REPRESENTED SPEECH: PRIVATE LIVES IN PUBLIC TALK[1]

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Abstract

This paper draws together discussions around public and private, represented talk, and conviviality by showing how an interviewee uses linguistic features to frame instances of talk as either "represented private talk" or "represented public talk". My empirical focus is an interview that was recorded as part of fieldwork on leadership practices in the Indonesian bureaucracy. In this interview with a department head it seems that he adds authenticity to accounts of his leadership practices by performing them through represented talk. His use of Javanese in instances of represented talk also helps index intimate social relations between himself and his staff, while in some instances the combination of reference to place and participants also helps to nest ideas of private within represented public talk.

Keywords: Represented speech; Public; Private; Conviviality; Recursivity.

1. Introduction

This paper engages with discussions around public and private, represented talk, and conviviality. While all three areas have received considerable scholarly attention in the past, here I seek to bring these areas together by showing how the use of particular linguistic features help to frame instances of represented talk as "represented private talk", "represented public talk", or "private talk nested within represented public talk". In doing so, I also show how these instances of represented talk add authenticity to such accounts along with information about the intimate social relations that exist between the animator of this talk and those represented via this talk. This is not a straightforward

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delineation of domains, however, because some of this represented talk contains Javanese fragments which seem to nest the idea of private within talk represented as public.

My empirical focus will be data gathered as part of a linguistic anthropological study of leadership practices in the Indonesian bureaucracy that was conducted between September 2003 and February 2004 in Semarang, Central Java. In particular, I will focus upon one recorded interview held with a department head. I point out that the authenticity of this bureaucrat's account of his leadership philosophy in part relies upon his use of represented talk. He indexes this talk as either public or private through a combination of reference to place and multiple participants, while change in activity type – i.e. from explaining leadership practices to performing them – is indexed by alternation between Indonesian and Javanese or through the use of pitch and tempo. Just as importantly, I also point out that the use of Javanese is key to indexing an intimate friendly relationship with his staff.

After discussing some of the scholarship on public and private, represented talk, and conviviality, I go on to briefly describe the Indonesian context in which this research was conducted. Following this I provide an account of my fieldwork before turning to my analysis of interview data. In concluding, I suggest some areas for future investigation, including discussions about whether and to what extent represented talk relates to instances of actual talk.

2. Public and private in represented speech

Scholarship on the public and private spheres and relations between them have pointed to the importance of examining the way these categories are mobilized in interaction once they have become widely recognized ideological icons (Gal 2002; Irvine and Gal 2000; Gal and Woolard 2001). Typically, these icons consists of indexical relationships between linguistic form, person, social domain, social relations between persons involved in such social domains, activity type, epistemology, affect, and so on: In short, these categories are part of a "semiotic register" (Agha 2007a), or if you like a "speech genre" (Bakhtin 1986). Scholarship on public and private has shown how these constructs are made up of register-specific features which can be used recursively to invoke public and private contexts and to nest private contexts within public ones and vice-a-versa (Gal 2002; Hill 2001; Gal and Woolard 2001). This observation sits with suite of ideas, including "contextualization cues" (Gumperz 1982) and more recent framing of these ideas whereby particular contextualization cues are seen as "signs" or "emblems" which when used in sufficient amounts – i.e. just enough – invoke particular contexts (Agha 2007a; Duranti and Goodwin 1992; Blommaert and Varis 2011).

Represented speech is one exemplar of how people can move themselves and co-participants from public to private contexts or from one private context to another. Represented speech, a term coined by Tannen (1989) and further developed by Agha (2007a) and Clift and Holt (2007), refers to instances of reported talk where reports include not only accounts of what was said but also how the "animator" (Goffman 1981) of the reported talk felt about the event, the person(s) being reported, and their relationship to them. Represented talk is often found in conversational narratives, gossip, and other forms of related small talk, which have numerous functions, such as

socializing newcomers into normative ways of interacting, understanding why events occurred, self-promotion, establishing and maintaining convivial relations, identifying insiders and outsiders, representing social relations between reporter/teller and those being reported about, and so on (e.g. Georgakopoulou 2007; Goebel 2010; Coupland 2003; Besnier 2009; Bauman 2004; Ochs and Capps 2001).

While much of the work on narrative and represented talk highlights such relationships as conflictual (e.g. the teller/hero versus an antagonist who has behaved inappropriately), work on conviviality in the Humanities and Social Sciences in general (e.g. Bunnell et al. 2012; Ang 2003; Baumann 1996; Werbner 1997; Karner and Parker 2010; Wise and Velayutham 2009; Landau and Freemantle 2009) and sociolinguistics in particular (e.g. Coupland 2003; Enfield and Levinson 2006; Ryoo 2005; Blommaert and Varis 2015; Williams and Stroud 2013; Tannen 1984) invite us to take a closer look at some understudied convivial aspects of represented talk. Of special interest here is the function of representing convivial social relations, which seems to be part of the common practice of adding authority and authenticity (e.g. "I was there") to an animator's account of previous dialogue (Clift 2006; Clift and Holt 2007). While some point out that conviviality also involves contestation (Williams and Stroud 2013), in this paper I want to focus primarily on the positive aspects of conviviality.

3. Indonesia, Indonesian and Javanese

Located between Australia and the Southern parts of Asia, Indonesia is an archipelago nation made up of more than 17,000 islands. Depending on who is counting and how language is defined (Agha 2007b) there are between 400-1000 languages in Indonesia (e.g. Abas 1987; Dardjowidjojo 1998; Sneddon 2003). In general, many of Indonesia's 250 million people have competence to use or at least comprehend two or more semiotic systems commonly referred to as "Language". Of importance for this paper are Indonesian, the national language and a local variety of Javanese. Indonesian in its many varieties has become the stereotypical language of an Indonesian public. While the process of creating an Indonesian public had its antecedents in the Dutch colonial period (Errington 1998a, 2000; Goebel 2015), the period from 1966 was especially important in the development of this ideology. This is so because the increase in important standardizing one-to-many participation frameworks, such as schooling, radio, television, and language policy. Through its circulation in these frameworks Indonesian has become indexed to these frameworks with the result being Indonesian has become the language of an Indonesian public (Errington 1995), while also becoming the ideological standard for public address in one-to-many participant frameworks (e.g. school classrooms, television broadcasts, newspapers, census).

Indonesian sits in contrast to local vernacular varieties of Indonesian, often referred to as Malay, and regional languages. While I will primarily focus on the alternation between Indonesian and a particular variant of a regional language, Javanese, it is important to understand where this variant sits in relation to other forms of Javanese. Sociolinguistic descriptions of Javanese spoken in the elite court centers of Yogyakarta in the early 1970s pointed out the existence of a number of different vocabulary sets, which co-occurred to form speech levels that could, and often were, exchanged asymmetrically (Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982). These speech levels include *ngoko* (N), *madyá* (M) and *krámá* Javanese (K). These levels are identifiable by

the presence or absence of particular words and affixes (Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982: 29). Table 1 provides examples of different vocabulary sets as well as examples of the affixation of morphemes and variation in phonemes.
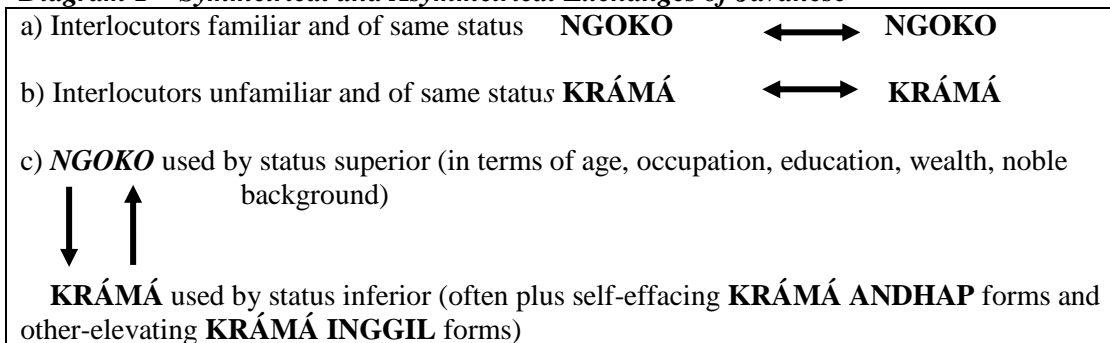
Table 1   Examples of words and affixes indexical of Javanese speech levels

Krámá	Madyá	Ngoko	Gloss
meniko	niki	iki	this
	niku	kuwi	that
	niko	kaé	that over there
menopo	nopo	opo	what
wonten	enten	ono, nèng	there is/are, in/at/on
badhé	ajeng	arep	will/wish/intend

Adapted from Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1982: 30)

With its vocabulary set of around one thousand words, *krámá* has also been described as the language used among strangers (e.g. Bax 1974; Errington 1985; Smith-Hefner 1983; Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982) the language of conversation amongst or to nobility in symmetrical-like exchanges (e.g. Errington 1985, 1988; Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982), and public language used by officials to a co-ethnic rural public (Errington 1995). *Krámá* has also been described as the language which presupposes a different type of social relationship than inferred by the use of another variant, *ngoko* (e.g. Errington 1998b). *Ngoko* has been described as the language of the self, thought, and as the language used among family and friends (e.g. Bax 1974; Errington 1985, 1998b; Smith-Hefner 1983; Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982). In addition to the main vocabulary sets there are two others which raise the status of one interlocutor in relation to another. The first, labeled *krámá inggil* (KI), literally 'high Javanese', consist of words and terms of address that honor or elevate the addressee and his or her actions (Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982). The second set, called *krámá andhap* (KA), consists of words that humble the speaker and his or her actions. The ways in which these vocabulary sets can be exchanged is summarized in Diagram 1.

Diagram 1   Symmetrical and Asymmetrical Exchanges of Javanese

a) Interlocutors familiar and of same status   **NGOKO** ⟷ **NGOKO**

b) Interlocutors unfamiliar and of same status **KRÁMÁ** ⟷ **KRÁMÁ**

c) *NGOKO* used by status superior (in terms of age, occupation, education, wealth, noble background)

↓ ↑

   KRÁMÁ used by status inferior (often plus self-effacing **KRÁMÁ ANDHAP** forms and other-elevating **KRÁMÁ INGGIL** forms)

The work of Bax (1974), Smith-Hefner (1983), and Errington (1985) suggest that the types of symmetrical exchanges shown in a) and b) of Diagram 1 are just as common as the more widely known and studied asymmetrical exchanges in c). Even so, pattern c) has become widely circulated via one-to-many participation frameworks of

schooling and the media at least since the late 1960s. Echoing Bourdieu's (1991) observation, we can say that pattern c became the valued version of Javanese because of its links with older centers of royal and bourgeois power found in the court cities of Solo and Yogyakarta where exemplary persons - Javanese nobles and bureaucrats (*priyayi*) – produced and regimented the speech levels found in pattern c. Examples of this valuation process were not hard to find during the 1990s; the time when many of the participants in the current study engaged in schooling and tertiary education. This pattern was modelled and reproduced on the national radio, RRI, the national TV broadcaster, TVRI, and in materials used in schools in Java.

It also needs to be pointed out that these categories are discussed differently at different times and in different places. For example, Errington (1998b) notes that in rural areas around Solo only two categories were regularly discussed, namely *básá* "polite" and *kasar* "basic", with the former encompassing M, K, KI, and KA forms and the later covering N forms. These two basic levels were also described in other rural areas of Java (Bax 1974), and in my own work in urban Semarang neighborhoods and later in the bureaucracy also attested similar distinctions and categories, respectively, *bahasa Jawa sehari-hari* "everyday Javanese" and *krámá* "high Javanese" and *ngoko* "everyday Javanese" and *krámá inggil* "high Javanese" (Goebel 2000, 2007).

What seems common in these studies is that Javanese forms can interactionally have multiple meanings because of their indexical relationships with other contexts. For example, symmetrical exchange of *ngoko* not only presupposes a familiar equal relationship but one where labor, help, goods or even animosity are expected to be exchanged reciprocally. Asymmetrical exchanges of these sets also presupposes unequal exchanges in other areas of social life as well as expectations of patronage by those who give respect via *krámá* forms, but receive *ngoko* in return (Dewey 1978, Goebel 2014). In short, the usage of vocabulary from different sets can potentially invoke these types of relationships, a point which participants in the current study made during a number of interviews. Finally, what also seems common in these studies is that it is not an all or nothing affair, with participants using just enough *ngoko* or *krámá* forms to achieve particular interactional stances.

4. The data

My data was gathered during fieldwork carried out from September 2003 until February 2004 in a government department within Central Java's provincial government office located in Semarang, the capital city of Central Java. My focus was on language use in the Indonesian bureaucracy. I initially visited this department each day for around half a day (alternating between mornings and afternoons) to identify who might be willing to participate and where and when I might make recordings. During this initial period I also talked with staff about when my presence would least likely interrupt their everyday duties, which turned out to be the last hour of working day. Accordingly, I visited this office a few times per week during the last hour of work.

While I was well aware that establishing relationships in this office over a short period might prove more difficult than in the neighborhoods I had previously worked, the task of establishing rapport and trust was also further complicated by the rapid political transition that had been underway in Indonesia since 1998, when the New Order regime ended. This transition included fiscal and political decentralization, the

running of free and fair elections (with a presidential election slated for August 2004), the lifting of media censorship, and so on (Aspinall and Fealy 2003). During this time, ideas about what represented corrupt practices and thus who could be categorized as corrupt was being negotiated in the upper levels of the government (Rohdewohld 2003), and in the media as part of the ongoing election campaign. When it came to corruption, bureaucrats and politicians alike were frequently in the media gaze. To get some sense of just how often these ideas were repeated in the public sphere we can look at the front page stories of the Semarang based newspaper, *Suara Merdeka* "Voice of Freedom". From July 2003 until January 2004 the number of negative stories about bureaucrats increased from three percent to over nineteen percent.

All of these circumstances and the fact that, Ismail, the head of department was promoted and moved to another location in January 2004 meant that I was unable to make recordings of talk in settings other than two staff meetings and a farewell party. Even so, these three sessions allowed me to make five-and-a-half hours of audio-video recordings and I was also able to record ten hours of interviews, and participate in and observe many face-to-face conversations in the office setting over my five month stay. After making these recordings I needed to transcribe and indicate on the transcript which language was which. This was done using information from a local research assistant, Javanese and Indonesian dictionaries (e.g. Echols and Shadily 1992; Prawiroatmojo 1989; Prawiroatmojo 1993; Sudaryanto 1991), my own knowledge of Javanese and Indonesian, and post-recording interviews with participants using transcripts of talk from the two recorded meetings as stimulus for discussions about language usage.

5. Indexing conviviality between referents in an interview

What initially caught my attention when looking at my interview data was the department head's (Ismail) proclivity to represent other's speech, often in Javanese, while other public servants did this rarely if ever in my interviews with them. This is perhaps hardly surprising because Ismail had a strong trajectory of socialization in a Javanese speaking milieu. This included using Javanese in his family while they were stationed in Kalimantan until he was fifteen (his father was Javanese and his mother was from Kalimantan), and then going to school and university in Semarang, one heartland of Javanese speaking Indonesia. Ismail also knew that I spoke some Javanese and was obviously interested in learning about it because of my questions about language usage, which were typically in Indonesian. To give a rough quantitative picture, during the forty minute interview which the data presented below is drawn from (recorded on November 5, 2003), Ismail represented his interaction with his staff and with his superiors nearly fifty times. More specifically, out of the forty-eight occurrences of represented talk, thirty-three of these contained one or more fragments of ngoko Javanese, twelve were in Indonesian, two contained *krámá* fragments, and one had some English fragments. Here I will focus primarily on the use of ngoko Javanese to represent talk with his staff. What will become clear from this analysis is that Ismail's represented speech often repeats an earlier point by way of providing an example of that point, which typically relate to his leadership philosophy. In doing so, I argue that he is adding authority and authenticity to his accounts, especially one of his

overall claims that he has a friendly relationship with his staff. The use of ngoko Javanese interactionally achieves this by way of its indexical relationship with intimate contexts.

While I came to this particular interview with a few questions I wanted to ask about language practices, Ismail skillfully turned me back to what he wanted to focus upon: His leadership practices. The initial part of the interview can be seen as an abstract of what he wanted to cover during the interview. He started by noting that he often created an environment where his staff, who he referred to as friends, could enjoy their work. He went on to note that he also paid careful attention to ensuring regular bonuses for staff, helping his staff out if they had problems, helping towards the medical expenses of his staff's children, and helping out by lending his car and a chauffeur when there was a death in one of his staff's family. He then turned to pointing out that it was easy to be a boss, but harder to be a leader. He noted that he aspired to be a leader and that his success at this would be exemplified in his staff's tears when he moved elsewhere and where his new staff would eagerly be awaiting him. After asking him how future leaders were prepared in the bureaucracy, he provided his personal experience where he noted that he had three sub-section heads who he was preparing to take his place. Excerpt 5.1 takes up on this theme while providing the first example of the many examples of represented talk in this interview. In this case, Ismail's use of a ngoko Javanese deictic of place helps take the interview into a past 'private' interaction between himself and members of his staff.

5.1. *I mentor my staff to be future leaders*
Ismail

1	dan saya menyiapkan kaderisasi sudah
2	lapis ketiga (3.0) kapanpun saya pindah
3	dari sini . saya sudah punya calon
4	pengganti dari satu di antara tiga kasubag
5	(5.0) jadi tiga kasubag di asistan staf . itu
6	sudah ada penggantinya semua . itu sudah
7	saya siapin .

And I prepare [them] for the third level [of management]. Whenever I leave from here I will already have a replacement candidate, from, one from amongst the three sub-section heads. So that the three sub-section heads [also] have replacements from their staff. I have already prepared for this.

Me

8	he em he em.

Yes, yes.

Ismail

9	dan itu prosesnya a penyiapan itu tidak
10	secara khusus . tapi sambil sambil jalan
11	proses dengan lemparan lemparan
12	pekerjaan . **iki** tolong dirampungi . **iki**
13	tolong selesaikan =

And that process, um, of preparation is not done formally, but while, while [we] go through the provision of tasks "please get **this** done, please finish **this**"

In excerpt 5.1 we can see that lines 1-7 provide narrative-like orienting information in Indonesian. This information includes "who", via the use of *saya* 'I/me' in this case Ismail (line 1), *kasubag* 'sub-section heads' (line 4), and *staf* 'staff' (line 5), and "where" via the use of *sini* 'here' (line 3). The "when" is initially indexed by *sudah*

'already' (line 1). After providing orienting information this is followed by an example of the types of socialization processes undertaken by Ismail, *itu tidak secara khusus, tapi sambil sambil jalan proses dengan lemparan lemparan pekerjaan* 'That is not done formally, but while [we] go through the provision of tasks' (lines 9-12). We are then given a specific example of these actions via represented talk with his staff on lines 12-13.

In this represented talk there are two instances of the ngoko Javanese deictic *iki* "this" (line 12) in an otherwise Indonesian utterance. In this instance a number of indexical possibilities are invoked through the use of this deictic. First, this alternation indexes a change in "activity type" (Levinson 1992) or "footing" (Goffman 1981) from one of "talking about the world" to providing an example of "talk in a lifeworld". Second, by way of its indexical relationship with private talk in the home or neighborhood among intimates, the use of *iki* brings the interviewer and Ismail into this private lifeworld. The represented talk here also seems to be "represented private talk." This is so because the orienting information provided on lines 3-12 does not mention any setting in particular, especially when compared with the following excerpts which refer to "staff meetings".

The use of *iki* also presupposes an intimate relationship between Ismail and his staff because ngoko is indexically related to intimate and private settings. Even so, here this is quite ambiguous because there is also an equally strong indexical link between exchanges of ngoko Javanese and asymmetrical relationships. In this case, Ismail's represented talk could also index such an asymmetrical boss-staff relationship (e.g. the type of exchange represented as pattern c in Diagram 1). It is only as we move through the interview and other instances of represented talk that we get further support for this interpretation of intimacy.

It is also interesting to contrast this instance of represented talk with the next (excerpt 5.2), which has no alternation between Indonesian and Javanese. In contrasts to excerpt 5.1, referents are explicitly referred to in the represented talk and in the orienting talk. Even so, as with the alternation between ngoko Javanese forms and Indonesian forms, it is the contrast between how one utterance is delivered in relation to the previous ones that help index utterances as represented speech. In this case, Ismail relies much more heavily on tempo and pitch to differentiate talk from represented talk. Just as importantly, the represented talk refers to a more public setting where talk is between Ismail and multiple staff in a meeting. This talk is also in Indonesian, the language stereotypically associated with addressing a public. The combination of information on referents, setting, and the language used here frames the talk as "public represented talk". The talk in excerpt 5.2 occurs immediately after that represented in excerpt 5.1.

5.2. *There is no-one in this building who holds fortnightly meetings*

Me

14   = he em he em .   Yes, yes.

Ismail

15   pada saat dia melaksanakan itu sering   During the time he/she does these [tasks]
16   saya mengadakan rapat staf . itu juga   I often hold a staff meeting, [something]

17 jarang dilakukan birokrat . saya rapat staf	which is rarely done by bureaucrats, I
18 itu hampir dua minggu sekali .	hold a staff meeting almost every two weeks.

Me

19 he e:m .	Yes.

Ismail

20 meting staf . khusus bagian saya =	A staff meeting, specifically for my section.

Seven turns deleted where I ask if it is a I possibility for me to record staff meetings

Ismail

21 itu sering . saya dua minggu sekali saya	[meetings are held often], I do it every
22 lakukan itu .	two weeks.

Me

23 o:: .	Yes.

Ismail

24 bisa sipat rapat staf itu saya memberikan	The meeting can have the characteristic of
25 pengarahan .	giving direction.

Me

26 he em =	Yes.

Ismail

27 = directing (1.1) >saya punya tugas	Giving direction. "I have these tasks,
28 ini ini . tolong kita selesaikan> . anda	please let's finish them, you this, this and
29 selesaikan ini . >anda ini ini ini> . atau	this" or sometimes two directional
30 kadang . dua arah .	

Me

31 he em .	Yes.

Ismail

32 #saya# inginnya begini . @anda maunya	"I want this. What do you want?" or
33 apa@ . #atau# >kadang kadang> satu arah	sometimes one directional, from them.
34 . dari mereka .	

Me

35 he em .	

Ismail

36 saya hanya @buka tutup@ . ok keluhan	I just open and close [the meeting]. "OK
37 anda **opo** [@**opo**	**what** problems do you have, **what** [problems]?"

Me

38 [he em .	Yes.

Ismail

| 39 | saya tampung@ . | I take it in. |

Me

| 38 | he em (2.0) | Yes. |

In continuing his account of his leadership practices, Ismail builds upon his explanation of his socialization activities by tying it to the holding of fortnightly meetings (lines 16-18, 20, and 21-22). Note that the orienting information about "who" is now his staff in general (e.g. lines 16-17, and 20), rather than three specific sub-sections heads (as in excerpt 1) and *saya* 'I' in this case Ismail (lines 16, 17, and 21). The "where" was in the meeting room in the building, which was discussed in the seven deleted turns when I asked him about the possibility of recording meetings. The "when" is indexed through a combination of the use of *pada saat* "at the time" and reference to his earlier talk where Ismail described his actions of giving tasks to staff (lines12-13 in excerpt 5.1). The delivery of the orienting information from lines 14-27 does not have the variations in tempo and volume that start on line 27. It is these changes in tempo and volume that help index change in activity type from talking about practices in general to a specific example of this practice via represented public talk (lines 27-29, 32-33, and 36-37).

Change from talking about leadership practices to performing an example of them through represented talk is achieved on lines 27-29 where Ismail speeds up his tempo (indicated by ">" surrounding the utterance that is spoken faster) then slows down before speeding up again. This way of indexing represented speech contrasts with his next three instances of represented speech (lines 32-33 and 36-37) where he alternates between an increased volume (indicated by "#" surrounding the work or utterance), normal volume, and decreased volume (indicated by "@" surrounding the work or utterance). As with excerpt 5.1, representations of talk add authenticity (in this case saying something like "believe me I really do hold fortnightly meetings").

The talk in excerpt 5.2 also contrasts with that in excerpt 1 because referents are included in the represented talk in addition to being noted in the orienting talk. This use of referents helps index this talk as "represented public talk". For example, Ismail refers to himself (*saya*) on lines 27 and 32, an anonymous individual member of his staff *anda* 'you' (lines 28, 29, 32, and 37), and importantly he uses *kita* 'us/we' (line 28) and *mereka* 'they/them' (line 34). These last two referents also help reinforce the idea of public invoked through the regular reference to "staff meetings" via way of pointing to multiple participants who would be involved in such meetings. What is also interesting here is the alternation to Javanese fragments, in this case *opo* 'what', on line 37. As with excerpt 1, this usage seems to add to his claims of having intimate friendly social relationships with his staff. The indexical relationship between ngoko forms and intimate private contexts also help to nest the idea of private within talk that has hitherto been framed as public.

Ismail's represented public talk in excerpt 5.2 also contrasts with his next instance of represented public talk, where he now tries to convince me that he also publicly respects his staff. While he notes this in Indonesian, he also performs such valuing behavior through the use of krámá Javanese fragments, which are stereotypically reserved for asymmetrical exchanges where a subordinate would give *krámá* to a

superior rather than the opposite, as represented in pattern c in Diagram 1. The talk in excerpt 5.3 follows nearly directly on from that represented in excerpt 5.2 and is preceded by Ismail again noting that he holds regular fortnightly meetings in contrast with the three sections on this floor and the nine bureaus in the building who do not. He goes on to note that he learned the value of meetings for evaluation and mentoring when he worked in the private sector where they had a meeting each Saturday.

5.3. *I always publicly acknowledge my staff's achievements*
Ismail

1	nah #dalam forum rapat itu sering saya	So, in the forum of a meeting, I often use
2	menggunakan# istilah . >ok saya	the phrase "ok I **THANK YOU**, I thank
3	**MATUR NUHUN** . saya terima kasih	you [because] our previous tasks which
4	kemarin tugas tugas yang kita terima .	we received which we were entrusted
5	yang dipercayakan pada kita sudah selesai	with are finished. Ok Brother Agus,
6	. ok mas agus anda kemaren jadi	yesterday you were a good leader, good
7	komandan> . good (???) job . saya kasih	(???) job". I congratulate [him] in front of
8	penghargaan di depan teman temannya .	his friends.

The orienting information that precedes the represented talk on lines 2-7 includes "who" which is indexed on line 1 by *saya* 'I/me' (in this case Ismail), and the use of *rapat* "meeting" presupposes the multiple people who attend meetings. The where is also indicated by the use of *rapat*, while the when is indicated by a deictic *itu* 'that', which often indicates spatial distance between participants and referent, but here indexes spatial and temporal distance from participants (Ismail and myself) and "that meeting". In contrast to excerpt 5.2, Ismail also meta-pragmatically frames his utterance as reported talk through his use of *sering saya menggunakan istilah* 'I often use the phrase' on lines 1-2. As with excerpt 2, here Ismail continues to use referents in his represented talk. These include *saya* (I/me in this case Ismail on lines 2 and 3), *kita* 'us/we' (lines 4 and 5), *Mas Agus* 'Brother Agus' (line 6) and *anda* 'you' (line 6). It is the combination of *rapat* 'meeting' (line 1) and the multiple instances of *kita* 'we/us' (lines 4-5) that help frame this talk as talk among multiple participants and thus "represented public talk".

In addition to pointing out that he congratulates those who do a good job in front of his friends in a meeting (and thus in public), he performs this congratulation on line 3 of his represented talk through his account of how he thanks them, in this case using an other-elevating krámá Javanese form *matur nuhun* "thanks". While the use of this form seems atypical in relation to ideologies about Javanese usage – such as that represented in pattern c in Diagram 1 – here its atypical nature helps to add authenticity to his account of how he congratulates and says thanks to his staff. This is so because this utterance is stereotypically used upwards (i.e. from subordinates to superior), rather than the reverse as is the case here. In doing so, this usage tropes on the "other elevating" indexical properties of *krámá* offering a meaning of something like "thank you very much respected staff".

In the talk that follows, not reproduced in full here, Ismail notes that he always publicly thanks and congratulates his staff in this way because it engenders loyalty to him, which he also encourages though access to bonuses and many other practices. As

he continues, he notes that his generous practices has kept him poor and in a ramshackle one-story house when compared to other bureaucrats of the same level. He justifies this practice by first citing his belief in a Javanese philosophy that people should be interested in making a good name for themselves first, rather than trying to enrich themselves. He clarifies this further by saying that once a person has a good name, then the money will follow. In representing himself as someone who has enacted this philosophy, he sees the benefits of such an approach as making him the first person to be approached when there is a problem to be solved.

Following this he points out that he often jokes – represented in ngoko Javanese – with his staff through the use of statements that link organizational imperatives with their own financial needs. He suggests that this approach is much more effective than ordering them about, even though as a boss he is within his rights to do so. He then returns back to the need to continually thank and positively evaluate staff contributions as a way of encouraging them to also use initiative (again using more ngoko Javanese to represent talk). After asking him where he studied these leadership philosophies, Ismail pointed out that he always enjoyed reading about successful people and was also a student activist leader in the late 1980s. This along with his experience working for a large company in Jakarta helped him learn the value of professionalism. He summed up by noting that because of these experiences he never stopped studying and learning from his past practices. All of this talk occurred over the course of five minutes before the following piece of talk (excerpt 5.4). The talk in extract 5.4 also contrasts with my earlier examples because it now also represents Ismail's staff's response to his own talk, rather than just Ismail's talk to his staff, while also providing an example of the nesting of private talk within "represented public talk".

5.4. *Representing dialogue with staff*

Ismail

1 tahun kemarin saya ditugasi untuk	Last year I was given the task of
2 menyiapkan buku laporan . pertanggung	preparing [the governor's] accountability
3 jawaban . >itu setiap tahun> . tapi	report, that [is done], every year. But
4 manajemen tahun ini dan tahun depan	management from this year to the next is
5 pasti beda .	certain to be different.

Me

6 he e:m .	Yes.

Ismail

7 #berangkat# . dari me- a: pengalaman	Starting from (false start) um, this
8 yang ini . kemudian diinovasi (1.4) a:	experience, then we innovate. Um study
9 mempelajari kemarin lemahnya di mana .	where [our] past weaknesses were, it's
10 @gitu@ . nah kita grip untuk tahun depan	like that. So we get an understanding [of
11 . #wah **iki** loh ya . kemarin **iki bobol** loh#	the problems] for the following year "Heh
12 .	**this** right, last time **this failed** right?"

Me

13   he em =   Yes.

Ismail

14   = **piyé ben ora bobol** . @o **ngené**   "**What** [do we do] **so that** [this] **doesn't**
15   bos (???) .   **fail**?". "Oh, **it's like this** Boss."

Me

16   he: [:m   Yes.

Ismail

17   [digrip@ . tapi inisiatip dari @temen   [the problem] is understood. But the
18   temen@ .   initiative comes from my friends.

Me

19   he em .   Yes.

Ismail

20   saya   hanya . di rapat   staf hanya   I just, in the staff meeting I just give an
21   menggariskan . **iki** loh ya . tugas kita .   outline, "it's like **this** yeah, our task, this
22   targetnya ini . inputnya nanti diharapkan   target, the input and output we hope for is
23   ini outputnya kaya begini .   like this".

As with most of his represented talk, Ismail starts with a generalized topic, in this case "learning from experience" before representing public talk on lines 11, 14-15, and 21-23. Again there is orienting information that helps us understand these instances of represented talk. In excerpt 4 there is the "who" *saya* 'I/me', in this case Ismail (line 1), those who are involved in the process of management (line 4), and more specific information on plural referents through the use of *kita* 'we/us' (line 10). The "where" is harder to pin down without reference to the talk that follows the first instance of represented talk, especially line 20 where *di rapat* 'in a meeting' is used. The "when" is indicated through *tahun kemarin* "last year" on line 1.

Here the change in activity type from talking about experiences to giving performed examples of them is achieved on line 11 through a combination of increased pitch, the use of *wah* (an exclamation token often found at the start of an utterance), and the use of the ngoko Javanese deictic *iki* 'this'. In addition to helping index a change in activity type, the use of ngoko Javanese has a number of other indexical potentials, including adding authority to his account (e.g. "I was there and said this"), and to index asymmetrical social relations and/or intimate social relations.

As with my earlier interpretation of other ngoko usage, here I suggest it is the intimate meaning being indexed. There are a number of pieces of evidence that support this interpretation. First, Ismail uses more than just ngoko Javanese deictic here, for example he also uses ngoko Javanese *bobol* 'to fail' on line 11, and in his following instance of represented talk ngoko usage is even more pronounced with the whole utterance being in ngoko on line 14. Second, the asymmetrical interpretation doesn't hold because Ismail represents an unnamed member of staff talking with him in ngoko Javanese (lines 14-15). Finally, Ismail frames this interaction as one amongst *teman teman* 'friends' by noting that initiatives come from his friends (lines 17-18). By the time Ismail moves to the third example of a rapid sequence of represented talk (lines 21-23), it also clear that this is represented public talk. This is achieved through a

combination of his earlier orientation where he mentioned multiple participants (*kita* 'us/we') and the use of *di rapat staff* 'in a staff meeting'. As with excerpt 2, the use of ngoko Javanese also helps to nest represented private talk within this represented public talk while also indexing the idea that this private talk is between those who have intimate friendly relations. This is so because of the association of ngoko with intimate private contexts.

6. Conclusion

Using interview data gathered as part of linguistic anthropological fieldwork on leadership practices in the Indonesian bureaucracy during 2003-2004, this paper draws together discussions around public and private, represented talk, and conviviality by showing how an interviewee uses linguistic features to frame instances of talk as either "represented private talk", "represented public talk" or "private talk nested within represented public talk". In doing so, I added to the earlier work of Irvine and Gal (2000) by showing how linguistic features that made up icons or ideologies of public and private could be reused in a recursive way to invoke senses of public and private in an interview. As found in previous work on represented talk (e.g. Clift 2006; Clift and Holt 2007; Tannen 1989), in my data represented talk added authenticity to my interviewee's accounts of his leadership practices. This bureaucrat's use of Javanese in instances of represented talk also helps index intimate social relations between himself and his staff.

In reflecting on my other data of actual conversations between the head of this government department and his staff in staff meetings one further area for future work emerges. In particular, while work on reported talk generally points out the large gap between reports of interaction and actual interaction – hence the use of "represented" – I found many uncanny resemblances between this bureaucrat's representations of his talk with staff in meetings and his actual talk in subsequent meetings. I thus wonder how the links between these two types of communicative events might be fruitfully explored.

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