

FRENCH LOANWORDS AS A PART OF LIFESTYLE AND A DISTINCTION IN INDONESIAN CULINARY AND FASHION SECTORS

Hayatul Cholsy

Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Gadjah Mada

Email: cholsy-h@ugm.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This research aims to explain the use of French loanwords in the Indonesian language as a part of lifestyle in culinary and fashion by the elite society in Indonesia. In the culinary and fashion sectors in Indonesia today, various French loanwords are used due to the absence of equivalent vocabularies, and the intensely frequent use of the words, although sometimes they are compatible with some of the Indonesian language vocabularies, in spite of the inconsistency in the use of these loanwords. The loanwords function as a distinction, which is constructed in order to distinguish a particular social group, the dominant class, from the dominated class in society. The use of loanwords also adds positive values, or a prestige, so that the use of these loanwords by the dominated or the middle class is considered an effort to achieve a similar position as that of the dominant class, which is the elite class in the culinary and fashion sectors.

Keywords: french loanwords, lifestyle, culinary, fashion, indonesian

INTRODUCTION

In the development of Indonesian language, numerous foreign vocabularies are adopted into the language including those of the French language. The process of adopting vocabularies from the French language was inevitable considering that contact between Indonesia and France has been established since the 16th century, in 1526 to be specific, by the Verrazane and Pierre Caunay's expedition from Honfleur to Sumatra (1526-1529). This was France's first expedition to Eastern-Indian (Indonesia) made for herbs and spices trade (Dorleons, 2006). The French's arrival to Indonesia, occupation of Indonesia (February – August 1811), and the French community in Indonesia (Lombard, 2008) signified the beginning of the contact between the two countries that continued to the contact between the two languages. From this language contact, French words were introduced to and adapted into the Indonesian language through adjustments in the phonetics, orthographies, and even semantics, due to the discrepancies in the systems of both languages (Weinrich, 1963).

In the Indonesian language, French loanwords dominate the culinary and fashion sectors (Cholsy, 2012) because both industries are often associated with France. French culinary is an exemplary for both food processing and serving; while in fashion, France, especially for Paris, is famous for being one of the centers of world fashion besides London, New York, Milan, and Tokyo. French loanwords in Indonesian language in both sectors rapidly developed especially after Indonesians started having formal or informal education and

training in culinary and fashion in France. These are the people who became part of the elite groups in the Indonesian fashion and culinary industries.

French loanwords were introduced both directly and indirectly to Indonesian people with certain reasons, especially due to the needs for specific terms with no equivalence in the Indonesian language. These loanwords tend to be maintained especially for this need for certain terms. Nevertheless, even when the equivalent of certain terms can be found in Indonesian language, the use of the loanwords is maintained out of prestige or aesthetics reasons. Moreover, the different language systems of Indonesian and French causes inconsistencies in the use of the loanwords, especially in writing. For the Indonesian society, using foreign languages is associated with lifestyle, thus, there is a tendency to keep the original form of foreign words by creating or preserving certain social classes (Bourdieu, 1982).

Since both culinary and fashion are commonly associated with a particular social class, the use of loanwords flourishes in this particular social class as well, due to the fact that French loanwords are not used and understood by all social classes. For certain reasons, the users of loanwords maintain and even enrich the loanwords, although sometimes the words equivalent to the loanwords are available in the Indonesian language. The loanwords are considered as a part of lifestyle and as a distinction that is indirectly an effort made by a particular social class to distinguish themselves from other social classes through their social behavior. Therefore, this research attempts to explicate the reasons why French loanwords are considered as a part of lifestyle and a distinction for the elite social class in the culinary and fashion sectors in Indonesia.

The data of this research are collected from the use of French loanwords in Indonesian print media, namely the editions of Femina magazine in 2012. This magazine is used because it mostly discusses about details in women's lives, including culinary and fashion, and because its target audience is middle class young women of 18 to 45 years old.

Social class and loanwords

Nowadays, the French loanwords have become more frequently used in articles or both spoken and written discourses in various media. The loanwords emerged without any refusal or objection from the information recipients. Generally, the Indonesian society never consider the French loanwords in an article as particularly bothering or difficult to understand. In contrast, French loanwords are considered a "sweetener" since their use give an aesthetic nuance even when the information recipients do not understand the meaning. Therefore, it is safe to say that the existence of French loanwords are required or expected by the society, to not only fill in the vocabulary absence due to the lack of equivalence in Indonesian but also as more than a basic need.

French loanwords are deliberately used as an attempt to distinguish and accentuate the existence of particular social groups, which understand and use these terms, and that these social groups are in a better or higher position in the society. Members of these groups are, of course, commonly well educated, with the minimum ability of mastering one foreign language or more in addition to their native languages. Mastering a foreign language is one of the indicators in determining an individual or social group's cultural capital. Cultural capital is one of the capitals that determine an individual's class or

group in the social hierarchy besides social capital, economic capital, and symbolic capital. The accumulation of these capitals is what determines an individual's classification in certain social status. The more capitals an individual possesses, the higher the social status is. Nevertheless, this type of social class tend to be determined by the economic capital and cultural capital because both create the most relevant differentiated criteria to the developed society (Bourdieu, 1979:127).

Possession of these capitals is used to determine which class or group creates the dichotomy between the dominant and the dominated. The dominant group is associated with people with bigger capitals, who usually possess the accumulation of other capitals as well. This group is divided into two groups, the first is those who have bigger economic capitals, e.g. wealthy conglomerates, and those who have bigger cultural capitals, e.g. bourgeois people including executives who graduated from prestigious schools, especially from foreign countries, as well as intellectual people whose cultural capital is bigger than their economic capital. This dominant group is the one that has the power to determine discourses, so it dominates other social groups or classes.

Another social group is the one dominated by the dominant group, called the petty bourgeois, also known as the middle class or popular class. This group possesses capitals but not comparable to that of the dominant group, especially for the economic capital. This group has a similar characteristic as the bourgeois group in desiring to "climb up" to the dominant group level, so they tend to mimic the taste and culture of the dominant group. Meanwhile, the popular class is different because they have insufficient capitals, as they are economically lacking, thus, their cultural capitals are basically nonexistent. Their education level is generally low as they are mostly capable to pursue only elementary education, and some has never even received any formal education at all.

The classification of these social classes or groups are profoundly related to their social practice in the society represented by social behavior, including the use of French loanwords. This is mostly represented by the dominant class whose capital is more immense in number and, who tend to look different or put an effort to look different from other groups, namely the dominated one. One of the methods used in distinguishing themselves from the dominated group is through three structures of consumption; food, culture, and appearance (Bourdieu, 1979:204-215).

For the dominant group, those three structures of consumption are no longer recognized as primary needs for survival, but as fulfillment of desire. Therefore, aesthetic elements became an inevitable consideration in this structure. In the other words, aesthetic elements serve as a means of flaunting a certain taste, which is deliberately created or constructed as a part of this group's needs in distinguishing themselves from other groups. Aesthetics has a profound connection with taste, about which Bourdieu describes, "*le goût est une disposition acquise à 'différencier' et 'apprécier'* (taste is a structure made to differentiate and to appreciate)" (1979:534). In practice, taste is not considered natural but more of a preference conditioned and constructed in order to create a social orientation that functions to direct someone into a particular social position in accordance with his/her situation.

The fashion sense of the dominant group is most definitely different from that of the popular group. In the way they dress, the dominant group pay more detailed attention to the norms or rules regarding their outfits. Since it is no longer merely about protecting the body from the weather, naturally, they dress more beautifully, more elegantly, and better than other groups. The need and desire to look better is what makes the dominant class look distinctive and distinct from other groups, which is the dominated groups. The dominant group refuse to look similar with other groups, so they try to distinguish themselves by, for instance, wearing clothes from particular brands that are not affordable for other groups. The same system is implemented in food, in which it is no longer a basic need for the dominant group to eat three times a day. Their choice of food is also specific, where the good taste also comes with good and appealing appearance. In the field of cultural consumption, although this type of consumption is generally categorized as a secondary need instead of the primary need, it has become an important need for this particular group. This particularly accentuates the dominant group's distinctive taste and values. Therefore, it became a primary necessity, and it can be seen from various activities such as holidays, buying books, attending music concerts, etc. For this group, a holiday is a considered a requirement for increasing one's quality of life, because during a holiday, one is allowed to escape from daily routine, and it results in happiness, joy, and fulfillment of inner satisfactions. The same idea is applied to the importance of entertainment, which determines the fulfillment of inner satisfaction due to its ability to create happiness and joy.

Those ideas are unlikely for other social groups, especially for the popular group that put clothes and food as a fundamental means of survival. This group disregards the aesthetics values or norms of both needs. For this group, the need for clothes is based on whether or not they have proper clothes to protect their bodies. Similarly, the need for food is based on whether or not they have food to eat for health and survival. Whether or not a piece of clothing is fashionable is not a priority. Similarly, the taste and the way food is served is less important than the actual function of eating that is to eliminate hunger. Cultural consumption is present in this group, but it is based more on enjoying themselves in activities that do not cost them, such as watching carnivals, free concerts or shows near their houses, or simply by reading newspapers on the wall newspaper.

Fulfilment for the consumption of food, fashion, and culture is also different for the social group positioned between dominant and popular group, which is known as the middle class group. This group possesses better economic and cultural capitals than the popular class, but they are still below the dominant group. In practice, the middle class group imitate the way of life and discourses created by the dominant group. This group tends to have the same taste as dominant group, as they believe that they have adequate capitals to acquire the same position as the dominant class who are able to determine discourses because of higher position and power. The act of copying or the mimetic desire is a strategy implemented by the middle class as an effort to "climb up" the social hierarchy to attain recognition as a part of dominant group (Haryatmoko, 2014:13). This type of recognition is a major objective for the middle class, as the dominant group is considered the culture maker, taste maker, and, most of all, the authority.

The use of loanwords or foreign vocabulary is one of the methods in which a recognition as part of the dominant class is achieved, since the mastery of foreign languages, especially the languages of dominant countries, is a form of cultural capital. The French language is the language used in France, a dominant country that is also a colonial country, especially during the 18th until the 20th century. Until today, France is also known as a country with major influence on the arena of international relations and as a developed country, especially in the fashion and culinary industries. Therefore, it is natural that the French language heavily influences the vocabularies in those fields.

Term or vocabulary dispersal in the culinary industry or the fashion industry is basically not inclusive, as it is limited to particular groups such as the people who are directly involved in these fields from designing, execution, and marketing until the distribution of the products to the consumers, including authors and journalists. Information regarding food or fashion products that are received by the society from the producers and the product itself, or from articles and writings about the products published in mass media or personal blogs on the internet. As for the people who master the French language, they acknowledge the culinary and fashion terms as common words because of the common appearances of these terms in the daily lives of the French people, thus they are taught and studied in French language learning. This is the group of people who contributed in dispersing French terms and vocabularies of culinary and fashion in Indonesia. The recipients of this information in the society is limited to a specifically restricted background, e.g. readers of fashion and culinary books or articles, or those who need or are interested in those fields. These people come from particular social classes whose primary needs for survival have already been fulfilled and no longer a priority. For this group, the need for food and clothes are determined by aesthetics norms that at times can be considered artificial satisfaction.

The members of the dominant group that affect the use of loanwords possess a big cultural capacity, since to understand a foreign language, one must intensely and profoundly learn about that language to know the proper use of vocabulary, and in the society, mastering a foreign language is one of the indicators of cultural capacity. Foreign languages can be studied formally through educational institutions, organized by both higher or secondary educational institutions, and other institutions including foreign language courses. Furthermore, foreign languages can be studied informally by staying and living in an area that uses the language in daily life, for instance in an environment in which the language is spoken as a native language. To be able to master a foreign language, one must have an adequate economic capital, since it requires money to pay for the study. With a good economic capital, one would be able to pay the costs of learning a foreign language or to stay and live in an area where the language is spoken as a native language, such as France or Francophone countries.

DISCUSSION

Mastering French is not an obligation for Indonesian language speakers because it is not a compulsory language taught at school. However, the ability to speak or write French could make for an additional point because French is generally used in particular fields such as art, tourism, food, fashion, or technology. Therefore, French vocabularies and terms are strictly understood

by those who study and work in the specified fields that use the terms regularly. English and Arabic are still above French in necessity and popularity, but in practice French is more prevalent, especially in culinary and fashion, as the terms of these fields are mostly adopted from French. Since the number of French speakers and users are still limited, naturally the use of French terms of vocabulary is also limited. This is required to avoid misunderstanding, which would possibly cause miscommunication due to the lack of understanding of a certain vocabulary or terminology. However, in reality, the use of French language tend to increase especially in particular social classes or groups, and certain fields.

The use of French terms is not considered a restraint of communication. On the contrary, they are considered as more of an ornament, which exudes certain nuances distinguishable from others. French terms are required to accentuate a social hierarchy, in which one social group is better than other groups and richer regarding the mastery of foreign vocabularies. Often, the French terms used have the same meaning as their equivalence in the Indonesian language, but people are more inclined to choose the French terms, e.g. *sequin*.¹³ The term *sequin* is frequently used in fashion articles such as the following:

- (1) *Cukup gunakan gaun sequin a-line agar jadi pusat perhatian.*
'You need only use a sequin a-line dress to become the center of attention'
- (2) *Blus sequin dan celana cargo menciptakan kontradiksi glamor saat anda berpesta.* 'A sequin blouse and a pair of cargo pants create a glamour contradiction when you are partying.'
- (3) *Detail yang dimaksud bisa berupa halter neck, V-neck, sampai kerah bulat dengan aksentuasi sequin.*
'The referred detail could be a halter neck, V-neck, or a round neck with a sequin accent.'

The word *sequin* in sentence (1), (2), and (3) could be confusing for general Indonesian people, because this term is unusually used or known by common people. For common French people, *sequin* is not a popular term either, even in the realm of fashion. In stating the same meaning as *sequin*, French people commonly use the word *paillette* or 'payet' in Indonesian language, although *sequin* is generally perceived as having the similar meaning as *paillette*.¹⁴ The use of *sequin* in the three sentences above are only understood by people who work in fashion, especially those who had the privilege to receive education or knowledge regarding the fashion world in France. As for common people, the term could be considered very foreign or unknown. The decision to use *sequin* in the three sentences above implies that this is not to be consumed or addressed to the whole society, but only to particular social classes. The repeated use of this word indicates that the use of this French word is intentionally repeated or constructed to create a certain community or for certain groups. There is no further explanation of the meaning of *sequin*, as if the readers are assumed to have already understood it.

¹³ *Sequin*, according to Hadisurya, et. al. (2011:164) and Poespo (2009:260), is another term for 'payet', a tiny discs made of metals.

¹⁴ *Petit disque de métal perforé cousu sur un tissu pour servir d'ornement* "small discs made of metals with a hole, sewed as ornaments on a piece of fabric.

Those sentences would bring out a different nuance if *sequin* is replaced with *payet*, as written in sentences (1a), (2a), and (3a). Common readers would consider the sentences to be more understandable, as they convey the meaning clearly without any distortion.

(1a) *Cukup gunakan gaun **payet** a-line agar jadi pusat perhatian.*

‘You need only use a paillette a-line dress to become the center of attention.’

(2a) *Blus **payet** dan celana cargo menciptakan kontradiksi glamor saat anda berpesta.*

‘A paillette blouse and a pair of cargo pants create a glamour contradiction when you are partying.’

(3a) *Detail yang dimaksud bisa berupa halter neck, V-neck, sampai kerah bulat dengan aksentuasi **payet**.*

The referred detail could be a halter neck, V-neck, or a round neck with a paillette accent.’

The word *payet* itself is also derived from the French word *paillette*, which went through an adjustment with the phonology and orthography systems of the Indonesian language. However, because the word *payet* is so frequently used, people perceive it as originally part of the Indonesian language. This is the main reason why there is no urgency for the use of the word *sequin*, as it is less popular and not commonly used by both the Indonesian and French people. Nevertheless, the use of *sequin* bears a certain purpose, such as creating a “classy” nuance out of its ‘foreign essence’ when compared to *payet*, which sounds common and not exclusive.

Today, *payet* ornaments are no longer exclusively used to give a glamorous, sparkly effect on a dress worn for fancy occasions such as a party, a gala dinner, or luxurious and elegant events. However, this ornament has spread to almost all classes of society, and not only functions as a glamorizing effect. *Payet* already decorates many clothes worn by the middle to lower class, so it is no longer considered an *haute couture* ornament, but as part of fashion ornament that can be worn by everybody in relatively affordable prices. There are also varieties of basic materials used to make *payet*, including woods, coconut shells, clams, pearls, and stones such as crystal, jade, split stone, glass stone, etc. *Payet* can also be made from synthetic materials of plastics, which imitate the original natural material. This variety of basic materials makes it possible for *payet* to have variety of pricing as well, so the cost of garniture made of the synthetic materials is cheaper than that of the natural materials. Indirectly, this *payet* garniture is spread to reach all social classes. This is why *payet* is sewed not only on to exclusive apparels, but for daily apparels as well. Therefore, a change occurred in the meaning of the word *payet*, which today implies something that is common and ordinary. Therefore, to create a more “classy” nuance, the word *sequin* is used although it is only understood by few people.

Moreover, there is another common vocabulary, which, despite its not being a special or technical term in a certain field, frequently appears sentences written under a specific field, such as the word *petite* or small in sentence (4), which is written under the field of fashion:

(4) *Untuk tubuh saya yang **petite**, saya pun ingin tampil dengan gaun pengantin yang ringan.*

‘Because of my *petite* body, I want to dress in a light wedding dress.’

(4a) *Untuk tubuh saya yang kecil, saya pun ingin tampil dengan gaun pengantin yang ringan.*

‘Because of my small body, I want to dress in a light wedding dress.’

The word *petite* in sentence (4) is not a specific term for certain field, since *petite* is originally an adjective which means small. In the given sentence, the word *petite* also functions as an explanation that the noun attached to the adjective *petite* is feminine. That means that the speaker of the sentence is female, and in using the word *petite* she is stating that she has a small build. However, the word *petite* in the sentence is unnecessary since the Indonesian language has its own term with an equivalent meaning, namely *kecil*, as seen in sentence (4a). By using the word *kecil*, sentence (4a) is more easily understood than sentence (4) since most Indonesians are not familiar with the word *petite* and its meaning. Therefore, it can be concluded that the use of French loanwords in this case is unnecessary since the Indonesian language has its own term of whose meaning is the equivalent to that of the French word. In this case, the purpose of using the French loanword in the sentence is merely for showing off and to demonstrating the speaker’s proficiency in a foreign language, indicating community and social class. This phenomenon highlights the fact that one’s foreign language proficiency can be used in determining one’s social class, and that this is an embodiment of cultural capital.

It can also be said that the use of the word *sequin* and *petite* is an exaggerated use of a foreign term and an evidence of an element of intent, both from the speaker or the writer and even the reader, since essentially, there is no urgency in using those French loanwords. Those words are used despite the fact that most Indonesians do not speak or learn French. The people involved in this communication are trying to create a community with a common interest and concern. One of the methods they use in communication is inserting or using French vocabulary or terminology. This practice is considered as a distinction which functions to distinguish certain community from other communities

French loanwords are used by certain social classes to create a distinction from another. They are used in daily communication by Indonesians both in direct and indirect communications, in verbal and written communication in various media both online and printed. In this communication process, French loanwords that have been adjusted to Indonesian language and French words in their original forms are inserted into Indonesian sentences.

In culinary and fashion articles or discourse, there is a tendency to use French words in their original forms, although sometimes those words have been adjusted to Indonesian language. In addition to French words that have been adjusted to Indonesian language, French words in their original forms are also used although there are equivalent words from other more familiar foreign languages, such as English or Dutch, for example, the word *boulangerie* in sentence (5) and *chef* in sentence (6).

(5) *Terkadang satu blok apartemen bisa memiliki lima lokasi boulangerie yang berdekatan.*

‘Sometimes, one apartment block has five *boulangerie* locations which are close to each other.’

(6) *Kontribusi chef Pierre Hermé adalah memberi sentuhan modern dan avant garde pada kue klasik.*

‘*Chef Pierre Hermé’s contribution is the touch of modernity and avant garde on classic cakes.*’

Boulangerie is an unfamiliar term for most Indonesians, since long before the use of *boulangerie*, people have been introduced to the English term *bakery* to refer to a bake shop. *Boulangerie* appeared in Indonesia, especially in the big cities, and newly established bakeries have shown a tendency to use it. It can be concluded that the term *boulangerie* is used to compete with old bakeries. Besides, it is also used to give a sense of luxury. Judging from what they offer, these new bakeries are not very different from the old ones, but the nuance given by the term *boulangerie* serves as an appeal for the consumers, and this is what newcomers in the Indonesian bakery business need.

The term *chef* also appears to replace *koki*, that had long been used in Indonesia. The term *koki* is derived from the Dutch word *kokkie*. Compared to *koki*, *chef* is more internationally used. Recently, the term *koki*, is not as widely used as before, especially in referring to the cooks who master international foods working in big and famous hotels or restaurants. In Indonesia nowadays, *chef* has grown popular and is considered as a promising profession, especially after the flourishing of culinary TV shows and competition. The profession is considered prestigious since the title *chef* cannot be easily gained, unlike academic titles. *Chef* is recognized as a master professional cook, having completed formal education in the culinary field, and having rich experience both in Indonesia and abroad. A *chef* who has experienced working in restaurants abroad is considered more qualified and competent. Therefore, it can be concluded that the term *chef* is better liked than *koki*, although both of them are borrowed from foreign languages.

Terminology or vocabulary that previously had been popular in Indonesia are slowly being replaced by French terminology and vocabulary in their original forms, which are often completely foreign for most Indonesians. Sometimes, the choice of those French words are only used in certain fields, such as the fashion and culinary sectors. Therefore, even native French speakers are not familiar with those words since they rarely, sometimes never, use it in daily conversation, for example the word *sequin*. These days, elite groups in fashion and culinary tend to introduce many French words to the public, especially in mass media, ignoring the readers’ French proficiency.

Generally, the oral and written use of foreign-language terms in Indonesian-language media is part of the Indonesian language community's lifestyle or, in French, *mode de vie* (Udasmoro, 2014; Candra H, 2013: 202; Sneddon, 2003: 176). For the elite, the culinary and fashion sectors in Indonesia cannot be separated from the use of foreign-language terms, as both are deeply connected with a modernization that is frequently considered to be identical to westernization. For some of Indonesia's people, the elites' Westernization is considered to offer greater (positive) values and thus be worthy of imitation. This includes the use of French-language terms.

Historically, when Indonesia was under the control of Western colonial powers, Westerners were considered part of the upper class. They were the

power-holders and *de facto* aristocrats of the archipelago. Their position as the elites and the wielders of power in colonial Indonesia enabled Westerners to determine the direction of discourse, and as a result members of the lower classes tended to view Western culture as upper-class or high culture, and as something which was difficult for those in the lower classes to practice. European culture was considered upper-class and of great value; as a result, not a few local cultures were greatly influenced by western culture. Europeans developed an exclusive lifestyle, one which was heavily rooted in memories of western culture (Lombard, 2008: 82-83), and this was imitated by the Indonesians who saw them, particularly the traditional aristocrats (such as in the palaces of Java) who began to Westernize by adopting Western styles of fashion, interior design, and cuisine (Lombard, 2008: 108).

In the following period, during the post-colonial era, the *nouveaux riches* 'new rich' or leisure class, to use the term pioneered by Veblen (2003), emerged. These were wealthy persons who had succeeded in improving their social positions through hard work and capital accumulation. These *nouveaux riches* became the trendsetters and determinants of discourse in the nascent Republic of Indonesia. As a class, they tended to articulate their position through displays of wealth and imitations of the consumer behavior of traditional aristocrats (Veblen, 2003); this meant that, in Indonesia, the *nouveaux riches* imitated the lifestyles of the local nobility, which had been greatly influenced by European lifestyles during the colonial period. In Indonesia, this class of *nouveaux riches* includes the *konglomerat*, persons of indigenous or Chinese descent who became wealthy through their business efforts and took control of the Indonesian economy.

As trendsetters, the *nouveaux riches* were imitated by other classes. As a result, the *nouveaux riches* attempted to differentiate themselves from classes they considered inferior by utilizing three structures of consumption: food, culture, and appearance. In terms of cuisine (food) and fashion (appearance), they developed tastes unlike those of other classes, which allowed them to differentiate themselves. The cuisine they developed was one which was not popular at the time, or, perhaps more accurately, was difficult for other groups to access; their culinary lifestyle soon included foreign foods which could only be had for a higher price than local foods. Similar experiences were had in fashion: the clothing worn by these *nouveaux riches* originated from renowned boutiques or designers and was sufficiently exclusive as to preclude imitation from the lower classes.

With technological developments and economic empowerment, these *nouveaux riches* had—and continues to have—access to world fashion and culinary trends. This allowed foreign influences, including those from France, to become increasingly apparent and common. In the Indonesian fashion sector, numerous boutiques and accessory shops, carrying world-famous brands, opened in high-class shopping centers in major Indonesian cities. Where before these fashion brands had only been available abroad, such as in France, and could thus only be accessed by a few Indonesians, it has become significantly easier for Indonesians of all backgrounds and classes to access and recognize foreign brands, be it from these boutiques themselves, the boutiques' websites, or the mass media which carries advertisements for the brands and designers sold through these boutiques. The role of the mass media in brand development is particularly important, given that it is through the

mass media that the general populace can access and learn about the latest fashions and trends, as well as the latest offerings of specific brands. Activities and events related to these brands, including product launches and the use of specific brands by models and celebrities—especially celebrities considered to be trendsetters, such as A-list actresses, princesses, queens, and major politicians and leaders—are covered as news.

As with fashion, the Indonesian culinary sector has seen unbridled influence from foreign cuisines. Numerous restaurants, offering a wide variety of foreign dishes, can be found at major urban shopping centers and areas frequented by the elite. These foods, many of which originate from the West, have their own appeal for Indonesians. Previously, such foods could only be found at starred hotels or elite restaurants catering to foreign tourists, expatriates, and the local elites. It is clear that foreign influence, particularly from the West, has had an increasingly significant influence on Indonesian fashion and cuisine in the face of the populace's increasingly Westernized lifestyles, especially in urban areas.

Westernization in Indonesia cannot be separated from the role of the country's *nouveaux riches*, who gladly show off their own lifestyles, which tend to imitate the lifestyles found in Western countries. The view that all that is Western is positive and modern is still widely held, and as a result it is not surprising that, in Indonesian consumer behavior, Western culture is still used as a reference and a benchmark. The inability of the Indonesian people to separate themselves from Western culture is not limited to consumer behavior; the Indonesian language has likewise been deeply influenced by Western languages, including French. Every day, oral and written Indonesian-language discussions and discourses in a wide range of media are colored with Western linguistic elements.

The use of French in specific areas of discourse or fields can be considered compulsory, as the Indonesian language lacks terms to illustrate certain concepts. Nevertheless, this does mean that French terms are not used even when an equivalent word is available in Indonesian. Indeed, French words are used to show that a communication "has more class", especially since French is considered more romantic, more prestigious, and more aesthetically pleasing as a language—even when, in reality, it is little different in these regards than any other language—than Indonesian. For speakers of Indonesian, learning French, particularly its grammar and pronunciation, is more difficult than learning other foreign languages, such as English, German or Dutch.

French being considered a "classy language" cannot be separated from the role of French in the arts—here, of course, referring to arts which are considered of higher class. The cultural heritage of France, as well as the French language, have helped position French as a dominant language in certain specific fields and sectors, particularly fashion and cuisine. The use of French terms in Indonesia, particularly in these two fields, has worked to reinforce the language's position, as not all Indonesians can access the language. Only specific classes or groups have access to the French language, and these are the classes or groups that have significant economic and cultural capital.

The dominant group commonly communicates using foreign languages such as French and code-mixes with said foreign languages. As the dominant group, the upper class is often imitated by the classes under them, who are

termed by Bourdieu the *petite-bourgeois* or little bourgeois. In the social sphere, this group can be considered part of the middle class, as it has similar attitudes to the bourgeois: a desire for upward mobility, a respect for the existing social structure, and a rigid view of moral norms (Bourdieu, 1979: 382 and Bonnewitz, 1998: 89). Through mimesis, the imitation of the cultural patterns of the dominant class, the middle class attempts to be recognized as part of the dominant class and thus of equal footing. This may be manifested, for instance, in the use of foreign languages in when communicating. These foreign languages having already been used by the dominant classes and reproduced in Indonesia from the time of the traditional aristocracy through formal foreign-language lessons such as Dutch, German, English, and French (Lombard, 2008: 127).

Language use is related directly to one's social class (Jones, 2004: 134 and Bourdieu, 1982: 103), and the background and social class of a speaker can be seen from his or her utterances and use of language in communicating. Communicating in a foreign language is indicative of cultural capital: not all members of the populace are capable of communicating in a foreign language, and thus not all persons in a community have that cultural capital. Though previously the use of foreign languages was limited to the traditional aristocracy, developments in education in modern Indonesia have allowed more members of society to receive an education and gain mastery of one or more foreign languages, including French. As such, the oral and written use of foreign languages by the elite, which can be seen in various media, is part of their lifestyle and shows their prestige and social class. This lifestyle, including the use of foreign languages such as French in communicating, is imitated by the middle class as part of its strategy to increase its social status.

Recently, the use of French terms has become increasingly common, particularly considering the growth of the Indonesian middle class. This middle class attempts to imitate the lifestyles of the elites, including their preferred cuisine and fashion. French is frequently used because it generates positive effects, and terms which were previously used only by and only for the elites have become common among the middle class, which strives for recognition as part of the dominant class. This can be seen, for instance, in the fashion sector through the use of the term *butik* 'boutique' to refer to clothing stores. Previously this was limited to shops that were accessible only by the elites, as these *butik* sold exclusive clothing: *haute couture* 'high culture' fashion from famous designers or world-renowned brands. Presently, however, the term is commonly used to refer to ordinary clothing shops, and it is not uncommon for the term *boutique* to be used in its original form, without being adapted to the Indonesian spelling. For the middle class, shopping at a *butik* has different connotations and impressions than shopping at a conventional clothing store. Members of the middle class, as they are able to shop at a *butik*, consider themselves to be part of the dominant class, particularly when they receive service that is as good as the service at a boutique catering to the elites. These *butik* are designed with a more elegant style, located outside of the traditional markets, have special spaces for clothing to be fitted, and have a comfortable atmosphere which is both air-conditioned and free of crowds. The staff at these *butik* are friendly and can sometimes be asked to provide input and information regarding the clothing available. Naturally, providing these comforts and facilities is not free (i.e. it has a financial cost), and the *butik* does not bear

these charges on its own, but rather indirectly charges customers for the comforts and facilities provided. Customers from the middle class are willing to pay for these facilities, and thus do not mind paying more for the clothing they purchase, even when the same outfits could be bought for a lower price at conventional shops and kiosks at traditional markets or at wholesalers. Customers recognize that the prices they pay are appropriate for what they receive, in this case good service and facilities.

In the culinary sector, meanwhile, the concepts of *warung kopi* 'coffee shop' and *café* 'café' differ significantly, even though both provide their customers with the same product: coffee. The products and varieties thereof offered by a *warung kopi* differ from the products and varieties thereof offered by a *café*: a range of hot and cold drinks which can be purchased together with a variety of snacks. It is factors aside from the coffee which differentiate between *warung kopi* and *café*. A *warung kopi* is considered to be of inferior quality, and the coffee it sells is less expensive. Its interior design is simple, featuring only benches for seats and a table on which one can place one's coffee and snacks; wall decorations are minimalistic, generally limited to calendars. The customers at *warung kopi* come from all walks of life, but generally originate from the lower and lower-middle classes. Most customers come to the *warung kopi* simply because they wish to drink coffee and maybe talk with the staff or other customers. The coffee itself is prepared simply: boiling water is poured onto it. The variety of coffees available is limited, and it is not unusual for a *warung kopi* to only serve one kind of coffee. Meanwhile, although a *café* is a coffee shop, the concept is not limited to the serving of coffee and snacks. A *café* is also a place to relax, a place to rid oneself of one's weariness whilst speaking with colleagues or friends. The concept of *café* in Indonesia is similar to that in France: *cafés* are generally located along the side of the street and utilize the sidewalk as a place to relax or rendezvous while drinking coffee or another drink and eating snacks. This concept emerged in France but was adopted worldwide, including in Indonesia, which already had *warung kopi* found throughout its urban and suburban areas. Presently, in Indonesia *cafés* have become part of the lifestyle. They serve not only to fulfill the need to drink coffee, but also to seek pleasure. *Cafés* are places for rendezvous, for chatting with friends, for listening to live music (which is routinely provided), or for simply using the Wi-Fi provided. More extremely, drinking coffee at a *café* can be for one's satisfaction, so that one can be considered more modern, or more in touch with the changing times.

The change in naming, from *warung kopi* to *café*, has clearly had an effect which promotes a consumptive lifestyle. The same coffee is sold at a different price in *warung kopi* and in *cafés*. Consumers recognize this difference, but are still willing to buy their coffee at *cafés* despite the higher price. This change in name, from Indonesian to French, has had a significant and, from a business perspective, profitable effect, as the youth—particularly those from the middle and upper class—are more interested in frequenting *cafés* than *warung kopi*.

This situation is recognized by entrepreneurs, and they use particular strategies to draw the attention and pique the interest of the middle class, who, *nota bene*, are part of the leisure class and desire to be recognized as part of the elite. This desire is manifested through the middle class' conspicuous consumption (Veblen, 2003: 47-49). The middle class wants to enjoy what is

enjoyed by the elites, including comforts, facilities, and services. As such, it is to be expected for the business sector to implement a variety of strategies, including naming shops and stores with foreign words, to profit from the services and products offered, even when all that is offered is unproductive wasteful consumption.

From an economic perspective, a shirt at a *butik* (an everyday boutique, not one for a famous designer or brand) and drinking coffee at a *café* have greater value in their prestige than their actual material value: though the same products are being consumed, customers must spend more money. However, customers' satisfaction and comfort with the better service and facilities provided is invaluable, and as such *café*s and *butik* remain popular and profitable—particularly if they use French names for their branding. Several famous fashion brands in Indonesia use French names despite being produced in and originating from Indonesia (though they may be marketed outside of the country). This can be seen, for instance, in the children's and baby clothing brand *le monde*, the adult clothing brand *le couture*, the bag and shoe brand *buccheri*, the towel and bath products brand *Terry Palmer*, and the bag and clothing brand *Sophie-Martin*. Not a few shops and stores also use French in place of Indonesian or even in place of English, a language which became popular in Indonesia before French, in their names. Some bread shops, for instance, may use the French terms *boulangerie* and *pâtisserie* instead of *bakery*, or chocolate shops may use *chocolatier* instead of *house of chocolate*.

The use of French in the names of shops and stores, particularly in the culinary and fashion sectors, is only one strategy used by entrepreneurs and other shop-owners to accommodate the lifestyle of the Indonesian middle class. This middle class generally views everything Western as being positive, and as a result Western brands are considered better and more desirable. This cannot be separated from Indonesia's colonial history, in which the Dutch, a Western people with a Western culture, occupied the archipelago and positioned themselves at the top of the hierarchy as an elite, superior, and dominant class, a position which they supported by holding power over the non-Dutch. Westerners enjoyed many benefits during this period, as did the traditional aristocrats, to whom the lower classes looked for an example of what they could do when they had accumulated sufficient capital. The Westernization which has occurred in Indonesia has continued to position Western culture as better or superior because Western technology is more developed. As such, the middle class, in an attempt to enjoy what they had previously only been able to see from afar, has imitated the lifestyle of the elites. They have done so, in part, by purchasing and consuming brands which are given foreign (French, for instance) names in an attempt to gain recognition from the elites.

Brands which use French appear more aesthetically pleasing, or, more importantly, eye catching. They appear to have greater value and draw the curiosity of consumers. Aesthetic reasons are important, as these brands are visually quite different than other ones, and as such they give the impression of being more "classy"—even though, at times, local resistance can emerge in the form of local-language variations and plays on these brands names, such as in slang (Wijana, 2014: 61–62). Linguistic variations which are rooted in French influences include, for instance, the name of the beauty salon *Serba Cantique* 'All Beauty', which replaces the *k* in the Indonesian-language word *cantik* 'beautiful' with the French-language *que*. This same strategy can be seen in the

name of the Malaysian production house which produces the Upin and Ipin television series, *Les' Copaque*; this name originates from the Malaysian slang term *last kopek* 'last chance'. The use of new linguistic variations and uncommon terms creates additional value, as these shops' and companies' language departs from the common usage and piques the curiosity of the general populace regarding the meaning of these words.

It is not only French-language brands which draws the attention of the middle classes. Specific French-language terms are used, in their original forms, even when equivalent terms are available in Indonesian. This can be found, for instance, in magazine articles. Magazine articles on food and cuisine, particularly those which are targeted towards middle-class audiences, almost always include foreign-language terms, especially French. Of the fifty issues of *Femina* released in 2012, only three did not include any French-language terms in their original forms. The remaining forty-seven issues included French-language terms in their culinary and fashion articles. The use of such terms, of course, has its own specific reasoning behind it, but it is important to note that such code-mixing is considered common, expected, or even "required". This indicates that the use of French-language terms in fashion and culinary articles has become part of the standard writing style used by the Indonesian media.

CONCLUSION

French loanwords in the culinary and fashion sectors in Indonesia function as a distinction constructed by the dominant class, which is the elite groups, to distinguish themselves from the lower class, or the dominated class, which is the middle classes. In addition to the need of equivalent vocabularies, aesthetics and prestige are the foremost reasons of the use of French loanwords in culinary and fashion sectors in Indonesia. The construction and the use of these loanwords are part of the lifestyle of today's Indonesian society that still consider other cultures, particularly Western cultures, better than the Indonesian culture, without realizing that it will in fact be a threat to Indonesian language. Therefore, the strengthening of awareness and pride in using the Indonesian language must be made a concern of immense importance for related parties for the sake of Indonesian language's survival and authority so that using Indonesian words and terms would be considered a prestige as well.

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