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Contact discourse

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ABSTRACT

Starting from the idea that all social life is characterized by contact between those who do not have the same trajectories of socialization, this article draws on insights from work on narrative, normativity, and social value to examine how contact is discursively policed. Building on scholarship on diversity talk and translingualism I propose the concept *contact discourse* to refer to the discursive work that constructs and evaluates those who inhabit contact zones. While both streams of scholarship cover the discursive policing of social life to greater and lesser extents, they cover very different participation and authorization frameworks. *Contact discourse* and the three associated terms—*models of contact*, *contact commentary*, and *contact talk*—highlight the importance of participation and authorization frameworks for understanding the policing of social life in contact zones. My empirical focus is on discursive data from television, social media, interviews, and everyday talk. (Contact, discourse, diversity talk, normativization, translingualism, value)*

INTRODUCTION

Over a decade of scholarship on language and social relations has invited us to rethink concepts such as language, identity, community, context, and contact (Wortham 2006; Agha 2007; Blommaert & Rampton 2015). This work invites us to see contact with strangers or with those who do not share similar semiotic repertoires or histories of socialization as the default human condition. Some of this scholarship has increasingly focused upon commentaries about contact, especially those that police, create, and reproduce norms around a host of different social practices, while coining new terms for referring to this phenomenon. These include *diversity talk* (Faudree & Schulthies 2015), *knowledging* (Goebel 2015), and *linguascapes* (Dovchin 2018). This article seeks to extend this conceptual work through reference to work on reflexivity, especially work that enables us to see how commentaries about contact value certain semiotic configurations (Agha 2007). One of the main critiques that I offer here, is that the above-mentioned terms do not differentiate participation frameworks. For example, diversity talk presupposes small participation frameworks and a focus on oral forms of discourse, even though many who use the term *diversity talk* focus on large participation

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frameworks that are institutionally inter-connected and authorized. In building on this work I offer the term *contact discourse*.

Contact discourse refers to the multitude of participation frameworks that are the focus of contemporary sociolinguistic work, while not presupposing orality. *Contact* refers to any form of human contact, while highlighting the point that all social life is characterised by contact with those who are not exact copies of ourselves with exactly the same communicative repertoires. Here the term *contact* presupposes some discursive work to establish social sameness and/or difference (Bucholtz & Hall 2004). This discursive evaluation polices language practices. *Discourse* refers to face-to-face talk as found in canonical works on contact discourse (Gumperz 1982; Rampton 1995), as well as that which focuses on other forms of communication. The term *discourse* thus refers to semiotic analysis in linguistic anthropology (Agha 2007), work in critical disourse analysis (Wodak, Kwon, & Clarke 2011), and work on multimodal discourse analysis (Norris 2004; Dovchin 2018).

Having lumped together a whole host of discursive practices under the rubric of contact discourse, I then propose three terms to cover some of the main types of contact discourse, while also keeping in mind the connections between them. All of these terms continue to refer to discursive practices that police, create, and reproduce normativities around social practices. The first is *models of contact*. This term focuses on how multimodal representations of contact in one-to-many participation frameworks, such as television and radio broadcasts and classrooms, project normativities around contact as well as sociolinguistic boundaries. In this participation framework, the multimodal representation represents the 'one', while the viewers, listeners, and readers represent the 'many'. Such models engender a second type of contact discourse that I refer to as *contact commentary*. Contact commentary refers to written evaluative commentaries we find in one-to-many participation frameworks, such as newspapers, online newspapers, and blogs. In contrast to projecting normativities around contact and sociolinguistic boundaries, contact commentaries evaluate and police them.

The third one is *contact talk*. This refers to the multiple semiotic resources used to make meaning in face-to-face talk in contact situations and their connection with resources from other chronotopes. This term covers much the same ground as the above-mentioned concepts (i.e. diversity talk, knowledging, and linguascapes), as well as semiosis (Agha 2005), truncated competence (Blommaert 2010), polylanguaging (Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen, & Møller 2011), translanguaging (Wei 2018), metrolingualism (Pennycook & Otsuji 2015), and transglossia (Sultana 2015). A common theme to this work is their focus on how multiple semiotic resources are recontextualized to make meaning in situated interactions. What I focus on here, however, is the need to also examine how reflexive talk polices sociolinguistic boundaries in small participation frameworks. In what follows, I expand on each of these working definitions drawing mainly on examples from Indonesia.

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CONTACT

While much of the earlier sociolinguistic scholarship on contact worked from a perspective that viewed contact as contact between named languages and/or speakers of different ethnolinguistic groups (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985; Myers-Scotton 1993), forty or so years of research on talk-in-interaction suggests that most situations can be classified as contact situations (Tannen 1984; Bucholtz & Hall 2004; Blommaert & Rampton 2015). This is so for two reasons. First, people are rarely, if ever, exact replicas of each other in terms of their trajectories of socialization (Wortham 2005), and the semiotic resources that they have appropriated along the way. Accordingly, in any interaction the meaning of resources used emerges through their re-use or recontextualization in interaction (Bauman & Briggs 1990; Agha 2007; Lempert 2014). Second, contemporary infrastructures for mobility and connection have increased the probability of contact with those who share very few semiotic resources (Blommaert & Rampton 2015). In line with Blommaert & Rampton (2015), we can thus start with the assumption that contact is the default human condition.

If contact is the default human condition, then one way of understanding social relations in these encounters is to examine comments about such encounters for discourses about sameness and difference. These discourses help to organize social life, while being organized, mediated, and understood in situ through reference to other processes and semiotic resources from other chronotopes. Put slightly differently, these discourses about diversity are commentaries that reflexively frame the value of social practice as it unfolds or after it unfolds. Examples of both can be found in abundance if we examine studies of talk in small participation frameworks, especially work on conversational narrative and gossip that pay attention to talk about unexpected events and how they are used to (re)produce and project normative social practice (Ochs & Capps 2001; Georgakopoulou 2007; Besnier 2009).

Within larger institutionally authorized participation frameworks, such as school classrooms (Karrebæk 2016), asylum interviews (Jacquemet 2015), and courtrooms (Eades 2008), the normativization of social practices are also achieved through commentaries about contact. Often such commentaries are connected to other participation frameworks that use some parts of these commentaries to help formulate policy, train officials, design curriculum, and so on. In short, these chains of authorized reflexive commentaries about diversity police and value social practices as part of ongoing processes of enregisterment (Agha 2007). As mentioned, these discourses of diversity have recently been referred to as diversity talk (Faudree & Schulthies 2015), knowledging (Goebel 2015), and linguascapes (Dovchin 2018). We examine each of these concepts below as we look at how the talk that occurs in contact settings has been reconceptualized over the last twenty-five years.

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TALK-IN-CONTACT SITUATIONS

Work on language ideologies and mixed language practices has invited us to reconceptualize this thing called language (Alvarez-Cáccamo 1998; Agha 2007; Blommaert & Rampton 2015). Work on language practices in contact settings has questioned the brought-along notions of language as pure, bounded, nameable, and unproblematically linked to territorially bound groups of native speakers. Some of the most robust critiques have been from those who take conversation analytical (CA) approaches to talk-in-interaction (Auer 1995; Gafaranga & Torras 2002), and/or those who have combined CA-inspired analysis with ethnography and social theory (Alvarez-Cáccamo 1998; Meeuwis & Blommaert 1998; Rampton 1998). Concerns about the nature of language and/or unwittingly equating codes with bounded languages and thus codeswitching as the use of two bounded codes generated a flurry of conceptual work. Typically, these new concepts referred to the practice of alternation between different sets of semiotic resources, while often also proposing a rethink of notions of language and communicative competence.

These concepts included semiosis and competence to comprehend (Agha 2005, 2007), superdiverse repertoire (Blommaert & Backus 2011), and orders of indexicality (Blommaert 2010), as well as some mentioned earlier—truncated competence (Blommaert 2010), polylanguaging (Jørgensen et al. 2011), metrolingualism (Pennycook & Otsuji 2015), translanguaging (Wei 2018), knowledging (Goebel 2015), transglossia (Sultana 2015), and linguascapes (Dovchin 2018). A common theme in much of this work is that meaning is emergent and constructed through the imitation of semiotic resources from other chronotopes. In line with a long history of work in linguistic anthropology and linguistic ethnography (Duranti 2009), many of the proponents of these concepts also argue that to understand this thing called language, we need to combine close analysis of the discursive work found within particular participant constellations with participant-observation of participants' social life, both on-line and off-line. In short, we need to understand their trajectories of exposure to different semiotic resources.

Another theme that emerged in some of this work (Agha 2007; Blommaert 2010; Goebel 2015; Dovchin 2018), or as a response to it (Faudree & Schulthies 2015; Lee 2017), was the importance of understanding evaluative processes. For example, Agha (2007) invites us to see how different participation and authorization frameworks contribute to valuation processes (i.e. enregisterment) and to the production and circulation of semiotic constellations that are recognizable by wider segments of a population (i.e. semiotic registers). Blommaert (2010) invites us to understand why some semiotic registers have more social value than others (referred to earlier as orders of indexicality). While some more programatic work invites us to move beyond evaluation, especially in the context of teaching English (Lee 2017), other work delves into the relationship between infrastructures and evaluative processes (Goebel 2015; Dovchin 2018).

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For example, Dovchin (2018) argues that in order to understand mass-mediated discursive evaluations of youth language practices, we need to incorporate ethnographically sensitive work with understandings of how discursive evaluation relates to other domains and infrastructures referred to as *scapes*. Goebel's (2015) work focuses on how processes of enregisterment in one-to-many participation frameworks engendered evaluative practices in smaller participation frameworks.

A special issue on diversity talk focuses to a greater or lesser extent on how discourses about diversity help to create, police/manage, and reproduce ideas about what are normal and socially valued interactional practices (Faudree & Schulthies 2015), although the papers in this collection focus on quite different participation frameworks and frameworks of authorization. For example, in Moore's (2015) paper, *diversity talk* refers to institutional discourses about diversity. Such discourses manage diversity via institutionally authorized commentaries that (re)create boundaries around named languages and the communities that are imagined to speak them. These commentaries are found in institutional policies and in documents that cite discussions about these policies.

Brink-Danan (2015) examines diversity talk in the form of religious institution policies and working papers. At the same time, *diversity talk* is used to describe commentaries from informal interactions—such as the commentary made by a religious leader involved in interfaith dialogues projects 'London isn't a British city anymore' (Brink-Danan 2015:47)—as well as longer narratives about experience that were provided at an interfaith communication workshop (Brink-Danan 2015:48). In Faudree's (2015) paper, *diversity talk* mainly refers to commentaries about sameness, difference, and belonging among small participant constellations in online forums. The term is also used to refer to conversations about diversity in a market (Faudree 2015: 40–41). In Schulthies (2015) paper, diversity talk is used to refer to both face-to-face talk and how media professionals' practices contribute to creating, valuing, and policing models of diversity on televised talent contests.

In sum, much of the scholarship that focuses explicitly on talk-in-contact situations has moved from a focus on language practices (e.g. polylanguaging, translanguaging, and metrolingualism) to a focus on the evaluation of talk in contact situations (e.g. linguascapes, knowledging, transglossia, and diversity talk). While the increasing focus on evaluation offers exciting new directions, these terms cover quite different participation and authorization frameworks, and the term *diversity talk* presupposes orality even though one-to-many participation frameworks are covered by this term. Here I propose an alternate cover term, *contact discourse*, that covers evaluative practices in contact settings in general, while also proposing the three concepts mentioned in the introduction—models of contact, contact commentary, and contact talk—that take into account different participation frameworks (see Figure 1). In what follows, I provide some data to further outline the semiotic scope of these different types of contact discourse.

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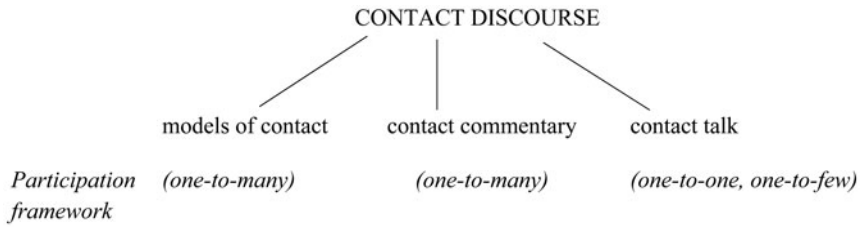


FIGURE 1. Contact discourse.

MODELS OF CONTACT

Models of contact are multimodal representations of contact that are circulated in one-to-many participant frameworks (e.g. television, radio, novels, comics, and online). Models of contact project normativities around contact as well as sociolinguistic boundaries. In the case of novels (as in excerpt (1) below), multimodality is achieved via meta-pragmatic commentaries about multimodality, rather than the representation of the multiple visual and aural signs we find on television, the radio, and online. In addition to occurring in one-to-many participation frameworks, many models of contact have quite different frameworks of authorization to contact commentaries and contact talk.

Models of contact found on television, the radio, novels, or in classrooms are often authorized by chains of agents acting for the nation-state or other powerful interests (e.g. media organizations, multinational companies, multinational organizations such as the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, and so on). This is often done remote to the actual model of contact and is achieved via direct or indirect means such as teacher intervention, policies, or incentives. This contrasts with contact commentaries and contact talk, which are typically authorized locally, although they can also be connected to other frameworks of authorization. While any representation of contact would suffice to exemplify what I mean by models of contact, below I focus on the modelling of ethnic personas and ethnolinguistic boundaries in novels and on television in Indonesia. In doing so, I also point out how imitation links these sign configurations with other chronotopes.

Excerpt (1) is drawn from the colonial short story *Si Doel Anak Betawi* 'Doel a Betawi' (Aman 1932/1971). The novel is written by a mobile Indonesian, Aman, who, after migrating to Jakarta from one of Indonesia's large islands, Sumatra, takes up a job with the Dutch colonial publisher *Balai Pustaka*. During his stay in Jakarta, Aman begins writing about his own experiences and observations of contact in colonial Jakarta. He was especially fascinated by the different lifestyle and social practices of his new neighbors, and noted that the source of his story were observations of one of his neighbor's children and their language practices. Indeed, contact is a central feature of this story. Aman (1932/1971:5) specifically notes in his foreword to the short story that the dialogue involving the hero of

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the story, Doel, was in what he termed 'Betawi language', and that he did this as a way of acquainting readers from outside of Batavia (now Jakarta) with the language of the Betawi community. In doing so, he also anchors characters to territory through reference to birth or reference to their status as original inhabitants of a neighborhood, and all are represented as speaking in Betawi.

In this case, Aman (1932/1971) was imitating ideas about the association between linguistic forms, social types, and territory that had been authorized through colonial administration processes within schools and the bureaucracy since European contact with Indonesians (Errington 2001; Moriyama 2005). His introduction, and the story as a whole, also distinguished a local named language (Betawi) from a colonially authorized one, Malay. Excerpt (1), for example, is part of Doel's account of his first day at school.[1]

(1) Modelling contact in colonial short stories (Aman 1932/1971:104)
Abdi gaduh adi **tilu**, entjik '**I have three** siblings, miss' (to the teacher)

In this account, Doel tells his parents that the other kids at school are from other ethnic groups (Aman 1932/1971:102–105). The hero of the story, Doel, also talks of these kids using Indonesian with a Sundanese accent, while also reporting the Sundanese talk (in bold) of a Sundanese female student when speaking with her Javanese teacher in the class. This discursive work thus meta-pragmatically frames the interaction as one of contact, while also providing an example of the talk found in such contact settings. In this short story, meta-pragmatic commentary not only projects contact zones and ethnolinguistic boundaries, but it also laminates the personas that inhabit these contact zones with particular demeanors, predispositions, and religious convictions. In this case, those modelled as Betawi are represented as pious Muslims, not predisposed to formal state education, and unable to control their emotions, especially anger.

As with other short stories that model contact, Aman's novel has been imitated in a number of social domains, including feature length films, soap operas, and commentaries about these representations, as in excerpt (2). Excerpt (2) is from a television soap opera, *Si Doel Anak Sekolahan* 'Doel an educated lad', that first aired in 1992 in Indonesia. It ran for seven seasons in total and regularly represented contact between those of different faiths, ethnicities, social class, gender, generation, and education. Excerpt (2) is an extract from the third season, which aired in 1998. This extract is of talk between two of the central characters, Karyo, a migrant from Central Java, and Mandra, a local Betawi and the uncle of Doel. In contrast to Doel, who is represented as successfully finishing tertiary education, Mandra is represented as having little education and being illiterate. Mandra is also represented as being unable to control his emotions.

In the lead up to this scene, both have had a bad day; Mandra's marriage proposal was rejected, and Karyo could not get a loan to pursue a business venture because his identity card still showed that he did not live in Jakarta. Up to this point, Karyo

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does all of the talking. Mandra just nods his head, while looking down at the ground. This bit of talk occurs after Mandra gives his identity card to Karyo, which as Karyo points out, has expired. I have drawn upon annotation conventions found in interactional sociolinguistics to represent this talk.[2]

(2) Televised models of contact (Source: Karno 1998)

1	Karyo:	#loh# (2.7) (*while slapping Mandra on*	What! (*while slapping Mandra on the*
2		*the shoulder*) +is::+ (0.8) +>ini masa	*shoulder*) Hey! This card is expired,
3		berlakunya. sudah abis gini>+ loh (0.5)	you know.
4		+>**sampeyan** ni **piyé toh>+**	**what is up with you**!
5		(1.9) (*Mandra turns away and is*	(*Mandra turns away and is slapped*
6		*slapped again on the shoulder by*	*again on the shoulder by Karyo*)
7		*Karyo*) +>ini loh **mbok** diliat tu>+	Here have a look! **didn't** [you] see
8		(*while pointing to card*) (0.7)	this! (*while pointing to card*)
9		+masa berlaku+ . lima februari .	Valid until the 5th of February 97, that
10		sembilan tujuh. +>berarti telat	means it has [already been expired]
11		setau::n>+ (0.7) +>**sampeyan kudu**	for one year! **you must** go to the local
12		ngurus ke kelurahan lagi ini>+ .	government office again. [This one] is
13		+>sudah ndak laku::?>+ =	already expired!
14		= (*turns gaze*	
15	Mandra:	*toward Karyo*) >sini> (*grabs card from*	(*turns gaze toward Karyo*). Give it here!
16		*Karyo's hand*) (1.1) >emangnya GUWA	(*grabs card from Karyo's hand*) Indeed,
17		pendatang kayak ELU?> (0.6) (*while*	**I'M** not a newcomer like YOU! (*while*
18		*waving hand and card toward his chest*)	*waving hand and card toward his*
19		+>GUWA betawi asli:?>+ (0.9) >biar	*chest*) **I'M** a genuine Betawi! Even if
20		gak punya ktp. juga gak apa apa. ngak	[I] don't have an identity card it is
21		bakal ditangkap> . (*pointing to Karyo*)	OK. I'll never be arrested [by the
22		>emangnya kayak ELU> .+ >ditangkep	police]. (*pointing to Karyo*) Not like
23		LU>+ >kalo ngak punya ktp jakarta> .	YOU. **YOU'LL** be arrested if you don't
24		+tolol+ (*while hitting Karyo on the*	have a Jakartan identity card, idiot!
25		*knee*)	(*while hitting Karyo on the knee*)

There are a number of points of interest here. First, we have a representation of an inter-ethnic encounter where we see Mandra being represented as understanding

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bits of Javanese (in bold) in lines 4, 7, and 11. In the extended dialogue, not reproduced here, Karyo is also represented as understanding bits of Betawi (in bold small caps) of the type found in lines 17–19 and 23. This sits in contrast to national ideology that *Bahasa Indonesia* 'Indonesian'—the constitutionally defined official language of the nation-state—would be used in such contact situations. Thus, part of the model of contact being projected here is a counter-model to the national narrative of what should happen in such contact zones. Second, this representation also projects ethnolinguistic boundaries, in this case, between those who are Betawi and those who are not (lines 16–20).

Third, the representation of this contact situation includes multiple modes, such as a movement from initially slow speech by Karyo to fast speech by both (indicated by a > surrounding an utterance), the raising of the volume of speakers' talk relative to their earlier talk (indicated by a + surrounding an utterance), the use of touch, as well as facial expressions, and so on. When considered together with the discursive actions described above, this points to the modelling of two ethnic personas who are unable to control their emotions. The representation of Mandra as ethnically Betawi is congruent with chronotopes inhabited by hot-tempered Betawi figures modelled in Aman's (1932/1971) short story.

In the above two excerpts, connections to other chronotopes that model contact are achieved via the imitation of multiple signs, including language practices, descriptions of territory, meta-pragmatic framing of someone as Betawi, and so on. In line with Agha (2007), such chains of imitation increase the recognizability of particular personas or figures of personhood. In doing so, such representations also produce some of the language ideological bases that engender contact commentary.

CONTACT COMMENTARY

Contact commentaries refers to primarily written commentaries found in one-to-many participation frameworks, although such commentaries can also include the use of memes and icons in social media and SMS texts as described by Blommaert & Varis (2015), Velghe (2015), and others. Like the comments we find in conversational narratives and gossip (Ochs & Capps 2001; Georgakopoulou 2007; Besnier 2009), these commentaries are typically about contact with some unexpected social practice, person, or event. Like all contact discourse, the basis of these expectations are language ideologies (Woolard 1998; Kroskrity 2000), or ways of thinking about language and social relations that have solidified as part of a person's trajectory of socialization (Wortham 2005). Below I provide two examples of what I mean by contact commentary (excerpts (3) and (4)). Excerpt (3) relates to excerpt (2) because it is a commentary about a model of contact found on television, while excerpt (4) relates more generally to notions of ethnolinguistic personhood.

Excerpt (3) is a commentary about character representations in the televised soap, Si Doel Anak Sekolahan 'Doel an educated lad' (see excerpt (2)), but it is

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unclear which season or episode the comment relates to. This excerpt is part of a commentary published in 2003 in the online version of the Indonesian newspaper, *Kompas* (CAN/NIC/ARN/XAR 2003). In commenting on this soap, the author not only comments on contact via marriage, but he also distinguishes between different ethnic groups. This helps imitate ideologies that link language to place and community.

(3) Commenting on representations of contact

Soal wilayah kelahiran[1] itu, Ardan menerangkan, misalnya, tokoh Mandra dalam cerita Si Doel Anak Sekolahan, dipasangkan menjadi adik Aminah Cendrakasih[2]. Komentar Ardan, 'Ini kurang tepat'[3], karena[4] Mandra itu Betawi[5] pinggiran[6], sedangkan[7] Aminah Betawi tengah[8], logat bahasanya[9] sudah beda[10]. Kalau[11] suami-istri[12] mungkin[13] tepat ya[14]…	Regarding the place of birth[1], Ardan comments that the figure of Mandra is portrayed as Aminah Cenrdakasih's sibling[2] in the story Si Doel Anak Sekolah. Ardan notes "This is not appropriate"[3] because[4] Mandra is a Betawi[5] from the outskirts[6], while[7] Aminah is from the central Betawi area[8], their accents[9] are different[10]. If[11] they were [portrayed] as husband and wife[12] maybe[13] it would be appropriate[14].

In this excerpt, Ardan evaluates the ethnic-ness of representations in the television comedy. This is discursively achieved through a number of comparisons about sameness and difference (indicated by a double underline followed by superscripts 4, 7, 11, and 13), and evaluations (3, 14), while also (re)linking these to features associated with ethnic identity including accent (9), territory (1, 6, 8), and the social relationships of siblingship and spousal-ship (2, 12). In terms of frameworks of authorization, Ardan's commentary presupposes some form of belonging to Betawi-ness, while its animation in a well-regarded weekly online magazine, *Kompas*, can be seen as authorizing this commentary and claim to Betawi-ness.

This commentary is about contact between two characters, Mandra and Aminah Cendrakasih. It values the correct links being made between territory, linguistic form, and ethnic group. At the same time, this commentary provides insights into which settings are considered contact settings and which are not. By commenting on the imitation of emblems of personhood found in another chronotope, this commentary polices contact, ethnolinguistic boundaries, and ideas about what semiotic configurations constitute such boundaries. In doing so, this commentary also reproduces links between language practices, identity, and territory that have a long ideological history in Indonesia (e.g. as pointed out in relation to excerpts (1) and (2)). These types of chains of reflexive commentaries that link language practices to identity and territory are quite common in Indonesia, and are also recontextualized in the service of larger political discourses, as in in excerpt (4).

Excerpt (4) is part of an ongoing discussion about separatism in Indonesia (for a fuller treatment of this issue, see Goebel 2019)—in this case, the formation of a new

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province, Cirebon, in the West Java province of Indonesia's most populous island, Java. The excerpt is taken from a blog published on March 30, 2008 (Elgibrany 2008).

(4) Contact commentary and territorial formation

1	Menurutnya, perbedaan kultur antara	According to him [the Dean called
2	wilayah yang mungkin menjadi cikal	Imam], cultural differences between
3	bakal Provinsi Pantura atau Provinsi	areas may become the foundation of
4	Cirebon menyimpan potensi perpecahan	[the proposed] Pantura Province or
5	yang sulit disatukan.	Cirebon Province hides the potential of a split that would be hard to reunite.
6	"Misalnya, Ciayumajakuning, pasti tidak"	"For example, Ciayumajakuning"
7	akan semua wilayah menerima gagasan	[acronym for the five regions], it is
8	itu. Kuningan dan Majalengka akan	certain that not all areas will accept this
9	menolak. Wilayah kedua kabupaten	idea. Kuningan and Majalengka are
10	tersebut jelas kulturnya Sunda," katanya.	going to opt out. The areas covered by these two regencies are clearly of Sundanese culture," he said.

The import of the commentary in excerpt (4) is how it compares and thus values cultural difference (lines 1–2) by linking it with territorial difference. For example, the new proposed province would not be able to include two of the five districts, in this case the districts of Kuningan and Majaelengka (lines 7–9). Note too, that this valuing of territory as a cultural emblem is linked to another descriptor, Sundanese (line 10), which, according to the commentator, is part of the cultural difference that makes reterritorialization something that not all would accept (lines 6–8).

While separatism in West Java has its own discursive history, so too do labels linking cultural essence to territory (as noted in relation to excerpts (1)–(3)). Here, the label *Sundanese* is part of an older semiotic configuration that is also tightly associated with language. In this case, it emanates from colonial times (Goebel 2015). This indexical association with Sundanese language practices represents a base for discursive comparison and indeed enables such comparisons. At the same time, this discursive work also reproduces and projects cultural and linguistic boundaries—Sundanese and non-Sundanese.

The above two examples focus primarily on the policing of ethnolinguistic boundaries, but the idea of contact commentaries refers to policing of any type of boundary via similar types of evaluative discursive work. Like models of contact, contact commentaries are circulated via one-to-many participation frameworks. This contrasts with contact talk where the modality can be talk or sign language and where the participation frameworks are often one-to-one or one-to-few.

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CONTACT TALK

When nuanced understandings of talk in social life are required, we know that delineating 'everyday talk' from 'conversational narrative' or 'interviews' from 'conversational narrative' and 'everyday talk' is not straightforward (Briggs 1986; Georgakopoulou 2007; De Fina & Perrino 2011). While I thus resist delineating different forms of talk, my definition of *contact talk* does draw upon insights from work on narrative and gossip (Ochs & Capps 2001; Georgakopoulou 2007; Besnier 2009). In particular, I define contact talk as talk about human contact that consists of accounts of what is expected during contact. These accounts function to value or devalue the practices and participants in the account, while policing social practice.

Such accounts receive uptake by other participants in the form of agreement about what is unexpected, while also containing other accounts, such as accounts of what is normal, sanctions, the benefit of contact, and so on. This evaluative work also enables evaluators to discursively construct themselves as insiders and those who engage in unexpected practices as outsiders. Understanding contact talk requires us to link these accounts to other ethnographically recoverable information. This can include (i) the impact of these accounts on the social life of those providing them, as well as on those who become the objects of such accounts, and (ii) the connections between these accounts, other contact talk, and models of contact. In what follows, I move from a 'simple' case (excerpt (5)), to more complex ones (excerpts (6)–(7)). The former is classified as simple only because of my incomplete interpretive work on the connections between this chronotope and others (Goebel 2020).

Excerpt (5) is an example drawn from a fieldwork interview that I conducted in the late stages of a larger project on language and social relations in the Indonesian civil service (Goebel 2007, 2014). This project included five months of sustained participant-observation and recording of interaction both in an office within the same government building, as well as in settings outside of the office involving those with whom I was working. In this interview with two career civil servants, Pak Gatot and Pak Wisnu, I was interested in finding out whether and to what extent my observations of interviewees' interactional practice matched their ideologies about contact amongst colleagues in the office.

As a semi-structured interview, many of my questions were in response to our ongoing talk, and my earlier observations of and participation in office life. At the time, I was not concerned with matters of contact commentaries. Even so, a look at my interview corpus shows many instances of such commentaries; excerpt (5) is just one example. In the lead up to this piece of talk, Pak Gatot has just explained that symmetrical exchange of ngoko Javanese is possible and often happens between him and his boss, Pak Ismail, because they have known each other for nearly twenty years.

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(5) We don't speak Indonesian to friends

1	Pak Gatot:	Kalau, saya ngomong dengan Pak	If I speak with Mr. Wisnu in
2		Wisnu bahasa Indonesia itu, imij, Pak	Indonesian, Mr. Wisnu's image and
3		Wisnu, maupun imij orang Jawa itu,	other Javanese's image [of this is]
4		"kok resmi banget toh", sehingga	"Gee they are very formal" with the
5		seorang, seolah olah, ah saya dengan	implication that I and Mr. Wisnu are
6		Pak Wisnu itu ada jarak	socially distant.
7	Pak Wisnu:	Ada jarak.	There is a distance.
8	Zane:	Heem.	Yes.
9	Pak Gatot:	Malah kalau mengunakan bahasa,	In fact, if I use language, formal
10		bahasa resmi, untuk kondisi	language, for everyday interaction,
11		pergaulan, itu, imij yang sampai	the image to date is [like] "Gee there"
12		sekarang ada, itu "kok koyo ada jarak"	is social distance [between interlocutors]."

In the above excerpt, Pak Gatot points out that using Indonesian in contact with colleagues would be interpreted by others as unexpected (lines 1–4), and indexing a social relationship lacking closeness (lines 4–6). This comment also receives uptake by Pak Wisnu in line 7. In this excerpt Pak Gatot frames social value as policed by Pak Wisnu and others' commentaries (lines 2–4 and 9–12). In this case, what is not valued in interaction amongst colleagues is the use of Indonesian because of its association with social distance. In talking about norms for communication in conditions of contact, these participants also project norms for future encounters (i.e. use ngoko Javanese if you want to perform closeness and Indonesian if you do not). These norms align with ones that they both have encountered as part of their trajectories of socialization.

In particular, in the thirty or so years prior to my fieldwork, nation-building infrastructures had constructed Javanese as the language of co-ethnic communication, and Indonesian as the national language and language for communication among strangers and ethnic others (Errington 1998; Goebel 2010). As part of this process, as well as in everyday situations of contact, one variety of Javanese, ngoko Javanese, had become indexically associated with everyday interactions amongst family, kin, friends, and colleagues, while the practice of using Indonesian became ideologically associated with strangerhood, authority, political power, knowledge, and socioeconomic mobility. Along with the type of ethnographically recoverable information that I discuss in relation to excerpt (6) below, knowledge of these nation-state regimented associations also comes into play in other settings.

Excerpt (6) represents talk from a women's meeting in an urban ward of Semarang, Indonesia where I lived and conducted fieldwork between April 1996 and July 1998 (Goebel 2010). A ward consists of roughly eighteen to twenty-four families who typically live on the same street. In addition to being inhabited by people

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with a wide range of educational, economic, and religious backgrounds, most members of this ward were mobile Indonesians who moved every two to five years on average. This ward was located in an ethnic homeland of Javanese speakers, but inhabitants came from both central and peripheral Javanese speaking areas, as well as a number of Indonesia's four hundred or so ethnolinguistic areas. I have put an asterisk after the names of neighbors who self-identified as non-Javanese to distinguish them from those who self-reported or were reported by others as Javanese.

This excerpt is drawn from a two-hour-long recording of a ward meeting recorded in July 1996. At this meeting, there were thirteen attendees. They represented thirteen out of the twenty-three households in this ward. These meetings functioned as a forum to disseminate government development policies, gather and disseminate co-operative finance, gather and distribute funds for the upkeep of ward infrastructure and health initiatives, for socializing, and importantly for the analysis presented here, to create, police, and (re)produce norms for social practice in this ward. This talk occurs after discussion about who had and had not paid contributions towards the upcoming Independence Day celebrations in this ward. Bu Abdurraham* had only started living in the ward four months earlier, and the other three ward members had lived in the ward for several years. All habitually interacted in other ward contexts (Goebel 2010), including attending these monthly meetings. Bu Naryono, the most vocal in the meeting, was also the head of the women's group.

(6) Policing neighborly conduct (BuA* = Bu Abdurrahman*; BuNu = Bu Nurholis; BuS* = Bu Sumaryono*; BuNa = Bu Naryono)

1	BuA*:	bu tobing tuh yang mana .	Which one is Mrs. Tobing?
2	BuNu:	[itu ***loh*** sebelah bu matius itu ***loh***	***You know the one*** beside Mrs. Matius.
3	BuS*:	[sebelah bu roni itu bu tobing ***toh***' =	The one beside Mrs. Roni is Mrs. Tobing [***you***] ***with me***.
4	BuNa:	=+bu tobing+ . tobing #tobing# (0.6)	Mrs. Tobing, Tobing, Tobing.
5	BuNu:	nggak pernah datang ***kok***' =	[She] has never attended, ***disappointingly***.
6	BuNa:	***=lah iya*** .	***That is right***, [she] has never attended a
7		arisan. [> nggak pernah datang>	meeting.
8	BuNu:	[> patungan sepuluh ribu>	[she] has never contributed her share of
9		#nggak pernah datang'# (0.7)	10000 [rupiah toward celebrations] [at an arisan].
10	BuS*:	padahal rt penting butuh kenal ya	But the ward is important, [we] need
11		(0.8) kalau (???) (???) [(???)	friends yes? If (???) (???) (???)

The import of this excerpt is that from line 6 onwards we see that Bu Nurholis, Bu Naryono, and Bu Sumaryono* jointly construct what is seen as normative practice in this ward through an account of an unexpected event. In this case, it is

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nonattendance at monthly meetings and the nonpaying of contributions toward upcoming celebrations (lines 5–9). The social value of attendance is framed in terms of how attendance relates to having friends (lines 10–11). Put slightly differently, through the positioning of Bu Tobing* as non-normative or deviant, those doing the positioning are inferring that they themselves are persons who do not belong to this category. As such, we not only have the situated construction of a deviant social type, but we also have the emergence of the opposite social type, namely those who are considered nondeviant or belong in this ward context. If we examine all of the talk in this meeting, then we see the beginning of a neighborhood voice about an emergent ward normativity. This includes how one should interact with neighbors, including the facial expressions one should use upon contact, how regularly one should attend meetings, and as we see later in excerpt (7), the language one should use.

By focusing on how these different identities emerge in this interaction, we can see that participants are engaging in the social pursuit of sameness and difference (e.g. we think about this person in the same way, we are different to this deviant person by way of actually attending meetings and making financial contributions). The social pursuit of sameness and difference is also achieved through the minutiae of interactional performance. In this case, it is achieved via a chain of repetitions that occur after Bu Abdurrahman's* query about where one of several meeting absentees lives. These repetitions have a copy of others' talk *nggak pernah datang* 'never attends' (lines 6–10), together with a response with some new information from lines 7–10.

These copies are not just copies of words, but also of the talk's tempo. For example, we see that in line 9 Bu Nurholis copies the tempo of Bu Naryono's talk in line 8. In this case, Bu Nurholis speeds up her talk (indicated by > surrounding pieces of talk), as done by Bu Naryono before copying the actual words *nggak pernah datang*. In addition to constructing common ground around a topic, the regular occurrence of imitation here and elsewhere also constructs common language practices and other common ground, such as opinions about normative behavior. In the following excerpt, we get a sense of how normativities around language choice are discursively constructed amongst this same participant constellation.

Excerpt (7) is from the same meeting as excerpt (6). My observations of Bu Sumaryono's and Bu Naryono's language practices both in this meeting and in other ward contexts showed a proclivity to use linguistic forms stereotypically associated with ngoko Javanese, and linguistic forms stereotypically associated with Indonesian in the same utterance. In other words, language alternation was habitual and normative within this participant constellation. Familiarity with their language practices, as well as close attention to their talk across speech events showed a number of patterns. The first was where alternation between ngoko Javanese and Indonesian occurred within one intonation unit. Bu Sumaryono* and others in this neighborhood saw this practice as a way of demonstrating both belonging to

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the ward and/or close social relations with Javanese ward members. We see a little of this type of alternation in lines 6–7 of excerpt (7).

(7) Representing contact talk (BuNa = Bu Naryono; BuS* = Bu Sumaryono*)

1 BuNa:	= **wong lagéembèn**	**A while ago** [she] **came here** [and said]
2	**ngénétoh nang**	"at some time or another I will move
3	**kéné**? . saya tuh	[from" here]".
4 BuS*:	sewaktu waktu #pind:ah'# =	**All people** [move]
5 BuNa:	**= kabéh** + **w:ong**+? =	***That is right***.
6 BuS*:	= ***lah iya***' =	All people, even office **people**, none stay
7	= semua + orang+ . **wong** kantor aja tidak ada menetap #(???) (???)# .	forever (???) (???) .

It was also common to find another type of alternation where a whole tonal unit was in either ngoko Javanese or Indonesian, as in lines 1–3. This same pattern was imitated by Bu Naryono and others present at this meeting over the course of this two-hour meeting. Typically, such alternation co-occurred with and signaled a change in activity type. Of import here, is the movement between ngoko Javanese and Indonesian when talking about Bu Tobing*. In particular, we see a move from providing background to an encounter with the nonpresent Bu Tobing* (lines 1–2), to quoting an apparent interaction with her (lines 2–3). This instance of alternation is made more significant through how Bu Sumaryono* responds to Bu Naryono's representation of Bu Tobing's Indonesian talk.

In this case, Bu Sumaryono* uses Javanese (line 4) with her Javanese interlocutor (Naryono). By using ngoko Javanese, Bu Sumaryono* demonstrates or inhabits a persona that is different to the constructed Indonesian speaking Bu Tobing*, while also aligning with a pattern of usage within this ward where non-Javanese learn and use fragments of ngoko Javanese to demonstrate belonging and close social relations with other ward members. With reference to language ideologies emanating from the state, we can also see connections between ideologies of the nation-state and the practice of using ngoko Javanese in inter-ethnic encounters in this ward. In this case, the national ideology about Indonesian as the language for interaction with ethnic strangers potentially adds further meaning to this represented talk. In this case, it also constructs Indonesian as inappropriate for interaction amongst those present in this meeting because they are neighbors (who use Javanese, attend meetings, and pay dues).

The outcome of chains of these types of contact talk was not only a situated feeling of social sameness or 'us', but for Bu Tobing* it also meant that someone at the meeting conveyed these neighborly concerns to her. As a result, Bu Tobing* attended the next monthly meeting. In summing up this example, we can say that the talk represents contact talk at several levels. It is talk between those who do not share different trajectories of socialization; it is talk about contact with another who is different; and importantly, this talk polices how one should conduct oneself in this neighborhood.

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In this case, it normativizes the use of Javanese as an index of belonging, while also normativizing the use of Indonesian as an index of outsider-ness.

Within this ward, outcomes of this type of contact talk could also be explored by following the men's monthly meetings. For example, in the men's monthly meetings in this ward members collaboratively constructed ward normativities, such as attending meetings, paying monthly dues, and being generous (Goebel 2009, 2010). In one case, one serial nonattender and nonpayer of dues was constructed as an Indonesian of Chinese ancestry in need of punishment. It was only because this particular person's wife was an active and contributing member of the ward that such punishment was not meted out, as was the case elsewhere in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

Sociolinguists have been studying human contact for more than half a century and during this time understanding of what constitutes contact has changed from contact between different ethnic groups, religious groups, and nationalities, to also include contact between those of different genders, generation, education, socioeconomic background, or in sum contact between those with different trajectories of socialization. Taken together with the observation that increased human mobility and connectivity is now the default human condition, sociolinguists have increasingly argued that we need to start with the assumption that those involved in interaction typically share few semiotic resources. One implication of this change in our starting assumptions about human contact is that it enables us to focus our work on the question of how people in these contact settings go about organizing and managing social life.

I have started to offer an answer to this question with reference to a wide range of work on translingualism, discourse analysis, and the discursive policing of social life. The basic argument is that all social practice is discursively policed. We can thus answer the question of how social life is managed through examination of different discourses about contact. While I have lumped together these discursive practices via the descriptor, *contact discourse*, I offer a typology consisting of *models of contact*, *contact commentary*, and *contact talk*. These types of contact discourse are connected to each other. For example, models of contact can engender contact commentary (e.g. excerpts (2) and (3)), and they can also feed into contact talk (e.g. excerpt (7)).

In doing so, I provided a bridge between work on translingual practices and work on diversity talk that focuses on the discursive policing of language and social relations. The former pays little attention to the situated discursive policing of language practices. The latter seems to overlook the importance of participation frameworks, while also presupposing orality. Using *discourse* instead of *talk* avoids this issue. The use of *contact* covers much of what is referred to by theories of translingualism and associated notions of diversity, while underscoring the non-shared-ness of semiotic resources in most settings.

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NOTES

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[1]Excerpts (1) and (2) were originally published in Goebel (2015:28, 98–99), and have been reproduced with permission of Oxford University Press (https://global.oup.com/academic/product/language-and-superdiversity-9780199795420?cc=au&lang=en&). For permission to reuse this material, please visit http://global.oup.com/academic/rights. Excerpt (3) uses some data previously presented in footnote 5 (p. 57) of Goebel (2008). It is reprinted with permission of the American Anthropological Association. Excerpts (6) and (7) were originally published in Goebel (2010:89–90, 96) and have been reprinted with permission of Cambridge University Press.

[2]A detailed list of conventions can be found in the appendix, but I explain some of these as I move through the analysis.

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APPENDIX: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Orthographic conventions follow standard Indonesian orthography (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan 1993).

plain font	Indonesian
BOLD SMALL CAPS	Betawi
bold	ngoko Javanese
bold italics	forms that can be classified as ngoko Javanese or Indonesian
underline	repetition of words or utterances between adjacency pairs
underline	word or utterance was repeated in prior talk, although it may not always be in the immediately preceding turn
word. word	perceivable silence
(.4)	length of silence in tenths of a second
=	no perceivable pause between speaker turns
[	start of overlapping talk
’	final falling intonation
?	final rising intonation
+utterance+	raising of volume
#utterance#	lowering of volume
>utterance>	utterance spoken faster than previous one
wor::d	sound stretch
(???)	word that could not be transcribed

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