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Adolescent social media interaction and authorial stance in Indonesian teen fiction

Dwi Noverini Djenar

Abstract
This article examines representations of adolescent social media interaction in two Indonesian teen novels to show how adolescent communication styles are typified. It is argued that public discourse on the potential danger of social media interaction is resounded in the novels. The article demonstrates that the authors of both novels take a similar moral stance on the issue of social media but use different rhetorical strategies for indexing that stance. Both draw on the social values of registers to communicate the stance. In *Online addicted*, standard Indonesian is used in narration to convey an authoritative voice and a stern moral tone, while the *gaul* register indexes an alignment with favourable aspects of the protagonist's character. In *Jurnal Jo online*, *gaul* is similarly given a positive value by virtue of its juxtaposition with the *Alay* register. In this novel, *gaul* is the preferred, standard register. In both novels, there is a strong orientation toward "standardness".

Keywords
Adolescent fiction, social media, register, style.

1 Introduction

Indonesian adolescents, like adolescents around the world, are among the most avid users of social media. Statistics show that Indonesia is among the top five countries in the world with the highest number of Facebook users. Currently Indonesia ranks fourth after the US, India, and Brazil, in the number of users.[1] Of the overall users, 23 per cent are aged between 13-17 years, and 43 per cent are between 18-24 years. Thus young people aged between 13-

[1] This is according to 2013 data from Socialbakers (www.socialbakers.com).

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24 years constitute 66 per cent of users in Indonesia.[2] Given this profile, it can be expected that what young people do in or through social media and how they do it become topics of interest for various members of Indonesian society, including writers of teen fiction whose professional focus is fictional representations of the social world of young people, particularly adolescents. As members of society, writers are exposed to the larger discourse about the value of social media through their own use of such media and also other types of media. Societal perceptions of how young people interact with social media may be resounded by writers at the local, text-specific level.

This article examines how societal concerns about the perceived undesirable aspects of social media such as "addiction" and cyber safety are represented in teenlit, a genre of popular fiction aimed primarily at adolescent girls. This paper is concerned with addressing the following questions. What aspects of adolescent social media interaction do writers represent in fiction and how do they represent them? What kinds of rhetorical strategies do they adopt to do so? To address these questions, I examine two teenlit novels devoted to the topic of social media. The first novel, *Online addicted* (Tjiunata 2011), is a relatively unknown novel, though published by a well-known publishing house, Gramedia. The second, *Jurnal Jo online* (Terate 2010), is published by the same publisher but written by a more established writer. This novel is a sequel to *Jurnal Jo*, published two years earlier. Tjiunata's and Terate's novels are of particular interest because they have a similar theme and contain a similar moral message, namely, that adolescents must always treat social media with caution as careless engagement can potentially bring undesirable outcomes. Comparing different novels with a similar theme and moral message is useful for showing how adolescent behaviourist typified. It is also useful for showing how the same theme and message are conveyed in stylistically different ways.

The typification of adolescents in the novels has its basis in the general perception of young people as a vulnerable social group, prone to losing self-control on the one hand, but also resilient and capable of self-reflection, on the other. Drawing on Agha's (2005) notions of "social type" and "register identification", the purpose of this article is to show how this typification is realised in the novels through linguistic resources. The representations of adolescent interaction in the novels, in turn, are indexical of the authors' stances on the issue on the danger of social media interaction. The indexical relationship is understood in two senses. In its broader sense, the novel as a form of social action communicates the authors' stances on young people's use of social media. The narrower sense of indexicality points to the relationship between linguistic elements in the novels and the authors' stances. In this sense, linguistic features such as words, phrases, and constructions indirectly communicate the authors' moral message.

[2] Http://www.socialbakers.com/facebook-statistics/indonesia.

2 Youth registers and teenlit

"Teenlit" is a name borrowed from American popular literature to refer to the genre of teen romance. While the term is used in a broader sense in the US to include fiction for adolescents in general, the Indonesian use of the term is limited to popular novels primarily aimed at girls. Introduced to the Indonesian audience around the year 2000 through translation of English language novels, teenlit has been significant in encouraging public debates about reading habits among adolescents. Some authors and social commentators are of the view that teenlit is a stepping stone toward *sastra* 'literature'.[3] According to them, by reading teenlit adolescents are likely to feel encouraged to extend their reading skills and attempt more difficult literary works. To date, no study of Indonesian fiction that I am aware of has provided empirical evidence for this "developmental" view.

Indonesian teenlit novels are written mostly by female authors and deal with themes of peer group relationships and teen romance. At the time of its emergence teenlit invited much attention from the public for two main reasons. First, it was the first time that a specific genre for girl readers was introduced to the Indonesian audience. The strongly urban middle class-oriented themes caused much concern for those who were of the opinion that literature for young people should represent the lives of youth from different socio-economic backgrounds, and not solely those of the wealthy. Secondly, teenlit departs from canonical literature in its prevalent use of features from the youth register of colloquial Indonesian, otherwise known as *bahasa gaul* 'language of sociability' (henceforth *gaul*). To some, both the amount of colloquial features and the narrowness of the themes make for low quality literature. With almost one and a half decades now passed since the introduction of the first Indonesian teenlit novel in 2001, and with the variety of themes and styles introduced since then, the objection has largely subsided.[4]

Teenlit novels are written in different styles but all incorporate features of *gaul*. It is rare to find a novel that does not include features of this register in the narration. In most cases, frequent shifts between colloquial and standard Indonesian are found. The term "style" is understood in this article as a distinctive way of speaking/writing (Irvine 2001; Coupland 2007) that responds to the question "Why did *the speaker* say it *this way* on this occasion?"(Bell 2001: 139). *Gaul* used to be conceptualised as a spoken style, and therefore its use in a work of fiction beyond the dialogue was viewed as unacceptable. Critics objected to the mixing of the standard and colloquial varieties of Indonesian in fiction. They perceived the shifts between the two varieties – common in teenlit novels – as an example of sloppy language use and a reflection of the writer's lack of writing skills. Elsewhere (Djenar 2012) I show that this view is misguided though based on a genuine concern about

[3] See for example, blog posting by writer Dyan Nuranindya, 26 September 2009 (http://dyannuranindya.com/?p=315).

[4] The first Indonesian teenlit novel, according to teenlit editors at Gramedia publishing house (Hetih Rusli and Novera; interview July 2007), is *Eiffel I'm in love* (Arunita 2001).

maintaining the standard of literary language.

Teenlit editors generally encourage writers to use *gaul* features to appeal to the target audience.[5] But how do writers come to recognize certain styles as typifying the *gaul* register? One possibility is that the knowledge comes from their having been adolescents themselves. However, as ways of speaking change with time, and most teenlit writers have past adolescence, what they once knew as adolescent ways of speaking would have significantly changed by now. I would argue that their knowledge of youth styles comes from both personal encounters with adolescents in daily life and the wider exposure to the register through mass media, particularly television. These encounters and exposure also lead to familiarity with another youth register, *bahasa Alay* (henceforth *Alay*), a register typified in terms of its domain of use as the language of text-messaging and social media. This register is also linked to the stereotype of youth as indulgent and idle.

Register, according to Agha (1998: 154), is an analytical construct used to capture "the social regularities of value ascriptions". That is, register is a concept that points to the regularity with which language users make evaluative judgments about language forms. Register identification, according to Agha (2005) is a social process in which the association between language forms and speaker attributes is made. This process, which he calls "enregisterment", is one "whereby distinct forms of speech come to be socially recognized (or enregistered) as indexical of speaker attributes by a population of language users" (2005: 38). Registers are not static entities; their value changes through time. In Agha's words, they undergo "revalorisation, retypification, and change" (2005: 38). Forms that are positively characterised at one time may be valued less or more as language users' perception of various aspects of social relations change.

Registers, whether social or individual, are recognized through "voice" contrast. Voice, or "social voice" in Bakhtin's (1981) sense, is a corporeal metaphor for ideological positions manifest either in oral communication or in written texts. Agha clarifies this notion by stressing that voice, whether individual or social, is indexed by a set of co-occurring signs – both linguistic and non-linguistic – and are recognisable by virtue of its differentiability from other voices. Social voices are essentially types of personhood recognised in relation to co-occurring semiotic cues. Once a voice is recognized, it is treated as one of the "typifiable voices", that is, as a social type characterizable by "reflexive cues" (2005: 39), that is, cues by which the voices are recognized in the first instance. Voices associated with registers form a sub-class which Agha terms "enregistered voices". Forms identified as belonging to a particular register are "social indexicals" that is, they index a stereotype of personhood. However, registers also allow for a range of personae performable through use, from the most typifiable type to hybrid ones. Another aspect of register is that some people, and not others, are able to recognise it through their being socialised into its use. This group of people represents the register's "social

[5] Interview with teenlit editors from Gramedia (Vera and Hetih Rusli), Jakarta, 2007.

domain". Registers are thus "living social formations" which are subject to change as people's values shift.

The youth registers considered here are linked to the social domain of urban adolescent speakers. Smith-Hefner (2007: 184) characterizes *gaul* as a "fast, fluent, and confident" style which expresses young people's aspirations for social and economic mobility, increasing cosmopolitanism, and national youth culture. Its lexicon is characterized by the abundance of abbreviations and borrowings from local languages (for example, Javanese *banget* 'very' and *rada* 'sort of, rather') as well as foreign languages, notably English (for example, *Have fun yah!* 'Have fun!'). Sneddon (2006: 1) describes the grammar of the Jakartan dialect of colloquial Indonesian, from which *gaul* is derived, as "significantly different from the formal language of government and education". He also points out that the Jakartan dialect is the prestige variety of colloquial Indonesian and is becoming the standard colloquial style.[6] *Alay* is a written register of *gaul*. It is characterized by non-standard orthography and abbreviations. The speakers that constitute the social domain of these two registers in the novels are urban teenagers whose lives are surrounded by digital mobile technology and whose mode of interaction is largely defined by it. In what follows I show how these registers are exploited for the purpose of communicating stances on social media interaction.

3 Adolescents and social media addiction

The issue of internet addiction affecting young people has been much discussed worldwide, including in Indonesia. There are many internet pages devoted to the topic, many containing tips on from how to identify symptoms of addiction and how to address the problem. For example, Indonesia now has an organization whose mission is to promote safe internet practice (*Internet Sehat*) and provides advocacy. Indonesian ICT Watch was founded in 2002 by young people (in their twenties and early thirties). Their website provides tips on issues ranging from how to deal with stress caused by email floods, alerting people on the latest scams, to how to detect and deal with internet addiction. Major news providers also publish articles alerting young people to the danger of internet addiction.[7] This kind of public discourse arises not necessarily from concerns about actual incidents that have occurred in Indonesia but more from the desire to inform the public about what has happened in other countries, to alert them to the possibility of its happening in Indonesia. The information therefore serves as precautionary advice. This kind of advice helps

[6] Speakers from other regions also use *gaul* but differentiate themselves from Jakartan speakers particularly in terms of pronoun choice for first and second persons. For example, speakers in Malang and Yogya avoid using *gue* for 'I' (Ewing 2005: 244; Englebretson 2007: 82; Manns 2011: 196–197).

[7] See for example, an article published by the major news provider, *Antara* [http://www.antaranews.com/berita/309813/enam-tanda-kecanduan-facebook, published 9 May 2012, accessed on 12-4-2013], and the national newspaper *Republika* [http://www.republika.co.id/berita/trendtek/internet/12/04/08/m25axd-banyak-orang-yang-tak-sadar-ia-kecanduan-facebook, published 8 April 2012, accessed on 12-4-2013].

shape the discourse on social media behaviour in Indonesia. As the majority of Facebook users are young people, this social group is understood as the target of such advice.[8]

Irena Tjiunata's *Online addicted* is an example of how such precautionary discourse is resounded by the wider public. The story revolves around the girl protagonist's preoccupation with Facebook, the effect it has on her school performance and social relations, and the eventual realization of her mistake. The protagonist, Icha, is a Jakartan high school student from a comfortable middle-class background. Upon discovering Facebook, she quickly develops an "addiction" to this type of social media, to the extent that she neglects her family, friends, boyfriend, and schoolwork. When she found one day that her friends no longer responded to her posting as frequently as she expected, and that her boyfriend had left her, she realized that she had spent most of her waking hours posting messages on Facebook and waiting for responses. Ironically, the smart phone that enabled her to connect to Facebook was in fact a gift from her boyfriend. Icha then began to remedy her situation by reconnecting with her family, friends, and boyfriend, face-to-face instead of online.

Online addicted is a simple story with a strong moral message: adolescents are prone to obsessive behaviour but also resilient enough to be able to quickly change a bad situation into a favourable one. The novel is written in third person narrative with the dialogue primarily rendered in *gaul*, and the narration in a style that mixes *gaul* with standard Indonesian. The *gaul* register is used in narration primarily to convey the protagonist's inner thoughts and to mark the narrator's comments on and evaluation of the state of affairs being described. These two uses are exemplified in (1) and (2) respectively.

(1) *Icha memang salah, dan Edo nggak ada hubungannya dengan kesalahan yang dia perbuat. Icha nggak mau Edo juga disalahkan gara-gara nilai biologi Icha jeblok*. (Tjiunata 2011: 58)

'It's true that Icha was the one to blame, and Edo has nothing to do with what she'd done. Icha didn't want Edo to be blamed for the bad mark she got in biology.'

(2) *Yah … seperti yang kalian tau, kalau lagi dicuekin gini, Icha akan mengeluarkan* smartphone *kesayangannya dan asyik* facebook*-an. Maka, itulah yang dia lakukan sekarang. Mata dan jemarinya sangat fokus pada* smartphone*-nya*. (Tjiunata 2011: 115)

'Well … as you know, when ignored like this, Icha would take out her beloved smartphone and go straight into facebook. So, that's what she's doing now. Her eyes and fingers are absolutely focused on her smartphone.

[8] That young people are the target of the precautionary discourse is not always explicitly stated. However, the fact that ICT Watch explicitly mentions that their organization was founded by young people, and the fact that the majority of Indonesian Facebook users are young people as widely known, enables us to infer who the target audience is.

The paragraph in (1) immediately follows a dialogue between Icha and her parents (not shown here) in which Icha admitted that she had spent too much time on Facebook and had done hardly any study for her biology test. She accepted that the bad grade she received was a result of her own time mismanagement. The paragraph in (1) is a repetition of Icha's admission. This paragraph is written in third person but conveys the character's thought, an example of free indirect discourse (Fludernik 1993). There are clues which inform the reader that the paragraph is written from the character's point of view and represents her "voice". First, the first clause in the first sentence (*Icha memang salah* 'It's true that Icha is the one to blame') is a repeat of the protagonist's words in the preceding dialogue. Secondly, the forms *nggak* 'no, not' and *jeblok* 'bad grade' are common colloquial forms which are more suitably associated with the character's speech style than with the omniscient narrator's.

However, the narrator – in this novel, as in many other teenlit novels – also injects her-/himself into the story from time to time by addressing the reader directly as though s/he is a participant in the story and making evaluative judgments about the state of affairs. The narrator's comment is typically marked by the use of colloquial Indonesian, in contrast to the general narration which is rendered in standard Indonesian. In (2) this comment is indicated by the following colloquial features: a) verbal form *tau* 'know', temporal marker *lagi* 'presently, in the middle of (doing something)', and the verbal suffix *–in* in *dicuekin* 'be ignored', and the adverb *gini* 'like this'.[9] We also know that the event is reported from the narrator's point of view rather than the character's by virtue of the following references to the character's action, physical features and cognitive state: *Maka itulah yang dia lakukan sekarang* 'That is what she's doing now'; *Mata dan jemarinya sangat fokus pada* smartphone-*nya* 'her eyes and fingers are absolutely focused on her smartphone'.

The author draws on two main rhetorical strategies for showing the extent of the protagonist's attachment to Facebook and her lack of self-control: (a) by the use of normatively standard verbal forms indicating visual and mental intensity in the narration, and (b) by highlighting the frequency of the protagonist's Facebook posting and responses to her postings. Examples of (a) are given in (3) and (4).

(3) *Edo menghampiri Icha yang tetap asyik memelototi* smartphone *dan memanggilnya*. (Tjiunata 2011: 115)

'Edo walked towards Icha who was absolutely glued to her smartphone, and called her.'

[9] The normatively standard forms of these items are as follows: *tahu* 'know', *sedang* 'in the middle of (doing something)', *tidak diperhatikan* 'be ignored, not given attention', and *seperti ini* 'like this'. Thus the Standard Indonesian rendition of the clauses would be as follows: *Yah, seperti yang kalian tahu, kalau sedang tidak diperhatikan seperti ini*, […].

(4) *Tak lama kemudian, Icha larut dalam Facebook-nya. Dia tidak peduli lagi pada situasi sekelilingnya*. (Tjiunata 2011: 115)

'Shortly after, Icha was totally absorbed by her Facebook. She no longer cares about what is happening around her.'

Both (3) and (4) represent the voice of the narrator when s/he describes an event (recall that the narrator generally shifts to colloquial Indonesian when giving an evaluative commentary, but standard Indonesian in general narration). In (3) the normatively standard verbal forms bearing the meN- prefix are used (*menghampiri* 'walk towards someone, approach', *memelototi* 'have one's eyes glued on something, stare', *memanggil* 'to call someone'). The verb *memelototi* suggests visual concentration. In addition, the accusative use of the third person bound form (-*nya*) typically found in formal written texts, is used. In (4) the literary form of negation *tak* co-occurs in the first sentence with the temporal marker *kemudian* 'after, then'. In the second sentence, the author uses the normatively standard negation *tidak* in conjunction with preposition *pada*, a preposition strongly associated with formal spoken and written texts (Djenar 2007). The use of standard Indonesian in passages describing Icha's excessive use of Facebook gives a strong impression of a stern moral tone. It comes across as mimicking the voice of a disapproving adult.

One of the main features of Facebook is the time of posting. Tjiunata exploits this feature to show the frequency with which the protagonist uploads her postings. Examples of this are given in (5) and (6).

(5) *Istirahat jam 9* (3 seconds ago) (Tjiunata 2011: 142).
'Recess at 9'

(6) Blue Monday… (2 seconds ago) (Tjiunata 2011: 181).

Postings marked in "seconds" constitute the majority of Facebook entries shown in the novel. They are qualitatively different from those marked in "minutes" in that the latter are typically ones which receive "comments" from peers. These are postings which are represented as socially positive as they encourage responses from others (what I refer to as "dialogic" postings). These postings have longer time lapses, though relatively short by real time reckoning (for example, 2, 3, 12, and 12 minutes), which implies that the character is engaged in non-online activities, and hence is not in her "addicted" state. By contrast, postings marked in "seconds" are monologic, that is, they are not responded to by peers. The short time intervals between this type of postings suggest the character's inability to detach herself from Facebook. The difference in time marking between the dialogic (non-addicted) and monologic (addicted) postings is shown in Table 1.

Total number of postings: 33 (100%)			
Number of posting	Marked in seconds/minutes	Percentage of total number of posting	Monologic/Dialogic
23 postings	seconds	69.7%	monologic
10 postings	minutes	30.3%	dialogic

Table 1. Number of postings and responses

It should be noted that of the 10 dialogic postings marked in minutes, two are uploaded by Icha's best friend, Sasa, and responded to by Icha and others. Also, of the 23 monologic postings, one is from Sasa. This suggests that other characters are also Facebook users and may also engage in similar activities as Icha does, the difference being that they are not addicted like Icha. The relatively small number of postings that Sasa uploads suggests that, whereas Icha is an adolescent who is prone to losing her sense of control, Sasa is a teenager who is also familiar with social media but uses them sensibly.

The contrast between the narrator's voice and the protagonist's voice is of particular interest here as it serves as the main rhetorical differentiation between the moral voice and the voice of the adolescent girl. While the narrator's voice is written mostly in standard Indonesian except when s/he addresses the reader to give commentary, as seen earlier in (1)-(4), the protagonist's Facebook postings are presented in the *gaul* register that incorporates paralinguistic features and features of *Alay*.

(7) Icha: *Siap-siap jadi nyamuk* ☹ (Tjiunata 2011: 81).
'Icha: Preparing to be a mosquito ☹'

(8) Icha: *Sabtu ini nemenin Sa2 nge-date*. Xixixi… (Tjiunata 2011: 71).
'Icha: This Saturday accompanying Sasa on her date. Xixixi … [giggle]'

Paralinguistic features in the above examples include emoticon in (7), and laughter in (8). Reduplication by using the number "2" is a common feature of *Alay*. Icha's rendering of Sasa's name in (8) is an example of this.

Though Icha's style can be characterised by non-standard orthography, as in the use of "2" for reduplication, overall it is relatively conservative in its use of *Alay* features compared to the styles of some of her peers. For example, she never writes with irregular capitalization typical of *Alay*. Compare for example with the posting from Indies Boy in (9), which contains this feature and also abbreviation (the tag *kan* written as *kn*).[10]

[10] The use of "2" for reduplication was in fact common in informal written texts prior to the introduction of social media and text-messaging. With the advent of online and mobile phone communication, "2" becomes a convenient option for writing more quickly and in a limited screen space.

(9) Indies Boy: *Pasti gARa2 onlinE kn*?
(Standard colloquial version: Indies Boy: *Pasti gara-gara online kan*?)
'Indies Boy: Must be because you were always online, right?'

"Indies Boy" is a name that appears in some postings but is unknown as a character. His use of *Alay* features here suggests this minor role. By contrast, Icha's relatively conservative style accords with the presentation of a protagonist as a well-behaved, middle-class teenager who is close to her parents and grandmother, but who, as a young person, is not immune to errors. In this regard, her conservative style is closer to the moral style of the narrator than to the *Alay* style of Indies Boy. As an unknown character, Indies Boy is important for two reasons. One is to emphasise Icha's (known) good character, and the other is to highlight the relation between good character and language use. Good character is ascribed to a person who is capable of self-transformation and who uses "good" language. In this case, good language is presented as one close to the colloquial standard. As will be shown, this alignment with standardness is also evident in Ken Terate's novel, *Jurnal Jo online*.

The contrast between the narrator's voice and the protagonist's (and other characters') voice, then, is not only a contrast of forms but also of moral positions. Normatively standard forms are indexical of an authoritative voice that reminds adolescents of the negative effects of social media. Forms associated with *gaul* and *Alay*, along with other pragmatic features such as the time of posting and responses to posting, are used to typify adolescent social media interaction. However, the teen characters in the story are not of equal moral standing. The protagonist, despite her lapses, is presented as a character who experiences self-growth. Hers is the position with whom the author aligns. This alignment is indicated by the rendering of the character's interaction style in the standard *gaul* register.

4 Adolescents and cyber safety

Ken Terate's *Jurnal Jo online* is written in first person, diary style. Like Tjiunata's novel, it communicates a strong moral message about the unfavourable aspects of online interaction. However, unlike Tjiunata's novel which conveys the message by contrasting the narrator's voice with the voice of adolescents, Terate's delivers the message by contrasting one adolescent style with another. In both cases, there is a strong alignment with the position of standardness. The protagonist is presented as an adolescent who communicates in the standard *gaul* register, while minor characters do so in *Alay*. In Terate's novel, child speak is used to index questionable moral positions.

Jurnal Jo online is a story about Josephine Wilisgiri, a 13-year old girl from a modest family background. She is portrayed as a smart, well-liked teen who enjoys socialising with peers but who, unlike her close friends, Ally and Novi, is not preoccupied with the latest fashion or with attracting the opposite sex. Like other teenagers, Jo enjoys interacting with friends through Facebook and

Yahoo Messenger. Also like them, she uses *gaul* in interaction. However, unlike Ally who communicates online in *Alay*, Jo writes mainly in standard colloquial orthography. The contrast between Ally's and Jo's styles is shown in (10), in an exchange between the two characters using Yahoo Messenger. Here Ally is informing Jo that she recently acquired a new boyfriend through Facebook.

(10) Ally's boyfriend (Terate 2010: 135).

1.	Ally_thecutest	:	*Hi Jo, emh, emh… gw n Danny skrg pacaran loh.*☺ 'Hi Jo, um, um… me and Danny are dating, y' know.'
2.	Jo Wilisgiri	:	*APA*? *Koq bisa*? 'WHAT? How did you do that?'
3.	Ally_thecutest	:	*y4 bisa ajah.* 'Well, you know.'
4.	Jo	:	*dia nembak kamu*? 'he asked you out?'
5.	Ally_thecutest	:	*iiaa, di FB, roMantiS deh.*☺ 'yess, in FB, very romantic.☺'
6.	Jo	:	*trus, gmn?* 'and then?'
7.	Ally_thecutest	:	*gk gmn2 lah.* 'and that's it.'
8.	Jo	:	*gimana kalian pacaran maksudku?* 'how do you date, I mean?'
9.	Ally_thecutest	:	*ya lwat FB, SMS, harRee geNeEE.* 'through FB and SMS of course, very common these days'
10.	Jo	:	*aneh. Gmn kalo dia punya pacar lain*? *Km kan gak tau*? 'strange. What if he already has a girlfriend? You won't know, right?'
11.	Ally_thecutest	:	*ya byar aja. Gw k4n jg bs cari coW laen.* 'Who cares. I can also find another guy, right.'
12.	Jo	:	*makin aneh.* 'that's even stranger.'
13.	Ally_thecutest	:	*byarin. iank pEnt1n6 gw puniia cow. BwaT fUN aZa koQ.* 'don't care. So Long as I have a boyfriend. Just for fun really.'

Ally's turns contain many instances of *Alay* features, including abbreviation,

irregular capitalization, and non-standard colloquial spelling. Below are some examples.

abbreviation	:	*gw* for *gue/gua* 'I' (line 1); *n*, from either Dutch *en* or English 'and' (line 1), *gk* for *gak* (line 7)
irregular capitalization	:	*roMantiS* 'romantic' (line 5), *harRee geNee* 'these days' (line 9), *coW* 'guy' (line 11)
non-standard spelling	:	*y4* for *ya* 'yes'; *ajah* for *aja* 'just, only' (line 3), *harRee geNee* for *hari gini* 'these days' (line 9), *coW* for *cowok* 'guy' (line 11)

It should be mentioned that Jo's turns also include abbreviation. Notice her use of the abbreviation *gmn* (short for *gimana* 'how') in lines 6 and 10. However, abbreviation is not a salient feature in her style. Notice that in line 8 she uses the long version *gimana*. Similarly, she uses the long version of second person singular *kamu* in line 5 but abbreviates it into *km* in line 10. Her use of abbreviation in this case indicates that this protagonist, like most teenagers, is familiar with the language of text-messaging and accommodates to the style of her peers.

The contrast between standard colloquial and non-standard colloquial forms, like in Tjiunata's novel, is both a contrast between registers and between preferred and dispreferred moral positions. These positions are represented by Jo and Ally respectively. The contrast between the positions is particularly evident when we consider Jo's responses to Ally's news. In (10) she comments that dating through Facebook is "odd" because one would not know whether the person one is dating already has a girl-/boyfriend or not. When Ally defends herself by saying that if Danny already has a girlfriend, she can find another boyfriend, Jo responds with *makin aneh* 'that's even stranger' (line 12).

Though Ally is presented as a character with less than exemplary behaviour, she is a friend of Jo's. By contrast, the character who identifies herself as "Lonely Girl" is an unknown individual who contacted Jo via Yahoo Messenger and presents herself as a friend of Jo's but who refuses to reveal her real identity. Unlike Ally who communicates in *Alay*, the stranger uses child speak mixed with *Alay* features, as shown in (11). (Features of child speak in this example are given underlined. Notice in line 5 that the second person pronoun *kamu* is abbreviated as *qm*.)

(11) Interaction between Jo Wilisgiri and Lonely Girl in Yahoo Messenger (Terate 2010: 127).

1.	Lonely Girl	:	*Hi Jo*. 'Hi Jo.'
2.	Jo Wilisgiri	:	*Hi. Siapa nih*? 'Hi. Who is it?'

3.	Lonely Girl	:	*macak gak tau cih*? [child speak] (standard colloquial equivalent: *masak gak tau sih*?) ‘don’t you know?’
4.	Jo Wilisgiri	:	*maaf*. *Nggak*. ‘sorry. No.’
5.	Lonely Girl	:	*qm cibuk teyus cih*. [child speak] (standard colloquial equivalent: *kamu sibuk terus sih*) ‘you’re too busy, that’s why’
6.	Jo Wilisgiri	:	*maksudmu*? ‘what do you mean?’

Exchanges of a similar nature occur several times in the novel. Each time Lonely Girl gives the impression that she knows Jo well and follows her daily, but when Jo asks her to reveal her identity, Lonely Girl always refuses. In fact, up to the end of the novel, her/his identity remains a mystery. Terate uses child speak to communicate the idea that online interaction is risky as strangers may cyber-stalk you. Lonely Girl’s child speak makes her communication sound both playful and eerie. It is playful as it imitates the manner with which an adult may interact with a child. The eeriness comes from its ascription to a character whose intentions are questionable.

Like Tjiunata, Terate indexes her alignment with the preferred moral position through the protagonist’s use of the standard colloquial (*gaul*) register. Other registers, such as *Alay* and child speak, index the less preferred and the dispreferred positions respectively. The difference between the two novels is that, while the protagonist in Tjiunata’s novel is shown to undergo self-transformation, from someone who becomes obsessed with Facebook to a person who has the capacity to recognise mistakes and makes an effort to improve, Jo Wilisgiri, the protagonist in Terate’s novel, undergoes experiences which highlight her already strong mental and moral quality. Minor characters such as Ally and Lonely Girl only serve to highlight this quality.

4 Conclusion

The social value of register is shown in *Online addicted* and *Jurnal Jo online* through the authors’ ascription to certain characters of certain behaviour and ways of communicating. The *gaul* register is presented as the standard, preferred style for adolescent social media interaction. It is the register used by young people of sound character. By contrast, *Alay* is the register used by minor characters (for example, Indies Boy in *Online addicted*) and those portrayed as persons with a liking for trivial pursuits (for example, Ally in *Jurnal Jo online*). As mentioned, *Alay* invokes the typification of youth as indulgent and idle. The use of this register in *Jurnal Jo online* accords with this typification. In addition to *Alay*, child speak is used in this novel to index questionable behaviour and

a moral position with which the author is concerned to show non-alignment.

Language, as argued by many scholars (for example, Ochs 1992; Bucholtz and Hall 2005; and Jaffe 2009) is an important resource for indexing stance. Both Tjiunata and Terate contrast features from different registers to index their position on the issue of social media interaction. The ways teenagers' use of social media in their novels and the moral message that the stories communicate echo the wider discourse which highlights the risks associated with this form of communication. Though the characterization of the protagonist in the two novels differs, the authors share a strong orientation toward the concept of "standard language" (J. Milroy and L. Milroy 1985). Their use of the standard colloquial orthography to portray the communication style and the moral quality of the protagonists reflects this orientation.

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