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# The Implicature of Foreign Speakers in Instagram Content

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### **Article Info**

## **Abstract**

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Indonesian speech by foreign speakers in Instagram videos becomes a new pattern of interaction through social media. As a part of social interaction, speech in the 'content' of Instagram videos is interesting to analyze on the aspect of implicature. Several content media social speakers foreign that exist nowadays, have a tendency not to be indifferent to the moral burden of using Indonesian speech. This tendency appears as an implicature concept that needs to be considered at the pragmatic level through the lens of Indonesian culture. The contents of Indonesian speech made by foreign speakers are quite varied, such as comedy, culinary, life content family, and other social activities. The purpose of this research was to explain the implicature in Indonesian-language content created by foreign speakers on Instagram social media. This research was conducted using two approaches, namely a pragmatic approach to analyze speech implicatures with Grice's theory and a methodological approach, namely descriptive qualitative. The results of this study were in the form of implicatures of seven speech fragments from four foreign speakers who had different characteristics of the Instagram video content they made. The implicatures contained in the seven speech fragments were three in the conventional implicature category, two in the unconventional implicature category, and two in the presuppositional implicature categorywas a form of hate speech, as much as 96.67% of assertive speech acts.

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### **INTRODUCTION**

The development of public communication media in the Society 5.0 era underwent significant changes. This is in line with the opinion of Mardikantoro (2020) which stated that patterns of media use tend to shift from print media to digital media. The shift in communication media to society is based on the phenomenon of technological development and the increasing need for practical and fast social communication. The development of social media as a source of information and communication media should also be balanced with the intellectual development of its users. This is because a person's intellectual development can be influenced by the quality of interaction and social integration in society. If so, the process of social communication in society and in cyberspace should be conditioned in such a way as to maintain the values and norms of a language which are reflected through language behavior or speech acts of the community (Rahayu, 2017).

Interaction social is a process which influential to the behavior of speakers and speech partners. The behavior of speakers and speech partners is interpreted with the concept of reciprocity directly or indirectly. On realm interaction social environment in the community, the context of speech can be well confirmed by the speech actors. As for the context of speech in digital media, it tends to be more complicated to be confirmed by the speech actors. This complexity relates to the concept of information reach in the technological era which is able to create new patterns of interaction through social media. In line with the opinion of Rohman (2019) which stated that under certain conditions, interaction on social media can create social integration.

The form of language used to communicate on social media consists of written language and spoken language. The use of language on social media tends to cause problems more often, compared to its use in real society. Even though the existence of social media is now considered a new environment

(Littejohn, 2009). Differences in perceptions of communication on social media are caused by various things, one of which is the use of language that is not in accordance with the principles of communication. The principles of conveying the meaning of communication and the use of language in the speech of social media content are not fully conveyed properly to viewers. The problem is in fact related to the implicature that appears. The implicature in speech produced through conversation arises because of a violation of conversational principles (Rustono, 1999). The principle of conversation includes cooperation and the principle of politeness.

Instagram as a social media for communication, has principles of cooperation and politeness that are different from the principles of communication in real society. One of the principles of collaboration on Instagram is an indirect agreement between the content creator and the viewers. The theme of the content presented regarding a particular discussion or topic is an example of the principle of cooperation. Viewers who feel disinterested content on their Instagram homepage, can easily changed to other contents. Content discrepancy can be caused by a violation of principles conversation on the delivery of meaning, so that various types of implicature appear. Violation of the principle of conversation on social media Instagram, one of which is due to different conditions of receiving information. This can affect the level of diversity of responses and perceptions of the implications of the speech presented.

Pragmatic implication or implicature is an aspect of the principle of conversation (Rustono in Fawziyyah, 2017). Meanwhile, Rahayu (2017) argued that implicature arises because of violations principal conversation, that is, principle of cooperation. Principle cooperation is in the form of agreement on criteria for using language in communication on social media. Implicature as a process of interpreting ideas implied in a communication, it is necessary to pay attention to the implication process. The implication process consists of the

possibility of differences in meaning, lettering, or intentions of speakers in conversation (Grice in Gunarwan, 2007).

The use of implicatures in conversation can be used to achieve a goal. One of the goals of including implicatures in conversation is to maintain good relations between speakers and speech partners (Rusminto in Himawan, 2020). In addition to perceptual problems interactions on social media, speech actors are predicted to be a source of implicature emergence. The speaker's background has a major influence because the speaker's background is one of the main aspects of speech act interaction events. According to Widyawari (2016), one of the roles of utterances is to represent the ideology of the language user. Everyone is capable to predict the ideological background of the speech partners. The background of the speech participants is related to social status or social position which influences the pattern of interaction and the accompanying implicatures. Background in the context of communication can be in the form of norms and culture that accompany the language. Ekasari (2022) argued that understanding the context of communication in sociolinguistic studies consists of language procedures that are in accordance with the norms and culture that apply in the social environment. So that in the context of discussing the implicature of Indonesian speech by foreign speakers, the differences in background norms and culture clearly emerge implicature.

Several foreign speakers who create Indonesian-language content on their social media have attracted a lot of attention from netizens. Various types of social media content based on the use of Indonesian, are a great opportunity for foreign speakers who want to increase their popularity by becoming content creators. However, it should be noted that the use of Indonesian speech in foreign speaker content can affect the movement of social media information algorithms. Actually, it makes a good contribution to Indonesia in enhancement index popularity in world virtual. However, it is necessary for society to pay attention to the

quality of the content, the method, and the impact that arises with the number of foreign-speaking creator content.

The control over the use of Indonesian speech in social media content is not specifically filtered, because the reciprocal control lies with the users. As a preventive measure, the inculcation of systematic thinking patterns in speech acts must still be taught and conveyed to Indonesian people in general and netizens. The control can be exercised by enriching oneself through knowledge of the implicatures of language use in content created by content creators, especially foreign speakers in the media social. The aim of the study was to find a description of the observed data sources and draw conclusions about the implicatures in Indonesian-language content contained created by foreign speakers on Instagram social media.

#### **METHODOLOGY**

This study used two approaches, namely theoretical and methodological. The theoretical approach chosen was a pragmatic approach to implicatures in utterances. methodological approach used in this study was a qualitative research method with a descriptive approach. The descriptive approach was used because this study intensively focused on one selected object that was Indonesian speech by foreign speakers in social media content. The methods and techniques used were observing methods and note taking techniques. Videos of foreign speakers' speeches in Instagram content that allegedly contain implicatures were listened to and recorded. The data obtained were analyzed and presented informally with words.

# **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

This study discussed five data speech from five Instagram content videos which consisted from accounts @audijens\_yen, @nastasyashine, @ulianaci, and @laurencerioubenson. These videos were selected based on the criteria of the research needs. Data that had been categorized

based on the type of implicature according to Grice (in Mudjiono, 1996) were types of conventional implicature, non-conventional implicature, and presuppositional implicature. Conventional implicature was an implicature which word meaning tended to be familiar in society so that its meaning was easier to accept. Unconventional implicature was the implicature on which the meaning of the word was based on context which used moment speech the produced. Presuppositional implicature was an implicature of shared knowledge between speakers and speech partners, as well as the language of content creators and their followers who had the same understanding in the implicature of speech of content creator.

## **Conventional Implicature**

Conventional implicature was the implication of words that were not based on cooperative principles or maxims (Yule, 2006). Speech implications whose meaning or intent is generally known are also included in conventional implicature. As for the opinion of Halid (2021), which stated that conventional implicature did not only exist in conversation and did not depend on specific contexts to interpret it. Some of these opinions showed that conventional implicature could be found in various types and forms of speech. The following was a fragment of Indonesian utterances by foreign speakers which were identified containing conventional as implicatures.

(1) Context: the speech in the video @audijen\_yen provided an explanation of the content of other foreign speakers based on their perspective with a self-video. P1 was @audjen\_yen and P2 is another foreign citizen or content creator.

P1: "Banyak youtubers cari viewers dengan video bule makan. Goblok bingits. Aku bikin lagu Diss. Kamu pengen lagi viral dan cari banyak subcriber tapi tak mau cari konten bagus. Kamu mager, tidak apa-apa. Aku punya tips yang keren dan kamu tidak perlu kreatifitas atau talent. Hanya bikin video dengan bule lagi makan sate ayam, soto betawi, atau gorengan video akan jadi viral otomatis,

karena ada banyak orang indonesia kaya autis. Kamu serius mau lihat orang bule lagi makan? Ada seratus juta video kaya ini di masa depan. Hanya orang bodoh bikin video bule makan, bule makan soto, makan nasi, makan ikan. Banyak yang mau lihat itu, tapi kenapa hanya lucu kalau video bule makan kontol jerapah. Kalau kamu liris video judul bule makan, aku cari alamatmu dan kau perlu satpam."

("Many YouTubers are looking for viewers with videos of foreigners eating. Stupid bitch. I made a Diss song. You want to go viral and gather a lot of subscribers but don't want to make good content. You're lazy, it's okay. I have great tips and you don't need creativity or talent. Only making videos with foreigners eating chicken satay, Soto Betawi, or fried food, your videos will automatically go viral, because there are many Indonesian people who just like autistic people. Do you seriously want to see foreigners eating? There are a hundred million videos of these in the future. Only stupid people make videos of foreigners eating, foreigners eating soto, eating rice, eating fish. A lot of people want to see that, but why is it only funny when a video of a foreigners eats a giraffe's dick? If you release a video entitled foreigners eat, I'll look for your address and you need a security guard.")

(Source: Instagram @audijens\_yen July 15<sup>th</sup>, 2020)

The first utterances fragment was a oneway utterance which was packaged into a Rap genre song with the theme of a diss track or insulting the other content creators. One of the fragments of speech that contained implicature found in speech "Hanya bikin video dengan bule lagi makan sate ayam, soto betawi, atau gorengan video akan jadi viral otomatis, karena ada banyak orang indonesia kaya autis" (Only making videos with foreigners eating chicken satay, Soto Betawi, or fried food, your videos will automatically go viral, because there are many Indonesian people who are like autistic people). The background to the delivery of this speech was due to the emergence of several new content creators from within and outside the country

who only discussed about Indonesia culinary. P1 argued that content that only showed foreigners eating, was an unqualified content. The criticism conveyed by P1 was not only directed at other foreign content creators, but was also directed at Indonesian netizens. Netizens who enjoyed watching foreign content ate, he said with the word "kaya autis" (just like autistic). This utterance was included in the conventional implicature category, because the use of parables from the chosen diction was familiar in meaning. The word autism in denotation was a brain nerve disorder that occured in humans. But the implication in this utterance was indicated by the choice of diction which tended to cause controversy in its meaning. In line with Mulyana (2001) who stated that conventional implicature was speech that contained general implications or meanings.

Judging from the speaker's background as a foreign speaker, the moral burden he received when uttering words with negative connotations was not too big. This can be compared with examples of pronouncing the words "what the hell" which were often inserted by Indonesian teenagers in showing expressions of admiration or surprise at something. This was in line with Mulyana (2001) who stated that conventional implicature was speech that contained general implications or meanings. The moral burden of pronouncing the diction was reduced, because in general Indonesian people would give an excuse.

The next implicature in this speech was the use of diction "kontol jerapah" (giraffe dick). This diction was included in the category of diction that contained elements of sexuality because it conveyed male sex designations which contained the perception of swearing. So it could be interpreted that the selection of the diction aimed to express the speaker's frustration with conditions that according to him were not appropriate. In addition to perceptions regarding expression of resentment, another the implicature was obtained that the choice of diction which seemed controversial/vulgar, was spoken as a way to get netizens' attention to be interested in viewing his social media homepage. When netizens looking at the speaker's social

media homepage, it would affect viewers on their social media content which indirectly increased the achievement of their social media insights and directly increased his popularity as a content creator.

In addition to the speech fragment delivered by @audijens\_yen, conventional implicature was found in @laurencerioubenson's speech. The following was a fragment of his speech.

(2) Context: video @laurencerioubenson/P1 buying food through an online motorcycle taxi application, suddenly a food delivery person/P2 arrived. They chatted in front of the house to the dining room

P1: "Laurance?"

Q2: "Laurance Benson TikTok?"

P1: "Iya" (Yes),

"kamu lapar?" (Are you hungry?)

P2: "uhm ya." ("uhm yeah.")

P1: "Ayo" (berjalan menuju ruang makan) ("Come on" (walks towards the dining room))

P1: "Siapa nama kamu?" ("What's your name?")

P2: "Indra"

P1: "Kamu dari mana?" ("Where are you from?")

P2: "NTB, Sumbawa"

P1: "ah dekat." ("ah close.")

P2: "ya dekat." ("yes close.")

P1: "Kamu suka telor saya?" ("You like my eggs?")

P2: "tidak (tertawa)" ("no (laughs)")

Narrator: *Itu Siomay, makanan terkenal di Indonesia* (That's Siomay, a famous food in Indonesia)

P2: "Lapar" (sembari makan) ("Hungry" (while eating))

P1: "Saya juga lapar" ("I'm hungry too")

"Sampai jumpa di next TikTok." ("See you on the next TikTok.")

(Source 11: Instagram @laurencerioubenson, July 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2021)

The speech fragments in the two-way conversation between P1 and P2 were identified as containing conventional implicatures. The interrogative utterance delivered at the beginning of the content by P1 to P2 had double conventional implicature. The first conventional

implicature was found in the speech fragment "Kamu lapar?" (Are you hungry?). This utterance was included in the conventional implicature category because in general we know that written questions about whether someone was hungry or not, it tended to lead to an invitation to carry out further activities in the form of being offered a meal, eating together, being given food, or other activities. Second, the speech was a form of inviting P2 to participate in the content they created. It was generally known that the implicature was because in plain view there was a camera that was focusing on the speech participant and hoped that P2 was willing to accept the offer of food and afterward was included in the content.

In addition to the speech fragment, the fragment "kamu suka telur saya?" (do you like my eggs?) was a form of question that tended to refer to the concept of joking. The diction for the word "egg" was chosen in the context of the situation where P1 was holding a chicken egg while laughing with other friends. When associated with the actual meaning of the egg, the expression shown should not be laughing together, but an expression of giving with a smile or even without expression. So that with the response given by P1 and P2 and colleagues behind the camera, it could be concluded that the context of using the diction "egg" was a general joke that referred to male genitalia. It was in line with Mulyana (2001) who stated that conventional implicature was a speech that contained general implications or meanings. Overall, the speech implicature contained in the content of foreign speaker @laurencerioubenson was conventional implicature. Conventional implicature combined with strategy introduction culinary Indonesia and included a native Indonesian speaker in their content to improve his popularity.

Furthermore, conventional implicature was found in the utterances of @ulianaci in the Instagram video content. The following was a fragment of his speech.

(3) The context of the speech of the response video that was carried out by @ulianaci as P1 in responding to the behavior of her

husband who wanted to ask permission to leave with the concept of a response such as a scene in an Indonesian soap opera and a wife's response in real life

P1: "Sayang mau kemana sayang." (tanggapan istri versi sinetron)"Mau kemana lagi loh, udah dandan rapi bae, emang ga betah di rumah." (tanggapan istri versi dunia nyata)

("Honey, where are you going darling?" (wife's response in soap opera version)) "Where else are you going, you're already well-groomed, don't you feel right at home." (wife's response in real life version)

(Source: Instagram @ulianaci, August 19<sup>th</sup>,2022)

Her response in questioning her husband for permission to go with the soap opera version used the diction "sayang" (darling), this showed the romantic situation in her family's life. The chosen diction did not directly ask questions and at the same time prohibited her husband from leaving. Speech implicatures in this content fell into the type of conventional implicature, because in general the utterances presented by P1 to respond to her husband could be understood by netizens that the utterances questioned her husband's permission to leave. Speeches that contained general implications or meanings were indicators of conventional implicature (Mulyana, 2001).

### **Unconventional Implicature**

Unconventional implicature was an implicature which word meaning was based on the context used when the utterance was produced. This was in accordance with the opinion of Rustono (1999) which stated that unconventional implicatures were utterances that contained pragmatic implications, as a result of violations of conversational principles. The following was a fragment of the speech.

(4) The context of the speech in the video content was described by @audijens\_yen as P1 and another foreign speaker (unidentified) as P2 who gave a speech to netizens through a recording between himself and one of the visitors sitting in the

park. The speech that came out in the content was as follows.

P1: "Sekarang aku lagi di taman dan disini ada orang yang pergi ke taman sendiri. Aku pikir dia goblok"

("Now I'm at the park and there is a person who go to the park by himself. I thought he was an idiot")

# P2: "Ngentot lu!" ("Fuck you!")

(Source: Instagram @audijens\_yen, June 18<sup>th</sup>, 2020)

The speech fragments marked in bold in the data transcript above wre speech fragments that contained implicatures. The speech delivered by P1 to P2 in the context of being alone in the garden. P1's knowledge of Indonesian vocabulary was utilized by him for sneered P2 with diction "Goblok" (Idiot). Diction which having this condescending perception was conveyed by P1 with the presupposition that P2 did not have knowledge of the Indonesian language. The implied meaning conveyed through speech P1 was how can a man (P2) be alone in the garden. There was a unique perspective regarding P1's sneering at P2 regarding his behavior which was recorded at that time, namely related "Waldeinsamkeit" culture. The Waldeinsamkeit culture, according to a popular article on the BBC, was the culture of Germans who liked to be alone in the forest, to seek peace of mind. So that some people found it normal to be alone and some others felt strange when they were alone without doing anything.

A surprising response was delivered by P2 with a diction that had a perception of sexuality that was "Ngentot lu" (Fuck you). This diction had a textual meaning which meant having sex and was included in slang which was familiar to most Indonesian people. The implicature of the use of the word contextually was a form of P2's response to the condescending sneer made by P1 against him. Rustono (1999) stated that unconventional implicatures were utterances that contained pragmatic implications, as a result of violations of conversational principles. Violation of the principle of conversation in this

fragment was in the form of giving P1 a low value to P2 and vice versa. Meanwhile, giving low value to other people could be a cause of damage to social relations (Wulansafitri, 2020)

Overall, the implicature of this content was the use of immoral or vulgar diction by foreign speakers to become entertainment for netizens. This was evident in the comment column for the response of netizens, most of whom considered that speech was considered funny when spoken by foreign speakers. The strategy of using vulgar/amoral diction was predicted to attract the attention of the Indonesian people to become followers of their account. The implicature in the content of this data speech could be included in the conventional implicature category on using the dictions "Goblok" (Idiot) and "Ngentot" (Fuck) which in general Indonesians knew that these dictions were used by some people when expressing their emotions. However, the first data implicature could be an unconventional type of implicature because the result of the creator's content analysis was on the algorithm of Indonesian people's interest in the speech of speakers when expressing Indonesian words to increase their popularity on Instagram and YouTube. The following was a fragment of the speech.

- (5) The context in the video was a couple of husband and wife talking in a garden with lots of Bonsai plants.
- P1: "Suami-suami, lihot saya mau juga bangsat begini di ruma. Tolong bili bangsat satu begini untuk saya tolong, tolong. Saya dingir itu mahal, tolong"

("Husband, look, I want this bastard at home too.

Please buy one **bastard** like this for me please, please. **I heard it is expensive**, **please**")

P2: "ini bukan bangsat, ini bonsai. Aduh ma, bonsai dibilangnya bangsat pula."

("This is not a bastard, this is a bonsai. Oh ma'am, bonsai is said to be a bastard.")

P1: "Demana bili itu bangsat woi!"

("Where can I buy bastard!")

P2: "Bonsai bukan bangsat tau!"

("It is bonsai, not bastard you know!")

(Source: Instagram @nastasyashine, June 20th, 2022)

The implicatures contained in the speech in bold were the use of dictions that contained unconventional implicatures. because meaning of the diction "bangsat" (bastard) it turned out referred on plant bonsai, no refer to direction insult. The implicatures contained in the speech in bold were the use of diction that contained unconventional implicatures, because the meaning of the diction "bastard" actually referred to bonsai plants, not to insults. The meaning of the vocabulary was explained explicitly by speaker 2 (husband) and only applied to one context of the video, not the meaning that was generally known by other people. There was the use of word puns in the utterances used, but the words that are spoofed in the utterances were not too much different in their utterances, only the use of different vowels. The real implicature of the utterances uttered by foreign speaker @nastasyashine in her Instagram videos was the use of a play on Indonesian words with foreign accents/speech access. This was the main attraction for foreign speakers in getting and increasing the attention of netizens to her contents. It was in line with Ismail (2022), which stated that Nastasya Shine used her lack of Indonesian to create entertainment content.

## **Presuppositional Implicature**

Presuppositional implicature was shared knowledge implicature between speakers and speech partners, just like the language of content creators and their followers that had an understanding in the speech implicature of content creator. Presuppositional implicature was a shared presupposition between the speaker and the speech partner. This presupposition arose from the harmony of perception between the speaker and the speech partner regarding an interpretation in a particular speech context. The following was a fragment of the speech (Grace in Mudjiono, 1996).

(6) The context in the video was a couple of husband and wife who are talking in a garden with lots of plants The bonsai. P1: "Suami-suami, lihot saya mau juga bangsat begini di ruma. Tolong bili bangsat satu begini untuk saya tolong, tolong. Saya dingir itu mahal, tolong"

("Husband, look, I want this bastard at home too.

Please buy one bastard like this for me please, please. I **heard** it is expensive, please")

P2: "ini bukan bangsat, ini bonsai. Aduh ma, bonsai dibilangnya bangsat pula."

("This is not a bastard; this is a bonsai. Oh ma'am, bonsai is said to be a bastard.")

P1: "Demana bili itu bangsat woi!"

# ("Where can I buy bastard!")

P2: "Bonsai bukan bangsat tau!"

("It is bonsai, not bastard you know!") (Source: Instagram @nastasyashine, June 20th, 2022)

Another implicature contained in the speech was the use of the diction "dingir" (heard), "Demana bili" (where to buy). Netizens who had followed or watched Instagram content of @nastasyashine for a long time understand what these words meant and became an agreement between speakers and speech partners. It made the speech fragments fell into the category of presuppositional implicature, because the diction became shared knowledge between the content creator and the followers on Instagram. It was in line with the theory of presuppositional implicature was shared knowledge between speakers and speech partners (Grace in Mudjiono, 1996).

In addition to that speech content, presuppositional implicature was also found in content of @audijens\_yen. The following was a fragment of his speech.

(7) Context: @audijens\_yen (P1) did a selfie in a room by telling his opinion and ended by showing that he was holding a little kid.

P1: Aku punya pesan yang penting untuk followerku. Kalau kamu mau bicara pakai bahasa toksik, ya boleh silakan, tapi plis jangan di depan anak kecil. Mereka tidak boleh dengar kata kontol, memek, ngentot. Terima kontol.

(I have an important message for my followers. If you want to speak in toxic

language, that's fine, but please don't speak in front of little kids. They can't hear the word dick, pussy, fuck. Thank dick.)

(Source 9: Instagram @audijens\_yen, August 21st, 2022)

The shared knowledge between speaker and speech partners, in the speech of @audijens ven in the content of Indonesian speech could be clearly reflected through the responses of netizens in the comment's column. The one-way speech that P1 did with the context of giving positive suggestions to his followers closed with toxic language. implications of P1 in telling the flow of communication were contradictory at the beginning and end of the speech content, including the presuppositional implications. This is due to the set up that had been built by P1 in each of his content by giving a special feature of toxic speech to his followers on Instagram. Another presuppositional implication in the speech was the increase in his popularity among Indonesian netizens through toxic speech. Analysis of the use of toxic speech that P1 did was suspected to have something to do with his background as a foreigner from Germany. In recent decades, Germany had become a country with legalized LGBTQ controversies. The latest Germany controversy by was the implementation of the world cup which openly disagrees with the ban on the use of LGBTQ symbols by host Qatar (Ain, 2022). The image of the German for legalizing LGBTQ behavior gave a bad perception to every social element, including German citizens who didn't even support it. This was thought @audijen yen's strategy to increase popularity through comedy topics with diction variations that led to the sexual realm.

#### **CONCLUSION**

Based on seven data taken from Instagram video contents from foreign speakers who created Indonesian-language content, the results of speech implicatures in the content were obtained. The implicature of Indonesian speech by foreign speakers was a strategy to

attract netizens' attention to the contents created with various speech characteristics. implicatures contained in the seven speech fragments were four in the conventional implicature category, two in the unconventional implicature category. and two presuppositional implicature category. As a content creator, popularity became the main thing. There was content creator who used vulgar utterances both in terms of form and meaning, some used ways of introducing Indonesian culinary, some used a play on words, and some used their interaction skills in socializing with their environment. As part of the linguistic domain, the role and influence of foreign speakers working in the entertainment world using Indonesian clearly had a direct or indirect impact on native speakers of Indonesian. The strategy that needed to be considered by the Indonesian people was to be more observant in filtering good content for the development of language skills by paying attention to the context so as not to lose the cultural identity that accompanied the language in its use.

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