

THE LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE OF A YOUNG ADULT, AND A MIDDLE ADULT OF A NGAJU DAYAKNESE FAMILY IN CENTRAL KALIMANTAN

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Abstract

This study is a qualitative study about linguistic repertoire and the subjects are three people from three different ages of a Ngaju Dayaknese family consisting of the mother, the first child and the third child. This study was conducted in order to see the linguistic repertoire of them. In order to reach the research objectives, I used the theories of linguistic repertoire by Milroy and Milroy (1990) and code choice by Holmes (2001). From my study, I found that the linguistic repertoire of the third child is Banjarese language, Indonesian language, and Ngaju Dayaknese language, the linguistic repertoire of the first child is Ngaju Dayaknese language, Indonesian language, and Banjarese language, and the linguistic repertoire of the mother is Ngaju Dayaknese language, Banjarese language, and Indonesian language. It can be concluded that the linguistic repertoire of each subject can be distinguished one from another and it was influenced by the environment he/she was exposed to.

Key words: linguistic repertoire, age, Ngaju Dayaknese

Each tribe in Indonesia has a language which is different from other tribes. In Indonesia, there are many different tribes; of course there are many different local languages. In Central Kalimantan, there are many tribes from various ethnic groups, for example: Dayaknese, Banjarese, Batakese, Ambonese, Kupangnese, Madurese, Bugisese, Padangnese and Javanese. Three largest ethnic groups in Central Kalimantan are Ngaju Dayaknese, Banjarese, and Javanese. In the late 1990s, two-thirds of those who live in Central Kalimantan are the Dayaknese people, but based on the census 2000, the composition of the population in Central Kalimantan has undergone a major change. Many ethnic groups have come to Central Kalimantan. It has been dominated by Banjarese and Javanese people, so that the Dayaknese people as an indigenous in Central Kalimantan have decreased. The Banjarese people migrate to Central Kalimantan because they want to open their own business, while the Javanese people migrate because they follow a transmigration program (Tirtosudarmo, 2007, pp.175, 176, 179).

Indigenous people in Central Kalimantan are Dayaknese who use Ngaju Dayaknese language as their lingua franca (Mantikei, Riwtut, and Riwtut, 2009, p. 14). Ngaju Dayaknese is one of major tribes in Central Kalimantan, so that Ngaju Dayaknese language is the language which is used by the Dayaknese people in Central Kalimantan. Some of the churches in Central Kalimantan also use the Ngaju Dayaknese language and the Dayaknese translated Bible when they have service. In 1995, *Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia* (LAI) has published a complete Bible (the old covenant and the new covenant) in the Ngaju Dayaknese language and in the same year, *Badan Penerbit Kristen Jakarta* has published a complete book of chants in the Ngaju Dayaknese language also (Ukur, 2000, p. 102). It proves that the Ngaju Dayaknese language is an important language in Central Kalimantan.

Based on my observation, although Ngaju Dayaknese people are the native in Central Kalimantan, they rarely use Ngaju Dayaknese language. They tend to use Banjarese language, especially the teenagers; they often use the Banjarese language more than the Ngaju Dayaknese

language. Most of Banjarese people in Central Kalimantan work as merchant at the stores and at the traditional markets; there are many populations of Banjarese in Central Kalimantan, especially in the market places. Thus, they always interact with many people. It affects the language choice that is used by Dayaknese people. They cannot use Ngaju Dayaknese language with all people, except with Ngaju Dayaknese people. To fulfill their need to communicate with other tribes, they use Indonesian language and Banjarese language. In other words, there are three languages that they use in their daily conversation.

Particularly, as a multilingual community, each of Ngaju Dayaknese people has their linguistic repertoire. Linguistic repertoire is defined by Kachru as the total of codes which members of speech community have available for their linguistic interaction (1990, p.57). The codes above cover all varieties which a member may use in interacting with other members in speech community. Holmes (2001, p.19) gives an interesting example of linguistic repertoire of a 16-year-old boy named Kalala who lives in Eastern Zaire. She lists the boy's linguistic repertoire and finds that there are three varieties of Swahili (Standard Zairian, local Swahili or Kingwana, and Indoubil), two varieties of his tribal language, Shi (a formal and a casual style). Based on my observation, Ngaju Dayaknese people also have their linguistic repertoire in their community; they can master three varieties of language. There are Ngaju Dayaknese language, Banjarese language, and Indonesian language, but the frequency to use those three languages is different.

In my observation, the teenagers tend to use Banjarese language in daily conversation. They are more casual than the young adult people. At school, they usually use the Banjarese language when they talk with their friends even though their friends are also Ngaju Dayaknese people. This not only happens at school, but sometimes also happens at home. They also use Banjarese language when they talk to their family members.

Like the teenagers, the young adults often have interaction with the Banjarese at the market places, too. However, based on my observation, the young adults more often use the Ngaju Dayaknese language and Indonesian language than Banjarese language in daily conversation. For example, at the office and in formal situation they use Indonesian language and they use Dayaknese language when they talk at home and in informal situations such as when they meet their colleague at the mall. They use Banjarese language when they buy vegetables at the traditional markets. The young adults tend to use vernacular language when they are in informal situations.

In addition, the middle adult people in Central Kalimantan are almost the same with the teenagers. They also often use the vernacular language when they talk with their interlocutors. They use Ngaju Dayaknese language more than the teenagers and the young adults in every situation, for instance, they use Ngaju Dayaknese language when they speak with their friends at the school.

Therefore, as the subject of the research, I will use Ngaju Dayaknese people. Furthermore, the focus of this research finding out the linguistic repertoire of Ngaju Dayaknese people in their conversation based on their age.

Based on my observation, the teenagers tend to use Banjarese language more often, both in formal and informal situations, than the young adult and the middle adults. The young adults tend to use Indonesian language and the middle adults tend to use Ngaju Dayaknese language. It indicates the Ngaju Dayaknese language as the native language in Central Kalimantan rarely used by the teenager and the young adult. Based on this observation, I try to identify the linguistic repertoire of a Ngaju Dayaknese family in this case the third child, the first child, and the mother as the representatives of teenager, young adult, and middle adult of a Ngaju Dayaknese family.

I want to know the linguistic repertoire of the teenager, the young adult, and the middle adult of a Ngaju Dayaknese family in Central Kalimantan since they do not only use their own mother tongue, but also other codes that differ from their mother tongue.

Linguistic Repertoire and Code Choice

In this section, I will present the theory of linguistic repertoire and code choice and supporting theories that consists of the theory of language and age, Indonesian language, Dayaknese language, and

Banjarese language. Milroy and Milroy (1990), in the book of *An Encyclopedia of Language* edited by Collinge, write that linguistic repertoire is the spoken or written styles, which are available to a community, and the members of this community select the proper style to fulfill various communicative needs from the repertoire (pp.278-280). Crystal (1990) writes the following: repertoire (repertory) is “a term used in sociolinguistics to refer to range of languages or varieties of a language available for use by the speaker, each which enables him to perform a particular social role” (p.304). Holmes (1992) stated that “in any community the distinguishable varieties (code) which available to use in different social context from a kind of repertoire of available options” (p.10). Therefore, the members of each community have their own distinctive varieties of language.

The circumstances of a bilingual and multilingual community influence the language use of the people where they acquire a number of languages in speech events for different purpose of talking (Holmes, 2001, p.73). A person who was born grew and socialized in a multilingual community in fact acquires a number of linguistic repertoires that he or she can use to communicate in a particular time of talking. Besides, Holmes also stated that certain social factors - who you are talking to, social context of the talk, the function and the topic of the discussion - turn out to be important in accounting for code choice in many different kinds of speech community (2001, p.21). Holmes (2001) assumes the extensive swear word vocabulary which some teenagers use is likely to change over time. Slang is another area of vocabulary which reflects a person's age. Current slang is the linguistic prerogative of teenagers and generally sounds odd in the mouth of an older person. They are high in childhood and adolescence, and then steadily reduce as people approach middle age when societal pressure to conform are greatest (pp. 168-169).

Indonesian, Dayaknese and Banjar Languages

Indonesian language is a language that has a place as the national and official language in Indonesia (Wiryanti, S., 1993, p.1). It was confirmed in the part of oath known as the Youth Pledge taken by Indonesian Youth on 28 October 1928. Indigenous people in Central Kalimantan are Dayaknese who use Ngaju Dayaknese language as their lingua franca (Riwut, Riwut, and Mantikei, 2009, p.14). Banjarese language is the native language used by the Banjarese people of South Kalimantan, Indonesia. As many Banjarese are travelling merchants, they bring their language wherever they go all over Indonesia, even all over the world (Magenda, 2010, p.13).

METHODS

In this research, I used qualitative approach in collecting the data. According to Dörnyei (2007, p.24) qualitative research involves data collection procedures that result primarily in open-ended, non-numerical data which is then analyzed primarily by non-statistical methods.

In this research, I used a Ngaju Dayaknese family in Central Kalimantan as the subject of my study. I did not limit the gender, but I limited the respondents that I used. I had three Ngaju Dayaknese people as my respondent. The first subject was Mrs. Rani (not a real name), a 47-year-old- housewife who was born in Mandomai, a village about two hours from Palangkaraya (capital city of Central Kalimantan). She was born from Ngaju Dayaknese parents. The second subject is Hendro (not a real name); he is 25 years old and the first son of Mrs. Rani. He graduated one year ago from Faculty of Teacher Training and Education at Palangkaraya University. He was married with a girl Ngaju Dayaknese also; he has one son who is 7 months old. The last subject is Ira (also not a real name). She is the first daughter in the family and she is 18 years old now.

I am the main instrument in this research since I was the one who gathered the data and analyzed them later. I also observed and interviewed the subjects. I would like to maintain my data as natural as possible. Thus, I would not use tape recorder or camera both in observation and interview. Instead, I was taking notes to jot down the important things that might be useful as data during the interview and observation. In making observation, the type of observation is the participant observation. It was suggested by Jorgensen (1989, p.90) that the methodology of participant observation required the researchers become directly involved as a participant in the respondents' daily life. Besides

observation, I also used interviews as another way to get the data. Interview allows the researcher to understand and put into larger context the interpersonal, social and cultural aspects of the environment (Erlandson, et al., 1993, p.85). By using interview, I could understand their feeling and their way of thinking toward their language. My informants and I were involved in the unstructured or open-ended type of interview. Unstructured interviews delve deep beneath the surface of superficial responses to obtain true meanings that interviewees assign to their experiences (Bowling, A., 2009, p.407).

I used several steps to get the data. The steps were as follows: I tried to find the suitable respondents to fulfill the need of this research. In choosing the subject, I had the criteria for the respondents. First, it had to be a Ngaju Dayaknese family, in the sense that they do not have the descendants from other tribes, and grow up and live in Central Kalimantan. In addition, their mother tongue is Ngaju Dayaknese language. The next was they can speak Ngaju Dayaknese, Banjarese, and Indonesian language because those languages are often used by the Ngaju Dayaknese in Central Kalimantan despite of their age differences. Thus, their linguistic repertoire had to be among Ngaju Dayaknese, Banjarese, and Indonesian language. Moreover, I took three persons from different ages as my respondents. Each person would represent the teenager, young adult and middle adult. Based on those criteria, I found three Ngaju Dayaknese families as my candidates-to-be and I began to select the most suitable one. The first family lives in Palangkaraya (Central Kalimantan) and they are Ngaju Dayaknese family. They master the Ngaju Dayaknese, Banjarese, and Indonesia language. However, one of them whom the writer chose as the teenager exceeded the specified age limit. I removed this family from my list. The second family also lives in Palangkaraya (Central Kalimantan). I chose them because the mother is Ngaju Dayaknese, but both of her children are Ambonese descendants because their father comes from Moluccas. I also discarded the second family from my list. Finally, there was one family left, which was Mrs. Rani's family. This family comes from my friend's family and they are my foster family. They are Ngaju Dayaknese family consisting of teenager, young adult, and middle adult. They also live in Palangkaraya (Central Kalimantan). They master Ngaju Dayaknese, Banjarese, and Indonesian language.

After I found the suitable family as my subject, I began to do my research. I visited to the house of Mrs. Rani's family in Palangkaraya (Central Kalimantan) for several times and stayed at their house every day for one week when I had holiday (Idul Fitri holiday), from August 18 to August 25, 2012. After that, I continued the interview by using mobile phone because I had to go back to Surabaya to attend my course. The length of time to get the data was about one week. Since it was a qualitative study, I took my role as participant-observer. Thus, I focused more on my role as participant in the family and I participated in the interaction and followed the family activities. I did not use video tape or camera to record the data because at the first time when I recorded the conversation, the data that I got was not natural.

The analysis of the data gathered in a naturalistic inquiry begins on the first day the researcher arrives at the setting. The collection and analysis of the data gathered go hand-in-hand as theories and themes emerge during the study (Erlandson, et.al, 1993, p.111). It means that the data analysis of qualitative study is a dynamic process. This process insisted me to obtain the data more detail from the respondents. I had to interview the respondents and also observed their daily life, so that I could obtain the deeper data. Therefore, I also noticed to the people around the subjects as my other sources of information. Therefore, I wrote the analysis in narrative description of the setting where all the data appeared.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Ira can speak Banjarese, Indonesian, and Ngaju Dayaknese language. She uses Banjarese the most since this is the dominant language in Palangkaraya. She uses Banjarese to communicate with everybody—her parents, friends, relatives, and many more. She uses it to everyone and in every domain. She uses Banjarese language only for oral language. She uses it since the people around her always use it when talking with her. From my interview, she said she is more comfortable in using it. This is related to Holmes's theory (2001, p.73) that said circumstances of bilingual and multilingual

community influence the language use of the people where they acquire a number of languages in speech events for different purpose of talking. She told me her environment always use Banjarese including her family when talking with her. For instance, when Ira, her sister, and I wanted to go to the tailor. We wanted to take Ira's clothes. However, after we went there, the clothes had not sewn yet, so we came back to their home and Ira wanted to use the money for buying phone credits. She asked for permission to use the money to her mother, she said "*Mah...ku pakai ja lah duitnya ni gasan ku beli pulsa, pulsaku kadida*" (Mom, can I use this money for buying phone credits? My credit is empty).

Furthermore, Ira uses Banjarese language not only to her family, but also to others. Ira asked me to accompany her to go to her grandmother's house. She wanted to meet her aunt, because she wanted to have her hair cut. Her aunt usually cuts her hair. She asked "*Ka...kawani aku lah ke tempat tambi, ku handak tatak rambut*" (Can you accompany me to go to my grandmother's house? I want to have my hair cut). She uses Banjarese language to everyone who can understand Banjarese language. For instance, at the time I accompanied her to go to the tailor to take her clothes. She also uses Banjarese language to the tailor; she said "*mang, kawalah ku ambil esok bajuku*" (sir, can I take my clothes tomorrow?). She rarely uses Indonesian language to her participants but she is actually fluent when using Indonesian language. She is still Senior High School now and she receives the lessons using Indonesian language since kindergarten. Therefore, she has mastered it. Ira said to me if she only uses Indonesian when she is at school, for example when she and her friends have presentation in front of class, she will use Indonesian language. In addition, she will use Indonesian language when she talks with her teachers and when she is in a public place. Ira's capability in Ngaju Dayaknese language is low if compared to her mother and her brother; her capability is just for oral language. She only uses Ngaju Dayaknese language to her grandmother. When we went to her grandmother's house for cutting Ira's hair, we met her gran After cutting Ira's hair, we came back to her house, so Ira just greeted her grandmother "*Mbi...narai gawim..?*" (Grandma, what are you doing?) dmother. Ira also said to me, at the school she also used Ngaju Dayaknese language just to her friends who come from village because they sometimes do not understand Banjarese language.

Hendro can speak formal and informal Indonesian, Ngaju Dayaknese, and Banjarese language. In his daily activities, he uses the Ngaju Dayaknese language more often; he communicates it with his parents, his wife, his second brother, his friends, and many more. When I did my observation, two of his friends came to his house; I heard all the conversation used Ngaju Dayaknese language, either when they made a joke or when they talked about serious topic. He greeted his friends "*Narai kabar Lek?*" (How are you brother?). I also saw him using Ngaju Dayaknese language to his wife. At that time, we talked while we were watching TV at the living room. Hendro talked to his wife. He said "*Ndu Dav, nampa akanku kopi, je mangat lah?*" (Dav's mom, please make the delicious coffee for me). He uses Ngaju Dayaknese when talking to his wife because his wife always uses it when talking to him.

He uses Indonesian language when the participant uses Indonesian language even though the participants understand Ngaju Dayaknese and Banjarese language. For instance, Hendro always uses Indonesian language with my sister and I because we always use Indonesian language when talking with him. For instance, at that time, we were sitting in front of their house. We were talking about the orientation of the new students at Palangkaraya University. At the same time one of new students sent text message to Hendro. The student asked about the orientation, but Hendro did not have phone credits, thus, he borrowed my hand phone to reply the message. He said "*Kakak bisa pinjam hp mu Sy, pulsa kakak habis...*" (Can I borrow your mobile phone Sy? My credit is empty). He said to me, he also uses Indonesian language to the participants who come from outside Central Kalimantan. Furthermore, he uses Banjarese language as the language for conversation to the participant who always uses Banjarese language when talking to him. For instance, he always uses Banjarese language to his sisters (his third and youngest sister). He also uses it when talking with his friends and to the merchant at the market or at the store who never use Ngaju Dayaknese language and Indonesian language.

Mrs. Rani was born in Ngaju Dayaknese family. Mrs. Rani masters Ngaju Dayaknese language the most. Based on my interview she said she feels most comfortable to use Ngaju Dayaknese language because since she was child, she has always been using Ngaju Dayaknese language in her family. She said her parents have always been using use Ngaju Dayaknese language when talking with her since she was young until now. At the time when I did my observation, the students from *Poltekes* would move and study near to her house. Therefore, Mrs. Rani needed someone to help her in her depot because she thought the buyer would increase. She said to her mother, “*Mai, tege gawi tuh...karehku nelepon Eva, nyuhu iye ka palangka, ndohop aku hetuh.*” (Mom, now we have many jobs...I will call Eva to ask her to go to Palangkaraya to help me here). Based on my interview, Mrs. Rani said to me she is still fluent in reading, speaking, listening, and writing anything in Ngaju Dayaknese language. She can read the Dayaknese translated bible and she can sing the song from book of chants in Ngaju Dayaknese language when she attends the weekly service that uses Ngaju Dayaknese language. When I went there, she attended my sister’s traditional wedding that used Ngaju Dayaknese language for the wedding.

In her house, she always uses Ngaju Dayaknese language to her mother, her husband, and to her first and second sons. One day, Mrs. Rani wanted to go to the wedding. The wedding was not too far from their house. She asked to her children to accompany her because she could not drive a vehicle. She asked her first son to accompany her, but her first son could not accompany her because her son was very tired. She said “*Yuk..Ndro, magah aku helu eka uluh kawin kanih melai aula sangkuwung hekau...*” (come on Ndro, please accompany me to go to wedding party at Sangkuwung there). She uses Ngaju Dayaknese language when she asks her first son, and her son also answers her by using ngaju dayaknese language also. He said “*Dia aku may....uyuh aku tuh*” (I cannot accompany you mom because I am very tired). Based on my interview, she said she also always uses Ngaju Dayaknese language in family gatherings. She uses it when talking with her husband’s family. Because Mrs. Rani has a small depot in front of her house, every day she has to serve the buyers. One morning, there was a woman who went to her depot and asked the menu that she sold. This woman used Ngaju Dayaknese language when talking with her. She responded” *Jatun Bu...tege jituh ih, ikan panggang, lalapan, dengan mie..*(I do not have Bu, just these, grilled fish, vegetables, and noodles)”. She used Ngaju Dayaknese language to the buyer when the buyer used Ngaju Dayaknese language first.

Because I observed during the holiday time, I could not observe in formal situation, for example at the school. In the interview, she said at the school when she accompanies her youngest daughter, she always uses Ngaju Dayaknese language to the parents at the school. However, she uses Banjarese language to the parents who use Banjarese language. In addition, she uses Indonesian language when she talks with her daughter’s teachers because her daughter’s teachers are mostly from outside of Central Kalimantan. She also uses Ngaju Dayaknese language to the teachers who are from Central Kalimantan. On the other hand, Banjarese language is the language that is used by her quite often. It is used only for oral language. She uses it when she talks to the third and fourth daughter, because they rarely use Ngaju Dayaknese language. In the morning, when I was at their house, she complained to her first daughter because her daughter did not hang the clothes. She said “*separu gin kada dianunya pakaian!*” (You even cannot finish to hang all the clothes) and her third daughter also answered by using Banjarese language “*yang aku kada ingat..*” (I do not remember it).

According to Holmes (2001, p.168), the relative frequency of vernacular is formed in different age group. It is high in childhood and adolescence, and then steadily reduces as people approach middle age when societal pressure conforms is the greatest. Based on my observation, I could see that Ira uses vernacular language more often. For instance, she uses Banjarese language more frequent than Indonesian language. This is appropriate with Holmes theory because she is 18 years old now and Holmes said the vernacular language is high in childhood and adolescence.

Based on the Holmes’s theory the vernacular language is high in childhood and adolescence, I could see the young adult also uses vernacular language more often. Hendro uses Ngaju Dayaknese more often than Indonesian language in his daily conversation.

Actually, Mrs. Rani mostly uses vernacular language in her daily conversation; she uses Ngaju Dayaknese to everyone except to the participants who cannot speak using it. This is not appropriate with Holmes theory, which says “the use of standard or prestige form peaks between the age of 30-55, people experience maximum societal pressure to conform”. Mrs. Rani is 47 years old now, based on the Holmes’ theory this age mostly uses standard language in their conversation.

CONCLUSION

As a result of the study, I found that the mother’s linguistic repertoire was Ngaju Dayaknese, Banjarese, and Indonesian language. She was born in Ngaju Dayaknese family. She uses Ngaju Dayaknese language more often because she uses Ngaju Dayaknese language in her family since she was a child. Furthermore, the linguistic repertoire of her first child was Ngaju Dayaknese, Indonesian, and Banjarese language; he more often uses Ngaju Dayaknese language because he often interacts with the people who always use Ngaju Dayaknese language. Finally, the linguistic repertoire of her third child was Banjarese, Indonesian language, and Ngaju Dayaknese language. Since her mother’s dominant language is Banjarese language when talking with her, she becomes the active user of Banjarese language.

From the result above, I could see the linguistic repertoire of someone is influenced by the environment factor. Environment influences their linguistic repertoire. Their ability to speak other languages which are from other tribe is influenced by the people who have interacted with them. The multilingual community in fact acquires a number of linguistic repertoires that he or she can use to communicate with other people.

For further study, it would be interesting if this study is developed further with similar topic, but deeper. I would like to propose a study of the linguistic repertoire and the domains of language used by the teenager, young adults, and middle adults of Ngaju Dayaknese family in Central Kalimantan with more time in the data collection. It is not only a week, but also a month or more in order to get more data from other domains, settings, participants, and topics.

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