces the necessity for gender diversity among this study’s participants, and enables a sharper focus on other variables, such as relative ages of interlocutors, status and place of origin.

Each guest was interviewed by the same host about the subject of travel and tourism in Indonesia, yet specific content focus varied significantly between interviews, relating to each guest’s unique experiences in different locations. This diversity of content across three open-ended semi-structured interviews is useful for this study as changing topic and context may lead to the practice of CS. In this study, we explore linguistic practices within each of the three different interviews that took place within the one television show.

Collecting and processing the data

Methodologically, we applied Discourse Analysis (DA) with data transcribed for coding and analysis. Within the broad framework of DA, we also apply Conversation Analysis (CA) to explore turn-taking development and the associated use of pronouns and language style within interactions. Within both DA and CA, transcription and coding of the data are considered to be part of the analysis. Through this process, we applied basic quantitative analysis to identify key categories in the data.

We manually transcribed the conversations between Andy and his three guests and entered the data into an Excel spreadsheet database. The data were in *Bahasa Indonesia*, and remained in this

form when transcribed. Linguistic features were then manually classified at the lexical and sub-lexical level as formal Indonesian, informal Indonesian, foreign language and other (regional languages). Subsequent manual coding using *Excel* helped distinguish and separate individual language groups, where necessary using the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (KBBI), the official Indonesian language dictionary published by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture. As Nataprawira and Carey (2020, p. 383) note “one problem in discussing Indonesian diglossia is the lack of universally agreed terms for the different diglossic language variants and sub-variants” and “formal language does not always conform to a standard form when used in social discourse”. In addressing this issue, words not listed in the KBBI were considered informal Indonesian language or foreign words, unless the entry was specifically noted as informal Indonesian language. Any Indonesian word which contained an abbreviated affix form was classified as an informal variety, such as the prefix ‘*ng-*’ instead of ‘*meng-*’, and the suffix ‘*-in*’ instead of ‘*-kan*’ or ‘*-i*’ (see Table 3 for examples).

Coding the transcriptions involved separating the discourse of each speaker, and evaluating individual words, with a specific focus on identifying pronouns, pronoun substitutes, kinship terms as well as instances of diglossic and English CS. This coding procedure, which was undertaken manually, was part of an in-depth textual analysis of examining words in specific contexts and the associated pragmatics (Amoussou & Allagbe, 2018).

Analysing the discourse

There were two broad stages of data analysis for this study. Basic quantitative coding of the data as initial discourse analysis (DA) was manually undertaken and is presented in Table 1 and Figure 1. This was followed by a more in-depth qualitative analysis to explore the function and communicative purposes of the key variables in the discourse.

Applying a mixed method approach of quantitative and qualitative analysis, we draw on key principles

from lines of enquiry derived from DA, CA and Social Positioning Theory. While CA is focused on social relations as expressed through verbal interaction, DA focuses on communicative intent implied or embedded within language, and is useful to help interrogate and problematise assumed meanings in order to analyse power relations between actors (Hardy et al., 2020).

We recognise the importance of context, which includes relational dimensions of social status and individual traits of interlocutors. We also note and how these variables may play out differently across different domains and temporal spaces. Clearly, the genre in focus here is conversation. The three conversations in this study are relaxed in nature, but in the form of interviews, broadcast on national television. As such, this is a blended context of what may appear to be relaxed conversations yet undertaken as part of a formal event of a television program.

To further inform data analysis in this study, we also draw from positioning theory as a social constructivist approach to analysing discourse. This enables deeper explorations of socio-cultural dimensions of individual and collective identity positions. Positioning theory is a useful tool here for analysing social interaction in terms of how speakers position themselves and others through the language they use. Positioning theory focuses on speech to better understand the social dynamics and identity construction of interlocutors in and through conversations (Kayi-Aydar, 2021). Harré and colleagues’ theory considers “the shifting patterns of rights and duties that shape and are shaped by social interaction” (McVee et al., 2021, p. 192). Recognising this helps identify assumed social norms that shape expected linguistic behaviours. One of the aspects to emerge from analysis of our data is politeness, as an enactment of social positioning signalled by pronominal choices. Table 1 below provides a summary of data from interviews with the three guests from the television episode selected for this study. It provides the basis of quantitative data for subsequent discussion.

Table 1

Data per Interlocutor in Conversations on the Kick Andy Television Show

	Total words	Total formal personal pronouns	Total informal personal pronouns	Total Informal Indonesian words (diglossic code-switch) %
Conversation 1				
Andy	979	27 (2.8%)	0 (0%)	25 (2.6%)
Alimin	997	65 (6.5%)	1 (0.1%)	18 (1.8%)
Total	1976	92 (4.7%)	1 (0.1%)	42 (2.2%)
Conversation 2				
Andy	1230	12 (0.1%)	19 (1.6%)	52 (4.2%)
Ikhwan	1481	52 (3.5%)	0 (0%)	4 (0.3%)
Total	2711	64 (2.4%)	19 (0.7%)	56 (2.1%)
Conversation 3				
Andy	1272	6 (0.5%)	72 (5.7%)	150 (11.8%)
Ricky	1287	15 (1.2%)	44 (3.4%)	206 (16.0%)
Total	2559	21 (0.8%)	116 (4.5%)	356 (13.9%)

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Diglossic and English code-switching

The sample data of this study consisted of three interviews from one episode of the television show *Kick Andy*. Each of the three interviews was analysed as a separate conversation, overlaid by a holistic comparative analysis. Simple quantitative analysis of each interview is presented in Table 1, which shows the total number of words produced by each speaker and the total number of words classified as formal personal pronouns, informal personal pronouns and informal Indonesian language. The occurrences of informal Indonesian also represent the style switch from formal to informal Indonesian varieties. Whilst CS studies most commonly address the mixing of different languages, this study focuses on diglossic CS between formal and informal varieties of Indonesian language. Interestingly, the data also reveals CS occurrences between different languages, namely Indonesian and English. The rate of English CS was similar across Conversations 1, 2 and 3 at 1.0%, 0.7% and 1.2% respectively. While the overall percentage of English CS was quite low over the three conversations, analysis revealed an identifiable pattern in the use of English words. Many of the English words used had a connection with tourism and technology, namely ‘guide’, ‘homestay’, ‘travel’, ‘subscriber’, ‘content creator’, and ‘booking’. For Ricky in particular, who had the highest rate of English of any interlocutor surveyed

at 2.8%, the use of English CS seems to be a linguistic feature of his expression of individuality, rather than a necessary linguistic act to fill lexical gaps in the Indonesian language. The use of a foreign word may be useful in expressing new concepts, if the Indonesian language lacks an equivalent term. While these words associated with technology and tourism can be represented through equivalent Indonesian lexical items, it is likely that the specificity of context and the expression of individualistic identity positioning has led to this English CS.

In each interview, diglossic CS occurs more frequently than English CS. Accordingly, our main focus will be on diglossic CS, with English CS being a secondary point of interest. This is in line with our focus on pronominal usage, where Figure 1 shows a strong connection between pronoun use and diglossic CS, but no clear connection with English CS.

Conversations 1 and 2 are quite similar in terms of the occurrence of CS, with a small amount of diglossic style CS mostly demonstrated by the host Andy, and less by his guests Alimin and Ikhwan. As such, Conversations 1 and 2 generally demonstrate a relatively consistent level of formality and politeness, as is evident through the selection of first- and second-person pronouns. Both guests are in their 40’s, and maintain a level of formality and politeness when conversing with the more senior 60-year-old host, Andy (see Table 2).

Table 2

Formal Language used in Conversation between host Andy and guest Alimin.

Andy: *Terima kasih, ya, Mas Alimin.*

Thank you, Mr. Alimin.

Alimin: *Sama sama, Pak.*

You are welcome, Sir.

As shown in table 2, in Conversation 1, Alimin only used an informal first-person pronoun to refer to himself once, and this was when he was reflecting on a previous informal conversation. In doing so he code-switched momentarily diglossically into informal language, to re-enact the previous discourse. In all other occasions throughout the conversation Alimin referred to himself formally with *saya*. Likewise, Alimin referred to Andy by the formal kinship term *pak* (shortened version of *Bapak*, ‘sir’) (Table 2). He did this frequently after utterances, totalling 60 times, which represented 6 percent of Alimin’s total word count. In Indonesian, ending a sentence or clause with the formal kinship term *Pak* (Sir), or *Ibu* (Ma’am) is a politeness marker. Alimin’s frequent use of the term *Pak* to address Andy serves to establish and maintain formality in the conversation. In response, Andy referred to Alimin as *Mas*, or *Busu* (*Bahasa Banjar* and *Kutai* equivalent), but on one occasion Andy

accidentally referred to Alimin as *Bang* but quickly self-corrected and called him *Mas*.

While in Conversation 2 Andy employed 52 informal words (4.22%), Ikhwan refrains from shifting to informal speech with Andy, perhaps because of the respect he places on the relationship between himself as the guest and Andy as host. As a sign of formality, Ikhwan used the first-person pronoun of *saya* a total of 43 times, the most of anyone in the sample data. In contrast, Andy used *saya* 19 times, which is more than he does in the other two conversations combined. Both Andy and Ikhwan only refer to each other formally by the use of *anda*, or *bang*, where Andy calls Ikhwan *bang* first, then Ikhwan continues referring to Andy as *bang*, meaning older brother. Andy does not use any informal pronouns to address Ikhwan, only using *bang* and *anda*. Ikhwan, is a 43 year old male of Bugis ethnicity, who originate from South Sulawesi. According to Mahmud (2011, p. 210) the Bugis people place a “high demand on practicing and

maintaining politeness” which can be directly linked to Bugis “cultural, religious and hierarchal characteristics”. The concept of *siri* (dignity or honour) is a central value in Bugis culture (Badewi, 2019, p. 79). Politeness is readily linked to power relations, reflecting social distance between interlocutors, and becomes evident through language use in social interaction. Power dynamics and politeness vary for many reasons, including the relative cultural values. The reason for Ikhwan’s efforts of maintaining formality throughout his conversation with the host Andy may be related to Ikhwan’s cultural background. It is also in the

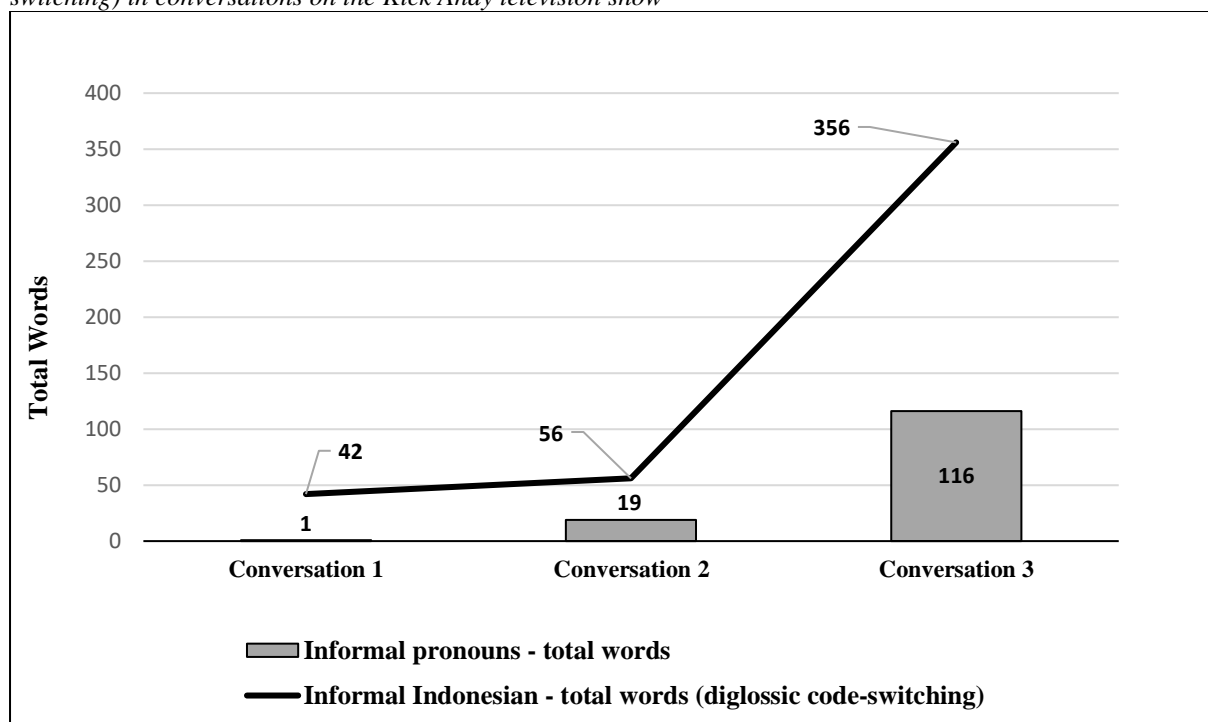
context of a TV interview, a ‘formal’ or public setting, even if the TV show is relatively relaxed.

Aku, kamu and diglossia

In contrast, Figure 1 shows that Conversation 3 contains a much higher percentage of diglossic CS than the other two Conversations. Conversation 3 contains a total of 356 (13.9%) informal code-switched words, compared to 42 (2.2%) in Conversation 1 and 56 (2.1%) in Conversation 2. This is accompanied by a considerably higher percentage of informal first- and second-person pronoun use (*aku* and *kamu*) by both Andy and his younger guest, Ricky (aged 29) in Conversation 3.

Figure 1

Correlation between informal personal pronoun use and total informal Indonesian words (diglossic code-switching) in conversations on the Kick Andy television show



Quantitative data in Table 1 and Figure 1 clearly show that Ricky’s linguistic style is significantly different from that of the other guests. As shown in Table 1, Ricky used a high level of informal Indonesian reflecting diglossic CS (16.0%). Andy’s speech to Ricky also showed a much higher level of diglossic CS than with the other two guests, reflecting an aligning of language style. However, Ricky’s frequency of informal language (16%) was higher than Andy’s (11.8%). In conversation with Ricky, Andy’s level of diglossic CS into informal Indonesian (11.8%) was much higher than with the other guests (2.6% and 4.2% respectively). Similarly, Figure 1 above shows Conversation 3 (involving Ricky) as having significantly greater occurrences of diglossic CS and a correlation with informal pronoun usage. This data

suggests that it was predominantly Ricky who set the informal tone of discussion in Conversation 3. Accordingly, it is of interest to consider the implications of diglossic CS for communicative purposes and power dynamics between Ricky and Andy. To explore this issue, we will shortly examine a specific example of Ricky’s speech in Table 3.

It is also relevant to consider the broader multilingual and multicultural context that potentially influences Indonesian language. Compared to Javanese language which is built upon a complex system of politeness (Krauß, 2022), Indonesian language is considered more ‘democratic’, because it allows discussion of various matters without the need to adhere to a specific stylistic level of speech, which may convey

unintended attitudes or assumptions (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2021). However, we have noted the commonly expected cultural conventions around the use of *aku* and *saya* first-person pronouns and representing an informal versus formal dichotomy. The mixing of these raises questions about implicit meanings conveyed through the use of diglossic Indonesian variants and the links to pronoun usage. It is interesting to note that the Indonesian first-person pronoun *aku*, is derived from Javanese language, and as such may carry connotations from Javanese cultural norms into an Indonesian language context. Yet how that plays out across the linguistically diverse nation is likely to vary.

Andy referred to Ricky informally by using *kamu* (or its suffixed version of *-mu*) 58 times, while Ricky self-referred by using *aku* 44 times. This co-occurrence of *aku* and *kamu* between these interlocutors suggests a relaxed social dynamic but may alternatively reflect a kind of social tension. During Andy's conversation with Ricky, Andy only uses the formal first-person pronoun *saya* twice - when he shifts his attention by talking to the television audience. Andy never refers to himself formally when engaging in conversation with Ricky, and only employs the informal first-person pronoun of *aku* (14 times). Andy does not use any form of respectful pronoun or kinship term to address Ricky, such as *mas*, or even *anda*, as he did when addressing the other guests, Alimin and Ikhwan. He only refers to Ricky by the informal second-person pronoun *kamu*. However, Andy does call Ricky by the nickname, 'Rick' (4 times), something he does not do with the other two guests. This may be because he feels relaxed and has a rapport with Ricky, but it is more likely a deliberate speech act to re-establish his own position of status as an older host, speaking to a younger guest.

An interesting aspect of Ricky's language use is the total absence of a term of address when speaking to Andy, the show's host. This raises questions about the communicative intent of the non-use of pronouns, particularly given the age difference between Ricky (29) and the host Andy (60), in the context of Ricky being a guest on Andy's show. Ricky's absence of using a second-person pronoun to address Andy may be interpreted as not being directly impolite but may imply an ambivalence to politeness. In a sense it may be construed as a position of neutrality but is a speech act that leaves the relational dimensions between interlocutors as unspoken and potentially unresolved. Yet, we argue, along with Wardhaugh and Fuller (2021) that language in the form of an utterance is never neutral. Whether intentional or otherwise, language always contains inherent values or assumptions that mean it is not neutral. While the absence of a second-person pronoun in Ricky's interactions with Andy creates potential ambiguity, Indonesian language can largely function without

the use of second-person pronouns in a way that English language cannot. The absence of second-person pronouns blur the social positionality that the speaker attributes to their interlocutor, so in this regard may be regarded as neutral. However, the relational social position of one's interlocutor can be inferred indirectly from the first-person pronoun that a speaker uses. From Ricky's use of the first-person pronoun *aku*, the tone of conversation is implied, where one may assume that if Ricky was to have used a second-person pronoun in that conversation, then it would likely to have been *kamu*. In the given context, this would be readily interpreted as disrespectful for a younger guest to address Andy, as host. Putting such speculation aside, it is clear that an absence of second-person pronoun use in Indonesian language signals a lack of indexicality of politeness. At best it may be considered as neutral, but could also be interpreted as disrespectful, self-centred and even rude. Speakers who wish to avoid such interpretations to their speech typically use pronouns to index the relative social status between interlocutors, whether it be expressions of deference, politeness or to establish a position of social power.

Yet, Ricky also mixed his use of first-person pronouns, where in 59 occasions of using first-person pronouns he used the informal *aku* 44 times and used the formal *saya* on 15 occasions. This diglossic mixing of first-person pronouns is consistent with Mutisari's et al. (2019) findings of a preference among younger people for using *aku* rather than *saya*. Recent research raises the possibility that the use of informal Indonesian pronouns may be changing. Mutisari et al. (2019) and Yusuf et al. (2019) cautiously suggest that younger people may tend to use the more informal and intimate term *aku*, rather than *saya*, to signify intimacy (solidarity) and informality. This may signify different ways of interacting that reflect altered identity positioning. Ricky's interaction with Andy seems to reflect an assertion of Ricky's individuality and challenges expected social norms. In all but one occasion where Ricky referred to himself formally, he was discussing topics related to personal prestige, such as his job and skills, making money, his wife and father, his appearance and his ability to travel to exotic places. In Table 2, Ricky shifts from an informal language style of saying that he just convinced himself that he could do travel in a certain way (*aku yakinin aja aku bisa gitu*) to a more formal language style when saying that he possessed certain skills (*saya punya skill*). Arguably, the matter of possessing skills may be somewhat more tangible or imply greater credibility than merely being self-assured in one's ability to do something, which implies a more abstract and emotional dimension.

Table 3
Diglossic and English code-switching by Ricky

Ricky: *Cuman ya aku yakinin aja kalau aku bisa gitu, saya punya skill kok untuk nglakuin travelling ini gitu*

The thing is, I just convinced myself that I could do that, I possess skills you know, to be able to do travelling like that.

In table 3, the context of Ricky's conversation detailed his year-long travels throughout Indonesia at no cost, where he relied on local people's generosity and producing social media posts about his travel experiences. This shift in message from self-assuredness to skills seems to have led to a diglossic style switch from informal vocabulary to relatively more formal lexicon, before switching back to informal words.

Given the age difference between Andy and Ricky, and the traditional power relation gap one would expect, the conversation between the two seems to contravene cultural norms. Within Indonesian society, traditionally framed power relations depend on age and social status. Yet, as noted above, Mutisari et al. (2019) and Yusuf et al. (2019) have raised the possibility of changes in pronoun use as reflecting a repositioning of cultural norms. Abdullah et al. (2019) argue that there is a growing "selfism" (p. 106) in Indonesian society that has emerged from democratisation and involves a diminished sensitivity and respect towards others. One way to verbally demonstrate conformity to a social hierarchical position is through the use of pronoun and pronoun substitutes. However, for Ricky this is not the case. In response to Ricky's speech, Andy's language use in Conversation 3 is more informal in style. As such, we suggest it is Ricky who sets the informal tone of language style, to which Andy responds with a significantly higher percentage of diglossic switching compared to his speech in Conversations 1 and 2. Andy's response in this way may be interpreted as either signalling a social connection and positive disposition towards Ricky or perhaps an annoyance towards his guest.

The frequent use of honorific kinship terms and formal pronouns during Andy's conversations with Alimin in Conversation 1 and Ikhwan in Conversation 2 are indicative of their less frequent use of informal diglossic CS. In Conversations 1 and 2, Alimin and Ikhwan are constantly positioning their identity and that of Andy as their interlocutor through the use of formal pronouns and honorifics. Alimin and Ikhwan only refer to themselves in the formal sense by using 'saya', and only refer to the host Andy formally using 'bapak' (which Alimin used 60 times), or the more friendly term 'bang'. Conversely, Ricky does not use any name or pronoun to address the host Andy. This absence of

pronoun usage during Ricky's conversation with Andy coincided with a higher percentage of informal language in the form of diglossic CS (see Table 3 for an example). In each of these conversations, it can be assumed that pronoun choice and style of language indexed speakers' identity positions and implied how they indexed their interlocutor.

Given that we suggest Ricky set the tone for a very different conversation, it is pertinent to consider his background as a likely influence on his language use. He was the youngest of the three guests and is originally from Bandung, the third largest city in Indonesia, located 150 km southeast of the capital, Jakarta. Bandung "is a major university city", with a "thriving youth culture", and its proximity to the capital means Jakarta exerts a strong cultural influence on Bandung (Ewing 2019, p. 140). As a reflection of his background, Ricky's language is cosmopolitan, employing high percentages of both English and diglossic CS. As we have noted, Ricky's use of pronouns is interesting and not what would be expected according to traditional Indonesian cultural norms. While speakers constantly adjust to others depending on different social interactions, they typically do it in a contextual manner deemed appropriate to particular societal and cultural expectations (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2021). During Conversation 3 between Andy and Ricky the use of pronouns by each interlocutor is significantly different from Conversations 1 and 2.

Ricky's relaxed attitude in first-person pronoun use and absence of second-person pronouns, as detailed above in his conversation with Andy, suggests a lack of attention to politeness and traditional cultural norms. This coincides with a high level of diglossic and English CS, which suggests how a speaker's code choice reflects how they wish to express their identity and how they wish to be viewed by others (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2021). According to Ewing (2019, p. 140) "young people in Bandung access a range of pronouns, kinship terms and names for referring to self and other". The conversation between Andy and Ricky contained the highest rate of diglossia at 13.91 percent. Rostika (2009 cited in Ewing, 2019, p. 140) surveyed young people speaking Indonesian in Bandung which revealed common switching with Jakartan language and linked it "to the production of relaxed informality". Nataprawira and Carey (2020, p. 383) note that "Indonesians certainly recognise the differences between formal and informal forms and switch between the two as the situation demands". The question we raise here is not whether Indonesians engage CS, but how and why. We also raise the issue of complexity of interpretation and suggest that how an individual wishes to project their own identity through language use, is not always how others will see them. An everyday

example of this is how what people say can unintentionally offend others. It should not be assumed that cultural norms are always clear and simple even to native speakers, nor that all individuals' spontaneous language productions will always be effective in conveying their intended positioning of self and others.

Wardhaugh and Fuller (2021) suggest a functional distinction between CS and diglossia, where CS commonly conveys a sense of solidarity between speakers by reducing differences, but that diglossia tends to reinforce boundaries as symbolised by high and low status registers. The mixing of English CS with diglossic CS in the data of this study highlights that communicative dynamics within conversations are a space of great complexity. Diverse linguistic practices do not always reflect traditional cultural norms such as politeness or intentional impoliteness. Rather, the communicative intentions of a speaker may not be entirely clear, perhaps even to themselves, their interlocutor or their audience. As such, perceived impoliteness may not be deliberate, but might result from other nuanced dimensions of self-expression and identity positioning.

CONCLUSION

While a great deal of academic attention is given to the analysis of code-switching involving different languages, in this article we focus on diglossic code-switching. In fact, in the data of this study, diglossic CS occurred far more frequently than English code-switching CS, suggesting diglossic CS deserves attention. In this study, we find that pronominal choice formality in Indonesian language correlates with diglossic code-switching. This is evident across the data corpus of three conversations where the higher the percentage of informal first- and second-person pronoun use correlated strongly with higher rates of informal Indonesian language use, and in turn diglossic code-switching (see Figure 1).

In communicative terms, pronouns are a profound marker of identity and social positioning. Their use reflects power dynamics of perceived relative social status, enabling speakers to index themselves and their interlocutor. In analysing the use of diglossic CS and exploring the links with pronoun choice, we have applied Harré and Van Langenhove's social positioning theory (Van Langenhove, 2021) as a useful framework to analyse positioning of self and other in conversation analysis. We argue that, in the case of Indonesian at least, pronouns are a key indicator of societal power dynamics and the associated social positioning of speakers and are broadly linked to cultural norms. For instance, the expression of politeness can readily be signalled by Indonesian pronoun use, where maintaining a formal style of language may generally be interpreted as adopting a polite,

respectful stance. Yet, we also recognise the inherent complexity of language, and suggest that a formal tone of language in certain circumstances may also reflect an exertion of power and a way of maintaining distance between interlocutors.

As a reflection of diglossic code-switching, the use of alternate first- and/or second-person pronouns by a speaker within a single conversation reflects a further complexity of social positioning dynamics. Such diglossic code-switching suggests a realignment of social positioning within a conversation that signals an adjustment of the perceived power dynamics from a speaker towards their interlocutor. Diglossic code-switching may signal a shift from a formal to an informal tone or from an informal to a formal tone that relates to shifting sensitivities to such issues as politeness and familiarity. For instance, a diglossic shift to an informal tone might reflect a friendlier, familiar stance towards one's interlocutor. Conversely, such a shift to an informal tone of language may also signal a less friendly, dismissive stance towards the other person and an exertion of power in repositioning oneself. The associated complexities of speech acts in this way present an apparent contradiction, where diglossic code-switching can signal a positive or negative shift in stance between a speaker and their interlocutor. This highlights the importance of interpreting communicative intentionality between speakers, and of the need to engage in deep discourse analysis of speech acts, considering multi-faceted dimensions of context and interlocutors' characteristics.

The contribution of this study is to recognise the inherent complexity of identity positioning and how the seemingly simple lexical matter of pronoun usage in conversation indexes social positioning in complex ways. This suggests diglossic code-switching signals a shift in stance towards one's interlocutor and a different communicative intention that may not be immediately obvious even to native speakers from a shared cultural background. We have also noted in this study the even more potentially ambiguous speech act of not using a first- or second-person pronoun, which in grammatical terms, Indonesian language is readily capable of – unlike English. The absence of first- and second-person pronouns in Indonesian creates potential ambiguity where relational dimensions of social positioning are not explicit and need to be interpreted in context.

With all of this in mind, this study represents a useful critique of Indonesian personal pronoun use and its correlation to diglossic code-switching within conversation. It will be of use for future research not only for Indonesian language, but also for broader analysis of other diglossic languages. The study will also be a useful reference for exploring other domains and contexts, and offers potential insights into how Indonesian language and

society are evolving. Findings of this study, including the variable, seemingly unpredictable, use of pronouns invites more detailed further studies, which may be informed by emerging understandings related to translanguaging, which Goodman and Tastanbek (2020) suggest will orientate towards heteroglossia. In following this direction, current work on CS will be complicated but enriched by further research into the concurrent occurrence of CS between languages and diglossic CS within the same speech acts, as this study has identified. Such an approach will take CS research beyond a diglossic or bilingual focus deeper into a heteroglossic, multilingual realm.

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