Language Varieties and Translanguaging Among Students of High Socio-Economic Status

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Abstract:
The social status of speakers often influences the use of their languages, which might also reflect their sociocultural identity. This article aims to reveal the language varieties used by students from high social economic status (SES) and the use of translanguaging types they perform during their interactions with different people in their surroundings. Adopting a mix of content analysis and case study design, this study used observation on five high school students from high socio-economic backgrounds and from different school settings in public and private schools. The selection of these students followed a snowball technique, in which the research setting gatekeepers chose the suitable participants. The employment of different translanguaging types was then calculated in a tabulation form to reveal a pattern. The results show that Indonesian was used as the high variety while Javanese, English, and Japanese were used as the low variety. Their use of languages also shows the elaborate code as high SES normally use and identify as high SES they have. On the other hand, the most widely use type of translanguaging by students is interlingual translanguaging, which shows the frequency of interaction with foreign languages. Likewise, the use of figurative language was used as intersemiotic translanguaging when they communicated at home. These results build on existing evidence of the similarities of the goals and the environment will affect how they do interaction. Students with high socio-economic tend to maintain their identity through interlingual translanguaging. Eventually, they can interact with other students with the same goals to blend their social class or backgrounds directly. Therefore, the use of a proper and correct multi-linguistic strategy needs to be introduced.

Keywords: *language varieties, social economic status, translanguaging*

1. INTRODUCTION

The intertwining of language and identity has been widely acknowledged in literature (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004). The way people speak can reflect their social background and ability, which has been discussed by scholars such as Bernstein (1964) and Loughran and McDonald (2015). However, it remains a challenge to identify others' social backgrounds solely based on their language use. Social or educational background is often categorized into two groups: well-educated and less-educated, or labor people. These differences in language use are recognizable, especially in cases of social disparity between groups (Bernstein, 1964). People with limited language skills often thrive with a restricted code, while well-educated individuals speak with an elaborate code (Bernstein, 1964). As socialization occurs between these groups, language assimilation may occur, combining how people express themselves through their languages.

Social class assimilation can be viewed as a form of tolerance and similarity for societal or educational purposes (Simons, 1901). Previous studies on immigrant assimilation across nations have been conducted (Akresh & Akresh, 2011; Carliner, 2000; Rumbaut, 2015; Waters & Jiménez, 2005; Zhou & Cai, 2002). Sam and Berry (2016) argue that assimilation can occur when an individual turns their back on their original cultural background and identity and chooses to identify and interact with members of the host society. Despite extensive studies on language assimilation in other countries, the topic is still under-explored in Indonesia, especially within an educational setting. Therefore, this study focuses on language assimilation among Indonesian students with high and low socio-economic backgrounds. While studies on language assimilation have been conducted extensively in other countries, this topic is still underexplored in Indonesia, particularly within the educational context. Thus, examining language assimilation among Indonesian students, specifically those from high and low socio-economic backgrounds, would provide valuable insights into the topic.

Language assimilation is a crucial process that occurs when the language identities of society integrate with those of the host speakers or the majority (Alba, 2004; Sam & Berry, 2016). At school, assimilation can occur between students from different socio-economic backgrounds, where more socially advantaged students can interact with their peers from lower socio-economic backgrounds for the purpose of education (Widarti, 2010). The ensuing socialization and tolerance lead to language assimilation between the two groups. The paradoxical nature of this assimilation lies in the interaction and assimilation of the wider-used variety of language, or elaborated codes, and the limited-used variety, or restricted codes. Highly educated individuals tend to use elaborated codes and a variety of language based on their national or standard language, whereas less-educated individuals are more likely to use restricted codes or non-standard language (Bernstein, 1964; Holmes & Wilson, 2017; Legère et al., 1994). Nonetheless, it is important to note that the topic of language assimilation remains underexplored in Indonesia, particularly within educational settings, and further research is needed to investigate the phenomenon among Indonesian students with different socio-economic backgrounds.

In contemporary society, individuals with lower levels of education are increasingly prevalent, both in developed and developing countries (Arsad et al., 2021; Liando et al., 2022). For instance, in Surabaya, a major city in Indonesia, students from higher socio-economic backgrounds may interact with those from lower levels of education due to high poverty rates (Ferezagia, 2018; Jonnadi et al., 2012; Rahmansyah & Pradana, 2020). Teachers can serve as a vital link between students with varying backgrounds during classroom interactions in such contexts. Moreover, the process of assimilation between teachers and students plays a critical role in shaping the way students use language within and beyond the school environment, as well as within their families (Brown, 2004; Eick & Valli, 2010). In some cases, students may acquire languages that are not formally taught in schools, but they frequently use them with friends, relatives, and even older and respected individuals. With languages acquired outside of formal education settings, students often use them as they are (Yohanna, 2020).

The process of language assimilation can lead to a phenomenon known as translanguaging, which has been observed in both social and educational contexts (Vogel & García, 2017). Translanguaging is characterized by the creative combination and selection of various communication modes, including verbal, visual, gestural, and embodied modes, drawn from a speaker's repertoire (Baynham & Lee, 2019; Poza, 2017; Wei, 2011). The selection of particular communication modes or their combinations is influenced by the affordances of the given modes, which have a local impact on the nature of translanguaging practices. The use of translanguaging practices, which are often associated with non-standard or non-prestigious languages, may be seen as a challenge to purist monolingual or regulating bilingual language ideologies (Baynham & Lee, 2019; Jakobson, 2013). Thus, translanguaging can be understood as a language practice that is grounded in local sociolinguistic realities and reflects the diversity of linguistic repertoires of individuals and communities.

Holmes and Wilson (2017) and (Bernstein, 1964) suggest that individuals from higher socio-economic backgrounds are more likely to possess the skills necessary for language acquisition and exposition, particularly in the case of the elaborated code and wide variety of language. Thus, it is likely that multilingualism is more common among those with high socio-economic status than those with low socio-economic status. Consequently, this research focuses on high socio-economic status students as appropriate subjects for exploring translanguaging practices. The present study aims to investigate the types of translanguaging practices that emerge among high socio-economic status students as they undergo language assimilation.

Despite growing interest in the influence of socio-economic factors on language varieties and translanguaging practices, there have been few investigations conducted in the Indonesian context. For example, Andriyanti (2016) examined the use of Javanese language varieties and other languages among high school students in Yogyakarta but failed to uncover the interplay between these languages. Two previous studies conducted by Setiawan (2013, 2020)discussed language varieties among students and children in Surabaya but did not focus on translanguaging due to several constraints. Although they identified language shifts among bilingual youths, they did not delve into the specific linguistic behaviors involved. (Anwar, 2021) conducted a research study that explored the use of the Surabaya dialect of Javanese and its position in the neighborhood but did not examine the correlation between language use and users' backgrounds. Moreover, the study from Liando et al. (2022), Nursanti (2021), and Santoso (2020) focused on how translanguaging was conducted during the EFL classroom in schools and universities in Indonesia, those research did not find out how the students use the language beyond their classroom. Thus, there is a need for a more comprehensive investigation of translanguaging practices among high socio-economic status students in metropolitan areas, as this is an important area of knowledge about translanguaging practices in Indonesia to fill the gap, this study was aimed at answering the following questions:

1. How do the high socio-economic status (SES) students communicate multilingually in education, public, and domestic settings?
2. If any, what translanguaging types were conducted in those formal and informal settings?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Language Variety

Language variety is an important aspect of sociolinguistics that is closely intertwined with social communities (Eifring & Theil, 2005). The concept of language variety refers to a set of linguistic items that share a similar social distribution. For instance, slang is often characterized as a relatively limited set of new terms and new meanings for existing words, which may be intermingled with linguistic items that have a much wider social distribution. Conversely, in high socio-economic status (SES) students, language variety is largely defined by the set of languages used in a particular context (Holmes & Wilson, 2017). In

this sense, language variety is highly context-dependent and reflects the social and cultural factors that shape the way language is used and understood.

Moreover, the notion of language variety can also refer to different dialects or forms of a language that are spoken in different geographical regions or social contexts (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2021). This allows us to speak of Canadian English, London English, Singaporean English, and so on, as distinct language varieties that are shaped by the social, cultural, and historical factors that are unique to each of these regions. Furthermore, this approach to language variety enables us to view all the languages spoken by multilingual speakers or communities as a single variety, as all the linguistic items involved share a similar social distribution. In this way, language variety is not only a reflection of the linguistic features of a particular speech community but also of the social and cultural factors that shape the way language is used and understood.
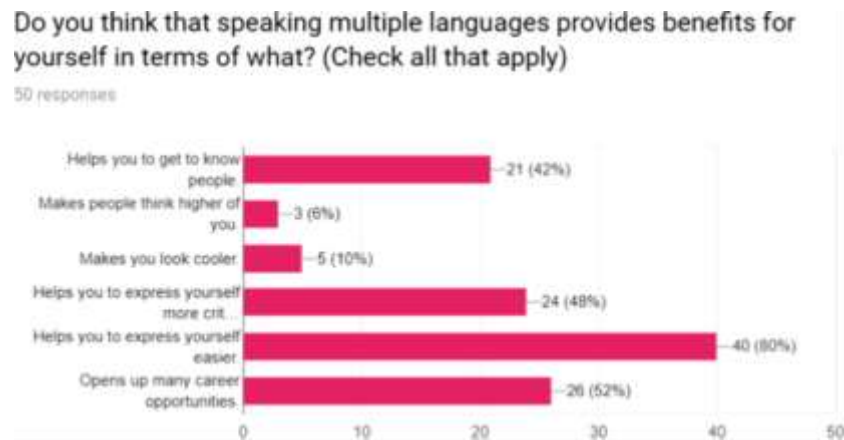
2.2 Translanguaging

Translanguaging is a complex phenomenon that extends beyond language use and involves the creative selection and combination of different communication modes. While it is often associated with code-mixing, which involves the alternation between two or more languages in a single conversation, translanguaging goes beyond mere linguistic switching (Conteh, 2018; Heugh et al., 2021; Vaish & Lin, 2020). Code-switching, which is a subset of translanguaging, plays a significant role in multilingual communication by allowing speakers to switch between languages to represent their affiliation with a specific social or ethnic group (Dewaele & Wei, 2014).

The translingual practice involves the use of multiple languages in communication. High SES individuals are more likely to use translanguaging, as they have greater exposure to different language varieties. Specifically, high SES individuals are known to use three types of translanguaging. The first type involves mixing a foreign language with their native language, which is immediately spoken by high SES students given their linguistic input. The second type, intralingual translanguaging, is common among Surabaya citizens who speak the Surabaya dialect. This dialect is known for its harshness and is typically associated with low SES individuals who use a restricted code. However, intralingual translanguaging is inevitable for low SES individuals as they use the dialect in everyday communication. The third type of translanguaging, intersemiotic translanguaging, is typically used by individuals with a certain level of linguistic competence who understand how semiotic languages are used. One example of intersemiotic translanguaging is the use of figurative language.

Translanguaging practices not only involve linguistic switching but also incorporate other communication modes such as visual, gestural, and embodied modes, allowing speakers to express their thoughts and ideas more effectively (Baynham & Lee, 2019; Poza, 2017; Wei, 2011). Translanguaging also serves as a means of identity construction and emphasizes one's social identity and membership in a community. For instance, Cenoz (2013) found that the use of translanguaging among Basque-speaking students in a bilingual education context was not just a means of communication but also a way to construct a positive identity and express their belongingness to the Basque community. Research in Indonesia found that students used their integrated repertoires such as translanguaging for a number of purposes such as scaffolding their understanding of difficult concepts, stimulating their creativity and criticality in using the languages, and engaging in collaborative dialogues and private speech (Santoso, 2020). Therefore, it is essential to understand translanguaging not just as a linguistic phenomenon but as a complex social and cultural practice that involves multiple communication modes and identities. The diagram in Figure 1 would emphasize why people considered using multiple languages taken from El Bolock et al., (2020).

Figure 1. Translanguaging in used consideration.

Do you think that speaking multiple languages provides benefits for yourself in terms of what? (Check all that apply)

50 responses

According to Baynham and Lee (2019), there are three types of translanguaging that emerge in society, namely interlingual, intralingual, and intersemiotic translanguaging. Interlingual translanguaging refers to face-to-face communication in various languages, where translanguaging users draw upon their native language variety to build meaning. This type of translanguaging has been identified as an effective strategy for multilingual communication, as it allows speakers to convey their message in a language that they are most comfortable with (Vogel & García, 2017). The second type, intralingual translanguaging, involves rendering complex terms or concepts in a language that clients can understand. This is particularly relevant in professional settings, where specialized jargon or terminology may be difficult for non-experts to grasp. Translanguaging in this context involves the use of foreign languages or simplified terms to enhance communication and promote understanding (García, 2009).

Finally, intersemiotic translanguaging refers to the use of multiple modes of communication, including verbal, visual, and gestural modalities, to convey information. This type of translanguaging has been observed in a variety of settings, including the classroom, where teachers and students use different modes of communication to enhance learning (García et al., 2017). For instance, a teacher may use visual aids such as images or diagrams to complement their verbal instructions, or a student may use gestures or facial expressions to convey a meaning when they lack the vocabulary to express themselves verbally.

Overall, the three types of translanguaging highlight the creative and dynamic nature of multilingual communication, where speakers draw on a range of linguistic and modal resources to convey their message. By embracing translanguaging as a valuable resource for communication, educators and researchers can foster a more inclusive and equitable learning environment that values linguistic and cultural diversity (García et al., 2013).

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Settings

This study employed a qualitative approach and was carried out in Surabaya, a large metropolitan city in Indonesia. The study focused on the speech patterns of five high socioeconomic status (SES) students from both state and private high schools located in five distinct zones within Surabaya, namely Center, North, South, East, and West. The specific geographic locations were selected to provide a detailed and comprehensive understanding of the language phenomena within each zone of Surabaya's high school settings. The five students in each school were purposefully selected using the method described Etikan et al. (2016). A snowball sampling technique was employed by the schools to identify and recruit five

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participants in each district of Surabaya. Table 1 is displayed to provide a comprehensive overview of the participants' demographic information.

Table 1: Participants Information

Participant	Gender	Domain of Observation	School Background	Surabaya District	Mastered Language	Community and skills
Participant 1	Male	Classroom (During the lesson)	Islamic Private School	Downtown	Indonesian, Javanese, English, and Arabic	Drawing
Participant 2	Male	Canteen	Public School	North Surabaya	Indonesian, Javanese, English, and Japanese	Gaming and Japanese Community
Participant 3	Female	Classroom (After school)	Public School	South Surabaya	Indonesian, Javanese, and English	Modelling
Participant 4	Male	Café	Public School	East Surabaya	Indonesian, Javanese, English, and Japanese	Gaming Community
Participant 5	Male	Home	Public School	West Surabaya	Indonesian, Javanese, and English	Public Speaking Community

Table 1 demonstrate the participants' sociometrics activities after the school and organizations they are in. This table is expected to provide clearer information regarding the participants' recruitment backgrounds.

3.2 Instrument

To objectively capture the students' language use, the research team carried out observations for a duration of 30 minutes in predetermined places where the students were likely to converse with others. The observations were designed to capture the students' utterances in translanguaging, a phenomenon where multilingual speakers switch between languages during their communication (García et al., 2017). The participants were observed in various domains, with participant 1 being observed in the classroom during a class, participant 2 in the school canteen, participant 3 in the classroom after school, participant 4 in a café, and Participant 5 at home. By observing the students in these different contexts, the study aimed to gain insight into the student's language use patterns and the sociolinguistic factors that influence their multilingual practices. Detailed information on observations is provided in Table 1.

3.3. Data Analysis Procedures

A rigorous analytical approach was adopted to analyze the data collected through observations of multilingual students' language use. This study combined thematic and content analyses and followed the guidelines provided by Miles et al. (2018) and Krippendorff (2018), the analyses went through three key steps, namely data condensation and selection, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. The first

stage was conducted to identify the conversations that contained the most relevant data for analysis. As a grounded theory, Baynham and Lee (2019) and Holmes and Wilson (2017) would emphasized the data display. The data display was used to present the findings through the use of excerpts from the conversation utterances. Further, to classify the languages used in the conversations, a scheme based on high and low varieties was employed, following Holmes and Wilson's (2017) typology which high variety (H) is for the formal language and low variety (L) is for informal language.

The trustworthiness of the data was ensured through two key techniques: member checking and analyst triangulation. Member checking was conducted to obtain credibility from the research participants by showing them the video and transcriptions. Member checking was applied when the videos were already transcribed and returned to the participants to check for accuracy and resonance with their experiences. Meanwhile, the peer debriefing triangulation was also employed among the research team members to ensure that the analyses were grounded in the data and free from bias. Peer debriefing was employed after member checking was completely done. Further, each of the researchers was also assigned to check and interpret the data analysis results in each stage. In this way, every stage was well-triangulated to improve the trustworthiness of data gathering, analysis, and interpretation.

4. RESULTS

To present the findings of this study, the research questions related to the use of different language varieties in formal and informal domains, as well as the types of translanguaging employed in these contexts, were utilized as a framework. The formulation of these research questions was informed by the theoretical perspectives of language varieties and restricted-elaborated code, as opposed to language assimilation, which resulted in a combination of translanguaging practices. The concept of translanguaging and language varieties, as discussed by Baynham and Lee (2019) and Holmes and Wilson (2017), served as a theoretical foundation for this study. Specifically, the study explored how students use high and low varieties of language in formal and informal settings, and how this relates to the concept of restricted-elaborated code. Additionally, the study examined the ways in which students engage in translanguaging, or the mixing of languages, to communicate in multilingual environments. By using these research questions as a framework, this study was able to provide a comprehensive analysis of the language practices of multilingual students in Surabaya. The findings shed light on the ways in which students use different language varieties and engage in translanguaging practices in formal and informal domains, and how this relates to their overall language development.

4.1. Language Varieties

Based on the observations of the five student participants, four languages were found to be used, namely Javanese, Indonesian, English, and Japanese, which can be distinguished as high and low varieties. The high variety is also known as the prestige variety and is typically used in formal settings, whereas the low variety is used in informal settings. These observations were conducted in one formal situation and four informal situations. As a result, Indonesian was chosen as the high variety (H), while Javanese, English, and Japanese were considered as the low variety (L). The selection of only Indonesian as the high variation was mainly because there was only one formal environment included in the study, while the other four were informal environments (Holmes & Wilson, 2017). However, it is important to note that using a local language or foreign language in a classroom can become categorized as formal when the lesson is language-related. Thus, it is possible that the use of Javanese, English, and Japanese in a formal classroom setting may be considered as high variation as well. These selections of language varieties would provide a comprehensive picture on what languages the participants speak during the observation.

Table: 2 Language Variety of Students

Variety of Language	Languages	Domain
H	Indonesian	Classroom
L	Javanese (Surabaya Dialect) English Japanese	
H	Indonesian	Canteen
L	Javanese (Surabaya Dialect) English Japanese	
H	Indonesian	Classroom (Afterschool)
L	Javanese (Surabaya Dialect) English	
H	Indonesian	Cafe
L	Javanese (Surabaya Dialect) English Japanese	
H	Indonesian	Home
L	Javanese (Surabaya Dialect) English	

Table 1 illustrates there are two foreign languages used in low variety. Each of the foreign languages is one of the elaborated codes that can show the users' identity. However, foreign languages are mixed with the restricted code used by the higher economic class students, as seen in the following excerpts.

Teacher : *Penentuan rencana sistem pasar. opo ae? yang menurut kalian enak apa? Makanan internasional yang pernah kalian coba yang menurut kalian enak?*

(The determination market system plan. What are those? what is your preference? Which international foods that you have tasted which you think is delicious?)

Participant 1 : *Spagheti, pizza terus steak. Terus opo maneh yoo. Takoyaki, okonomiyaki, ramen, sushi, sashimi, udon, pengen nyoba Bu. tapi koyok e enak delok di* youtube *youtube. Pengen nyoba Bu! Aku pernah nyoba, kecil ngono rasane yoh biasa ae.* (P1-Cls)

(Spaghetti, pizza, then steak, and takoyaki, okonomiyaki, ramen, sushi, sashimi, udon. I would like to try, Mam. They seem so tasty. I saw them in Youtube. I tasted them a bit, but the taste was just normal)

Friend : *Kabeh ae rid!* (Better all, Rid!)

Teacher : *Ndelok nan ig.* (I saw on Ig)

Participant 1 was talking to his teacher in the class during the lesson. He assimilated the norm of high SES, elaborated code with low SES, restricted code, which obscured the student's identity. Participant 2 was conducted on school canteen. He was with eight friends during the video observation.

Participant 2   : Strawberry short cake *seng kartun anak kecil itu lhoo!* (Strawberry short cake the kids cartoon!) (P2-Can)

Friends 1   : Strawberry short cake? *Yang mana sih aku ngga tau!* (Strawberry short cake? Which one, I don't know!)

Friends 2   : *Oh, yang ada 3 anak itu ta?* (Oh, that cartoon with three kids?)

Friends 1   : *Apa sih 3 anak iku opo? Apa sehhh?* (Whose three kids? What do you mean?

The next excerpt was from Participant 3 and her friends in the classroom after school.

Participant 3   : *Ya wis, bakal di*repeat *terus, di ulang terus koyok ngono iku. Mesti pasti nanti kalo dia pacaran sama cewe gamonnya sama kamu cewe nya marah lagi gamonnya sama cewe barunya tadi.* (P3-Cls aft)

(He would like to repeat that, again and again. When he has a new girl, he will feel hard to move on from you. Then his girlfriend would be angry to him because he cannot move on.)

Friends 1   : *Iya He'eh* (Yes, it is true!)

Friends 2   : *Iya aku juga liat nya kaya gitu!* (Yes, I saw it like that too!)

Participant 3 used the word "gamon" which is abbreviated from "gagal move on" a mix of English-Indonesian terms, or "fail to move on" in English. The next excerpt was taken from participant 4 in an observation conducted in a café.

Participant 4   : *Moro-moro besok ada yang nge*chat, *"Mohon bantuannya untuk Rizal Hasan, gak bisa makan." Lek urunan lho iki mek gae anu kelas ae.* Empire *ae njaluke.* (P4-Caf)

(There will be soon someone who texts, "Please help Rizal Hasan. He is not able to eat." If we split the bills for the class's dinner, you guys always want in Empire.) Note: Empire - A fancy expensive restaurant in the city

Friend   : I *mau!* (I want!)

Friend 2   : *Emang* Empire *enak?* (Is Empire good?)

Friend 3   : *Wes jam 10* (It's 10 already)

The following excerpt was found in an observation conducted in participant 5's home talks.

Paricipant 5   : *Iya.. kamu tau ta... kakak tingkatmu itu.. yang.. itu lhoo.. kapan hari yo Ma yoo, nyilih aku duit 300 ribu!*
(P5-H)
(Yes, you know what, your senior, that one, one day, right Mom, she brought money from me three hundred thousand!)

Cousin   : *Moso iye?!* (Are you sure?!)

Participant 5   : *Iyo sumpah!* (Definitely!)

The five participants' utterances in the data show how Surabaya dialect as their language variety are mixed with several vocabulary items and phrases from several other languages.

4.2. Translanguaging Types

There were 116 times of interlingual translanguaging occurences, 145 times intralingual translanguaging occurences, and only 12 times intersemiotic translanguaging occurences. This total count was calculated based on thirty minutes of observation during the research participants' socialization. These three types of translanguaging were based on Baynham and Lee (2019), which was developed from Jakobson (2013).

Table 3: Translanguaging Type & Locus

Translanguaging Types	Places			Café	Home	Total	Percentage
	School						
	Classroom during the lesson	Canteen	Classroom after school				
Intralingual	14	32	11	36	23	116	45%
Interlingual	28	23	31	32	31	145	54%
Intersemiotic	6	5	-	-	2	12	1%
Total	48	60	42	68	56	273	100%

Table 2 provides an overview of the results from an observational study conducted on five student participants in order to examine their use of translanguaging. The data indicate that interlingual translanguaging was the most frequently used type, accounting for 55% (145 instances) of all occurrences. Intralingual translanguaging was also a prevalent practice among the participants, with a total of 116 instances or 45% of the total instances recorded. In contrast, inter-semiotic translanguaging was the least commonly used, with only 13 instances or 1% of the total number of instances observed. Further analysis of the data suggests that one participant, in particular, exhibited a higher frequency of intralingual translanguaging, with 36 instances recorded while at a café. Additionally, this same participant was also observed to use interlingual translanguaging more frequently than the other four participants, with 32 occurrences during the 30-minute observation period. The results suggest that while the use of translanguaging is prevalent among the participants, the types of translanguaging employed may vary depending on contextual factors such as location and language proficiency.

The following sections are the examples of each type of translanguaging. In the intersemiotic translanguaging, the students' utterances include multimodal expressions to convey their meaning.

a. Intralingual Translanguaging

Intralingual translanguaging is the mixed-up the vernacular language with the standard language (national language). The use of intralingual translanguaging during the observation was most frequently used by Participant 4 in a café with one of the Indonesian utterances mixed with the regional language, Surabaya Dialect.

> "Emang iya kok. Kenapa **kon** ga suka mirip bapakmu, **anjir**?"
> (Well, that is true. Why do not you like to resemble your father, Dog?)

The utterances show that the use of the main language is Indonesian. Another participant who used the least interlingual and with the use of regional languages mixed with the use of Indonesian was Participant 3.

> "**Kon lak wingi mari** potong rambut. Stress ya?"
> (I thought you cut your hair. Are you stressed?)

In addition, participant 1 was also said during the guessing game with his friends,

> "Sapi, sapi apa **sing isok** nempel **tembok**?!"
> (What kind of cow can stick to the wall?!)

b. Interlingual Translanguaging

Interlingual translanguaging is mixing language with foreign language or the language which do not come from the interlocutor's nation. Just like intralingual translanguaging, Participant 4 did interlingual translanguaging the most frequently than the other students. One of the examples is as follows.

> "Iyo, cuman kon **self-diagnose** asam lambung yo?"
> (Yes, but (how can) you self-diagnose yourself as having indigestion?)

The use of *self-diagnose* phrases is an interlingual translanguaging that shows more ability and knowledge even though the participant mostly uses Javanese in one sentence but uses English as an emphasis.

Another example is from Participant 2, who did interlingual translanguaging by mixing Indonesian with Japanese.

> "**Nande..nande.. wibu,** rawr.. pedes bet tapi enak"
> (What? What? A weaboo? Rawr, that was spicy but good!)

The fifth and last participant shows speech.

> "Ho'oh, jadi habis kejadian iku aku iku bikin **status** ngono iku lho, yo rodok nyindir nang **close friend. I was made story about that.**"
> (Yes, so after it happened, I made a status on my (Instagram) close friend, which was a bit teasing her. I made a story about that.)

Participant 5 used three languages in one single utterance to his relatives.

c. Intersemiotic Translanguaging

Intersemiotic translanguaging refers to the language which needs more knowledge to understand and it has some patterns to recognize. Participant 5 gave the example the use of intersemiotic translanguaging.

> "Soale iku wis dalam bentuk jurnal. Wis gak harus menyusun dari awal gitu lho. **From zero to hero** endak. Langsung...."
> (Because it is already in a journal form, it does not need to be arranged from the start, like from zero to hero. Just directly....)

5. DISCUSSION

The first research question aimed to investigate the language varieties used by the students, as presented in Table 1. Language use is often adjusted based on government decisions, ensuring that students use formal language in formal settings. Additionally, when participants converse with older family members and colleagues, they often use formal or polite language instead of the Javanese Surabaya dialect, which is deemed impolite (Surya, 2006). This finding corresponds to Anwar (2021) and Holmes and Wilson (2017) who suggest that the Surabaya dialect of the Javanese language is typically used to speak to individuals with whom the speaker has a close psychological relationship. However, the identity of high socio-economic students remains apparent through their use of various languages during conversations. Furthermore, the use of Javanese with the Surabaya dialect appears harsher than other Javanese dialects (Anwar, 2021). The use of elaborated code and restricted code (Bernstein, 1964) were assimilated in the current study by the blending of several kinds of codes. In order to gain the same purpose of conversation and the same goals of studying the assimilation of the codes were accepted. For example, metropolitan individuals often use language that appears rude (Thariq & Anshori, 2017), and this phenomenon is globalized (Wolfram & Schilling, 2015). Consequently, the language used by students with high SES will reflect the language used in their environment while maintaining their identity.

The use of restricted code and elaborated code combined shows how research participants understand the other person's condition and select the appropriate level of Javanese for a specific interaction, while

also considering their relationship to the person in context (Holmes & Wilson, 2017). Moreover, solidarity, friendship, and relative status, as measured by factors such as age, wealth, descent, education, and occupation, play an essential role in determining the level of Javanese used (Alba & Duyvendak, 2019). Thus, each participant may use a different level of Javanese depending on the circumstances. For instance, even at home (P5-H), the use of Indonesian is mixed with foreign languages since the participant converses with their family. Conversely, at school, the participants interact with friends from various economic statuses, resulting in the use of different languages (P1-Cls; P2-Can; P3-Cls aft). Additionally, the language used by participant 4 (P4-Caf) in the cafe is the Surabaya dialect mixed with English and Indonesian, which carries over to when they are at home. Therefore, they tolerate each other regarding language use in their respective environments to ensure their interlocutors can understand the discussion. However, in the case of participant 1, their teacher's improper use of Indonesian might affect the student's speaking ability, as shown in the data. This finding illustrates how the assimilation of the elaborated code's language mixes with the restricted code of lower classes.

The second research question in this study examined the use of translanguaging among the participants during formal and informal conversations. The findings reveal that despite limited vocabulary in Javanese, the participants used other foreign languages in formal conversations with teachers and in informal conversations with family and friends, which reflects their high SES status. This study highlights three types of translanguaging. The first type is intralingual translanguaging, which involves the mixing of different languages that individuals know. This practice is common in Indonesia where there are many spoken languages, and it is not restricted to individuals with limited economic means. For instance, participant 4 used the Javanese dialect of Surabaya to promote tolerance among speakers, while participant 3 used two languages in one sentence to facilitate understanding and promote language tolerance. However, it is also possible for individuals to mix more than two languages, which is referred to as interlingual translanguaging. For example, participant 2 combined Japanese and Indonesian by using the word "wibu," which means "the ones who are crazy about Japanese pop culture," which is acceptable in daily conversations. The study emphasizes the importance of understanding the contextual factors that influence the use of different types of translanguaging and the social and cultural meanings they convey.

The present study examines the use of interlingual translanguaging in conversations among Indonesian students. It is noteworthy that the use of interlingual translanguaging suggests that these students possess a deeper understanding of different languages. Interestingly, one of the participants demonstrated a remarkable ability to use figurative language to explain the meaning of another participant's statement. The extent to which foreign languages are used in communication depends on the degree of exposure and interaction that students have with these languages. This type of translanguaging occurs when individuals receive extensive input in foreign languages, such as through borrowing words or acquiring foreign languages with their corresponding contexts and meanings (Makalela, 2013). Such translanguaging is possible because students have access to a variety of sources to learn languages, including the internet, books, and other contexts that expose them to a wider range of vocabulary than their peers (Yohanna, 2020).

Our observations reveal that the use of Japanese by one participant demonstrated greater linguistic insight compared to their peers, whereas the use of Indonesian suggested a higher degree of linguistic variety (H) that is appropriate for formal or school settings. Notably, the use of interlingual translanguaging is not limited to two languages but may involve the mixing of three languages, such as Javanese, Indonesian, and foreign languages like English or Japanese (Baynham & Lee, 2019). The multilingual paradigm, as proposed by Canagarajah and Wurr (2011), posits that language proficiency is not a requirement for individuals in a multilingual setting to display characteristics such as mixed language, emergent grammar, multisensory experience, and social practice. These features can be observed in an individual's language performance and may unconsciously reveal the speaker's background. This shift from bilingualism to multilingualism in translanguaging facilitates the ease with which students can employ multiple languages naturally without fear of lacking linguistics elements.

Moreover, the students' proficiency in foreign languages may be attributed to their early childhood informal education. During their six-year primary school education, three-year secondary school education, and three-year high school education, students receive basic instruction in foreign languages, especially English (Zein, 2020). Furthermore, they are required to learn one additional foreign language during their high school years (Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia, 2013). Foreign language institutions also play a critical role in enhancing students' knowledge of foreign languages. This early exposure and additional language learning opportunities enable students to use multiple languages with greater ease and proficiency, which is especially useful in interlingual translanguaging to achieve better meaning-making during communication (Alba & Duyvendak, 2019; Martin-Jones et al., 2012). As interlingual translanguaging was observably dominant form of practice used by the participating students. The finding remarks that the correlation between the students' ability and insights on the multilingual repertoire would enhance their ability to use that wherever and whenever they feel comfortable.

Intersemiotic translanguaging is another form of translanguaging that involves the use of multiple modes, such as visual or verbal means, to convey a speaker's intention and goals (Baynham & Lee, 2019; Jakobson, 2013). The integration of multiple modes enhances the meaning-making process, resulting in more effective communication. One of the modes used is figurative language, which represents a unique form of intersemiotic translanguaging. Figurative language allows speakers to evoke emotions in their listeners and demonstrates a greater knowledge of the language than the listener (Gibbs Jr et al., 2002; Thibodeau et al., 2017). Although figurative language may be less direct, it may be appropriate in certain contexts, such as in domestic settings, where low varieties of language (L) are acceptable. For instance, the use of figurative language by participant 5 was appropriate as it conveyed a gradual process. This study would help the society especially teachers and schools to recognize accommodate the importance of understanding students' backgrounds. The findings and discussion would emphasize by the way they speak to gain clearer understanding how the students with high SES would get along with students low SES as long as they have same purpose, studying for instance. They would be able to use restricted code and elaborated code more effectively in a conversation of different settings. Furthermore, the use of restricted code can be as a support to high SES students to communicate humbly with their addressee.

6. CONCLUSION

The present study has yielded significant findings regarding the language use of high SES status students in multilingual and multicultural settings. Specifically, it could demonstrate that these students tend to assimilate their languages by mixing restricted and elaborated codes and even use this language with their elders. Although Indonesian is the most frequently used language among these students, they still mix their other languages, including vernaculars and foreign languages, with Indonesian in their interactions. Moreover, these students also interact with friends who may not use elaborated codes, leading to language assimilation. Elaborated code students can use various media to maximize their language use, resulting in the natural use of intralingual and intersemiotic translanguaging. These forms of language assimilation serve to provide effective communication and facilitate the expression of thoughts. While promoting translingual practice in a multilingual setting can be beneficial for linguistic repertoire improvement, it can also be challenging education-wise if not addressed carefully. Therefore, speakers and interlocutors need to be aware of how to use the different types of translanguaging strategically, taking into account the purpose, setting, and other participants. Overall, the findings of this study shed light on the complex and dynamic nature of language assimilation in multilingual and multicultural settings, emphasizing the need for further research in this area. To enhance the comprehensiveness of the study, it is recommended to replicate the research using a larger participant pool and more intricate settings, thereby providing deeper insights into the phenomenon of students' translanguaging within and beyond classroom contexts. Furthermore, expanding the scope of the study to include participants from diverse backgrounds would yield valuable findings for future investigations in the same field.

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