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The Use of South Jakarta Language Variation as a Reflection of Social Stratification

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Abstract

Jaksel language has become a popular language variety among Indonesian urban youth, characterized by the frequent use of Indonesian–English code-mixing and slang in digital communication. This phenomenon is commonly found on social media platforms, particularly in TikTok comment sections. This study aims to describe the linguistic characteristics of the Jaksel language, examine the functions reflected in its use, and identify the social factors influencing its usage. This study employed a quantitative and qualitative approach. The data consisted of 165 TikTok comments containing elements of the Jaksel language, collected through observation of interactions in TikTok comment sections. The data were analyzed using a sociolinguistic approach to identify patterns of code-mixing, slang usage, language functions, and social factors. The findings show that Indonesian–English code-mixing and slang are the main linguistic characteristics of the Jaksel language. These features are used to express ideas more naturally, create a sense of closeness among users, and show group identity. The findings also indicate that the use of Jaksel language reflects the influence of social media, globalization, and peer interaction on the language practices of urban youth. This study concludes that Jaksel language is not only a form of language variation but also reflects the social identity and communication patterns of people in digital environments.

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Introduction

Language is a dynamic system that reflects social interaction, cultural values, and the identities of its speakers. As society evolves, language also changes to accommodate new forms of communication

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and social practices. In multilingual communities such as Indonesia, language variation frequently occurs due to interactions between different languages and cultures. One contemporary example is Bahasa Jaksel, a language variety characterized by the use of Indonesian–English code-mixing and slang expressions in everyday communication. Initially associated with young people in South Jakarta, Bahasa Jaksel has expanded beyond its geographical origin and is now widely used by Indonesian youth across various digital platforms. The increasing popularity of social media, particularly TikTok, has accelerated the spread of this language variety by providing users with opportunities to interact and share linguistic practices. As a result, Bahasa Jaksel has become a common feature of online communication, especially in informal contexts such as comment sections.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, the use of Bahasa Jaksel represents a form of code-mixing, in which speakers combine Indonesian and English within the same utterance. This linguistic practice is common in multilingual societies and is influenced by both linguistic and social factors. In addition to code-mixing, Bahasa Jaksel incorporates slang expressions that reflect creativity, informality, and shared understanding among speakers. These linguistic features distinguish Bahasa Jaksel from standard Indonesian and contribute to its popularity among younger generations. Language variation is closely related to social context. According to Ronald Wardhaugh, language choice is influenced by the social environment in which communication takes place. Likewise, Abdul Chaer and Leonie Agustina explain that language variation is shaped by sociocultural factors, including social class, community, and communicative situations. Consequently, the use of Bahasa Jaksel extends beyond its communicative function and may also represent social identity, group membership, and social positioning. The ability to use English expressions in daily communication is often associated with educational background, urban lifestyle, and modern identity, making Bahasa Jaksel a potential indicator of social stratification.

Although previous studies have examined Bahasa Jaksel as a form of code-mixing and language variation, limited attention has been given to how its linguistic characteristics reflect social stratification through naturally occurring interactions on social media. TikTok comment sections provide authentic linguistic data because users produce spontaneous responses without formal language constraints. Therefore, analyzing these interactions can provide a deeper understanding of the relationship between language use and social identity in digital communication. This study analyzes 165 TikTok comments collected from the @PodcastKeselAje account using a descriptive qualitative approach. The study aims to (1) describe the linguistic characteristics of Bahasa Jaksel, particularly code-mixing and slang expressions, (2) examine the communicative functions reflected in its use, and (3) identify the social factors that influence the use of Bahasa Jaksel as a reflection of social stratification. The findings are expected to contribute to sociolinguistic studies by providing empirical evidence of how language variation functions as both a communicative resource and a marker of social identity in Indonesia's digital society.

Theoretical Framework

This study is grounded in the field of sociolinguistics, which examines the relationship between language and society. The theoretical framework integrates theories of sociolinguistics, language variation, slang, code-mixing, and social stratification to explain how language reflects social identity and cultural interaction. Sociolinguistics is an interdisciplinary field that explores the relationship between language and society. According to Chaer and Agustina (2004), sociolinguistics studies the interaction between language and social factors within a speech community. Similarly, Wardhaugh (2006) argues that sociolinguistics investigates the relationship between linguistic structures and social structures, explaining how language is influenced by social contexts and, in turn, influences society. Holmes (1992)

also emphasizes that language varies according to social factors such as age, gender, occupation, education, ethnicity, and social class. Therefore, language is not merely a communication system but also a reflection of social identity, cultural values, and interpersonal relationships. This perspective provides the primary foundation for analyzing language use in different social contexts.

Language variation refers to the different forms of language that arise due to social, geographical, cultural, and situational differences. Chaer and Agustina (2004) explain that language variation is influenced by factors such as time, place, sociocultural background, communication setting, and medium of interaction. Likewise, Kridalaksana (1974) states that language variation is one of the main concerns of sociolinguistics because it reflects the characteristics of particular social groups. Language variation can generally be classified into dialect and register. Dialect is associated with the characteristics of the speaker, while register depends on the context or function of language use. These variations demonstrate that language adapts to the needs of its users and serves different communicative purposes within society.

Slang is one form of language variation commonly used by particular social groups, especially young people, in informal communication. Kridalaksana (2009) defines slang as a non-standard language variety used by certain groups to communicate in ways that may not be easily understood by outsiders. Slang functions not only as a communication tool but also as a marker of identity, solidarity, and group membership. Widarso (1989) explains that slang expressions are often created spontaneously and continuously evolve as social trends and cultural practices change. Furthermore, Wijana (2010) argues that slang reflects social diversity and demonstrates how language develops alongside changes in society. Therefore, slang is considered an important linguistic phenomenon for understanding contemporary language use and social identity.

Code-mixing refers to the use of linguistic elements from different languages within a single utterance. According to Wardhaugh (2006), code-mixing commonly occurs in bilingual or multilingual communities where speakers naturally combine two or more languages during communication. Suwito (1983) classifies code-mixing into several forms, including the insertion of words, phrases, idioms, hybrid forms, and reduplication from one language into another. Meanwhile, Hoffman (1991) categorizes code-mixing into three main types: intra-sentential code-mixing, intra-lexical code-mixing, and code-mixing involving pronunciation changes. These classifications provide an analytical framework for identifying the forms of code-mixing that appear in spoken or written discourse. Since many contemporary speakers communicate using multiple languages, code-mixing has become a common linguistic practice that reflects globalization, multilingual competence, and cultural interaction.

Social stratification refers to the hierarchical organization of society based on factors such as occupation, education, income, power, and social status. Language use often reflects these social distinctions. Chaer and Agustina (2004) argue that language variation is closely related to sociocultural factors, while Wardhaugh (2006) explains that language and social structure influence one another in a reciprocal relationship. According to Sumarsono (2010), different social classes tend to develop different linguistic characteristics. Crystal (1980) further explains that language variation frequently emerges among different social groups based on class, occupation, gender, and age. Holmes (1992) also notes that individuals sharing similar social and economic backgrounds often display similar linguistic behavior. The relationship between language and social stratification indicates that language functions not only as a means of communication but also as an indicator of social identity and group membership. Consequently, analyzing language variation can provide insights into the social characteristics of the speakers.

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Based on the theories discussed above, this study adopts sociolinguistics as its primary theoretical foundation. The analysis focuses on language variation, particularly slang and code-mixing, as linguistic phenomena that emerge through social interaction. These forms of language use are further examined in relation to social stratification, considering how speakers' social backgrounds, identities, and cultural environments influence their linguistic choices. Therefore, sociolinguistic theory serves as the overarching framework that connects language variation, slang, code-mixing, and social stratification, enabling this study to analyze how language functions as both a communication tool and a reflection of social identity within the selected research context.

Methods

This study was conducted in three stages: data collection, data analysis, and presentation of the findings. The research employed a qualitative descriptive approach with quantitative support to examine the use of *Bahasa Jaksel* in TikTok comment sections. The primary data consisted of comments containing *Bahasa Jaksel* expressions collected from the TikTok account @PodcastKeselAje**.** The comments were obtained from randomly selected videos discussing *Bahasa Jaksel* that were uploaded during 2022 and 2023. A total of 165 comments were selected as the research corpus. Data were collected using the non-participatory observation method (*simak bebas cakap*), as proposed by Kesuma (2007), in which the researcher observed language use without participating in the interaction. The data collection process involved identifying relevant TikTok videos, observing the comments, selecting comments containing *Bahasa Jaksel*, and transcribing the selected comments into a research database for further analysis.

The collected data were analyzed using a qualitative descriptive method supported by frequency analysis. Each comment was examined to identify the presence of slang expressions and code-mixing, which were then classified according to the code-mixing categories proposed by Hoffman (1991) and Suwito (1983). The coding process followed Sudaryanto's (1993) distributional method (*metode agih*) using the marker-reading technique (*teknik baca markah*), enabling the researcher to determine the linguistic characteristics of each comment. After the coding process was completed, the frequency of each code-mixing type was calculated to identify the dominant linguistic patterns. The findings were subsequently interpreted using sociolinguistic theories to explain the social factors influencing the use of *Bahasa Jaksel* and to examine whether the language reflected aspects of social stratification among TikTok users.

Following the analysis, the findings were presented using both formal and informal methods as suggested by Sudaryanto (1993). The formal presentation consisted of tables and frequency distributions that illustrated the occurrence of each type of code-mixing identified in the data. The informal presentation provided descriptive explanations and interpretations of the findings by relating them to the theoretical framework of sociolinguistics, language variation, slang, code-mixing, and social stratification. The combination of these two presentation methods enabled the results to be communicated systematically, clearly, and comprehensively while addressing the research objectives.

Results and Discussions

1. Code Mixing

The analysis identified five forms of code-mixing based on Suwito's (1983) classification: word insertion, phrase insertion, idiom or expression insertion, hybrid insertion, and reduplication insertion. As presented in Table 1, word insertion was the most frequently occurring form, with 75 occurrences

(45%), followed by phrase insertion with 52 occurrences (31.5%). Idiom or expression insertion was found in 20 instances (12.12%), while hybrid insertion accounted for 17 instances (10.31%). Reduplication insertion was the least frequent form, occurring only once (0.66%).

The findings indicate that word and phrase insertions dominate the use of code-mixing in *Bahasa Jaksel* on TikTok. Most comments incorporated English lexical items directly into Indonesian sentences without altering the overall sentence structure. In addition to single-word insertions, many users also employed English phrases to emphasize opinions, express emotions, or create a more natural conversational style. Hybrid forms, which combine Indonesian affixes with English lexical items, also appeared relatively frequently, demonstrating the integration of English vocabulary into Indonesian morphological patterns. Meanwhile, idiom or expression insertions occurred less frequently but remained a noticeable feature of the data.

Overall, the results show that all five forms of code-mixing proposed by Suwito (1983) are represented in the dataset, although their frequencies vary considerably. Word insertion emerged as the dominant form, representing nearly half of all occurrences, while reduplication insertion was rarely used. These findings suggest that the use of *Bahasa Jaksel* in TikTok comments is primarily characterized by the insertion of English lexical elements into Indonesian utterances, with more complex forms of code-mixing appearing less frequently.

Table 1. Distribution of Code-Mixing Types

Code-Mixing Type	Frequency (N)	Percentage (%)
Word Insertion	75	45.00%
Phrase Insertion	52	31.50%
Idiom or Expression Insertion	20	12.12%
Hybrid Insertion	17	10.31%
Reduplication Insertion	1	0.66%
Total	165	100%

2. Slang

Tabel 2. Tipe Slang Patriadge (2004:204)

Tipe Slang	Frekuensi (N)	Presentase (%)
Society Slang	89	86.41%
Slang in Publicity	14	13.59%
Cockney Slang	0	00.0
Public House Slang	0	00.0
Workmen's Slang	0	00.0
Tradesmen's Slang	0	00.0
Slang in Art	0	00.0
Slang in Theatre	0	00.0
Slang in Public School and University	0	00.0
Slang in Medicine	0	00.0
Soldier's Slang	0	00.0
Total 103 100%		

Table 2 presents the distribution of slang types identified based on Partridge's (2004) classification. Of the eleven slang categories proposed by Partridge, only society slang and slang in

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publicity were identified in the dataset. Society slang was the predominant category, with 89 occurrences (86.41%), while slang in publicity accounted for 14 occurrences (13.59%). The remaining categories, namely Cockney slang, Public House slang, Workmen's slang, Tradesmen's slang, Slang in Art, Slang in Theatre, Slang in Public School and University, Slang in Medicine, and Soldiers' slang, were not found in the analyzed comments. The predominance of society slang indicates that the language used in the TikTok comment section primarily reflects informal communication among members of an online social community. Expressions classified as society slang were commonly used to express emotions, opinions, agreement, disagreement, and everyday experiences in a casual and conversational manner. This finding is consistent with TikTok's nature as a social networking platform, where users interact informally and use language widely recognized in contemporary digital communities.

In contrast, slang in publicity appeared considerably less frequently and was represented by lexical items commonly associated with promotional discourse, product recommendations, and requests for information, such as *spill*, *brand*, and *review*. The absence of the remaining nine slang categories can be attributed to the characteristics of the research data. The comments analyzed were produced by TikTok users participating in informal online discussions rather than by members of specific occupational, educational, artistic, theatrical, medical, or military communities. Consequently, the linguistic characteristics of the dataset align predominantly with society slang, reflecting the everyday communication practices of social media users instead of the specialized slang associated with particular professions or social institutions. These findings suggest that *Bahasa Jaksel* in the TikTok comment section is primarily characterized by slang that functions within general social interaction, supporting the view that it has become a shared linguistic variety among Indonesian digital communities.

3. Social Stratification in Bahasa Jaksel

The distribution of code-mixing and slang identified in this study reveals distinctive linguistic patterns that characterize the use of *Bahasa Jaksel* in TikTok comment interactions. The analysis of code-mixing demonstrates that word insertion (45%) and phrase insertion (31.5%) constitute the most frequent forms, indicating that English lexical elements are systematically incorporated into Indonesian utterances. Similarly, the analysis of slang based on Partridge's (2004) classification shows that society slang represents the overwhelming majority of the data, accounting for 89 occurrences (86.41%), whereas slang in publicity accounts for only 14 occurrences (13.59%). None of the remaining nine slang categories proposed by Partridge were identified in the dataset, suggesting that the linguistic repertoire of *Bahasa Jaksel* in the present study is primarily associated with informal social interaction rather than occupational or institutional domains.

The predominance of society slang, together with the extensive use of English lexical insertions, demonstrates a relatively homogeneous linguistic pattern among the participants. Frequently occurring expressions such as *literally*, *spill*, *overthinking*, *healing*, *mood*, *relate*, and *love-hate relationship* illustrate a shared repertoire of linguistic resources that extends beyond individual lexical choices. These forms recur consistently throughout the dataset, indicating that they have become conventionalized features of *Bahasa Jaksel* within the observed digital community. The absence of occupation-specific slang categories further suggests that the language practices identified in this study are primarily embedded in contemporary online social interaction rather than in specialized professional communities.

Taken together, the findings indicate that *Bahasa Jaksel* functions not only as a contemporary language variety but also as a linguistic marker of social differentiation in digital communication. The recurring combination of English lexical insertions, dominant society slang, and contemporary digital

expressions reflects patterns of language use associated with bilingual practices, urban lifestyles, and participation in digitally connected communities. Although the present analysis is based on linguistic classification, the overall distribution shows that language choice is not randomly distributed across the dataset but is concentrated in socially recognizable linguistic forms. Consequently, the linguistic characteristics of *Bahasa Jaksel* identified in this study provide empirical evidence that language variation in digital spaces may also reflect broader processes of identity construction and social stratification.

4. Discussion

The findings reveal that word insertion constitutes the largest category of code-mixing, accounting for 45% of the total data. This pattern suggests that English lexical items are more frequently incorporated into Indonesian utterances than longer linguistic units such as phrases, idioms, or hybrid constructions. Rather than replacing Indonesian, English is integrated selectively into existing sentence structures, allowing speakers to combine linguistic resources while maintaining grammatical coherence. The distribution of code-mixing forms therefore reflects the systematic incorporation of English vocabulary into everyday digital communication.

This finding is consistent with Suwito's (1983) classification, in which word insertion represents one of the most common forms of code-mixing in bilingual speech. Similarly, Muysken (2000) argues that lexical insertion is a productive strategy through which bilingual speakers incorporate lexical elements from one language into the grammatical framework of another. The frequent occurrence of expressions such as *literally*, *spill*, *healing*, and *relate* demonstrates that these English lexical items have become integrated into the communicative repertoire of *Bahasa Jaksel*. Their repeated use throughout the dataset suggests that they function as established linguistic resources rather than isolated instances of borrowing. From a sociolinguistic perspective, the distribution of code-mixing reflects the relationship between language choice and social context.

Wardhaugh (2006) argues that linguistic variation is shaped by social interaction and the communities in which speakers participate. In the present study, English lexical insertions appear consistently within interactions among TikTok users, indicating that these forms have become conventional features of communication within digital communities. The selection of English lexical items therefore reflects not only bilingual language practices but also shared communicative norms that characterize contemporary online discourse.

The findings further support Labov's (1972) proposition that language variation is systematically associated with social differentiation. The extensive use of English lexical insertions suggests that *Bahasa Jaksel* is associated with speakers who participate in bilingual and digitally mediated environments where English is frequently encountered through education, entertainment, and social media. Within this context, code-mixing functions as more than a linguistic strategy; it also serves as a symbolic resource through which speakers negotiate identity and position themselves within particular social communities. Accordingly, the patterns of code-mixing identified in this study reinforce the view that *Bahasa Jaksel* reflects broader processes of social stratification in contemporary Indonesian digital society.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that *Bahasa Jaksel* is not merely a linguistic trend on social media but a sociolinguistic phenomenon shaped by the interaction between language and social factors. The findings reveal that the use of slang and code-mixing in TikTok comments reflects speakers' linguistic choices in constructing identity, expressing solidarity, and participating in digital communication.

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Among the types of code-mixing identified, intra-sentential code-mixing was the most dominant, indicating that the integration of English lexical items into Indonesian has become a common feature of *Bahasa Jaksel* in online discourse. The findings support Wardhaugh's (2006) sociolinguistic perspective that language and society are closely interconnected, as language choice is influenced by the social context in which communication occurs. Likewise, the results reinforce Labov's (1972) theory that language variation is closely associated with the social characteristics of its speakers.

In the context of this study, *Bahasa Jaksel* reflects not only linguistic creativity but also broader social processes related to bilingualism, digital interaction, and identity construction. Furthermore, the findings suggest that language practices on social media may serve as indicators of contemporary social differentiation and changing patterns of communication in Indonesian society. This study contributes to the growing field of digital sociolinguistics by providing empirical evidence of language variation in Indonesian social media discourse. Future research is encouraged to examine *Bahasa Jaksel* across different digital platforms and communities or to investigate how demographic factors such as age, educational background, and regional identity influence the use of code-mixing and slang in online communication.

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