

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **ANALYSIS OF THE DATA**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

The aim of this study was to analyze the lexical choices made by the subjects and the positive and negative politeness strategies they employed in making their offer to potential clients. Therefore, the data consists of a series of recorded dialogue between the subject and their potential clients which were transcribed orthographically so that the predetermined analyses procedures can be carried out on it. These procedures, which have already been discussed in detailed in Chapter Three, involve both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The following sections present the results of the analysis.

#### **4.1 Analysis of Lexical Choice**

As already mentioned in Chapter Two, the Javanese language has several levels of usage based on the social status of the speakers as well as the context of the speech. Within these levels, certain words have several synonyms which are used depending on the context and the relationship between the speakers. An offer is aimed specifically to the hearer; hence the hearer is obliged to do something or to appropriately respond to the offer. At the initial stage, the hearer may feel happy and/or unhappy with the offer made. Choice of words therefore plays an important role in making the offer effective and as polite as possible. The speaker making the offer will have to use the most appropriate words to convey his/her intention so that

the hearer will understand the intention and will respond in a manner expected by speaker.

Interviews with subjects revealed that the moment they saw a potential client approach, the first thing they did was to assess the client by the way he dressed and then by the way he spoke. From this initial assessment, the subjects would decide on how to speak or word their offer of sale. The subjects would generally charge the older looking and neatly dressed clients more to be they were assumed to be coming from better socio-economic backgrounds. The subjects also revealed that when the clients haggled for a price lower than the *pasarane* (standard price) price offered, it was a sign that the clients were of the lower socio-economic status. Observations of the subjects in action revealed that the subjects did indeed confirm or adjust the judgments made during the initial assessments of the clients' social status as they began to speak to the potential clients. The subjects were also observed to use different word choices when speaking to different clients based on these initial assessments.

The subjects in this study were observed to interchange between using the lexis common at the *boso* level and the lexis more often associated with use at the *ngoko* level. Poejosoedarmo et al. (1979) explains that the *ngoko* level is used to promote solidarity and intimacy between the subject and the client in order to the social distance will be narrower between each other and also to ensure that the subject expresses a feeling of *perkewoh* (sense of humility or humbleness) to the client. In everyday speech, *ngoko* (low level Javanese) is used between speakers of similar age groups and social status and also when a speaker of a higher rank speaks to a speaker

of the lower rank (even in situations where the speaker from the lower rank is older than the speaker of the higher rank).

#### **4.1.1 The Use of *ngoko* and *boso***

In using *ngoko* the subjects speak directly and employ the simplest strategies and word choice to convey their offer so their intention (especially when stating the price) can be immediately and easily understood by the potential clients. The subjects also use *ngoko* to show solidarity and equality with the potential clients and to establish a closer relationship with them. On the other hand, they will turn to the use of standard Indonesian language (a *boso* or higher level language) with the potential clients they perceived as belonging to a higher social status as a show of respect. By doing so the subjects also put into play the Javanese concept of *perkewoh* (sense of humility or humbleness). This is so because Javanese still place great importance on respect such as *isin* (humility/humbleness) and *sungkan* (a combination of feeling afraid, shy, ashamed, and respect).

*Sungkan* according to Abdul Wahab (1986:38) is “feeling ashamed in a positive sense, and hence, a feeling that should not be abandoned. Geertz (1961:114) describes *sungkan* as a feeling of respectful politeness before a superior or an unfamiliar equal. Therefore, this practice is still maintained among the Javanese and the subjects in the data provide evidence of this as the subjects are observed to always themselves in a humble position before the clients through the use of *boso* to strangers or elderly and to use *ngoko* when referring to herself. The following extract illustrates some of these instances.

### **EXTRACT 1: The use of *ngoko* and *boso***

#### **Subject 1**

(9)S1:*Pitung puluh...[smile]*

#### **Translation**

Seventy {thousand Rupiah}...[smile]

#### **Subject 8**

(3)S8:*Biasane pitung puluh...[smile]*

Usually it is seventy {thousand Rupiah}.....[smile]

As can be seen in EXTRACT 1, S1 (9) and S8 (3) use the *ngoko* level Javanese in stating the cost of their services respectively. Both S1 and S8 stated their price *pitung puluh* (seventy) directly and without the use of any other words, although S8 toned her directness down a bit by adding '*biasane*' (translates as 'usually').

In business talk particularly, it would be expected of the 'seller' to use *boso* with his/her 'customer' as it would be considered impolite to use *ngoko*. *Boso* is also commonly used when interacting with a stranger or new acquaintance. Hence, S1 and S8 should have used *boso* with the potential client, but they did not. Instead, they spoke directly in *ngoko* Javanese because their intention was to make the potential client immediately and clearly understand the most important part of their offer -- the price at which they offer their services. Furthermore, the price was fixed, and is also the standard price in the area they were servicing; therefore they stated it as a fact. With the use of the non-verbal smile they also managed to tone down the otherwise impolite use of *ngoko* and S8's '*biasane*' is also an attempt to convey to the potential client that it was not them who had set the price but it was the common practice in that area. Therefore the use of *ngoko* together with some simple lexical choice and non-verbal strategy, S1 and S8 were both trying to state a fact while at the same time establish a close relationship and solidarity with their potential clients. EXTRACT 2

is another illustration of this strategy.

## **EXTRACT 2**

### **Subject 1**

(3) S1 : *Mampir* mas... // [smile] //  
*mampir* mas... [ smile]

### **Translation**

Come here...sir...// [smile] // come here  
... sir ... [smile]

### **Subject 5**

(1) S5 : *Mas pinarak* mas... [smile]

Sir come here sir... [smile]

In EXTRACT 2, although both S1 and S5 are seen to be saying the same thing (*come here/ come closer/please approach*) they both use different words to express this. S1 uses *mampir* and S5 uses *pinarak*. In Javanese, the word *mampir* is used to call an addressee who is younger or of the same age with the speaker, whereas *pinarak* is used when talking to an older addressee or a stranger. Both words are commonly used to convey respect for the addressee and they are more of greetings rather than invitations. In everyday speech, these words are usually used by Javanese to greet someone who is passing through in front of their house. If he/she is in the garden or sitting on the verandah, when someone he/she knows or even a stranger passes by in front of his/her house and he/she does not call out ‘*mampir*’ or ‘*pinarak*’ to the one passing by, he/she will be labeled as *wong sombong* (an arrogant or unfriendly person).

EXTRACT 3 illustrates examples of the use of several variations of the expression of ‘*ra po po*’ (translates as *it’s okay/ it’s all right/don’t worry about it or never mind*).

### **EXTRACT 3**

#### **Subject 1**

(13) S1 : [smile] // *ra po po*.

#### **Translation**

[smile] // it's okay.

#### **Subject 23**

(11) S23 : *Ya / nggak pa pa... [smile]*

Yes. . . / . . . Never mind [smile]

#### **Subject 24**

(13) S24 : [silent] *Yo wis nggak pa pa*.

[silent] Yes enough {said} then, it's all right.

S1, S23, and S24 show that they made their offer with all sincerity and earnestness; that in making their offer they were not forcing the potential clients to accept their offer. This sincerity was shown by saying *ra po po* and *nggak pa pa* and often accompanied with a smile to emphasize that they accepted the clients' decision and were not offended although their offers were rejected by the clients. This is also seen as one of the features of Islamic teaching (*ikhlas/sincerity*) and Javanese culture (*rukun/harmony*). The sincerity is shown in that the subjects did not mind and were not offended when their offers were refused. From another dimension in Javanese culture, the concept of *rukun* came into play in that the subjects attempted to avoid conflict by saying *ra po po* or *nggak pa pa*. If the subjects said *ora* (means no) may be the clients would have been offended with the utterance and thus created a conflict. Abdul Wahab (1986:35) states that different interests will naturally create conflict. Thus, the clients have different interest with the subjects when making a deal; therefore, the subjects say *ra po po* aimed to avoid creating a conflict with the clients. Suseno (1984:71) adds that in the Javanese society, people tend to think of the interest of the public or others first and of his own interest second as evidently shown in the subjects' choice of words -- *ra po po* and *nggak pa pa*.

EXTRACT 4 on the other hand, shows the use of the expression *sedelok wae*

(translates as *just for a few minutes*) which is not so respectful to the client. As mentioned before, *ngoko* is often used as a strategy to close the gap between the speaker and the hearer, but in this example the use of this *ngoko* expression shows S2's disrespect for the potential client as she insisted even at the offer stage that she could only serve him just for a short time. In this sense the concepts of sincerity, earnestness and harmony are not put in place, and her action could be taken as an insult to the potential client. S3 is also being disrespectful to her potential client in the way she is requesting him to pay more when the potential client asks for two hours of service. As the "seller", S3 should be more humble and polite but S3's request for forty thousands Rupiah undermines the potential client's face by assuming that he cannot pay the standard price. S3 then ask the potential client to find another one. *Wae* is *ngoko* and means 'just' in English. If S3 had used *mawon* (*boso*) it would have been seen as more polite and respectful. However in this situation the *ngoko* level *wae* is seen as sufficiently polite.

#### **EXTRACT 4**

##### **Subject 2**

(10) Clients : *Eleh..(.)..[silent] // slawe / slawe.*

(11) S2 : *...[silent]...sedelok wae yo?*

(12) Client : *Yo / rong jam.*

(13) S2 : *Rong jam yo patang poloh.*

##### **Translation**

Eleh....(.)...[silent] // how about twenty-five / twenty-five?

.....[silent]...just for a second {short time}, it's ok?

Yes / for two hours.

Forty thousand Rupiahs for two hours.

##### **Subject 3**

(13) P : *Yo liyo wae.*

Yes just find another man.

In comparison, S2 is observed to have used the particle *eleh* or sometimes pronounced *alah*. Echols and Shadily (1992:11) states that *alah* is an exclamation of exasperation. Thus, *eleh* or *alah* is used by S2 to express her disappointment of the client's payment. She expressed her exasperation by saying *eleh*. S2 is disrespectful for the

client because she disparages by expressing her exasperation in front of the client. Analysis of the data indicated that of the total number of subjects (25) seven (28%) subjects were observed to have used *ngoko* whereas two (8%) subjects used *boso*.

#### **4.1.2 The use of Indonesian Language**

Standard Indonesian language is generally used in formal settings such as meetings, government affairs and academic discourse. It is especially rare to hear Javanese people on Java Island use standard Indonesian in their daily informal conversations. If a person speaks Indonesian language in Java, he will be quickly regarded as a stranger or non-native Javanese. However, it would be normal to find Indonesian language being spoken by some highly educated people or people of high social status when they discuss serious topics such as politics, science or philosophy.

It would therefore be acceptable to assume that the subjects of this study would not be found to use standard Indonesian, as they are non-educated, do not belong to the high social status group and their clients are assumed to be of similar educational and social backgrounds. However, analysis of the data revealed that the subjects do use standard Indonesia in certain circumstances but in some instances they were found to fail at their attempt to speak standard Indonesian due to their lack of proficiency in this language. Such instances are illustrated in EXTRACT 5.



### **EXTRACT 5**

#### **Subject 12**

(9) S12 : *Kalau mau istirahat tujuh puluh.*

#### **Translation**

If {you} want to take a rest {here it will cost}seventy thousand {Rupiahs}.

#### **Subject 13**

(11) S13 : *Harganya tujuh belas.*

The price is seventeen thousand {Rupiahs}.

#### **Subject 21**

(7) S21 : *Iya ijo,...biasane disini delapan puluh.*

Yes green {I am free}... usually here {the price is} eighty thousand {Rupiahs}

In EXTRACT 5, S12 (9) and S13 (11) are observed to make their offer to their respective potential clients in standard Indonesian rather than in *ngoko* as is the practice. Both S12 and S13 had perceived their potential clients as men of high social standing based on the way the men dressed and conducted themselves. Peodjasoedarmo et. al (1979) state that Indonesian language is used in daily life informally to communicate with people of the upper class, someone who are not so close or are strangers. Having formed the assumption that the client is someone of high standing in society, S12 therefore perceived that he deserved more respect and this she showed through the use of standard Indonesian when interacting with him. Brown and Levinson (1987) would categorize this strategy as negative politeness.

Before recording the interaction, interviews were carried out with S12 and S13 in which they were asked some questions on their personal background such as their age and origin. These sessions revealed that they were 23 and 25 years old respectively, are from small towns in the East Java Province and had received relatively enough education up to the *Sekolah Menengah Atas* level (Senior high school). They tend to use Indonesian language to communicate even with the researcher who initially spoke

Javanese to them. They revealed that their decision to speak Standard Indonesian to the clients is based on their assumption that these clients looked older, have clean complexion and dressed well. Sixteen (64%) of the total number of subjects were observed to have used Indonesian language.

S13 (11) further demonstrated her ability to use standard Indonesian with the use of the suffix *nya* (*harganya*). This lexical choice suggested that S13 may have had more education compared to the other subjects as this suffix is rarely used in common *ngoko* conversations. An interview session with S13 confirmed this as S13 had indeed completed senior high school and further confirmation was also obtained from the records obtained from S13's caretaker. In contrast, S21 is observed to attempt to use standard Indonesian for the same reasons as did S12 and S13, but her attempt is flawed by her inability to use proper standard Indonesian. This is evident in S21's use of *biasane* instead of *biasanya*. The meaning of the *ngoko ne* is the same as the standard Indonesian *nya*. However what it shows is that S21 had tried to show higher respect for the potential client by speaking in standard Indonesia but she is not proficient enough in the language. The interview data as well as S21's profile records confirmed the fact that S21 is twenty years old and has not had many years of formal education.

#### **4.1.3 The Use of English Words**

In Indonesia, especially in Java Island, although English is regarded as a high level language that is spoken only by highly educated individuals and those of high social status, analysis of the data revealed that two of the subjects demonstrated their knowledge and ability (albeit limited) to use English words. Data from the interview

revealed that they had learned these words from their friends and through their own exposure to clients from the higher socio-economic brackets when they were working in *nDolly*, a higher class brothel whose owner is Eurasian. The clientele of such brothels are usually English speaking educated people and foreigners. Therefore these two subjects have now used this as a strategy to raise their social status in the eyes of their current potential clients so as to secure some degree of respect from them. The English lexis in point here is ‘*short time*’ as can be seen illustrated in EXTRACT 6. The term ‘short time’ refers to the length of service offered which usually range between 1 to 2 hours. According to both S3 and S20 they also use ‘short time’ is to make the communication easier compared to using the *ngoko* (for example *sedelok wae*) equivalents where they would have to take into account the degree of politeness they would be expected to demonstrate with the use of certain Javanese words. S3 and S20 also indicated that they know ‘short time’ is often used by the higher level prostitutes who work at more expensive hotels and therefore they use this term to imitate them so they too can be seen as higher standard prostitutes as well as to show respect for their clients.

**EXTRACT 6**

**Subject 3**

(3) S3 : *Short time opo nginep?*

**Translation**

{Just for a} short time or staying {the whole night}?

**Subject 20**

(5) S20 : *Short time tujuh puluh*

Short time {costs} seventy thousand {Rupiah}

Based on the data obtained from the interview, S3 (3) is 24 years old. She considers herself as of higher standard in comparison to the other subjects because she is younger and more beautiful and will only provide services to clients from higher social status. Thus, she uses the English term ‘short time’ to express respect to the

client as well as garner respect from him with the hope that the respect will be reciprocated with higher payment. Whereas S20 (5) is an elderly lady who was once a high class player. Now she has been demoted to the lower class due to her age. She uses the English term as it is already a habit formed during her glory days providing services to respected high level clients as well as foreigners. A total of six (24%) of twenty-five subjects used English words in their discourse.

#### **4.1.4 The Use of Euphemisms**

Although negotiations were mostly carried out openly, the subjects sometimes employ strategies that would ‘camouflage’ the negotiations with clients whom they perceived as uncomfortable to be seen doing business with them. One of these strategies is the use of euphemisms. According to Tarigan (1985:128) euphemisms are used to avoid taboo words of which are intended to mitigate. Brown and Levinson (1987:177) explain that euphemisms are used to minimize imposition, and mostly to simply avoid confrontation with taboo topics. This is done to preserve both the subject’s and the client’s faces. In addition, euphemisms are also used to soften the negotiation in order to prevent other people from knowing their business.

##### **4.1.4.1 Euphemism for Full Service**

One of the topics within the negotiation stage which might require some discretion on the part of the subject is the discussion of the type and duration of the service to be provided. A ‘short time’ service refers to just a one sexual contact within a session that may last up to a maximum of 2 hours. A ‘full service’ however, entitles the client

to extras such as massages, entertainment, drinks and overnight stay. Clients who come seeking for a full service may be subjected to scrutiny by the people around him. According to the interview data, men who come for full service are those with a lot of money, have a soft spot for a particular prostitute, or personal problems at home such as marital problems. As such they may not want to be judged by the other people around as most negotiations are carried out openly in the coffee shop. The common term used for 'full service' is the Indonesian term '*sampai pagi*', which translates as 'until morning' but in Indonesian, it is loaded with connotations. It suggests that the client wants more than just one quick sexual contact and it invites other people listening in to make assumptions about the potential client.

Analysis of the data revealed that in the attempt to save the potential client's face and to mitigate the connotations of this term, the subjects used other words such as *pulang pagi* and *nginep*. Although both terms are observed to be used interchangeably in the data, *pulang pagi* is considered to be more polite than *sampai pagi*. The difference between these two expressions lies in the connotation of the words '*sampai*' and '*pulang*'. *Sampai* refers to a time frame (translates to until; for example: from this time until this time; fight until death) and carries with it a sense of overindulgence; that the activity will not cease until the agreed time is up. On the other hand '*pulang*' translates to 'go home' and does not make reference to the the activity. It reflects a more subtle indication of the duration of time spent together. EXTRACT 7 illustrates the use of these terms in the interaction.

## **EXTRACT 7**

### **Subject 18**

(3) S18  
*pagi?*[smile]

### **Translation**

: *Short time ato sampai* Short time or full time? [smile]

### **Subject 20**

(7) S20

: *Ya / pulang pagi*

Yes / full time {go home in the morning}

:{If you want to stay overnight}Go home in the morning is usually expensive.

(5) S19

: *Pulang pagi biasanya itu mahal.*

### **Subject 24**

(7) S24

: *Kalo dari sore jam 7 pulang pagi tarifnya tiga ratus lima puluh.*

If {you book} from seven o'clock in the evening and go home in the morning the tariff is three hundred and fifty {thousand Rupiah}.

### **Subject 3**

(3) S3

: *Short time opo nginep?*

{Just for a} short time or staying {the whole night}?

S18 (3) who is among the younger and less experienced of the subjects is observed here to use *sampai pagi* in her negotiation. Due to her age and inexperience, it is not expected of her to have mastered the finer nuances of the negotiation. Nevertheless, from the interview data it was revealed by her caretaker that she has improved. When she first started in the business S18 was even less polite as she used terms like '*main sampai pagi*'. '*Main*' is colloquial and a connotation for having sex, although transliterally it means 'to play' or 'play'. Used in this context '*main sampai pagi*' suggest having sex all through the night, until daybreak. Uttering such terms directly during negotiation may threaten the potential client's face. As such, S18 has learned to 'soften' her approach in making an offer by dropping the word '*main*', but she is yet to master the art of discretion, as can be seen in her tendency to use the less polite *sampai pagi* in contrast to *pulang pagi*. S19 (5), S20, S24 all demonstrate the preference for *pulang pagi* (to go home in the morning) which is seen as more polite than the use of *sampai pagi*.

In addition, S3 is seen to use the word '*nginep*' which in everyday speech would translate to 'stay the night', and is usually used in context to a host honouring her guest by inviting the guest to spend the night at her house when it is too late for the guest to go home or having too far to travel. S3 uses '*nginep*' as a euphemism or a mitigating tool for full service or overnight service, thus preserving the potential client's face. Seven (28%) of the total 25 subjects were observed to have used euphemism for the term 'full service'.

#### **4.1.4.2 Euphemism for 'Having Sex'**

Although the negotiations discussed here refer to offers of sex services, the subjects are observed to avoid referring to sex directly when negotiating with their potential clients. They use different words when negotiating with potential clients depending on the age, and social status of the clients and also on the age, educational background and experience of the subjects themselves. EXTRACT 8 illustrates some of these euphemisms. Using euphemism is the most appropriate strategy to use in order to attract the potential client's attention and to protect both faces as well. Protection of face for Javanese people is taken seriously to avoid *isin* (feel ashamed), and *perkewoh* (sense of humility or humbleness) in case the negotiation of sex is known to other people present.

## **EXTRACT 8**

<b>Subject 1</b>		<b>Translation</b>
(5) S1	: <i>Istirahat keNE</i> / [smile]	Have a rest here / [smile]
<b>Subject 2</b>		
(3) S2	: [smile] <i>Pijet-pijetan THO?</i>	[smile] just massage, <i>THO</i> (Will you) ?
<b>Subject 4</b>		
(1) S4	: <i>Mas pijetan mas....?</i> [smile]	Sir, get massage sir....?[smile]
<b>Subject 7</b>		
(5) S7	: <i>Pak ayo istirahat...[smile].</i>	Sir let's take a rest.....[smile]
<b>Subject 12</b>		
(3) S12	: <i>Mau istirahat / apa minum dulu?</i>	Will {you} take a rest / what {you} drink first?
<b>Subject 13</b>		
(3) S13	: <i>Mau minum atau istirahat?</i>	Will {you} drink or take a rest?
<b>Subject 14</b>		
(3) S14	: <i>Pa mas servisnya seperti nDoli?</i>	What you {want}service like {in} nDoli sir?
<b>Subject 24</b>		
(3) S24	: <i>Mau minum apa mau nyewek?</i>	{What} will {you} want to have a drink or will make a love?

Among the subjects in this study, the data provided evidence that the more commonly used word for 'having sex' is '*istirihat*' which translates into English as '*take a rest*' or '*relaxation*'. As a word, '*istirihat*' is categorized as *kromo madyo* or *boso* (high level) and therefore very polite (Gunarwan, 1994:88). As such, by using *istirahat*, S1, S7, S12 and S13, have placed themselves in a much lower position than their potential clients. From the interview they have all explained that they did so because their livelihoods depend on securing a deal with the potential clients. As the 'seller', they must do all they can especially at the negotiation stage, to persuade the clients to like them and hence hire them. To them the customer is 'king' and must therefore be spoken to with utmost respect.



S2 and S4 used *pijet-pijetan* in place of the more polite *istirahat* mainly because at this point all they want to get across to the potential clients is whether they wanted their services or not. Therefore at this stage the main strategy is the use of direct question forms. Once the potential client indicates interest, the negotiation will move into getting an agreement on the price. *Pijet-pijetan* translates as a *massage*, however, used in this context, it is an offer of more than just a massage but also sex. As most initial offers made by the subjects in the study, both S2 and S4 accompany their utterances with a smile, which in itself is a show of respect and friendliness. In addition, S2, used the particle *tho* at the end of question to emphasize her offer. Whereas S4 (1) initiates her offer by addressing the potential client as *mas* which is a respectful honorific term in standard Indonesian (especially among people of Javanese ethnicity). These strategies involving lexical choice were employed to save both the subject's as well as the potential client's face. The subject is protecting herself from losing face should the potential client reject her offer and the potential client's face is also protected because no mention of sex was made and he would not lose face to the people around him.

S14 on the hand uses the English word *servis* (*service*) as a euphemism for sex which is also a strategy to mitigate her offer. This is regarded as more polite than using the Indonesian equivalent *melayani* (*to serve*). If S14 had used *melayani* she will be risking hers as well as the client's face because *ngalayani* (Javanese word) has the connotation of service provided by a servant (lower class) to the employer (upper class). In addition, S14 also gives respect to the client because English in Indonesia is associated with highly educated speakers. With S14 in particular, she is talking to is a younger client who looks educated and she perceived that he would be pleased if she

uses English with him (as revealed by S14 during the interview with her). Furthermore, based on her perception of him, she also made reference to the *nDolly* (name of high class brothel) type of service. The suggestion made here on the part of S14 to the potential client is that she sees him as a person who would want more than just the usual services provided in this area and she is the one who can actually provide him with the type of services he deserves as she knows the quality of service provided at the *nDolly* brothels. This was done not just to get prestige as she was formerly an *nDolly* prostitute and therefore has class, but also to make the potential client feel he is respected as an English speaking, educated and of the higher social strata. But first and foremost it was used to mitigate or to soften the initial offer in order to not look contemptuous.

Finally, S24 in EXTRACT 8 demonstrates the most impolite strategy as she makes the offer directly using of the word *nyewek* to refer to sex. *Nyewek* in Javanese or in Indonesian comes from the root word '*cewek*' which means 'girl'. When used in the verb form, the word has the same meaning as the common four-letter word for having sex in English. From the interview conducted with S24, she explained that she had done so because she did not really want to serve this particular client but is obliged to make the offer anyway as her caretaker would be angry with her if she had not. S24 who is young and is still choosy about who she has sex with, perceived the potential client as undesirable because he is old and looked lascivious, therefore she made her offer very direct "*Do you want to have a drink or do you want to have sex with me?*" S24 is not concerned with saving hers or the potential client's face and is not worried about losing this particular client's business. The number of subjects who used euphemism for having sex is nine (36%).

#### 4.1.5 The Address System of *Pak* and *Mas*

The Javanese language has a unique system of address that reflects the cultural practice of showing respect between interlocutors. Geertz (1961:24) views that “to address a person without using such a term (and there is a specific word for “to address by name only”: *njangkar*) either with or without his name indicate disrespect and extreme familiarity”. In the examples provided in EXTRACT 9, the subjects were observed to have used the address forms *Mas* and *Pak* interchangeably. According to Geertz (1961) the word *mas* has many meanings. In a general sense, *mas* is basically used to address an older male member of the family (an older brother). It can also be used by the wife to address her husband, as it is the traditional practice that a woman would marry someone who is older than herself. In addition, *mas* is also used by someone older when addressing someone younger as a show of respect, for example a lecturer may address his/her male student with *mas* even though the student is younger in age from her. Gunarwan (1997:14) states that *mas* is used to express solidarity between speakers belonging to the same ethnic group.

*Pak* which is short for *bapak* (father) can also be used to address an elder person or stranger who looks old enough to be one’s own father. In addition, *pak* is also used to address someone who is respected, for instance, a teacher. He will be addressed as *pak* by his student although his students are older in age than him. Although *Pak* carries the same meaning as *Mas*, it is seen as the more respectful form of address between the two and is often used to refer to men with a higher social standing (for example people working as government officials or a village head). In everyday speech, *Pak* and *Mas* are used in the Indonesian address system to mean ‘you’ or ‘Sir’

as can be seen with S5 and S7 in EXTRACT 9.

### **EXTRACT 9**

#### **Subject 5**

(1) S5	: <i>Mas pinarak mas...[smile]</i>	<b>Sir</b> come here <b>sir</b> ....[smile]
(7) S5	: <i>Mas kalau lima puluh sekali main saja ya? // kamarnya saja dua puluh.</i>	Sir,if fifty {thousand Rupiahs} is only for one session ok? // The room itself is already twenty {thousand Rupiahs}.

#### **Subject 7**

(1) S7	: <i>Pak nggak mampir...[smile]?</i>	Won't you approach <b>sir</b> ....[smile]?
(7) S7	: <i>Sewidak pak.</i>	Sixty {thousand Rupiahs} <b>sir</b> .
(5) S7	: <i>Pak ayo istirahat...[smile].</i>	<b>Sir</b> some on and take a rest...[smile]

In all the instances in EXTRACT 9, both S5 and S7 use *mas* and *pak* to address someone who they hope will be their client. The use of *mas* and *pak* is mainly to show that the clients should be respected. However, as a point in illustration, S5's preference for *mas* and S7's preference for *pak* can be attributed to their age and the age of the individuals they were speaking to. Both S5 and S7 are young ladies but S5 was addressing someone who is not so elderly whereas, S7 was addressing someone more elderly. In that sense, *mas* would be the more appropriate term of address in S5's case as *pak* is the more appropriate address in S7's case. Nevertheless, by doing so they both had built a distance between them and the clients. Thus, based on Brown and Levinson's framework, through the use of specific lexical choice in addressing the potential clients, S5 and S7 have put negative politeness into play and maintained a gap between them and the clients. The address system *mas* was observed to have been used by sixteen subjects (64%) whereas the address system *pak* was used by only one subject (4%). Thus, among the subjects who participated in this study, the use of the address system *mas* is more preferable to *pak*.

#### 4.1.6 Lexical Choice for Welcoming

Analysis of the data indicated that lexical choices for welcoming are used by the subjects when they first initiate offer of their services. The initial offer involved inviting the potential clients to stop by, to come in, to come closer, and to have a drink. If the client approaches, the next step is to discuss the terms, the length of service and the type of service, upon which the potential clients makes a choice of accepting or rejecting the offer made. The subjects were observed to have used various words of similar meanings to welcome their potential clients and as most strategies involving lexical choice in the Javanese language, their usage which reflects the degree of politeness depends on the age and background of the interlocutors. This will be illustrated and discussed through the examples provided in EXTRACT 10.

#### **EXTRACT 10**

<b>Subject 8</b>		<b>Translation</b>
(1) S8	: <i>Mas / <b>mlebu</b> THA? [smile]</i>	Sir..../....come in <i>THA?</i> [smile]
<b>Subject 11</b>		
(1) S11	: <i><b>Mampir</b> dulu...[smile]</i>	Come closer first..[smile]
<b>Subject 6</b>		
(1) S6	: <i>Mas <b>pinarak</b> mas....[smile]</i>	Sir come here sir.....[smile]
<b>Subject 14</b>		
(1) S14	: <i>Mas mau <b>masuk</b>?</i>	{Do you} want to come in, sir?
<b>Subject 25</b>		
(1) S25	: <i><b>Silahkan</b> aja masuk mas [smile]</i>	Please {welcome} come in, sir [smile]

As highlighted in EXTRACT 10, the lexical choices for welcoming the potential clients used by the subjects were *mlebu*, *mampir*, *pinarak*, *masuk* and *silahkan*. S8

used *mlebu* (come in) which was a *ngoko* level term and was categorized as less polite than *mampir* (translates as come closer or approach) as used by S11. In comparison to *mlebu*, the word *mampir* had within its meaning consideration for the face value of the addressee (here the client) as the client the opportunity to refuse the offer without losing face, whereas *mlebu* was an imperative or in terms of FTA, it is a command. The addressee would have been be imposed by the command or imperative and this will risk threatening his negative face.

Sumitro and Sugiri (2004) explain that people from rural background tend to speak with in a high tone using less impolite words. They also observed that younger speakers (between the ages of 20 – 30 years) tend to use the *ngoko* level of speech more than other levels. From the interview data it was revealed that S8 was indeed from a rural background and was among the younger age category (30 years old). However, S8 was also seen to attempt to mitigate the imperative *mlebu* with the particle *tha*, and accompanied with a smile, thus providing the potential client with a choice of whether to follow the command or not and the smile makes the command less demanding.

*Mampir* on the other hand (although it is also a *ngoko* level word) gave a higher degree of politeness and respect to the potential client. *Mampir* in Javanese culture, as already mentioned in Section 4.1.1, is a greeting to invite someone who happened to pass in front of one's house to approach and come closer to her place for a chat or a drink by calling out '*mampir*' (*ngoko*) or '*pinarak*' (*boso*) which carried the meaning '*welcome or come to my place*'. Although the invitation is sincere, the addressee was not expected to accept the invitation. In this sense, the use of *mampir* can be categorized as a positive politeness strategy because it attempts to lessen the gap

between the speaker and the addressee. Should the client refuse the offer, the subject saves her own face because she was just inviting the client, not commanding him to come closer.

It was also observed that the subjects in this study did not use *boso kromo/kromo inggil* (high level speech or refined speech). This is because the data was collected in Eastern Java where *ngoko* is commonly used. However, the use of *boso kromo* sometimes surface in the data such as in S6 (1). Information gathered from the interview revealed that she came from Central Java where *boso kromo* is more commonly in use. The fact that she is forty years of age also justifies her preference for *boso kromo* as the younger subjects are not inclined towards this type of speech. Being elderly she has the tendency to allow herself to lose face while preserving the potential client's face. From the interview carried out with her, she confirmed this as she explained that she had done so because she is already old; losing face is not an important issue anymore, her client's face is more important.

The word '*masuk*' is a standard Indonesian word meaning '*come in*'. Although Indonesian language has begun to replace Javanese in most parts of Indonesia since its independence on 17<sup>th</sup> August 1945, especially in government affairs, public services, and education discourse, Javanese is still effectively used as a domestic language spoken among the Javanese or people who live in East and Central Java. In the area where the data of this study was collected, Javanese is still dominantly used in communication. The acceptance of Indonesian language is especially obvious in the discourse among teenagers at public places. However, when they meet an elder Javanese, they almost always automatically switch to Javanese. Gunarwan (1997:16)

reports that teenagers under the age of 20 years in Jogjakarta tend use Indonesian Jakarta dialect to communicate with each other more than any other dialects.

As already illustrated in Section 4.1.2, the subjects in this study used Indonesian language to show respect for the potential clients. However, more than that, S14 and S25 had also used the Indonesian '*masuk*' as a strategy in politeness in order to preserve her speaker face so that if the client refuses her offer she would not feel embarrassed because she had merely invited the man to enter and nothing else. In addition, S25 (1) uses *silahkan* (please) to mitigate her offer. Poedjosoedarma (1979:6-8) explained that '*silahkan*' translates into '*please*' was used to show respect whereas in Javanese '*mango*' was used to express the same intention. In this sense S14 and S25 had both used a negative politeness strategy to express their desire indirectly. When S14 said *nggak* followed by the particle *dong*', it was aimed to emphasize her disagreement with his price. Echols and Shadily (1992:148) assert that by using the particle '*dong*' the interlocutor should already know or do what one is asserting. Thus, S14 then strengthened her stand by saying '*kalo nggak mau, cari diluar*' (if you are not going to pay the price offered, you can go look elsewhere). As illustrated in Extract 11. She indirectly refused her potential client by giving him an option to find another person with his price. The client understood her suggestion for him to find another to mean she did not agree with his price. He then accepted her offer, then S14 answered *ayo* (let's {have sex}) as illustrated in following EXTRACT 11.



## **EXTRACT 11**

### **Subject 11**

(9) S11 : *Nggak bisa..//..kalo enam puluh nggak pa pa..//.. silahkan masuk.*

### **Translation**

Can't..//. If sixty thousand Rupiahs is ok..//come in please.

### **Subject 14**

(5) S14 : : *Nggak dong*  
(17) S14 : *Ayo....[smile].*

No *dong*.

Come on....[smile]

S14 indirectly refused her potential client's counter-offer by giving him an option to find another person with his price. The client understood her suggestion for him to find another to mean she did not agree with his price. He then accepted her offer, to which S14 (17) replied 'Ayo' (let's {have sex}). In terms of usage, the lexical choices of welcoming *mampir (ngoko)* were used by six subjects (24%), *pinarak (boso)* by two (8%) and *masuk* by six subjects (24%). Thus it can be concluded that the use of Javanese words both at the *ngoko* and *boso* levels are more frequent among these subjects in comparison to the use of Indonesian language.

## **4.2 Positive politeness**

Brown and Levinson (1978:106) define positive politeness as "redress directed to the addressee's positive face, [and] his perennial desire [is] that his wants....should be thought of as desirable." Thus, positive politeness is basically politeness which is based on the positive face of the hearer. Therefore, the speaker places himself as equal as the hearer. This includes the speaker respecting the hearer by wanting what hearer wants: "positive politeness is approach-based; it "anoints" the face of the addressee by indicating that in some respects, S wants what H's wants (e.g by threatening him as a member of an in group, a friend, a person whose wants and personality traits are

known and liked)” (Brown and Levinson, 1987:70). Therefore, the speaker should respect and protect the hearer’s face since each utterance has the potency to threaten the face of the hearer by using specific politeness strategies to reduce the risk of the face being threatened.

Analysis of the data revealed that positive politeness strategies were used in the conversation between the subjects and the clients especially when they are negotiating on the price. In particular, the subjects in this study were observed to have employed six of the fifteen positive politeness strategies postulated by Brown and Levinson (1987). These six strategies are presented below with examples from the data to illustrate their usage in context.

#### **4.2.1 Strategy 4: Use in-group identity markers**

In-group identity markers are used to foster solidarity between speakers. Before a speaker starts a conversation with another person, he/she would have assessed the other person and would have decided, based on this assessment, how he/she wants to treat the other person. Brown and Levinson (1987:107) postulate that in-group identity markers include the use of specific address forms, language, dialect, jargon or slang, and ellipsis. Should he/she feel unthreatened by the other person or feel that they share some similarities or some sense of solidarity the speaker may use one of these in-group identity markers such as shared honorific terms or address forms. In terms of address forms, it was observed that the subjects used *mas* or *pak* (*sir* in English) to address the potential client to show that they are of the same ethnicity (Javanese). *Cak* and *kang* are other forms of address which are commonly used in the Surabaya dialect to address people from the lower status level or low payment

workers such as porters, *becak* drivers, and the uneducated. However, the subjects in this study were not observed to have made use of these forms throughout the data.

As a way of making the potential clients feel respected, even though the men who frequently patron their establishments are more likely to be members of the lower income and social status group, the subjects refer to them with more polite honorifics such as *pak* and *mas*, which are usually used to address people of higher social standing. The main difference between these two address forms is that *pak* is mainly used with older interlocutors and *mas* with younger interlocutors. At the same time, *mas* and *pak* are used to show inter-ethnic membership and solidarity. However, *pak* is the more neutral standard Indonesian word and is more commonly used when the speaker feels that the interlocutor is educated or from the city, whereas *mas* is more commonly used among the Javanese.

Nadar (2004:27) states that shared identity markers are used to establish a closer relationship between the speaker and the hearer. Thus, as can be seen in the data, the subjects were trying to make the potential client feel at ease, or 'at home' with them, so that they would not feel threatened or embarrassed to approach and negotiate, and inevitably render their services. The common practice among the Javanese people is that when a person feels appreciated and respected he/she will give or do what is desired of him/her. This way of communication is based on the Javanese doctrine '*Hurup jowo nek dipangku mati*' (translates literally as "Javanese words (language) must be supported or fought for till death). This means it is expected of a Javanese to use the proper way of speaking for example to reciprocate with show of respect (through language use) for someone who has shown respect towards him. In other words, when a Javanese is indebted to someone, it will be difficult for him/her to

refuse the debtor's wants, even when the want is of no interest to him. The subjects use identity markers to make the potential clients feel respected and appreciated so that the potential clients will feel obliged to fulfill the subject's want to use their 'service'. In general, Strategy 4 of positive politeness was observed to be in play with seventeen of the twenty-five subjects (68%). Illustrations of the use of *pak* and *mas* can be seen as EXTRACT 9 in Section 4.1.5.

#### 4.2.2 Strategy 5: Seek agreement

Strategy 5 involves the speaker agreeing with the hearer. This agreement can be conveyed by using 'yes' or the repetition of some words. *Yo* or *iyo* have the same meaning in Javanese, as *ya* or *iya* do in standard Indonesian. Wolfowitz (1984) states that the word *ya* (yes or okay) is used at the end of a vocative and functions as a strategy for asking for concurrence. Noriati Rashid (2005:53) adds that one of the signs of the agreement is an expression of *ya..ya..* or repetition of the utterance. They are all allomorphs for agreement equivalent to the English 'yes'. EXTRACT 12 illustrates Strategy 5 in action.

#### EXTRACT 12

<b>Subject 7</b>	<b>Translation</b>
(11) S7 : <i>Yo wis mas ayo istirahat...[smile].</i>	Yes already come on take a rest
<b>Subject 8</b>	
(9) S8 : <i>Yo wis sewidak gak gelem? / yo wis akeh liane.</i>	It is okay sixty thousand {thousand Rupiahs} / never mind many others.
<b>Subject 5</b>	
(8) Client : <i>Kalau gitu ya.</i>	If it is like that yes {I agree}
(9) S5 : <i>Ya mas [smile]</i>	Yes, sir [smile]
<b>Subject 6</b>	
(7) S6 : <i>Iyo mas [smile]</i>	Yes sir [smile]
<b>Subject 22</b>	
(12) Client : <i>Oh... ya short time // aja ya?.</i>	Oh...yes short time // only, yes?
(13) S22 : <i>Iya mas [smile]</i>	Yes sir [smile]

In EXTRACT 12, S5(9), S6(7) and S22(13) conceded their agreements to the potential clients' bargaining with *Ya*, *Iyo* and *Iya*. Wouk (2001:188) states that the function of *ya* and *iya* in conversations in Indonesian is “grow naturally out of its literal meaning” and has a basic meaning as an agreement. Repetition is seen as a strategy whereby the hearer repeats what the speaker has already said. This is to show agreement with the speaker and to minimize the FTA to the hearer. This is done to keep the conversation at a more harmonious level as illustrated in EXTRACT 13.

### **EXTRACT 13**

#### **Subject 3**

(12) Client : *Emoh / yo / golek wong liyo.*  
 (13) S3 : *Yo liyo wae.*

#### **Translation**

No / yes / {I} will find another {lady}.  
 Yes, just find another {lady}.

#### **Subject 10**

(8) Client : *Yo wis / ayo mudhuk.*  
 (9) S10 : *Ayo [move]*

Yes okay / let's get to it then  
 Let's [move]

In EXTRACT 13, S3 (13) shows her agreement with the client's (12) utterance (*yo golek wong liyo*) by repeating partially what the client had said (*yo liyo*). This supports Brown and Levinson's (1987:112) statement that an “agreement may also be stressed by repeating part or all of what the preceding speaker has said”. The client in S10 (8) is observed to have suggested *ayo mudhuk* (let's get to it then) and to that S10 (9) conceded agreement by repeating *ayo* (let's). Although here the repetition is partial, concentrating only on the active part of the suggestion, the effect is the same. Strategy 5 of positive politeness was observed to have been used by seven subjects (28%).

### 4.2.3 Strategy 6: Avoid disagreement

This strategy is used to avoid disagreement with the speaker, hence the hearer responds to the speaker's preceding utterance with 'yes, *but...*'. In this way, the hearer hides disagreement with the speaker as opposed to directly showing disagreement by responding with a direct 'no'. This is similar to the use of 'yes' followed by 'but' as a common strategy to avoid disagreement in the English language context. EXTRACT 14 illustrates how the subjects used similar strategies incorporated with influences from the Javanese culture to soften or avoid disagreements with the clients.

#### **EXTRACT 14**

##### **Subject 1**

(13) S1 : [smile] // *ra po po*.

##### **Translation**

[smile] // it's okay.

##### **Subject 23**

(11) S23 : *Ya / nggak pa pa... [smile]*

Yes / Never mind

##### **Subject 24**

(13) S24 : [silent] *Yo wis nggak pa pa*.

[silent] Yes it's okay, never mind.

##### **Subject 25**

(11) S25 : *Kalo minum aja gak pa pa // [silent] Cuma*

(Yes it's) okay If you just want to drink  
// [silent] only

As can be seen in EXTRACT 14, S1 says *ra po po* (*it's okay*) to hide her disappointment in losing a client as they could not come to an agreement on the deal. It is common in Javanese culture to say *ra po po* as a polite form of expressing no offence taken but the reality is to hide the disappointment which resulted from the disagreement. This can also be expressed using *nggak pa pa* as in S23 (11) and S24 (13) as well as *gak pa pa* in S25 (11). However in S25 (11), the disappointment of

not getting the potential client's business is further reflected in the expression of *cuma* ('only' or 'it's just that . . .' in English) which remains hanging in an incomplete sentence. The incomplete sentence implies what she would rather get an agreement from the potential client to render and pay for her services, instead of just agreeing to just buy her a drink. Thus, *gak pa pa* and *cuma* are used to avoid disagreement in much a similar way as the English 'yes' followed by 'but'. Five subjects (20%) used Strategy 6 of positive politeness.

#### 4.2.4 Strategy 12: Include both Speaker and Hearer in the activity

In the English language this strategy involves the speaker including the involvement of the speaker in an action he/she is suggesting, For example with the use of 'Let's' (let us). In other words, the speaker suggests that they do the activity together. Brown & Levinson (1987:127) state that "by using an inclusive 'we' form, when Speaker really means 'you' or 'me', he can call upon the cooperative assumptions and thereby redress FTAs." In EXTRACT 15, S6 (9) invites the potential client to enter her premises, but in actuality, she is suggesting they both retreat inside together with the use of the word '*mlebu*'.

#### **EXTRACT 15**

##### **Subject 6**

(9) S6 : *Mlebu mas.*

##### **Translation**

Come in, sir. (i.e. *Let us go in together*)

##### **Subject 7**

(5) S7 : *Pak ayo istirahat...[smile].*

Sir let's take a rest.....[smile]

##### **Subject 7**

(11) S7 : *Yo wis mas ayo istirahat...[smile].*

Yes, come on then, let's take a rest.

S7 (5) and (11) on the other hand, used ‘*ayo istirahat*’ which means ‘Why don’t you take a rest’ when actually she means ‘Let’s go have a rest together (inside)’. Strategy 12 of positive politeness was used by nine subjects (36%).

#### 4.2.5 Strategy 13: Give (or ask for) reasons

This strategy is used by the speaker to minimize the FTAs by giving reasons for the action taken. The speaker gives reasons in order to influence the hearer to agree with her reasons. Brown and Levinson (1987:128) describe that between the speaker and the hearer, they share a mutual understanding of one another. This means that the speaker wants the hearer to understand what he/she (the speaker) wants. Thus, the indirect suggestion is actually the reason that explains the speaker’s desire. This is illustrated in EXTRACT 16 where S1 is observed to explain to the potential client that she cannot lower her price any further because the room is already costing her Rp70,000.

#### **EXTRACT 16**

##### **Subject 1**

11) S1 : //....*Ra iso mas kamare wae patang poloh /...( hemm).. kanggo aku piro?*

##### **Translation**

// {I} can’t do that, sir (or that’s not possible, sir) the room itself is costly seventy {thousands Rupiah}....then how much will be left for me?

##### **Subject 20**

(9) S20 : *Kalo pulang pagi agak mahal mas // karena disini kamarnya juga mahal mbayarnya*

If {you} choose to stay until morning it is quite expensive // because this room here is quite expensive

##### **Subject 24**

(11) S24 : *Eh // nggak bisa tapi kalo dari jam 12 malam sampai pagi nggak pa pa.*

Eh // that’s not possible but if (you want to render my services) from 12 midnight until morning it is never mind.



By using strategy 13, S1 is able to explain the situation to the potential client and maintain some degree of politeness, while saving the client's face as well as her own. With this action she also manages to keep the negotiation open as she hopes that the potential client will be able to see the rationale behind her argument for disagreeing with the price offered by the client. Disagreeing will threaten the client's face and by providing a reason for disagreeing, the threat is mitigated to some extent. The FTA here is in the form of S1's request for the client to understand why she has to disagree with the hope that the understanding will make the client agree with her. Strategy 13 can also be observed in S20 (9) and S24 (11). Both S20 and S24 tried to explain and further negotiate with the potential client that the cheaper price would be acceptable if he agrees to render her services for a longer period of time that is from midnight to morning. Four of the subjects (16%) in this data used Strategy 13 of positive politeness.

#### **4.2.6 Strategy 14: Assume or assert reciprocity**

This strategy is to offer or expect a reciprocal act, where the speaker will do X if the hearer will do Y or if the Hearer gives the speaker Y, then, the speaker will give X to the hearer. Brown and Levinson (1987:129) state that "by pointing to the reciprocal right (or habit) of doing FTAs to each other, S may soften his FTA by negating the debt aspect and/ or the face-threatening aspect of speech acts such as criticism and complaints."

### **EXTRACT 17**

#### **Subject 2**

(13) S2 : *Rong jam yo patang poloh.*

#### **Translation**

Two hours, yes for forty (thousand Rupiahs)

#### **Subject 14**

(5) S14 : *Kalau seperti nDoli apa mas mau harganya?*

If (I give you the same service as you would get) like in nDoli will {you}

#### **Subject 18**

(5) S18 : *[smile]. tidak bisa mas biasanya segitu../.. kalo ngak mau segitu../.. ya cari yang lain gak pa pa..*

[smile] {Usually} It's not possible sir like that {at that price} / if {you} don't want like that {at my price}../..yes {then go}, look for another. It is okay {with me}

#### **Subject 11**

(13) S11 : *Kalau tiga lima // [smile] cari yang lain saja.*

If thirty-five {thousand rupiahs} // [smile] just go find another

In EXTRACT 17, instead of refusing the client's offer of Rp. 40,000.00 outright, S2 (13) reciprocates with what she can offer for that amount of money, which is two hours of service. It is then up to the potential client to accept or refuse the negotiated offer. S14 on the hand, sticks to her original price but reciprocates by offering a better quality service, like the services provided at *nDolly* brothel. Thus, S14 uses Strategy 14 to express her reciprocal right of doing FTA with the potential client. Quite conversely, S18 is observed to reciprocate with an outright disagreement, but she does so with some degree of politeness (she smiles and uses polite words). S18 openly informs the potential client that the price he has offered is not acceptable in her area. She goes on to explain if that is all he can offer, she does not mind if he goes on to find a better offer elsewhere. What S18 has implied here is that she is very sure he would not find anyone who would agree to his price in her area. It is then up to the potential client to reciprocate to her explanation or reason. In a way she is taking the risk of losing this potential client altogether but her utterance is said with confidence. Similarly, S11 has reciprocated to the potential client's low offer of Rp.

35,000 with 'you should just go and look for another woman'. With this she anticipates that the reciprocal reply from the potential client would be an agreement to her original price. Strategy 14 of positive politeness was used by eight subjects (32%).

### **4.3 Negative Politeness**

As stated in the previous chapters, negative politeness is aimed at preserving the face value of the interlocutors, especially that of the addressee. Brown and Levinson (1978:134) define negative politeness as "redressive action addressed to the addressee's face" and is considered to be similar to Durkheim's (1915 cited in Brown and Levinson, 1987:44) "negative rites" or rituals of avoidance". For instance, speaking directly is one of the features that will threaten the negative face of the addressee. Therefore, the speaker may resort to using certain strategies which might be able to minimize this threat.

There are seven strategies of negative politeness of the ten postulated by Brown and Levinson (1987) that can be observed in talk-in-action between the subjects and the potential clients. The findings of this study are similar to Gunarwan (1994:91) studied who found the use of eight of the ten negatives politeness strategies in the communication among Javanese ethnics in Jakarta. Analysis of the data of this current study, seven of these ten strategies was in used. These strategies are: Strategy 1: Be conventionally indirect; Strategy 2: Question, hedge; Strategy 4: Minimize the imposition; Strategy 5: Give deference; Strategy 6 Apologize: Strategy 7: Impersonalize S and H; and Strategy 8: State the FTA as a general rule. Each of these seven strategies will be discussed in detail in the following subsections.

### 4.3.1 Strategy 1: Be conventionally Indirect

This strategy involves giving the opposite want of the speaker to the hearer and the want is conventionally to use speech acts indirectly. Brown and Levinson (1987:145) classify the proposal of a question as an act of negative politeness for example when someone says “*Can you shut the door, please?*” This is an indirect order as the speaker is not asking whether the hearer can shut the door or not, but is commanding the hearer to shut the door. In such a situation, it is conventionally polite to be indirect, so as to soften the command.

#### **EXTRACT 18**

##### **Subject 11**

(7)S11 : *Gak masuk dikamar dulu..?[smile]*

##### **Translation**

Are (you) not coming in {the room} first.....?[smile]

##### **Subject 22**

(9) S22 : *Oh ya // masuk nggak?*

Oh yes // {you} not coming in?

S11 and S22 in EXTRACT 18 are both inviting the clients to come into their rooms. These are seen as examples illustrating S11’s and S22’s conventionally indirect orders to the clients. The subjects know actually what they really want is to strike a deal with the clients. At the same time they have made an effort to preserve both their as well as the clients’ face through their indirect offer. This works to minimize the FTA of both sides because if the offer is refused the ladies can save their face because it was just an invitation to come into their rooms, nothing more. Strategy 1 of negative politeness was used by seven of the twenty-five subjects (28%).

### 4.3.2 Strategy 2: Question, Hedge

This strategy uses a question with ‘hedging’. A hedge can be a particle, a word, or a phrase to give an indication that membership is partial or complete. Holmes (2001:287) explains that a hedging can be taken as a signal of a lack of confidence. In that sense, Holmes suggests that women tend to use hedging more often than men to emphasize her utterance. Thus, hedging is very important in communication to strengthen an utterance without lessening its meaning. For example “*I really know*” has a stronger impact than “*I know*” because to the ‘really’ emphasizes that the speaker truly knows. Similarly, in Javanese, Gunarwan (2008) states that *mosok* (‘really’ in English) is a hedge commonly used to strengthen an utterance, as in the example illustrates *mosok mboten saget? ({You} really can’t {do it}?)* Gunarwan, (2008:111). The word *mosok* (really) is used to strengthen and to make his utterance more precise (the speaker wants to emphasize that the interlocutor really cannot do it). *Mosok* is also used as performative hedges as illustrated in EXTRACT 19.

#### **EXTRACT 19**

##### **Subject 4**

(5) S4 : *Alah mosok ra duwe duwet?*

##### **Translation**

*Alah* is it really {true you} don’t have any money?

##### **Subject 16**

(7) S16 : *Berapa kamu? // masak orang laki-laki gak tahu / dimana-mana sih [laughs]*

How much you {will} // I don’t believe guys don’t know / anywhere (or everywhere) *sih* [laughs]

The words *mosok* and *masak* as used by S4 and S16 are variations of the performative hedge *mosok* (really). These two performative hedges are used here to indicate S4’s disbelief or surprise (although she may be pretending to be surprised) that the client does not have any money. Thus, the hedge is used with performative force to

emphasize that she really does not believe that the client does not have any money because men who visit the brothels will always bring money. According to Gunarwan (1997:18) in Indonesian the word *jika* (*if*) is also categorized as a hedge. Analysis of the data revealed two frequently used hedges-- *kalau* and *kalo* (a non-standard form of *kalau*) meaning ‘If’.

#### EXTRACT 20

##### Subject 24

(5) S24 : ***Kalo*** mau nyewek tarifnya sekian  
[indicating how much with  
fingers]

##### Translation

If {you} want to have sex the rate amount is [indicating how much with fingers]

##### Subject 24

(7) S24 : ***Kalo*** dari sore jam 7 pulang pagi  
tarifnya tiga ratus lima puluh.

If from 7 in the evening until morning the rate is three hundred and fifty {thousand Rupiahs}.

##### Subject 25

(3) S25 : ***Kalo*** short time main satu kali  
aja tujuh puluh.

If (it is for) a short time, with just having sex once, (it is) seventy {thousand}

In EXTRACT 20, S24 and S25 were both observed to have shown negative politeness towards their respective potential clients by giving them options to choose from. By using this strategy, S24 and S25 were able to minimize the FTA of the clients because the illocutionary acts are weakened by saying *kalau* or *kalo* (*if*). They are suggesting that if the clients want such kind of service, they should pay the amount set. Thus, *kalau*, *kalo* or *jikalau* are invitations to choose and by providing options the client is not forced to accept the offer, thus minimizing the FTA.

Brown and Levinson (1987: 146) state that in some languages there are particles which are encoded as hedges in their linguistic structure. In Javanese such particles are *tho/tha*, *lho*, *yo* which can be taken as equivalent to tags in English. Setyadi

(1991:17) adds that the particle *tha* has the same meaning as making a suggestion. As can be seen in EXTRACT 21, S2, S8, and S10 used the particles *tho/tha/thah* respectively as hedges to suggest to or invite the potential clients to participate in the activity they have suggested. These particles are usually voiced with a rising tone and are used to put emphasis on the intention implied in the question.

**EXTRACT 21**

**Subject 2**

(3) S2 : [smile] *Pijet-pijetan THO?*

**Translation**

[smile] A massage, *tho(perhaps) ?*

**Subject 8**

(1) S8 : *Mas / mlebu THA?.....[smile]*

Sir / coming in (*tha*)?.....[smile]

**Subject 10**

(1) S10 : [silent] *Arep main THAH?*

[silent] Want to have sex (*thah*)?

Holmes (20001:264) states that imperatives were generally used by superiors when ordering or commanding subordinates to perform certain actions. In this study, imperatives are used by the subjects in offering their services to the potential clients. Imperatives can be seen in use of particles such as *tha* or *ta*, *lho* and without the use of these particles. Kridalaksana (1982: 121) defines particles as words which cannot be derived or inflected with grammatical meaning as they have no lexical meaning. Thus, particles are used to emphasize an utterance. Javanese also has particles, for instance, *ta* or *tha* (those are same depends on the speaker to use one of those) and *lho*. In addition, Setyadi (1991) explains that *ta* or *tha* and *lho* can also cause imperative moods while Yuni (1997:45) states imperatives can be softened by adding the particle *tha*.

## **EXTRACT 22**

### **Subject 19**

(1) S19 : [smile] mau masuk **tha** mas?

### **Translation**

[smile] Will ( you) want to come in *tha* sir?

### **Subject 22**

(1) S22 : Masuk **tha** [smile]

Come in *tha*?...[smile]

(3) S22 : Mau minum **tha**?

Want to drink *tha*?

### **Subject 4**

(3) S4 : Mampir kene **lho**

Come here *lho*

### **Subject 1**

(5) S1 : Istirahat kene... / [smile]

Have a rest here.../ [smile]

### **Subject 2**

(15) S2 : Age mlebu.

Please come in

S19 and S22 use the particle *tha* to make their offer stronger by adding emphasis on the word *masuk* (come in). Those sentences are imperatives but were used in the interrogative form. The threat is on the clients' faces because they are imposed upon to do something. The use of the particle *tha* is intended to emphasize the preceding question and to soften their offer. Omission of the particle *tha* will make the utterance more impolite. S4 used *lho* to make an offer and a reminder to the client that she is ready to serve if the client wants to come closer. The use of particle *lho* functions as a strategy to soften her offer. The particle *lho* is considered more polite than *tha*. It tends to give a stronger imposition to the client than would *lho*. The service is offered but she still provides the client with the option to accept or refuse. According to Setyadi (1991:7) the use of particle *tha* and *lho* can change a declarative sentence into an imperative sentence. These can be seen in S22-- *masuk tha*? Without *tha*, it is a declarative sentence and the addition of *tha* softens the utterance so that it sounds more polite. S1 offers the client a place to rest and relax. Actually her invitation carries the implicit invitation to have sex. S2 offers her services more directly. This is done without using a particle, so this sentence sounds more aggressive. It therefore



gives a higher threat to the client's negative face as it comes as a direct order. Strategy 2 of negative politeness was used by seven subjects (28%).

#### 4.3.3 Strategy 4: Minimize the imposition

To minimize the imposition, Strategy 4 is used with expressions such as: *just, a tiny little bit, a sip, a taste, a drop, a smidgen, a little, or a bit* for requests. In Javanese the word 'wae' (*just* in English) functions in a similar way. In EXTRACT 23, S2 uses 'sedelok wae' (*just for a second*) to minimize the imposition on the potential client.

#### **EXTRACT 23**

##### **Subject 2**

(11)S2 : [silent] *sedelok wae yo?*

##### **Translation**

[silent] just for a second, it's okay?

S2 (11) uses *wae* to give an indication to the client that she wants the client just for a short time. This lessens the threat to the hearer because she is only suggesting a short period of engagement. For Wolfowitz (1983:195), *wae* means "only or just" and is similarly used in giving an instruction or a task-oriented response. Wolfowitz adds that the effect is more communicative and less abrupt than a simple indexical such as *ya*. Thus, *sedelok wae yo* is aimed to minimize the imposition on the client. Only one subject (4%) used Strategy 4 of negative politeness.

#### 4.3.4 Strategy 5: Give deference

This strategy is aimed to give deference to the addressee or the hearer. The speaker humbles himself or herself as he/she places the hearer above himself/herself. In addition, this can be indicated by giving honorifics to the hearer. The honorific can be a title or by referring to the hearer by his/her last name. In Javanese culture, honorifics

are represented by the use of appropriate address systems for example *mas* and *pak*. Seventeen subjects (68%) used Strategy 5 of negative politeness.

#### 4.3.5 Strategy 6: Apologize

This strategy is used by the speaker to apologize for his doing an FTA. Brown and Levinson (1987:187) states “by apologizing for doing an FTA, the speaker can indicate his reluctant to impinge on hearer’s negative face and thereby partially redress that impinge”. This strategy is therefore used to express modesty and sense of humility for doing something wrong. Linguistic features for this strategy is *nyuwun ngapuro* (*boso level*) which translates as “I beg {your} pardon or *maaf* in Indonesian (sorry in English). Goffman (1967:21) adds that this strategy is aimed to revise a mistake made either consciously or unconsciously. This can be seen in EXTRACT 24.

#### EXTRACT 24

Subject 12	Translation
(11) S12 : <i>Maaf mas / cari yang lain saja</i>	Sorry sir / just find others.

In EXTRACT 24, S12 shows that she does not want to accept her potential client’s price. However she does so while still showing her sense of humility. Although she rejects the offer directly with a clear answer (for instance “no I cannot accept”), she apologizes to the potential client for having to do so. This is done so that the potential client would not be offended with her rejection. Although he did not respond to her rejection he reciprocated with a smile and walked away. What this action indicates is that the potential client is not really offended. Thus, the subject was successful in keeping her potential client’s negative face. Only one subject (4%) used Strategy 6 of

negative politeness.

#### 4.3.6 Strategy 7: Impersonalize S and H

This strategy avoids the use of pronouns as if the speaker and the hearer do not know each other. By not using the pronouns ‘I’ and ‘you’, the intention is not to impinge on each other. According to Brown and Levinson (1987:191), direct expressions can cause face threatening speech acts. Therefore, omission of ‘you’ as in “Take it out” in comparison to “You take it out” is a common way of lessening the threat to face in social situations. Brown and Levinson (1987:197) further explain that “many languages have some standardized impersonal versions of pronouns which may serve FTA purposes to good effect”. An example in the English language would be: ‘One shouldn’t do things like that’ is less threatening than saying ‘You shouldn’t do things like that’.

#### **EXTRACT 25**

##### **Subject 3**

		<b>Translation</b>
(7) S3	: <i>Emoh / mlebu jam piro?// nek gelem / yo rong atus seket.</i>	{I} won’t / what time {you} want to start? // If {you} will / the price two hundreds and fifty {thousand Rupiahs}.
(13) S3	: <i>Yo liyo wae.</i>	Yes {you may} find another {lady}.

In EXTRACT 25, S3 avoids using the pronoun ‘you’ in order to minimize the threat on the client’s face. It would sound impolite if the pronoun ‘you’ is used in her utterance such as *yen kowe gelem* (if you will). The use of ‘you’ will refer to the client directly, so the client’s face is directly threatened by her direct utterance. Whereas in the other example, S3 avoids using the pronoun ‘you’ while at the same time providing an option for the client to go look for a better offer. This act will preserve

the face of the client. Strategy 7 of negative politeness was used by six subjects (24%).

#### 4.3.7 Strategy 8: State the FTA as a general rule

This strategy is to state the general rule, which will threaten the hearer but the FTA is forced as a general condition that should be done. The pronoun is also avoided in this strategy, such as “Passengers will please refrain from flushing toilets on the train” (Brown and Levinson, 1987:206). This will threaten the passengers but this must be done because the rules of the train dictate so. This strategy can be seen in the following extract.

##### **EXTRACT 26**

###### **Subject 6**

(5) S6 : *Pasarane sakmono // ga po po kanggo penglaris.*

###### **Translation**

It is fixed price // never mind for the first customer.

###### **Subject 11**

(11) S11 : *Kalau short time tujuh puluh.*

If short time is seventy {thousand Rupiahs}.

S6 lays down the general rules which should be followed by every client that is to pay at least as much as the standard rate for their services. S6 says *pasarane sakmono* (the price is fixed) indicating that she does not want to impose on the client, but this is the rule in the brothel and that the client should comply by paying the amount that is already determined. Thus, S6 does the FTA by merely conveying the pre-set price at that brothel. This strategy can also be observed in S11. S11 says *kalau short time tujuh puluh* (If for a short time it is seventy thousand Rupiahs.). In doing so S11 is just informing the potential client that the fixed price for a short time service is Rp. 70,000.00. She is not forcing the client to pay Rp. 70,000.00 but merely informing him of the regulation for short time service. Thus, the FTA is done by S11 to convey

a rule on the price and the potential client is not obligated or threatened to agree to pay for the service. Strategy 8 of negative politeness was used by twelve subjects (48%).

#### **4.4 Summary and Discussion of the Main Findings**

Generally, the findings of this study have provided evidence that among other strategies, the subjects employed lexical choices such as the use of *ngoko* and *boso*. Nine (36%) of the twenty-five subjects used *ngoko* and *boso* whereas sixteen (64%) subjects were observed to have used Indonesian language and eight (32%) subjects used of English words in their conversations. Thus the use of Indonesian language more often used by the subjects in their communication as Indonesian language is an alternative in choosing of the words or language among Javanese speaker to avoid misuse of the language speech levels and the inability of the speakers to use right Javanese stylistic level, especially used by young subjects.

In the use of euphemisms, the address system of *Pak* (4%) *was used much less frequently than Mas* (64%). This shows that *mas* is the preferred term of address among the subjects even though generally *pak* is considered the more respectful term between the two. In addition, the subjects employed six of the fifteen positive politeness strategies and six of the seven negative politeness strategies purported by Brown and Levinson (1987) when conveying their intentions to the potential clients.

There were six strategies (40%) of the fifteen strategies of the positive politeness used by the subjects. Seven strategies (70%) of the ten negative politeness strategies are

used by the subjects. It can be concluded that the subjects used more negative strategies than positive strategies.

#### **4.4.1 Implications of the Findings**

Generally, the results of this study suggest that because of their educational and socio-economic backgrounds, the subjects are more at ease using the *ngoko* level (lower level) of the Javanese language. However, and more interestingly, the results also indicate that despite their education and socio-economic backgrounds and the nature of their work, the subjects do value politeness as evidenced by their employment of six of the fifteen positive politeness strategies and seven of the ten negative politeness strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson, in their interactions with their potential clients. The following sections will discuss the implications of these findings.

**4.4.1.1 Research Question 1:** What are the lexical choices made by the subjects, and how do these choices reflect the degree of politeness intended?,

In light of Research Question 1, the analysis of the data revealed evidence that the subjects choose their words purposefully when interacting with their potential clients. Not only do they follow the rules of speaking Javanese, they also paid attention to the rules of negotiation. As noted in Chapter One and also in the Literature Review, the Javanese language has several levels of usage based on the social status of the speakers as well as the context of the speech. Speakers' age, their social status and the speech context were shown to have influenced the subjects' lexical choice during

interactions. The lexical choices used by the subjects can be categorized and summarized as follows:

1. The subjects chose *ngoko* level in offer due to make narrow gaps between the subjects and the potential clients. In using *ngoko* the subjects speak directly and employ the simplest strategies to convey their offer so their intention (especially when stating the price) can be immediately and easily understood by the potential clients. The subjects also used *ngoko* to show solidarity and equality with the potential clients and to establish a closer relationship with them.
2. The subject used *boso* (higher level speech) with the potential clients they perceived as belonging to a higher social status as a show of respect. By doing so the subjects also put into play the Javanese concept of *perkewoh* (sense of humility or humbleness).
3. Most of the subjects who used Indonesian language were the younger subjects who are familiar with Indonesian language through the education system.
4. The subjects were also found to use English words as a strategy to raise their social status in the eyes of potential clients so as to secure some degree of respect from them.
5. The subjects used euphemisms related to the services they offer to camouflage the negotiations with clients whom they perceived as uncomfortable to be seen doing business with them. This was done to preserve their face as well as the face of potential clients.
6. The subjects were observed to have used the address forms *Mas* and *Pak* interchangeably. The subjects used *mas* and *pak* to address someone who

they hope will accept their offer of services and agree to be their client. The use of *mas* and *pak* is mainly to show that the clients should be respected.

7. The subjects were observed to have used various synonyms in welcoming and attracting their potential clients' attention and as with most strategies involving lexical choice in the Javanese language, their usage reflects the degree of politeness depending on the age and background of the interlocutors.

What the findings imply is that strategies in making the most appropriate lexical choice is play a significant influence on the discourse involving offers of sale. Making a good first impression and maintaining that good impression throughout the negotiation process is important in order for the subjects to secure a sale. It is therefore important for them to put the potential clients at ease and to make them feel special and appreciated. In that sense show of respect and politeness towards the potential clients is part and parcel of their discourse. The fact that they and their potential clients are Indonesians, and that they offer their services on the most part through Javanese and Indonesian languages, the subjects have shown that they are adept at using the various nuances of these languages.

**4.4.1.2 Research Question 2:** What positive and negative politeness strategies do the subjects employ?

The analysis revealed that the subjects tend to use more negative politeness strategies. As already discussed, positive face is the desire to be appreciated and approved, to be liked and honoured. Positive politeness is designed to meet these desires. Negative face on the other hand, is the desire to be free from imposition or intrusion, and



negative politeness is designed to protect the other person when negative face needs are threatened. Politeness, which is a culturally universal value, is especially important whenever we must threaten another person's face, which happens frequently in our relations with others. Therefore, as illustrated by the subjects in this study, in their day to day conduct of business that may be seen through the eyes of society as crude and hence, rude, evidence is abound that they too design messages that protect face.

Rules of speaking in a society are always related to the cultural values of the society (Asmah Hj Omar, 1992). Different cultures have different levels of required politeness and different ways of being polite, but all people have the need to be appreciated and protected. The subjects are from Javanese ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, where they have been brought up with the culture that directness is not one of the rules of speaking (Suseno, 1984; and Gunarwan, 1997). The Javanese has a saying about that relates to the concept of politeness: "*Ngono yo ngono neng ojo ngono*" (literally it translates as "Like that yes but not like this" which means "Do not over do it when talking about wrong things even when you know that these things are wrong"). Clearly this is a guide for all Javanese to always preserve other's face when making an utterance. Among Malay speakers, discontent, if expressed, will be done indirectly so as to avoid overt confrontation and arouse feelings of discomfort in the other party (Jamaliah Mohd Ali, 1995). Similarly, the subjects in this study are observed to be more inclined to state what should be said rather than say what they really feel. So when the data of this study revealed that the subjects do not directly show their disappointment when clients reject their offer, but would instead say "*ra po po*" (never mind), they too are aware of the human need to be appreciated and

approved; to be free from imposition and intrusion. They are evidently keeping up with a cultural practice that is as old as the language they speak; they are keeping *rukun* (harmony).

The Javanese culture emphasizes on conducting oneself as cultured and refined, whether one is a government official, a businessman or a prostitute. Being cultured and refined is part of the effort to preserve face. Preserving face is important to establish and maintain good relationships and social harmony. Being cultured and refined almost always begins at home where children are taught to respect the elders and to speak appropriately at all times, taking into consideration who they are in relation to who they are talking to (Geertz, 1961). As such, the degree of politeness expressed by the subjects in this study during interaction takes into consideration their age and social and educational background in relation to those of their potential clients. The elder subjects tend to speak more politely in comparison to the younger subjects, and the origin of the subjects also influence the way they speak. The subjects from the western regions of Javanese speaking area (Central Java Province) tend to speak in the more polite (*boso*) way. The ones with some education try to use standard Indonesian whereas those with low educational background tend to speak in the more vernacular style. Hence the findings suggest that although they come from different educational and socio-economic backgrounds with different number of years of experience and exposure, and the fact that they are prostitutes do not stop them from attempting to be cultured and refined in the way they managed communication. In their own way they still communicated good manners and sensitivity to the face needs of those with whom they interact.

As most of the subjects are from the eastern parts of East Java province, the most dominant speech level used in the data is the *ngoko* (low level speech). However, the data also revealed that the subjects mostly used honorific address system such as *mas* (*more polite or refined*) instead of *kang/cak* (*coarser*) although this is more often used in daily communication. The most immediate question that comes to mind is why would the subjects use low level speech but high honorific address system? The answer can only point to the rules of politeness that has been ingrained in all of them, rules which they have identified with being Javanese.

In Chapter 2, with reference to the Brown and Levinson (1987) formula for doing face threatening acts ( $Wx = D(S, H) + P(H, S) + Rx$ ), it has already been explained that distance (D) is determined by the differences of parameters such as age, sex, and socio-cultural background of the interactants. In Javanese culture, and as illustrated by the data of this study, the social background of the family are one of the things considered when making choices of the linguistic forms in conversation.

Power (P) is implied by the interactants' position or occupation within the speech context. Poedjasoedarma et al. (1979:18) state that another aspect that the speaker will use the occupation or job of the hearer as one of the other considerations for choosing the appropriate speech level in conversation. Analysis of the data of this study has provided evidence that the subjects assess their potential clients in terms of how they speak and dress to make decisions on their occupation or social standing and hence decide on the appropriate speech level to use with them.

Rank (R) rating depends on the degree to which they are considered to interfere with an interlocutor's need of approval. As already established, the Javanese people mostly

respect higher social background. Therefore, backgrounds of the family and social status have a great influence in the choosing of linguistic forms or speech level. The subjects' use of *pak* and *mas* together with the *boso* level of speaking illustrate this form respect. Poedjosoedarmo (1979) adds that speech levels of Javanese are to distinguish politeness degree between the speaker and the hearer when they communicate. Thus, the speech levels used in communication reflect the rank of the speaker in relation to the rank of the hearer. In addition, indirectness is characteristic of the Javanese; they try to convey their want without offending the hearer but the hearer understands what the speaker wants and reciprocates accordingly. In addition, indirectness is used to consider the threat of the hearer's face. To achieve successfully good communication, the Javanese will consider how to use appropriate speech levels, to avoid conflict or offending the hearer the Javanese convey his want indirectly.

The present study found that despite being in the business which is considered crass, the subjects still preserve the characteristics of Javanese politeness features as they manipulate and manage their interactions with their potential clients. Throughout the discourse they maintained their Javanese character of *perkewoh* (sense of humility) and *isin* (shy) with the clients or people around them. The subjects feel 'shy' or embarrassed when they make their offers therefore they manipulate and manage their speech through putting *perkewoh* (the sense of humility) into play. In addition, they used indirectness in speech to avoid offending the clients such as *ra po po* (never mind), when the clients reject their offers.