

Javanese Virtual Communication and Its Politeness Performance in Cyberpragmatics Perspective

by Yuli Widiananda

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Javanese Virtual Communication and Its Politeness Performance in Cyberpragmatics Perspective

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Abstract: *The long COVID-19 Pandemic affected a shift in the use of communication channels and its politeness performance. The phenomenon contributes to a lucrative object of research in cyberpragmatics. Concerning this, the research aimed to explore the virtual politeness of the Javanese netizens in social media based on the cyberpragmatics approach. The discussion focused on how Javanese adopted the Javanese politeness principles in WhatsApp Group (WAG). The observation method was employed to collect the data from the 3 WAGs of Javanese netizens of the 40s of age. All the conversational data were transcribed for textual analysis. The data classification was based on the types of speech acts. The semi-structured interview was applied as well to comprehend the perception of Javanese towards virtual politeness in WAG. The occurrence of virtual tokens was taken into consideration in the cyberpragmatics analysis. The result showed that Javanese politeness maxims were adopted in WAG conversations in a particular way. To this extent, the implementation of politeness maxims among Javanese netizens was not only a communicative strategy but also a representation of their cultural personality marker. Therefore, the violation of the politeness maxims would trigger a conflict. Perhaps, the result of the research would give insight into cultural communicative strategies in social media that is applicable for cross-cultural communication involving Javanese.*

Key words: *social media, politeness, cyberpragmatics, Javanese*

INTRODUCTION

The rapid development of information technology contributes to the massive

change in the communication lifestyle. People are no longer engaged in face-to-face communication only, but also virtual communication by using various social media applications. The global pandemic situation makes the use of cyber communication more intensive than before. Therefore, it contributes to the massive change of politeness strategies in virtual communication. This study explored how the traditional basic politeness principles cope with virtual communication on WhatsApp Group (WAG).

According to the latest data of the Ministry of Communication and Information of the Republic of Indonesia taken from Antaranews that is published on the ministry's website in 2019, WhatsApp is the most used instant messaging platform in Indonesia. The internet users in Indonesia are 171 million and 83% of the 171 million are WhatsApp users. The huge number of WhatsApp users is the abundant data that is interesting to analyze in the field of Pragmatics. To this extent, the study discusses the application of Javanese politeness principles in WAG and the motivation of the members to violate or obey the principles.

The previous study on politeness in WAG of the Spanish family members shows that the disagreement expression is not considered as impoliteness and it is even evaluated in positive terms by some of the participants (Fernández-Amaya, 2019). Politeness and impoliteness perception is contextual. Therefore, the social relationship of the members of the WAG would contribute to the perception of (im)politeness. Meanwhile, the study of politeness in WAG based on gender shows that women are as aggressive as men in delivering their argument towards socially sensitive topics such as religion and sexual behavior disorientation (Junita, 2020). The study did not include specific contexts in analyzing the conversational data. Since politeness study is attached to pragmatics, the study on politeness based on the virtual external context of cyberpragmatics would enrich the previous studies on a similar topic.

Previous studies on Javanese politeness contributed significant particular aspects. However, it needs more exploration due to the shift of communication channels. In his research of Javanese politeness political discourse, Santoso (2015) claimed that political discourse is significantly shaped by basic principles of Javanese culture and that the concept of *rukun* 'social harmony' is important even in a political debate where conflict cannot always be avoided. The significant role of Javanese politeness maxim in establishing harmonious communication is seen in the compliment response of Javanese. Sukarno (2015) stated that Javanese utilize the concept of *andhap-asor* by denigrating himself and having a sense of *tanggap ing sasmita* 'understanding the hidden meaning' while responding to compliments. Consequently, failure to apply one of the cultural factors can be detrimental to the speaker and reduce the harmony of the conversation. Both studies prove that Javanese politeness maxims are essential factors in establishing harmonious communication among the members of the speech community. The current research on Javanese politeness on a gender basis shows that phatic communication is the essential strategy of performing politeness among Javanese women (Widiana, Sumarlam, Marmanto, Purnanto, & Sulaiman, 2020).

Furthermore, Javanese phatic communication has more functions than just the ice-breaking tool. The functions are initiating a conversation, intensifying camaraderie, pleasing others, expressing happiness, and consoling others (Widiana et al., 2020). The study strengthens the importance of phatic communication in performing politeness in the Javanese speech community.

This study offers an insight into politeness performance in the virtual context of Social-Media-Communication (SMC) from a cyberpragmatics perspective. The description of the implementation of Javanese politeness maxims in a virtual context is the main goal of the study. Perhaps, the result of the study would contribute to the current study of virtual pragmatic politeness among Javanese that is interesting to explore since there are not many studies that discuss this matter.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Cyberpragmatics

Cyberpragmatics is the current discussion of pragmatics that occurred in the virtual communication era. Cyberpragmatics is a pragmatic analysis of internet-mediated communication (Yus, 2011). The special interest of the cyberpragmatics analysis is the role of sender intentions and the quality of addressee interpretation when the internet-mediated interactions take place along with the employment of virtual politeness. This fact leads to the case of how politeness shifts from direct communication to virtual communication. To this extent, Locher (2013) said that identity and politeness in Computer-Mediated-Communication (CMC) are interesting starting points for researchers to explore. The analysis of conversational data from the cyberpragmatics perspective requires particular contexts with their particular features due to the physical limitation of virtual communication. The elements and functions of the context might shift and change so that the meaning of speech intentions in cyberpragmatics might also change (Rahardi, 2020). One of the significant features of cyberpragmatics contexts is the use of virtual elements, e.g. smileys, emoji, emoticon, avatar, GIF, and virtual stickers, to replace physical contact, express feeling, and clarify meaning. Those elements should be taken into consideration in analyzing the virtual textual data. The effectiveness of the virtual elements to replace physical contact and expression would be a lucrative object of research to explore.

A previous study on cyberpragmatics discussed the typographic alterations from an informal Computer-Mediated-Communication (CMC) to a more formal context. The result shows that variation is less versatile in the formal context than in the informal one (e.g. chats) where other types of variation like capitalization, abbreviations, acronyms, or imitations of a register (e.g. *kinda*) are pervasive (Maíz-Arévalo, 2015). This prior study applied the cyberpragmatics approach since it included typographic variation –e.g. emoticons, repetitions, and onomatopoeia in

the analysis. The next study discussed the compliment response of Balinese women on social media (Sartini, 2019). The result described the strategies of compliment response without explaining much about the importance of virtual elements in the virtual context concerning the response. The current research of cyberpragmatics concerning politeness in virtual public communication shows that positive politeness is the polarity of politeness that is mostly used whereas negative politeness is still outnumbered even with the bald strategy (Zainurrahman & Mintesya, 2020). The more specific study on cyberpragmatics concerning Javanese cultural politeness is interesting to discuss since Javanese is the dominant population in Indonesia. Therefore, this study aims to explore more about the use of Javanese politeness maxims in a virtual cyberpragmatics context.

B. Phatic speech acts

The early theory about phatic communication was introduced by Malinowski (1923) with his concept of 'phatic communion' as a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words. Accordingly, phatic communication is a conversation for its own sake or comments on what is perfectly obvious. In other words, phatic communication is an informal type of discourse that does not cover any functional topics of conversation or any transactions that need to be addressed. Kreidler (1998) supports Malinowski's opinion by defining phatic communication as a speech act to sustain social relations among members of a speech community by using common phatic utterances such as greetings, farewells, and polite formulas in everyday conversation. Meanwhile, Holmes (2013) reinforces Kreidler's definition that phatic communication focuses more on the affective aspect than the referential aspect of communication as its emphasis is on spreading social messages instead of specific informative messages.

In the more specific context among friends, phatic communication often supplies a minimum of information, but a maximum of the supportive chat (Aitchison, 1996). Although it is not very obvious, phatic communication plays an important role in establishing social rapport and managing interpersonal distance among members of a community with its various functions. Phatic communication, in general, is used to start a conversation, to break the silence, to gossip, to keep a conversation going, to show hospitality, to create harmony, to build comfort, to express empathy, to express friendship, to show respect, and to express politeness (Jumanto, 2014; Kreidler, 1998; Malinowski, 1923).

The various purposes of phatic communication in building social rapport are likely related to politeness principles. In Malaysia, for instance, hospitality, especially towards foreigners is continuously campaigned for by the call for "Budi Bahasa Budaya Kita" (Politeness is our Culture) campaigns (Kuang, David, & Lau, 2013). Phatic communication is supposed to be part of performing hospitality concerning politeness convention in each culture. Therefore, the discussion of phatic communication is related to politeness.

C. Pragmatics politeness

An important concept in pragmatic politeness is 'face'. The concept of face is a reputation or self-esteem ⁵ a person (Goffman, 1967). Moreover, Brown & Levinson (1987) explained that the face is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction. In general, people cooperate (and assume each other's cooperation) in maintaining face in interaction, such as cooperation based on the mutual vulnerability of face. Thus, Goffman (1967) emphasized that conversation will work if the participants consider politeness as the main thing to ² make the communication run smoothly. The pragmatic study of face emphasizes how we use language to acknowledge the fact that people have face 'need' ². The concept of face in communication and interaction elaborates that face deals with the 'positive social value' that we should maintain in social interactions. In ² such a conversation, each of the participants has a certain face so that each of them will produce ut²terances that take notice of each other's face in such a particular situation. However, an individual's face can suddenly change during a single interaction.

² One of the most prominent concepts of the face is 'positive face' and 'negative face' (Brown & Levinson, 1987). A positive face reflects the need to be accepted and respected. A negative face refers to the need for freedom to do what we want and to be independent. The concept of the face which is proposed by Brown and Levinson is closely relat²ed to the cooperative principles since the participants of ² such a conversation will cooperate in maintaining each other's face needs. However, intentionally or unintentionally, speakers often produce utterances that are possible to threaten one or both types of face. This is what Brown and Levinson called 'face-threatening acts' (FTAs). Insults or expressions of disapproval are examples of utterances that are very potential in giving harm to the addressee's positive face. Less dangerous utterances such as requests might be face-threatening to negative face if it is against people's need to be free to do what they want to do.

The concept of face in pragmatics is closely related to politeness. Mey (1998) found that politeness is considered as a conversational maxim, a face-saving activity, or a conversational contract. Moreover, Mey (1998) explained that the politeness principle is a complement to Grice's cooperative principles. Consequently, the principle of politeness is employed to reduce potential friction in such an interaction. In other words, politeness has a role to save each other's faces.

The pragmatics of politeness is introduced by Leech (2014) by the concept of General Strategy of Politeness (GSP). This concept is related to his previous politeness maxims (Leech, 1983). Previously, negative politeness and the positive politeness theory of Brown & Levinson (1987) are a breakthrough in politeness study. The theory has similarities to Javanese politeness maxims but it could not accommodate all politeness performances in Javanese tradition.

D. Javanese politeness maxims

Javanese is culturally a collective society whose members are connected by social norms established by history, tradition, and religion (Endraswara, 2005). Therefore, solidarity and connectedness within a community, known as *Guyub* is a crucial aspect to establish a social bond. The Javanese are connected with everyone in the community and willing to share a brotherly bond. In performing phatic communication, Javanese put *rasa* (feeling) as the priority in keeping social rapport. Hence, what Geertz (1976) calls 'dissimulation or pretence', or what the Javanese themselves call *étok-étok* is used as a politeness strategy to avoid imposition. This cultural norm of concealment, of not telling people any 'gratuitous truths' applies to the truth about one's personal feelings, wishes, and intentions (Wierzbicka, 2003).

Javanese politeness strategies in phatic communication are closely related to the traditional politeness maxims consisting of *Kurmat* (Respect), *Tepa Selira* (Tolerance), *Andhap Asor* (Humility), and *Empan Papan* (Self-Awareness) (Gunarwan, 2007). The maxim of *kurmat* suggests speakers give high respect to the addressees. In so doing, the speaker is supposed to select the appropriate Javanese speech level and use the appropriate term of address based on the hearer's social status. The *tepa selira* maxim expects speakers to place themselves in the addressees' situation to comprehend what they feel in such circumstances. In *andhap asor* maxim, speakers are supposed to behave modestly and avoid showing off. The maxim of *empan papan* is a suggestion for the speakers to be aware of the circumstances of the setting and the addressee's social status or position to behave appropriately. The other essential maxim of Javanese politeness proposed by Poedjosoedarmo (2009) is *sumanak* (friendliness). The maxim suggests Javanese be friendly and treat his interlocutor as *sanak* 'relative or family' to establish a close relation and smooth communication, despite the status and power. The formulation of politeness maxims is guidance for Javanese to avoid conflict. Therefore, the maxims are strictly obeyed to mitigate imposition.

A similar concept of politeness in Chinese tradition is formulated by Gu, (1990). Both Javanese and Chinese politeness maxims are more than just a strategy of communication but the maxims are the moral principles attached to every member of the speech community. Therefore, it is interesting to explore how Javanese politeness maxims are applied in the virtual context of Social-Media-Communication (SMC).

METHOD

The data were obtained through the non-participation-observation method and semi-structured interviews. The textual analysis procedure was conducted within a cyberpragmatics framework to make the research valid. The analytical procedure was the adaptation of Leech's (1983) means-end method and a heuristic method. The means-ends analysis has a goal to gain a problem solving both from the speaker's point of view and the hearer's point of view. From the speaker's point of view, problem-

solving is a plan (illocutionary act) to get the most likely result (perlocutionary act) by producing certain utterances (locutionary act). The problem-solving from the hearer's point of view refers to the interpretation of the hearer's mental state to comprehend the most likely reason for the speaker's saying certain utterances. In addition to the goal, the speaker might perform the act of preserving the politeness principles (G^{PP}) to maintain good social relations. In other words, the G^{PP} could be the main goal such as in phatic communication interaction. The effect of the speaker's speech act (perlocutionary act) is seen based on the response of the hearer to the speaker's phatic utterances. The cyberpragmatics context comprising the social status of the interlocutors, the form of utterances, and virtual symbol of expressions are taken into consideration to analyze the politeness maxims conducted during the phatic conversation. The politeness maxims utilized by Javanese in phatic communication were discussed based on Javanese politeness principles of *Kurmat* (respect), *Tepa Selira* (tolerance), *Andhap Asor* (humility), *empan papan* (self-awareness), and *sumanak* (friendliness).

A. Type of research

This research makes use of a qualitative type since qualitative research is particularly appropriate for examining the process through its attention to context and particularities (Holland, Thomson, & Henderson, 2006). Moreover, qualitative research finds out about people's experiences (Silverman, 2021). Therefore, this type of research is appropriate for pragmatics study since the result would give an understanding of human experience.

B. Research subjects

The data of this research were 246 virtual conversations in WAG. This study involved 25 Javanese netizens aged between 25 and 50. All respondents were native speakers of Javanese who were raised in a Javanese cultural environment. The similar Javanese cultural background of the respondents is an important aspect to obtain a valid result of the implementation of Javanese politeness maxims in virtual contexts.

C. Research procedure

1. Observation

The conversational data of phatic communication is obtained through the non-participation-observation method by passively observing the conversational texts on five WAGs whose members are Javanese. Then, the transcription of the virtual texts was made for the textual analysis.

2. Interview

The primary conversational data was complemented by the result of the semi-structured interview. The semi-structured interview was conducted on 25 respondents to elicit detailed information on their perception of the

importance of performing virtual politeness in social media communication. The respondents were taken randomly out of the 81 respondents from 3 WAG with similar criteria.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The findings of this study provide information on the implementation of the four Javanese politeness maxims by Javanese in their daily virtual phatic communication on WAG. The types of Javanese politeness maxims found in this study are *Kurmat* (Respect), *Tepa Selira* (Tolerance), *Andhap Asor* (Humility), and *Empan Papan* (Self-Awareness).

The result based on the non-participation-observation method shows that *Tepa Selira* maxim was the most frequent maxim used by the Javanese netizens in WAG whereas *Kurmat* maxim was the least. The following table shows the result in more detail:

Table 1:
The Usage Frequency of Javanese Maxims

| No. | Maxim | Frequency | Percentage |
|-----|--------------------|-----------|------------|
| 1 | <i>Kurmat</i> | 14 | 5.79% |
| 2 | <i>Tepa Selira</i> | 112 | 46.28% |
| 3 | <i>Andhap Asor</i> | 61 | 25.20% |
| 4 | <i>Empan Papan</i> | 55 | 22.73% |
| | TOTAL | 242 | 100% |

The maxim of *Tepa Selira* was frequently used by Javanese netizens to support each other since Javanese is a communal society that considers togetherness as a priority in life which is known as *Guyub* (solidity). *Kurmat* maxim was rarely implemented by the respondents since they were peer acquaintances. *Kurmat* maxim occurred merely to respect each other due to the social status based on occupation or profession.

The *Kurmat* (respect) maxim occurred when there was a different social status between the interlocutors. Unlike the traditional Javanese principles, deference is implemented in the form of the term of address such as *Mas*, *Kang*, *Den Baguse* for male interlocutors; and *Mbak*, *Jeng* for female interlocutors. The terms of address were not only used among the interlocutors with the age differences but also among peer acquaintances. The following excerpt of virtual conversation explains this matter.

¹
R05: *Piye Kang Nardi? Suk Riyaya isa mudik ora?*
'Kang Nardi, would you be back home on Eid?'

¹
R06: *Durung entuk mudik ki...mudah2an September isa njupuk cuti.*
'I cannot go home....hopefully I could take a vacation in September.'

The term of address *Kang* is used by R05 to refer to R06. Both were classmates at the university and currently live in different cities. Both are from the same hometown. R05 lives in his hometown but R06 works in another city. Although both are of the same age, R05 used *Kang* to refer to R06 for respect since R06 has a high rank in his job. R05 is the online taxi driver whereas R06 works at the governmental institution as the head of the department. Another example is as follows.

¹
R17: *Kang Nardi, piye efekmu bar vaksin? Tambah kereng (emoji of angry giant mask with a thick moustache) apa tambah keren? (emoji of a handsome man with a hat, coat, and sunglasses)*

'Kang Nardi, how is the side effect of your vaccination? Do you become more fierce or more handsome?'

¹
R18: *Sing pertama wingi ana mumet sithik Jeng...yen sing kedua iki mau lanciiir jaya alias aman terkendali.*


'The first one, I felt a bit dizzy, Jeng...but the second one is fine and smooth.'

R17 and R18 were classmates at the university. R17 is a university lecturer and R18 is the head of the department at a governmental institution. Both are at the same age but they called each other by the addressee terms *Kang* for male acquaintance and *Jeng* for female acquaintance. Based on the interview, both use the terms to respect each other since they had already been the important person in each career.

The maxim of *tepa selira* (tolerance) was implemented by the Javanese netizens to support each other. During the pandemic, supports were related to health, perseverance, and endurance to get through a difficult situation. The excerpt of the phatic conversation is as follows.

R21: *Selamat pagi. Salam sehat selalu* (written in stickers)
'Good morning, Stay healthy.'



R22: *Semangaaat...* 
'Keep going on.'

R23: *Wis ngopi bos.*
'I had my coffee already.'

R21, R22, and R23 were old friends. They were at the same company a long time ago but they resigned and got different jobs. To keep in touch, they made the WAG whose members are the ex-workers at the company. In the conversations, they

greet each other and support each other to keep going on the good life. Based on the interview, both agreed that the use of stickers is more attractive than just writing a text. Therefore, both used eye-catching stickers instead of writing a text. Supports by utilizing *tepa selira* maxims were also seen when one of the members of the WAG was confirmed COVID-19 positive. The conversation text is as follows.

¹
R43: *Assalamu'alaikum kanca-kanca kabeh. Mohon doa ya, aku karo anakku loro karo positif. Padahal bapak lagi wae mari, saiki wis negatif. Malah genti aku karo anak-anakku sing positif.*

'Assalamu'alaikum friends. Please pray for me, I and both my children are confirmed positive. The father had just recovered and had already been negative right now. However, now, I and the children are confirmed positive.'

¹
R44: *Semangat Jeng. Pasti sembuh. Pokoke mangan sing akeh terus aja lali ditambah vitamin. Tak dungakna awakmu karo bocah-bocah ndang mari, ndang cepet negative maneh.*

'Don't give up, Jeng. You will be recovered. You've gotta eat much and don't forget to take some vitamins. I pray for you and your children to get well soon and be confirmed negative quickly.'

R43 and R44 were members of the same WAG. Both were classmates at the university. R43 needs support from her WAG friends since she and both her children were confirmed COVID-19 positive. R44 performed *tepa selira* maxim to give support to R43 not to give up. He also prayed for R43 and her children to recover soon. In this case, R44 tried to feel his friend's circumstances by giving support since he knew that his support would be a great consolation for R43.

Traditionally, Javanese are expected to be humble since the act of showing off is an inappropriate and impolite manner in the Javanese community. The previous study proved that Javanese tends to denigrate themselves in responding to compliments (Sukarno, 2015). Concerning this matter, the *andhap asor* maxim is one of the essential politeness principles to establish smooth phatic communication. The example of the implementation of *andhap asor* maxim is provided in the following excerpt of the conversation.

¹
R47: *Piye kabare, boss. Tambah makmur saiki*
'How you doing, boss. You look greater now.'

¹
R48: *Iki dudu boss...tapi bis* (grin emoji) 😊
'This is not boss...but bus.'

The excerpt of the conversation was taken from the WAG of the ex-co-workers. R47 called R48 'boss' since he considered that R48 lived a prosperous life. Responding to R47, R48 implemented the *andhap asor* maxim by saying that he is not a boss but a bus. The response contained a joke to make the conversation more cheerful

and warm. The respondents' answers in the interview showed that being humble is important to avoid conflict. However some Javanese responded to the compliment by thanking instead of denigrating themselves. They believe thanking is polite and would not create a conflict. Here is an example of the conversation.

¹
R13: *Wah...apik men suaramu. Gitaranmu ya keren.*
'What a beautiful voice you have. You're also good at playing guitar.'

R14: *Suwun, Mas* (folded hand emoji) 🙏
'Thanks, Mas.'

Thanking is a common politeness strategy in responding to compliments in a virtual context. It could be performed by writing a text or utilizing an emoji or sticker. Both thanking and self-devaluation strategies were used by Javanese netizens in responding to compliments virtually as the implementation of *andhap asor* maxim. The interviewees in the interview session considered thanking is not less polite than self-devaluation-strategy. The employment of folded hand emoji or other virtual tokens represents *Andhap Asor* (humility) maxim in responding to the compliments.

Capability to do self-adaptation in the different atmospheres of communication is the goal of *empan papan* maxim. Based on a traditional concept, Javanese are suggested to be aware of the context with whom, where, and what about the conversation takes place. The concept is related to the stereotype of Javanese as polite and delicate people (Tiarawati & Wulandari, 2015). Self-awareness includes the capability to select the appropriate speech level to which it fits. The ability of a speaker to use the degree of Javanese speech correctly reflects the politeness degree of the speaker's behavior (Nuryantiningsih & Pandanwangi, 2018). However, speech level selection is no longer significant for nowadays phatic communication. The selection of the speech level is limited to certain diction. Here is the example.

¹
R61: *Aja fotone thok sing di-share. Nomor WA ne barang kudune.*
'Don't just share the pictures. The WA number must be shared too'

¹
R62: *Tiara: 081803422254*
'Tiara: 081803422254.'

R61: *Mangga Mas Dodik, jajal langsung ditelpun.*
'Please try to call her, Mas Dodik.'

The conversation was taken from the ex-co-workers WAG. One of the members, R62 shared the flyer of the next performance of the female Disc Jockey. Then, R61 commented on the flyer by asking the sender to share the WA number of the female Disc Jockey. After R62 shared the WA number, R61 asked another male member in WAG to try to call the female Disc Jockey since he was single. The formal term

mangga of high level Javanese *Krama* was used by R61 to another member of the group that he called *Mas Dodik*. R61 used the term *mangga* since he realized that *Mas Dodik* was the one who deserved respect due to his role as the WAG administrator. However, the rest of the utterances were at low *ngoko* speech level. Another example of the implementation of *empan papan* maxim is as follows.

R95: *Kuwi lho ana jajan ning kulkas. Jupuken cah. Dienggo kanca-kanca kabeh kuwi.*
'There are some snacks in the refrigerator. Have some. It's for everybody.'

R96: *Maturnuwun, bro* (Thumb up emoji and folded hand emoji) 👍🙏
'Thanks, bro.'

Both R95 and R96 are members of co-worker WAG since they work at the same company. R95 left some snacks in the refrigerator in their office and shared the information in WAG. R96 gave a response to the information by thanking him with the formal term *maturnuwun* from high-level Javanese *Krama*. The choice of the formal thanking expression is a politeness performance since both interlocutors are at a similar social status level. Furthermore, the conversation occurred on the office WAG so R96 considered that it was the formal context. It made R96 chose the formal *maturnuwun* 'thank you' instead of the colloquial *uwun* 'thanks'.

The result of the semi-structured interview showed that 20 out of 25 interviewees consider politeness maxims are essential in establishing harmonious communication and building a social rapport in all contexts of virtual conversations. The rest of the 5 interviewees argue that politeness maxims should be implemented in a formal atmosphere only. The implementation of Javanese politeness maxims is not only a strategy of creating smooth communication but also the representation of Javanese cultural identity. Therefore, the violation of the maxims would create a conflict.

However, there is a shift in the implementation of *Andhap Asor* maxims. It is seen in the response to compliments. Traditionally, Javanese should perform self-devaluation to respond to compliments. However, they tend to thank for the compliments instead of performing self-devaluation. Eventually, the politeness shift is accepted by the Javanese speech community as an appropriate attitude.

Even though Javanese politeness maxims have similarities to the concept of Brown and Levinson's politeness, the concept could not explain the shifted use of Javanese speech level concerning politeness. The positive politeness of Brown and Levinson that focuses on the condition of the hearers are related to the *andhap asor* maxim and the *empan papan* maxim. To this extent, *andhap asor* maxim suggests the speakers praise the hearer more than praise themselves. Meanwhile, the maxim of *empan papan* expects the speakers to consider the social status of the hearers to select the appropriate manner and speech level. Selecting the suitable manner and speech level is a particular feature of the Javanese politeness concept. The concept does not exist in Brown and Levinson's positive politeness.

CONCLUSION

This research described the implementation of Javanese politeness maxims in social media. The maxims are a guide to establishing smooth communication among Javanese. *Kurmat* (respect) maxim and *Tepa Selira* (tolerance) are almost similar to Brown and Levinson's negative politeness since the focus is on the addressee. On the contrary, *andhap asor* (humility) and *empan papan* (Self-awareness) that focus on the speaker's manner resemble Brown and Levinson's positive politeness. However, the four Javanese maxims have their peculiar characteristics since they are not only a communicative strategy but more about a moral identity representation of Javanese. Consequently, the violation of the maxims leads to the risk of being excluded from the community.

The implementation of the Javanese politeness maxims in virtual communication contributes to effective and warm communication based on the Javanese philosophy of *semanak* (friendliness). The particular virtual expression symbols like emoji, GIFT, and stickers contribute to the lively and cheerful virtual conversation. Eventually, guidance on the appropriate use of virtual expression tokens is needed to avoid the inappropriate use of the tokens. Yet, the guidance of the appropriate use of virtual expression symbols is not formulated. Thus, it probably triggers the use of inappropriate symbols that potentially create a conflict. More exploration of virtual tokens concerning virtual politeness would be a lucrative object of further research in the field of cyberpragmatics.

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APPENDICES:

Daftar pertanyaan wawancara

1. Apa pendapat Anda tentang pentingnya budaya Sapa Aruh atau tindak tutur fatis?
2. Dalam situasi apa saja Anda melakukan tindak tutur fatis dalam bahasa Jawa?
3. Apa saja fungsi tindak tutur fatis menurut pendapat Anda?
4. Topik obrolan apa saja yang biasanya Anda gunakan dalam melakukan tindak tutur fatis?
5. Bahasa dan sapaan apa yang Anda gunakan untuk melakukan tindak tutur fatis dengan lawan bicara yang sebaya?

6. Bahasa dan sapaan apa yang Anda gunakan untuk melakukan tindak tutur fatis dengan lawan bicara yang lebih tua?
7. Bahasa dan sapaan apa yang Anda gunakan untuk melakukan tindak tutur fatis dengan lawan bicara yang lebih muda?
8. Bahasa dan sapaan apa yang Anda gunakan untuk melakukan tindak tutur fatis dengan lawan bicara yang bergender sama?
9. Bahasa dan sapaan apa yang Anda gunakan untuk melakukan tindak tutur fatis dengan lawan bicara yang berbeda gender?
10. Hal-hal apa saja yang harus dilakukan dan dihindari dalam melakukan tindak tutur fatis sesuai dengan nilai-nilai kesantunan budaya Jawa?



Covid-19 has changed our educational landscape. It has created distances, yet at the same time it has also created borderless classrooms. Any student can now jump from one classroom to another classroom – not only from their own department but also to faculties and even to universities from all over the world in seconds. An Indonesian student can take courses not only from his/ her university but also take courses from a Pilipino, Malaysian or U.S.A. university during the course of their studies. This is possible due to the Indonesia's *Kampus Merdeka* program, which has promoted that education is now free to take, anyway we like, insofar as the requirements of taking the desired class are met. Students want to learn how to become creative and innovative beings. How can the School of Arts and Language Studies, such as the English Study program prepare their curriculum? What kinds of arts and entrepreneurship skills can universities and schools offer, so the would-be graduates can become competitive individuals? This book contains insights and results of research done by students, lecturers, teachers, and practitioners, who writes on the theme: “Arts and Entrepreneurship in Language Studies”.

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