CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter will first discuss the relevant pragmatic theories in general and the politeness theories in particular that will form the theoretical framework of this study. The chapter will also review literature related to the issues introduced in Chapter One.

2.1 Pragmatics and Politeness

Pragmatics has been studied since half a century ago but it has developed rapidly within the last two decades or so especially in the early 1980’s when it was a popular topic of discussion in the field of linguistics. Allwood (1993, in Tan Mek Leng, 2003:10), explains that the term pragmatics originated from the Greek word Pragma which means action or activity. Thus, pragmatics can be loosely taken to refer to language activity. According to Thomas (1980:1-2), the definitions of pragmatics in general include dealing with meaning in use or meaning in context. More specifically, Thomas defines pragmatics as having to do with speaker meaning and utterance interpretation. The concept of speaker meaning was favoured by researchers who took a social view of the disciplines, whereas utterance interpretation was favoured by those who use the cognitive approach. Currently, pragmatics is widely known as one of the branches of linguistics which is concerned with language used to communicate in specific situations and contexts. Parkers (1986:11) stresses that pragmatics is distinct from grammar, in that it is not the study of the internal structure
of a language. Kaswanti (1990:16) also distinguishes pragmatics from semantics, which is context independent whereas pragmatics is context dependent. Thus, semantics focuses on linguistic meaning, whereas pragmatics focuses on speaker meaning and speaker sense.

It has been suggested that there is a close relationship between pragmatics and sociolinguistics. Thomas (1980:185) states that while sociolinguistics focuses mainly on the “systematic linguistic correlates of relatively fixed and stable social variables”, pragmatics is mainly concerned with describing the “linguistic correlates of relatively changeable features of those same variables” (such as an individual social status and role). Hartati (2002) adds that sociolinguistics is static in offering a snapshot of the language of a particular community at a particular moment in time. In contrast, pragmatics is dynamic, describing what a speaker from that community does with those resources, how he or she uses them. According to Levinson (1983:9), pragmatics is the study of “those relations between language and context that are grammaticalized, or encoded in the structure of a language.” Therefore, pragmatics research may involve studying the pragmatic influence of the grammatical structure of the sentence on meaning while at times still taking the syntax into consideration.

In explaining the concept of politeness within the principles of pragmatics, Leech (1983) suggests that interlocutors apply politeness to the content of the conversation but more importantly they apply politeness in the way the conversation is structured. In other words, interlocutors use specific rules, some of which are universal across cultures and some others are culture specific, to purposefully orchestrate politeness into their conversations. Hence, depending on the culture within which a
conversation is constructed and the language through which it is expressed, interrupting when someone else is speaking could be considered as an impolite conversational act. However, within another culture and through a different language, a similar act may be interpreted as an acceptable turn-taking practice. In a multicultural country like Indonesia, the Batak culture, for example, views speaking in a high tone acceptable, in contrast, the Javanese culture would consider it impolite (depending on context) to do so. Siti Adiprigandari (1983:344) provides another example of this cross-culture difference in the form of laughter. Laughter, according to Siti Adiprigandari, is mostly viewed as a deference strategy in the Javanese culture. In the American culture, on the other hand, laughter is usually associated with informality and camaraderie. Thus, cultural values have a significant influence on how people communicate and employ politeness within their conversations. However, researchers such as Lebra (1976), Matsumoto (1989) and Watts (1989) are more in favour of the Brown and Levinson Politeness Theory (1978;1987), which focuses on a cross-cultural or universal set of politeness strategies.

In a more recent context, Elis (2007:15) uses ‘politeness’ as a technical pragmatic term to refer to “ways in which linguistic action is carried out in a social cultural setting”. In addition to that, according to Reiter (2000:1) it is commonly agreed that politeness is not an innate ability; it is a skill that is acquired through the process of socialization. Over the last three decades or so, several models of politeness have been proposed in the field of pragmatics. Some of the more recent works on politeness are Lakoff’s Rules of Politeness (1977), Leech’s Politeness Principles (1983), Brown and Levinson’s Politeness Theory (1987).
2.1.1 Lakoff ‘s Rules of Politeness (1977)

Grice (1975) explains that a conversation can be taken to be rational or irrational. Hence his cooperative principle and Maxims of Conversation were designed for effective and rational exchange of information. In constructing her rules of politeness, Lakoff (1973 cited in Reiter, 2000:7) reworked and adapted some of the cooperative principles and maxims of conversation proposed by Grice (1975). From her extensive work on how conversations are constructed, Lakoff (1973:298) proposes that during an interaction, interlocutors use politeness strategies to achieve a behaviour whereby an addressee (hearer) is made to feel comfortable or “to think well of one” and consequently, “to impart a favourable feeling about” the content of the communication. Based on this basic concept, Lakoff (1975) provides two taxonomies of politeness: ‘be clear’ and ‘be polite’.

Later Lakoff (1977:89) incorporated Grice’s maxims of conversations into her earlier taxonomies and came up with three sub-rules:

1) Don’t impose
2) Give options
3) Make A feel good – Be friendly

The first rule (Don’t impose) is mainly focused on distance and formality. Lakoff describes distance and formality as:

> When the speaker (S) creates a distance between himself and the Addressee (A), S is ensuring that status distinctions are adhered to, that no informality develops, that the relationship remains purely formal” (Lakoff, 1977:89).
This can be seen in the common practice of referring to someone by their title and last name, for example Mr Smith or as in the Javanese culture Raden and Raden Ayu (Royal family title), Gus (title given to the son of a religious figure or Ulama’), and with honorific such as Pak or Mas (meaning Mr or Sir).

The second rule (Give options) comes into play when the A provides the opportunity for S to express his /her own desire of what he/she wants to do. According to Lakoff (1977:90) the second rule illustrates a form of conventional politeness i.e. “S knows what he wants; knows he has the right to expect it from A, and A knows it too”. It is also used to communicate true politeness i.e. “S knows what he wants, but sincerely does not wish to force A into a decision”; and to express genuine uncertainty i.e. “not used as a politeness device at all”. Raja Rozina (2004:46) adds that the second rule can be manifested linguistically with the use of tag-imperatives, or ‘please’, or both; the use of particles such as ‘well’, ‘er’, and ‘ah’; and the use of euphemisms and hedges such as ‘kind of’, ‘you know’, and ‘at the end of the day’.

The third rule (Be friendly) involves making A feel good. This rule raised quite a lot of criticisms as it is seen as unclear in terms of its definition. According to Watt et al. (1992) Lakoff’s conceptualization of this rule lacks a clear definition of the term “politeness” itself. This then results in a related problem in understanding the “three levels of politeness”, i.e. formal/impersonal politeness in the case of Rule 1 (R1), non-formal politeness for Rule 2 (R2), and intimate politeness for Rule 3 (R3). One of the more recent critics is Reiter (2000:8) who expresses his problem with these rules in that he feels Lakoff’s concepts of distance and formality equate to what he feels is a sense of aloofness and the concept of giving options as showing deference. The
ambiguity that arises in terms of the definition of these concepts can make applying the
concepts of distance and formality to any particular society quite difficult. Therefore they
cannot be accepted as universal features. Based on this argument, Reiter (2000:7) later revised
Lakoff’s (1975) rules of politeness by suggesting these three features:

1. Formality: Keep aloof
2. Deference: Give options
3. Camaraderie: Show sympathy

Similarly, Brown (1976:246) argues that Lakoff’s analysis does not explain clearly the
terms of social relationships and expectation about humans as interactants in her
text of the rules of politeness. On the other hand, Franck (1980, in Reiter, 2000:8)
criticizes Lakoff from a linguistic point of view. He says that “she places her pragmatic rules on a level with other linguistic rules and thus loses the distinction between sentence meaning and communicative function”. However, despite these criticisms, it cannot be denied that Lakoff’s rules of politeness have significantly contributed to the study of the politeness in human communication. In contrast to Brown and Franck, Lakoff’s rules supported Smith-Hefner’s (1981; 1988) application of Lakoff’s theory to the codes of politeness and prestige among Javanese women in rural Java.
2.1.3 Leech’s Politeness Principles (1983)

Apart from Lakoff (1977), Leech (1983) was also influenced by Grice’s Conversational Principle and Conversational Maxims. Grice (1975:45-47) proposes that to carry out the cooperative principle, each speaker must follow the conversational maxim of interpersonal role of the Cooperative Principle (CP). The Cooperative Principle includes four maxims:

1) **Maxim of Quantity**: S should give as much contribution as H wants.
2) **Maxim of Quality**: S should give information of a truth value, thus S gives information as H wants in order to avoid saying an untruth. Avoiding saying an untruth applies to both the maxims of Quantity and Quality.
3) **Maxim of Relevance**: this maxim requests that S gives relevant information on a topic.
4) **Maxim of Manner**: S should provide the information directly not indirectly.

In line with these maxims, Leech (1983) came up with a pragmatic framework in which politeness is seen as a regulative factor in an interaction. What Leech (1983) is trying to do is to explain why people sometimes speak directly to convey his/her meaning. Leech (1983) explains that politeness can be described in the personal rhetoric, which focuses on three sets of politeness: Grice’s cooperative principle (CP) with its four maxims, his own ‘politeness principle’ (PP) which proposes six maxims of politeness, and the irony principle. Leech’s (1983:132) six maxims of politeness are:
1) **Tact Maxim**: (a) minimize cost and (b) maximize benefit to other.

2) **Generosity Maxim**: (a) Minimize benefit and (b) maximize cost to self.

3) **Approbation Maxim**: (a) Minimize dispraise and (b) maximize praise of other.

4) **Modesty Maxim**: (a) Minimize praise and (b) maximize dispraise of self.

5) **Agreement Maxim**: (a) Minimize disagreement and (b) maximize agreement between self and other.

6) **Sympathy Maxim**: (a) Minimize antipathy and (b) maximize sympathy between self and other.

Wiyan (1996:55) explains that Leech’s (1983) Politeness Principles deal with two interlocutors, namely the ‘self’ (Speaker) and the ‘other’ (Hearer or third person). The third person is one who is being ‘talked to’ by the Speaker and the Hearer. Therefore the Tact, Generosity, Approbation, and Modesty Maxims are seen as bipolar scale maxims due to their roles in minimizing or maximizing politeness to or of the ‘self’ and the ‘other’. On the other hand, the Agreement and Sympathy Maxims are unipolar scale maxims because they maximise or minimise politeness between the ‘self’ and the ‘other’. In other words, the Tact and Generosity Maxims are other-centred maxims, whereas the Approbation and Modesty Maxims are self-centred maxims.

According to Leech (1983:84), the amount of politeness expressed is determined by these six politeness maxims and their associated set of scales. “Relative politeness”, he adds, “is relative to the norms of a particular culture or language community and varies according to context or speech situation”. Therefore, the Politeness Principles
would be applied differently by different language communities.

2.1.3 Brown and Levinson’s Politeness Theory (1987)

Brown and Levinson (1987) propose the Universal Politeness Theory as an improvement of the ideas from Grice’s and Leech’s Maxims. The Universal Politeness Theory is based on conversational practices of three ethnic communities, involving three unrelated and quite different languages, English, Tamil and Tzeltal. Each of these languages demonstrates similarities in the way its respective speakers apply strategies to show politeness in rational communication.

Within this Universal Politeness Theory, Brown and Levinson (1987:58) make reference to the Model Person (MP) who is a fluent speaker of a natural language and who possesses two special properties -- rationality and face; and has “the power of making conscious decision and deliberate choice of action” (Jamaliah, 1995:26). Brown and Levinson (1987:63) further explain that there are two kinds of ‘face-wants’: positive face and negative face. During interaction the interlocutors are seen as actively and deliberately constructing utterances which are either face-saving or face threatening. In a rational communication both the Speaker as well as the Hearer aim at reducing speech acts which threaten face. This according to Brown and Levinson is done through the use of specific strategies known as face threatening acts (FTAs). In other words, politeness strategies are used during conversation to keep face safe, and to avoid the risk of the loss of face. Therefore, each speaker should use appropriate strategies which are able to lessen the FTAs.
Nadar (2004:18) states that politeness strategies are not concerned so much with an
effort in behaving politely but more importantly with speaking politely. Brown and
Levinson (1987: 85) do not deny that the word “strategy” is not the best word to
describe efforts in speaking politely:

We continue to use the word “strategy” despite its connotations of
conscious deliberation, because we can think of no other word that
will imply a rational element while covering both (a) innovative plans
of action, which may still be (but need not be) unconscious, and
(b) routines – that is, previously constructed plans whose original
rational origin is still preserved in their construction, despite their
present automatic application as ready-made programmes (Brown

In understanding the politeness strategies embedded in the Universal Politeness
Theory, it is necessary to understand the concept of face. The concept of face
primarily emerged from Goffman’s original work (1967) on ‘social interaction’ which
focused specifically on explaining someone’s behaviour during talk in action where
the conduct of the individual behaviour is reflective of the society or social order. In
a way, Goffman sees participants engaged in social interaction as much like actors in
a drama where they take on roles, perform, whilst showing their best face, in front of
an audience who may also have roles in the drama and whose face therefore should
also be considered.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987) the level of the politeness expressed during
interaction is determined very much by the different strategies employed and will
often have to take the pragmatic parameter of the interaction into consideration as
well. Awareness of the pragmatic parameter within which the interaction is taking
place will help the interactants decide on the type of politeness strategies to be
employed. As one of the aims of the interaction is to convey meaning without losing
face, deciding on the most appropriate strategies becomes an important component in
constructing utterances. The pragmatic parameter allows for different face to be offered as determined by the different situations or context in a conversation. The face offered by a speaker when talking to a close friend about what film to watch is different from the face offered when arguing with a stranger who has just cut the queue at the movie theatre. Therefore, in a conversation, every rational person wants their face to be maintained, respected, and preserved and accepts the face offered by his/her fellow speaker as a self-image that must be considered (Goffman, 1981 in Wardaugh, 1986). Laver and Trudgill (1979) equate face to the affective state and identity profile of the Speaker and the Hearer should take care in interpreting the face which is offered to her/him by the Speaker.

Aware of the dual roles of face Brown and Levinson (1987:61) had distinguished face into two types: positive face and negative face. Negative face refers to the basic claim to territories, personal preserves, and rights to non-distraction (i.e. the freedom of action and the freedom from imposition). Positive face on the other hand refers to the interactant’s claim to a consistent self-image or personality and the desire that this self-image be appreciated and approved at all times. Scollon and Scollon (2001:44) explain the role of face in communication: ‘any communication is a risk to face; it is a risk to one’s own face, at the same time it is a risk to the other person’s.’

There are different interpretations of the concept of face depending on the background of its cultures. Matsumoto (1989:405) for example states that the Japanese society gives more attention to face as seen in terms of preserving good social relation as compared to the individual right to face. On the other hand, in the Chinese society according to Ho (1975:867) and Ji (2000:106), the two concepts of face known as lien
and *mienzi* are often employed to judge speaker conduct. Ho (1976:870) states that *lien* is every member of society’s right of claim to be viewed as honest and having a decent face. On the other hand, *mien-tzu* is a similar right of claim which is given only to a person of revered position in a society. Ji (2000:106) adds that *lien* and *mien-tzu* can be associated with meaning of ‘face’ and ‘sensibilities’. Lim (2005:51) states that the concepts of *lian* and *mianzi* are similar to the concept of *air muka* in Malay. Asmah (2000:101) explains that the concept of *air muka* in Malay culture does not consider only the rights of the Speaker and the Hearer but it also those of the related family and community. In Indonesian/Javanese culture, Gunarwan (1994) relates the concept of *nosi muka* (face) in Indonesian. In Indonesia, especially in Javanese culture the concept of face is very important in communication the Javanese speaker will maintain both face either speaker or hearer to avoid *isin* (feel ashamed or shy).

As can be seen, the concept of face can be interpreted differently depending on how and where it applied within a society and its cultural background. It is also universally accepted that during conversation, everyone presents with a face and desires that their face be preserved from face threatening acts. Similar to face wants, Brown and Levinson (1987:65) distinguished *Face Threatening Acts* (FTA) into negative and positive face threatening acts and explains that interactants use specific strategies to preserve or eliminate the threat of face during interaction. FTAs are fundamental to Brown and Levinson’s Politeness Theory and are best understood through the strategies used to perform them. These strategies will be discussed further in Section 2.2.
2.2 Strategies for Doing FTAs

Politeness becomes important in speech when what is about to be said has the potential to threaten the Hearer’s face. Often in communication it is necessary to say something that would threaten the other person’s face. In other words, an FTA is committed when the speech behaviour is going to potentially fail to meet the Hearer’s positive or negative face needs. Doing FTA is normal speech behaviour and is not seen as a problem in itself. The problem arises when the FTA fails to be executed appropriately in order to mitigate potential problems that could result from doing the FTA. Therefore whether an FTA is delivered, how it is delivered, and what forms of politeness are used to deliver it depend on a variety of factors. Figure 2.1 charts out the strategies for doing FTA.

As can be seen illustrated in Figure 2.1, there are five possible forms of FTAs. An FTA
can be delivered:

1. directly, or **bald on record** without polite action;
2. together with some form of **positive politeness**;
3. together with some form of **negative politeness**;
4. indirectly, or **off the record**. Or the FTA can be
5. not delivered at all.

These choices are arranged in order from the most to the least face threatening. According to Brown and Levinson (1987:15), which of these strategies we choose depends on a simple formula:

\[ W_x = D(S, H) + P(H, S) + R_x \]

Where the amount of work \( W \) one puts into being polite depends on the social distance \( D \) between the speaker \( S \) and the hearer \( H \), plus the power \( P \) of the hearer over the speaker, plus the risk \( R \) of hurting the other person.

In other words, in order to avoid or to minimize FTAs the relative weightings of (at least) three wants must be considered: (a) the want to communicate the content of the FTAs, (b) the want to be efficient or urgent, and (c) the want to maintain H’s face to any degree. Unless (b) is greater than (c), the Speaker will want to minimize the threat of his FTA.

The consideration for choosing the strategies may also depend on the level of power between the Speaker and the Hearer. This is usually seen from the point of view of the degree of solidarity or non-solidarity/close or the distance of the power
relationship between them \([+P \text{ (high/distant)} \text{ or } -P \text{ (low/close)}]\). Lim (2000:25) illustrates the relationship: A lecturer to a new student he/she has never met before in class is seen as one with high power \((+P)\) and distant \((+D)\). On the other hand, a lecturer to a student he/she knows well and has often met before the start of class is seen as \(+P\) and \(-D\). Therefore the distance can be measured in terms of distant or no distance, \((+D \text{ or } -D)\). And the weight of the imposition can be measured in terms of more or less weight of imposition, \((+W \text{ or } -W)\).

Raja Rozina (2004) suggests that the decision on the strategies to do FTAs may also be determined by sociological factors such as the role of the Speaker/ Hearer in his/her family or society, his/her age, occupation and wealth. In Javanese culture, social background is the most important factor in determining the differences in the distance of these sociological parameters. Holmes (2001) suggests that Javanese is one of the unique languages that uses speech levels which are based on the sociostrata of the Speaker and the Hearer. The speaker will consider his/her own background as well as the hearer’s background to determine the speech level that will be used. The \textit{Ngoko} (low level speech) is associated with close distance/solidarity while the \textit{boso} (high level speech) is associated with far distance. This distance is also based on the social position between the Speaker and the Hearer within the speech context that is the power implied by the interactants’ position or occupation. For example, a doctor has higher power or authority in the hospital compared to a policeman, whereas the policeman will have higher authority or is more powerful when the doctor breaks traffic rules, or when he has to come in to the police station. Impositions on the other hand are ranked according to the degree to which they are considered to interfere with an interlocutor’s want of self-determination or approval.
Also important in understanding the strategies of doing FTA are the concepts of positive politeness and negative politeness.

### 2.2.1 Positive politeness

Positive politeness is redress directed to the addressee’s positive face. His wants (or the actions/acquisitions/values resulting from them) should be thought of as desirable (Brown and Levinson, 1987:70). The positive face is to show rationality that everybody wants their face preserved, and everybody wants to be appreciated. Thus the hearer needs to respect or face want from the speaker. Gunarwan (1992) illustrates this act in a scenario where S has a BMW, but H just looks down on it as only a BMW not a Rolls Royce. Here S’s positive face is threatened because the BMW is a luxury car but it is still looked down upon and compared to a Rolls Royce. Brown and Levinson (1987) classify positive politeness strategies into three groups.

(i) **Claiming common ground.**

There are three ways of making this claim: (a) S may convey that some want (goal or desired object) is admirable or interesting; (b) S may stress common membership in a group or category; emphasizing that both S and H share wants; and (c) S can claim common perspective with H (Brown and Levinson, 1987:103).

(ii) **S conveys to H that they are co-operators.**

Here S and H will have the same goal in an activity so they cooperate with each other.
S can do this in three ways:

a) S indicates that he knows H’s wants and is taking them into account;

b) S claims some kind of reflexivity between S’s and H’s wants--either that S wants what H wants for H or that H wants what S wants for himself (Brown and Levinson, 1987:125);

c) S claims reciprocity between himself and H; that they are somehow locked into a state of mutual helping (Brown and Levinson, 1987:125).

(iii) S fulfills some of H’s wants.

S decides to redress H’s face directly by fulfilling some of H’s wants, thereby indicating that S wants H’s wants for H, in some particular respects (Brown and Levinson, 1987:129).

Brown and Levinson (1987) explain that the 15 strategies they propose fit directly into the three groups of positive politeness strategies described above. Strategies 1-8 come under (i), Strategies 9-14 fall under (ii), and Strategy 15 belongs under (iii). The 15 strategies and their linguistic realizations in English, where relevant as well as the FTAs associated with some of them are described next.

(i) *Strategy 1: Notice, attend to H (his interest, wants, needs, goods)*

S should take notice of H’s remarkable possession or anything which looks as though H would want S to notice and approve. The FTA redress includes, in English: a compliment, an offer, or a request. An example in Javanese would be when an adult
compliments a child, such as: *Waduh, dadane moblong-moblong ayune, anake sopo kowe?* [Wow, you are dolled up nicely, you look so beautiful. Whose daughter are you?) (My own example)]

(ii) **Strategy 2: Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H)**

This strategy uses exaggerated intention, stress, and exaggerated or emphatic words/particles (e.g. *for sure, really, exactly, absolutely*). The FTA is in the expression of a compliment or sympathy together with the appropriate intonation and prosodic which according to Brown and Levinson are universal in all languages. English expressions such as *for sure, really, exactly, absolutely* can be taken as examples of this strategy. Javanese examples would be expressions such as *tenan* (really), *pas* (exactly), *saktenan* (actually).

(iii) **Strategy 3: Intensity interest to H**

In this strategy S wants H to share some of his or her wants by using ‘vivid present’ direct speech, tag question, or expressions such as these examples from Raja Rozina (2004:125): “*You know? See what I mean? Isn’t?* to increase H’s interest and to draw him into the conversation “. An example in Javanese would be *Kowe weruh, tho?* (You do see, don’t you?).

(iv) **Strategy 4: Use in-group identity markers**

This strategy uses address forms, in-group language, dialect or slang, ellipsis. The
FTA would include orders or requests. This would include English terms of address such as *mac, mate, buddy, pal, honey,* etc. In Javanese, *panjenegenan, sampeyan, sliro, kowe* (address forms meaning ‘you’) are used to address someone depending on his or her social status. ‘*Sliro’* in place of ‘*sliro*’ can be used to soften the FTAs.

**(v) Strategy 5: Seek agreement**

For this strategy, safe topics are used to allow S to stress agreement with H. Thus a safe topic is used to precede FTA or a repetition is used to stress emotional agreement or to stress interest and surprise. For example:

A: *John went to London this week!*

B: *To London!* (Brown and Levinson, 1987:112)

By repeating ‘*To London*’ B stresses emotional agreement with A’s utterance.

**(vi) Strategy 6: Avoid disagreement**

This strategy sees S using the ‘Token’ agreement (*Yes, but...*) to convey disagreement. H in reciprocate shows that he or she agrees but actually he or she disagrees with S. Hence H might say: *Yes, but...then and so* to indicate a real or false conclusion to prior agreement for requests and offers, white lies to refuse a request, and hedges (e.g. *sort of, kind of, like, in a way*) for complaints, criticisms or suggestions (Raja Rozina, 2004:125). It is very common in Javanese culture as well, for example this extract from the lyrics of a traditional Javanese song sung by Cak Digin and Safitri:
Saktemene aku isih tresno sliramu nanging kowe wis gawegelo (Actually I still love you but you have disappointed me…) where a girl expresses her disagreement with her lover’s decision to break-up although she was obliged to agree.

(vii) **Strategy 7: Presuppose/raise/assert common ground.**

Here, small talk is used by S to put H at ease and also to indicate interest in forging a friendship. In this way, S takes the time to establish a relationship with H by talking about unrelated topics as a strategy of redressing an FTA. This strategy is intended to soften request for a favour. The strategies used include:

1. **Point-of-view operations:** In all languages sentences may encode point of view or *deixis*.
2. **Personal-centre switch:** S speaks to H as if H is S. An example is the use of tag question with falling intonation in some local dialects of British English;
   For example: *I had a really hard time learning to drive, didn’t I?*
3. **Time switch** (*vivid present: past tense switch to present*);
   For example: *John says he really loves roses.*
4. **Place switch** (*here and this than there and that*);
   For example: *This/That was a lovely party.*
5. **Avoidance of adjustment of reports to H’s point of view.** The direct form of quoted speech in English is associated with the stereotype of the working class. Whereas in Tzetal and in Tamil direct quoted speech is very generally used as a positive politeness technique.
6. **Presuppose knowledge of H’s wants and attitude.** Negative questions which presume *yes* as an answer are widely used as a way to indicate that S knows
H’s want, taste, habits, etc. This is to redress the FTAs, for example in offer or request.

7. Presuppose H’s values are the same as S’s values. The use of scale predicate such as ‘tall’ assumes that S and H share the criteria for placing people (or things) on this scale.

8. Presuppose familiarity in speaker-hearer relationship. Familiarity will increase through the use of such familiar address forms as honey and darling. The use of generic address forms such as mac, mate, buddy, luv, etc with strangers will also help to increase familiarity. In Javanese such address forms as rencang, konco, or bolo are commonly used to this effect.

9. Presuppose hearer’s knowledge. This refers to the use of terms that presuppose H’s knowledge of in-group codes (in-group language, jargon, dialect, local terminology) and pronouns.

(viii) Strategy 8: Joke

In this strategy, S may use jokes in sharing his or her background knowledge and values with H mutually. This strategy is used to make H feel at ease and may minimize an FTA of requesting.

(ix) Strategy 9: Asserts or presupposes S’s knowledge of and concern for H’s wants.

This strategy is used to indicate that S and H are co-operators. Hence S pushes H to cooperate with speaker S. This includes doing the FTA of offers and requests.

For example:
Look, I know you want the car back by 5pm so should (shouldn’t) I go to town now? (request).

I know you can’t bear parties, but this one will really be good – do come! (request/offer).

**(x) Strategy 10: Offer, promise**

This strategy is used in order to redress the potential threat of some FTAs. Hence, S may choose to show whatever H wants, S wants for H; and S will help H to obtain his or her satisfaction. In this strategy, offers and promise are used.

**(xi) Strategy 11: Be optimistic**

This strategy assumes that H wants S’s wants for S (or for S and H) and will help S to obtain them. To simplify, H makes a tacit claim that H will cooperate with S and it will be done with mutual shared interest. This is done with the use of a little, a bit, for a second or token tag (e.g. OK?, ...do you?... won’t you?) for requests. For example: *Wait a minute, you haven’t brushed your hair!* (as husband goes out of the door). The utterance shows that H’s wife wants her husband to brush his hair before going out. Her want here is that her husband will like her wants although he will or will not do as she wants.

**(xii) Strategy 12: Include both S and H in the activity.**
This strategy uses *we* or *let’s* in English. The inclusive ‘we’ means that S really means *you* or *me*. The FTA here is an offer or a request.

For example: *Let’s have a cookie, then* – {i.e. *me*} and *Let’s get on with dinner, eh?*— {i.e. *you*} (Brown and Levinson, 1987:127)

**(xiii) Strategy 13: Give (or ask for) reasons**

This strategy uses off record. This means that S testifies and sees if H is cooperative or not. If H wants to be cooperative to S, S uses on record request or offer. The FTAs are: offers, request, or criticisms.

For example:

*Why not lend me your cottage for the weekend?*

*Why don’t we go to the seashore!*

*Why don’t I help you with that suitcase* (Brown and Levinson, 1987:128)

**(xiv) Strategy 14: Assume or assert reciprocity**

This strategy requires cooperation between S and H. This can be seen as S wants H to do as what S does to H -- *[I (S) do this for you (S), so you (H) do this for me (S)]*. This strategy is like debt and is the FTA aspect of speech acts of complaints and criticisms.

**(xv) Strategy 15: Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)**

In this strategy S wants to satisfy H’s positive face by for example by giving H a gift.
Therefore it shows that S knows what H’s wants are and so S gives H a gift.

2.2.2 Negative Politeness

Negative politeness is basically to save H’s positive face. Hence H’s face wants to be forced or impeded to do something or disturbed. Thus, negative politeness is used to determine that H has avoided doing something. S should recognize and respect H’s negative face. O’Driscoll (1996:4) states that “negative face redress involves recognition of H’s need [or want] to go off alone, avoid contact with others. S can fulfil this want by communicating that he recognizes and respects H’s negative-face wants and will not (or will only minimally) interfere with H’s freedom of action”. Hence, negative politeness can be seen as based on some characteristics such as: self-effacement, formality, and restraint. Central to the negative politeness is that H’s want should be unimpeded. Brown and Levinson (1987) propose ten negative politeness strategies:

**Strategy 1: Be conventionally indirect**

This strategy is used by S to say to H indirectly and conventionally.

**Strategy 2: Question, hedge**

This strategy uses ‘hedging’. A hedge is a particle, word, or phrase to modify the degree of membership. Raja Rozina (2004:128) simplifies Quality hedges as the FTA for advice or criticism; Quantity hedges for complaints and requests; Relevance hedges for offers and suggestions; and manner hedges for all kinds of FTAs, e.g. insults.
**Strategy 3: Be pessimistic**

Where S gives redress to H’s negative face. S explicitly expresses his or her doubt to H. Subjunctives, if-clause (i.e. could, would, might), the negative with a tag or remote-possibility markers are really needed in this strategy.

**Strategy 4: Minimize the imposition**

To minimize the imposition, this strategy uses expressions such as: just, a tiny little bit, a sip, a taste, a drop, a smidgen, a little, or a bit for requests.

**Strategy 5: Give deference**

This strategy uses the deference of two sides. S humbles and abases himself or herself, and on the other side, S puts H on the higher position or H is treated as a superior. These sides show that H is of higher social status than S. This involves the use of title such as Sir or family names; humble one’s self, capacities, possession; conveying that H’s wants are more important than S’s and hence S demonstrates hesitations (e.g. with the use of uh). Geerzt (1960) identifies that Javanese has six levels of Javanese speech levels with honorific. However the levels can be simplified into three levels, ngoko (low), boso (middle) and kromo (high). To say ‘you’ the following terms can be used kowe (low), sampeyan (middle), and panjengan (high).

**Strategy 6: Apologize**

When S apologizes he indicates his reluctance to impinge H’s negative face. This impingement can be expressed with the use of hedges, by giving overwhelming reasons, and by begging for forgiveness. FTA: requests. For example in English the expression I’m sure you must be very busy, but..... and in Javanese expressions such
as *nuwun sewu* (literally *nuwun* means ask and *sewu* means a thousand) may be used or to apologize repeatedly.

**Strategy 7: Impersonalize S and H**

This strategy is used by avoiding the pronouns *I* and *you* due to S’s attempt in not impinging on H. Raja Rozina (2004:129) states this is commonly found in the use of performatives (i.e. utterances that perform acts), imperatives, impersonal verbs, passive and circumstantial choices, indefinites (*e.g.* *one, someone* (*I know*), *you guys, folks, I-can’t-guess-who, you all*), the plural of *I* and *you*, address terms, point-of-view distancing (use of past forms, distal markers, indirect reported speech). Thus this strategy does not mention S and H.

**Strategy 8: State the FTA as a general rule**

This strategy is used to separate S and H from particular imposition so they state the FTA by using utterances that reflect general social rule. For example: *Passengers will please refrain from flushing toilets on the train.* (Brown and Levinson, 1987:206)

**Strategy 9: Nominalize**

This strategy tends to use a noun or to nominalise utterance and nominalise the subject. For example: *Your good performance on the examinations impressed us favourably* (Brown and Levinson, 1987:207).

**Strategy 10: Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebting H**

This strategy is used to show where S can redress an FTA by expressing his/her
indebtedness explicitly. This strategy is basically opposite to the output of Strategy 4 where S minimizes the imposition. Hence this strategy uses terms such as *eternally grateful* and *never be able to repay* for request; *could easily do it* and *wouldn’t be any trouble* for offers (Raja Rozina, 2004:129). This strategy states that S has given a claim to H of H’s a kindness (indebtedness) but it is not claimed openly that S denies any indebtedness of H.

Raja Rozina (2004:127-128) simplifies the ten negative politeness strategies of Brown and Levinson (1987) into five types:

(i) **Be direct.** In this type S will compromise to use direct utterance. This means that S conveys his or her want to H but S does not push H to speak directly. Conventional indirectness is defined as the use of phrases and sentences that have contextually unambiguous meanings. Thus, S gives the FTA directly.

(ii) **Don’t presume/assume.** Here S minimizes H’s wants and what is relevant to H

(iii) **Don’t coerce.** Where S avoids from coercing H’s response to an FTA. This means that S gives (a) H the option not to do the act and then (b) to minimize the threat of the FTA as S can clarify his or her view by making explicit the P, D, and R values.

(iv) **Communicate S’s want to not impinge on H.** Where S wants to satisfy H not impinge on H. There are two basic ways how this can be done: (a) S straight forwardly apologizes for making the FTA or (b) S dissociates either himself or herself or H or both himself/herself and H from the FTA.
(v) **Redress other wants of H’s.** This involves S directly acknowledging H’s want to not be imposed upon by explicitly claiming indebtedness to H or by disclaiming any indebtedness of H.

### 2.3 Politeness Strategies in Making Offers

To offer something is to impose the addressee, therefore Brown and Levinson (1987:99) state that an offer is “where S insists that H may impose on S’s negative face”. This offer may threaten the hearer’s negative face because the hearer will be obliged to do something. Similarly, Hencer (1979 in Koyama, 2001) states an offer threatens the speaker’s own face by committing him/her into doing what is offered should the hearer accept the offer.

In Malay, Asmah (1993, in Raja Rozina 2004:144) states that an offer is meant exclusively for the hearer whereas an invitation is inclusive, i.e. it is meant to include both S and H. In some cultures the offer may be perceived differently. In Chinese culture, Hua et al. (2000:99) state that when a speaker offers something, he will show his sincerity by repeating the offer again and again until the addressee accepts. This is quite different in other cultures where an offer can be assumed as a debt.

Raja Rozina (2004:144) shows that in Malay society, the practice of performing a social deed with sincerity (without expecting something in return) is in line with the teachings of Islam. Based on the Islamic teaching if you offer something it should be done with sincerity (*Keikhlasan*) by being earnest (*bersungguh-sungguh*). In Javanese culture, an offer is expressed baldly, but an offer is not always a real offer with
sincerity but sometimes an offer is to show respect towards others or just for bosabasi (courtesy/pretending).

2.4 Malaysian and Indonesian Research on Politeness

Several studies on politeness have been conducted by eminent linguists in both Malaysia and Indonesia. Asmah (1992) explained that indirectness is one of the Malay features of politeness and Gunarwan (1997, 2003) reported that the Javanese often speak in an indirect manner. Nor Hashimah (1992) meanwhile, found that among Kelantanese traders, the use of indirectness in Malay is mostly used in during buying-selling among buyers and sellers. The politeness strategies were used by the Kelantanese Malay traders to maintain good relationship with the customers so they would come back to do business with them.

Khadijah (1993) studied politeness in Malay directives. The focus of this study is on how speakers of Bahasa Melayu show face consideration in the issuing of directives in everyday interactions. She used her own family with Johor Malay dialect. Her study revealed the various rules of politeness operated by the Malay speakers. Her findings show that four major features of politeness were used by the Malay speakers, namely Bald On Record, Off Record, Positive Politeness, and Negative Politeness.

Suraiya Mohd. Ali (1998) analyzed intercultural communication between Malays and Japanese, focusing on linguistic politeness in conversational interactions in Japanese. The data was collected in Tokyo. Her study used three males and six female Malay
non-native informants residing in Tokyo aged between 22 and 35 years. Two were working and the rest studying. The native Japanese informants who participated in the research came from a different background, ranging from friends and acquaintances to lecturers. Her study was approached not only from the western tradition of volition but also from the viewpoint of discernment. She recognised that different ways of speaking may give rise to different politeness behaviours between native and non-native speakers. The findings suggest that there may be some basis for reconsidering the place of polite language in syllabuses for Japanese language instruction undertaken outside Japan.

Raja Rozina (2004) identified the linguistic means that are employed in Bahasa Melayu (Malay) when performing speech acts that are intrinsically face-threatening. She employed the theory of politeness, especially the concept of face as originally proposed by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), revised by O’Driscoll (1996). Raja Rozina found that in the Malay culture there is a general tendency to address positive face more than negative face. Malay speakers tend to choose strategies with high Power (P). Attention to positive face was also shown by the Malay speakers due to high P especially in interactions between parent-child and employer-employee.

Noor Ashikin (2006) studied negative politeness between speakers from the Northern and Central parts of West Malaysia. Her study has shown that aspects of politeness are very much emphasized among the Malays in verbal discourse regardless of setting, gender, age and even domain. Applying the framework based on the Brown and Levinson (1987) Universal politeness strategies, the study uses 25-30 subjects for each dialect. The result provides evidence that negative politeness strategies are being applied by both groups of speakers either in the social or family domains. The
four features of negative politeness which include the usage of particles, questions, indirect speech and to admit one’s weakness are clearly present in the Malay speakers’ daily conversations though their frequency differs from one to the other. This is due to certain factors like the influence of interlocutors, topics, and the speakers’ motives which seem to have a clear relation in the choice of those negative politeness aspects.

Sumitro and Sugiri (2004) studied language etiquette used by housemaids in Surabaya. They used one hundred housemaids in their research. They found that housemaids were generally not so polite when they speak with their employers. Some characteristic non-verbal actions such as scratching their heads when spoken to, speaking with their eyes open widely, and using voices with high intonation.

Utami (2004) studied women’s interpretation or perception of politeness in decision making. She found that indirect and off-record in speech acts are taken as a reflection of politeness in Javanese. Thus, when the women are making decisions they still consider it as respectful behaviour to maintain such attitude as wedi (afraid), isin (shy) and sungkan (embraced). Utami used working women from Javanese families as her subjects.

Nadar (2004) focuses on the language politeness of Indonesian politicians prior to the General Election of 5 April 2004. He used fifty politicians as his sample. He found that many of the politicians apply the maxims of politeness when expressing their thoughts, although there are also some politicians who violated the maxims of politeness.
2.5 Research on The Indirectness of the Javanese

Indirectness is one the Javanese politeness features in communication. Geerzt (1961:208) and Suseno (1984:44) state that a polite Javanese generally speaks indirectly. In addition, Gunarwan (1997:1) reports that the Javanese tend to speak more indirectly compared to the Bataks who tend to speak more directly. In the Javanese culture, indirectness to show politeness is mainly conveyed in conversation. Gunarwan (2003:217) adds that Javanese is well-known for speaking indirectly; this is especially aimed to save face of both the Speaker and the Hearer. Deini (2003) strengthens Gunarwan’s statement that the Javanese tend to speak more directly. Her research found that in Probolinggo, East Java the Javanese tend to speak more indirectly compared to the people from Madura ethnic in East Java Province. Thus, the Javanese culture basically shows that indirectness is common when stating their desire.

The use of symbolism is also common in Javanese politeness (Abdul Wahab, 1986:21). Abdul Wahab adds that, the Javanese language, which is full of metaphors, symbolism, and hidden meanings should be explained through the understanding of the Javanese feeling: the interpreter should be sensitive to the signs of concealed meaning. Suseno (1984) and Geertz (1961) both agree that there are two principles which motivate Javanese people to avoid being direct. Those principles are *rukun* (harmony) and *hormat* (respect).
2.5.1 The First Principle: *Rukun*

The First principle of *rukun* (harmony) refers to the Javanese’s attitude of living with other different ethnic groups in a society. According to Suseno (1984) *Rukun* means a harmonious situation, quiet and peaceful, without conflict, or unity for the purpose of mutual support. Harmony also indicates a behavioural manner or characteristic. This can be taken to be a guideline on how to behave in a harmonious life, to eliminate signs of tension in the society or among individuals of different backgrounds so that the social relationship can be well maintained always.

Abdul Wahab (1986:21) suggests that a conflict usually arise when one member of the society puts his interest above the others. Therefore the Javanese will always put the interest of their group above their own. This is done in order to avoid conflict and to preserve harmony. In Javanese culture harmony demands that the speaker place him/herself in a lower position, individual priority comes after the public priority. Often a request or an offer is not directly refused. A tactful answer more frequently will be given such as: *inggih* (yes) is expressed in a polite manner. Few Javanese will say a direct *boten* (no). This may cause confusion as it would be difficult for the person who is making the request to interpret the real intention as to whether *inggih* is intended as an approval or otherwise. At the same time a request or an offer should not be expressed in a direct manner. H should carefully consider whether his/her request is approved or refused, before asking. In the nutshell, Suseno (1984) emphasizes that the ability of indirectly expressing undesired things, unwelcome news, warnings, and demands is one thing that a Javanese values most.
2.5.2 The Second Principle: Hormat

The second principle is *hormat* (respect). This principle plays an important role in maintaining a good relationship with others in a society. This principle of respect expects that every person should have a polite attitude in order to be able to posit himself in another’s position when interacting with him either verbally or non-verbally. This principle of respect may help to diminish social hierarchy present in the hierarchy within the social relationships in a society. Hierarchy is important as it helps an individual to know his/her own place in society in order to keep in mind of how to behave correctly. Suseno (1984) uses this concept to describe an ideal society in which each individual accepts their personal responsibility and fulfils his/her duty. If this concept is applied in real life the whole elements of the society will live harmoniously.

This respect can also be seen in the speech level of Javanese. The use of speech levels is the living representation of the principle of respect. In addition to the use of speech levels, respectable attitudes are developed through family education from childhood on. Geertz (1961) also describes Javanese families as teaching their children the practice of respectable attitude through three stages of education: *wedi* (feeling afraid), *isin* (feeling ashamed), and *sungkan* (combination of feeling afraid, shy, ashamed, and respect). *Wedi* means being afraid-- either in reaction to physical threat, and/or as an effect of wrong conduct. Feeling ashamed is taught when children are still young, often by intentionally being embarrassed through public parental correction and admonishment.
In addition Geertz (1961:114) describes the feeling of sungkan. This is close to feeling shy as exercised by a child towards a stranger. Sungkan is feeling ashamed and shy in a positive sense, hence, a feeling that should not be dismissed. In another view sungkan can be considered as feeling respectful before a superior or an unfamiliar equal. Abdul Abdul Wahab (1986) suggests that sungkan is similar to isin, only without the feeling of doing something wrong.

Abdul Wahab then explains that Wedi, isin, and sungkan have social functions and are all parts of a continuum of feeling which has a social function and gives psychological properties lead to the use of indirection in most interactions. Hardjowirogo (1984:14) illustrates this by using two examples. The first occasion describes an interaction between a bupati (district chief) and a lurah (village head). On a visit to the village, the district chief said to the village head:

_Wah apek tenan kukutmu, pak lurah._

(Translation: _ah, your kutut (a singing bird) is beautiful, Mr. Village Head._)

Based on the example above the district chief’s expression is not always a compliment aimed at the village head. In Javanese term _tanggap ing sasmita_ (sensitive to the code) should be most considered by the village head (Abdul Wahab, 1986). This can be in the form of indirect request, or warning to the village head that the village head never obeys the district chief man’s orders. From another aspect the district chief wants the bird and questions why the bird is still at the Village Head’s house. Abdul Wahab adds this can be thought that the village head _ora bisa maca tandha-tandha_ (failed to read the signs).
The district chief has feeling of being ashamed, or sungkan. So he does not use a direct expression, although the district chief is of higher position than the village head. The district chief avoids conflict and keeps the village head’s face by using indirect expression. The village head will lose face or isen (feeling ashamed) if the chief had asked for the bird directly. Also unique to the Javanese is the different speech levels which help determine the degree of politeness required during interaction.

2.6 Javanese Speech Level

Kadarisman (2007:45) says that during the last four decades many studies on the linguistic features of Javanese have been conducted. Sociolinguists and pragmatists such as Trudgill (1983), Levinson (1983) and Brown & Levinson (1987) have reported findings on Javanese speech levels based on the monumental work of Geertz (1960). Choices of linguistic forms are determined by the social status of the speaker and addressee. Holmes (2001:143) says that “Javanese social status is reflected not just in the choice of linguistic forms but also in the particular combinations of forms which each social group customarily used to choose appropriate speech level”. There are six distinguishable Javanese speech levels.

According to Geertz (1960:248) “It is nearly impossible to say anything without indicating the social relationships between the speaker and the listener in terms of status and familiarity.” Before one Javanese speaks to another, he or she must decide on an appropriate speech style (or styleme, in Geertz’s terminology); high, middle or low. Geertz adds an interesting observation: as you move from low to high style, you
speak more slowly and softly and more evenly in terms of rhythm and pitch. Table 1 illustrates this move.

Table 2.1: Javanese Stylistic Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speech level</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>(Eat)</em></td>
<td><em>(now)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>High style, high honorifics</td>
<td>dahar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>High style, no honorifics</td>
<td>neda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Middle style, no honorifics</td>
<td>neda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>Low style, high honorifics</td>
<td>dahar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>Low style, high honorifics</td>
<td>neda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Low style, no honorifics</td>
<td>mangan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Levels names: 3a  Krama inggil (high style, high honorifics)
3  Krama biasa (high style, no honorifics)
2  krama madya (middle style, no honorifics)
1b  Ngoko sae (low style, high honorifics)
1a  Ngoko madya (low style, low honorifics)
1  Ngoko biasa (low style, no honorifics)

(Source: Geertz (1960 in Holmes, 2001)

With reference to Table 2.1, Pigeaud (1967:14) and Errington (1985:33) suggest the existence of historical evidence that the Javanese speech levels are originally used as court language in the public place. In addition, Poedjasonedarmo (1979) groups six kinds of Javanese speech levels into three groups, namely; ngoko (low), boso/madyo (middle) and kromo (high). The use of Javanese speech level is determined by the speaker and the hearer relationship and place where they communicate.
Poedjasonoerma (1979:37) states that speech levels, ngoko, madyo and kromo differently according to time and situation to be used in communication. Thus every person should be concerned as to where and in what situation he/she is to use the appropriate style. Geerz (1960:249) and Errington (1985:8) simplify the many different shades of politeness indicated by the different speech levels and classified them into two distinctive levels, namely ngoko for lower level and boso kromo for higher levels. Ngoko which consists of ngoko biyoso (regular ngoko) and ngoko alus (refined ngoko or ngoko with honorifics) can also be referred to as boso kasar (coarse language) and kromo can be referred to as refined language consisting of boso kromo andhap (lower kromo), kromo madyo (middle kromo) and kromo inggil (high kromo). Due to the complexity of these categories, Smith-Hefner (1988:549) adds that Indonesian language has been more popularly used by speakers of higher status in urban situation to avoid having to deal with the Javanese speech levels. Ngoko (low level) and boso (high level) henceforth will be used in this study to distinguish the complex Javanese speech levels. Apart from the speech levels it is also important to understand the use of the imperative sentence in Javanese as this type of sentence feature significantly in Javanese interactions.

2.7 The Imperative Sentence in Javanese

The imperative sentence can be seen as based on formal features. Setyadi (1991:1) distinguishes formal features based on morphological features and syntactic features. Morphologically imperative features in Javanese can be seen in the form of imperative affixes such as di-, -ana, -a, -na, -en (fully imperative sentence) whereas N-a, -um-a (burdened imperative sentence). Setyadi (1990) adds that syntactically
formal imperative features such as (1) imperative words for examples ‘ayo’ (let’s), ‘ojo’ (don’t), ‘cobo’ (try), ‘tulung’ (help/please), ‘awi’ (please), ‘moro’ (come/please); (2) imperative particles, such as; mbok (should), ta, and lho; (3) imperative intonation, as when S speaks with the final rising high intonation. Both morphological features and syntactic features can be used to form imperative sentence.

Sudaryanto et al. (1982) and Kaswanti (1976) state that there are some particles in Javanese such as lho, lha, kok, rak, mbok, ta, ki, and je which are used to form imperative sentences. Kridalaksna (1982:121) adds that particle imperative functions to emphasize whereas particles have grammatical meaning but have no lexical meaning so the particles cannot be derived or inflected. Thus, particle imperative functions to emphasize a sentence only. Setyadi (1991:7-8) illustrates below:

a.1 Aminah nggowo paying. (Aminah brings the umbrella)

a.2 Aminah mbok nggowo paying! (Aminah mbok (should) bring the umbrella)

a.3 Aminah nggowo paying ta! (Aminah bring umbrella, ta {ok!})

In addition, Gunarwan (2000:11) also explains that particle lah is used in imperative sentence whereas particle mbok is used to mitigate an utterance.
2.7.1 Types of imperative

Verbal imperative is based on the function of predicates as the centre of meaning. Moeliono et al. (1988:271) distinguish the function of verbal sentence into four:

1. transitive/intransitive sentence,
2. single-transitive sentence,
3. double-transitive sentence, and
4. semi-transitive sentence.

From these four types of sentence, the semi-transitive is the only type that does not form the imperative sentence. Thus in Javanese, the imperative sentence consists of three types:

(a) The intransitive-imperative sentence

Moeliono et al. (1988:271) and Kridalaksna (1982:50) state that the intransitive-imperative is a sentence which has no object. Some examples of this are:

(i) *Bocah-bocah padha lunga turu.* (Children go to sleep)
(ii) *Bocah-bocah mbok padha lunga turu.* (Children should (must) go to sleep)

(b) The imperative-single sentence

Moeliono et al. (1988:273) state that the imperative-single sentence is a sentence which has an object but has no complement. For example:

(i) *Dodi tuku pil* (Dodi buys the pill)
(ii) *Dodi mbok tuku pil* (Dodi (please) buy the pill)
(c) The imperative-double transitive sentence

Moeliono et al. (1988:275) states that the imperative-double transitive sentence is a sentence which has an object and complement. Thus this sentence consists of subject, predicate, object and complement. For example:

(i) *Kowe nggolekkake adhiku penggaweann.* (You look for a job for my brother.)

(ii) *Kowe mbok nggolekkake adhiku penggaweann.* (You (please) look for a job for my brother.)

The use of imperatives and speech levels in Javanese will influence the choice of lexis to be used during interaction. Although the meanings of certain words can be similar, Javanese speakers are careful to choose the most appropriate words in relation to the speech level they are using during interaction.

2.8 Lexical Choices in Javanese

Indonesia is a multilingual country which has many different local languages which portray the diversity in Indonesian culture. Therefore most Indonesians master more than one language. They therefore often have to make a choice as to which language or word to use to express their ideas or desire within a certain context. On the other hand, Fishman (1972 in cited Lina Nurmala, 1996:7) highlights that non-linguistic factors such as the status of the hearer, the topic, the setting and the time within which an interaction occurs will influence the type or format of the interaction among
multilingual people.

Hias Subagio (1987) focused on the analysis of how diction and the lexical choice will influence the perspective buyer to buy the product offered. She found that the right lexical choice will have a positive effect on the buyer. She illustrated this concept through the use of the English words, *home* and *house*. The usage of the word *home* over *house* on lamp products gives a picture of tranquillity and solace. In addition, Lina Nurmala (1996) focused on language choices used in multilingual societies in Surusunda district, Central-Java Province. She found that subjects above twenty years old tend to use Sundanese or Javanese depending on who their hearers are, while the subjects under twenty years of age tend to use more Indonesian language when they speak with interlocutors of other ethnic groups.

Keraf (1981), Moeliono (1989) and Alwi (1993) share the same view that lexical choice involves using the appropriate words to express ideas in order to get the expected effect. Keraf (1981) adds that an ability of the speaker to distinguish meaning nuances in the interactional context is based on the ability to choose the most appropriate word in relation to the hearer. Therefore the three features involve in making lexical choices are appropriateness, truth and commonness. Appropriateness is to choose a word as like in idea. Truth refers to using the correct grammar while commonness refers to making the appropriate choice of words to express a certain idea.

Lexical choices in Javanese have specific significance in conveying the intended message more politely without offending the hearer. Holmes (2001:134) states that
Javanese has stylistic variation in the choice of the right words to signal their social background. Thus, the Javanese speaker should use the right words together with the right level of speech in accordance with the person they are interacting with. The right words or levels are to show politeness in Javanese. Thus, the speech levels are determined by the politeness level of the speaker and the hearer.

Smith-Hefner (1988:535) adds that polite codes can be associated with public power and prestige. Thus, high speech levels can be considered as higher polite speech level. Therefore, the speaker will choose the appropriate speech level to the hearer after considering the social background of the hearer. In addition Holmes (2001:245) adds that Indonesian is used as another choice in a society where social divisions are not so clear to avoid insult or embarrassment should the wrong words or levels be chosen. Being polite in Javanese culture means the speaker has to ensure before speaking that he has taken into consideration the most appropriate words and levels of speech in relation to whom they are speaking in order to avoid insult or embarrassment.

2.9 Summary

This chapter has explained the basis of the theoretical framework which will guide the analysis of the data gathered for this study. The discussion has shown that the concept of politeness was initiated by the theory of speech acts, and that for three decades several models of politeness in the field of have been proposed. At the same time, the concept of face introduced by Goffman (1967) has initiated Brown and Levinson (1978; 1987) to propose their model of politeness and universal politeness in language usage, in particular the strategies for doing face threatening acts (FTAs).
This study chooses the Brown and Levinson Politeness Theory (1987) because Khadijah (1993:184) has provided sufficient evidence that the model can be employed successfully in analysing Malay politeness. As such, the theory is deemed relevant for application on the analysis of politeness in Javanese culture which has many similarities with the Malay culture in terms of politeness features.