

Criticism in the Javanese Arek Cultural Community

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Criticism in the Javanese Arek Cultural Community

Its expression context and strategy use

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This article studies the speech act criticism and its function as a means of social control in the Javanese Arek Cultural Community (JACC) in East Java, Indonesia. Its goal is to understand how criticism is expressed in various contexts based on \pm Power (\pm P), \pm social Distance (\pm D), \pm Public (\pm Pu), and to understand the criticism strategies appropriate for use in these contexts. The data was collected through Discourse Completion Tasks and interviews. The results show that the contexts for expressing criticism in the JACC are determined by parameter \pm D. Based on this parameter, it can be discovered which contexts tend to be preferred and less preferred. In the use of strategy, the Indirect Criticism (IC) is more commonly used than the Direct Criticism (DC). Nevertheless, in preferred contexts, the DC is still regarded as something that is natural and customary.

Keywords: criticism, contexts, Direct Criticism, Indirect Criticism, Javanese Arek Cultural Community, social control

1. Introduction

A criticism is recognized as a speech act that is prone to be face-threatening (Brown and Levinson 1987). It is described as such because this type of speech act generally performed in a manner which makes a negative or bad judgement of the behaviour or action of the person who is the target of the criticism (Nguyen, 2005). Therefore, in some cultures criticisms must often be stated carefully, using appropriate strategies, proper semantic formulae, suitable modifiers, and in the right context, according to the socio-cultural norms that prevail. If these points are ignored, the criticism is prone to trigger tension or even conflict between critic and recipient.

Because of this face-threatening characteristic, criticisms tend to be disliked in certain cultures. Nevertheless, criticism has a very important function in social life, namely as a means of social control. Social control is a mechanism for preventing social deviation and for encouraging and directing people to behave and act in accordance with the norms and values that prevail (Roucek 1965; Berger 1978; Soekanto 2007). In sociology, social control is often divided into two types, namely cursive and persuasive social control. The former is repressive or forceful in nature. It may take the form of punishment or even physical action of a violent nature. The latter is not repressive but persuasive. Criticism is a form of persuasive social control because it uses linguistic action or verbal action. Hence, to make a criticism is in fact to control. Controlling means preventing deviant behaviour and restoring it to behaviour that is considered normal.

This article studies the speech act criticism in connection with its function as a means of social control. The community chosen as the target of the study is the Javanese Arek Cultural Community (JACC) in East Java (Indonesia). The goal of the study is to understand how criticism is expressed in the JACC in accordance with the contexts and socio-cultural values that prevail, and to understand what kinds of criticism strategy are regarded as suitable for use in these contexts. In the JACC criticism may be used in various areas of life, such as the religious domain, political domain, office domain, social domain, and educational domain. However, the criticism studied in this article focuses only on criticism in the office domain (a government office), as expressed by office employees, by subordinates to superiors and vice versa. The office domain was chosen because of its clear power structure (superiors and subordinates) which facilitates the researcher in analysing the data, specifically concerning the use of criticism strategies that are influenced by the power structure.

In this article, the JACC refers to a social group which is a subculture of the ethnic Javanese community (in Indonesia). Other subcultures of the Javanese community include the Javanese Mataram, Javanese Tengger, Javanese Samin, and Javanese Osing communities. However, the populations of the Javanese Tengger, Samin, and Osing communities are quite small and the areas in which they are found are quite narrow. The Javanese Tengger community lives in highland areas around the Tengger mountain in Pasuruhan, East Java, the Javanese Osing community is centred in Banyuwangi, and the Javanese Samin community is found mainly in the regions of Pati and Blora in Central Java. Considering these various limitations, the Javanese Tengger, Samin, and Osing subcultures are not discussed in this article.

The most dominant subcultures and those with the widest area are the Javanese Arek and Javanese Mataram subcultures. In general, the Javanese Arek subculture is found throughout East Java and centred in Surabaya and Malang, as

well as encompassing a number of surrounding areas such as Jombang, Mojokerto, Sidoarjo, and other surrounding areas. Presently, the daily life of the JACC is no longer influenced by the Mataram Kingdom (in Yogyakarta). From a language perspective, the JACC uses a dialect of the Javanese language that differs from that of the Javanese Mataram community. In terms of the expression of speech acts, the JACC is known (stereotyped) to be more forthright or direct in its expression of speech (including speech that is considered to be face-threatening) than the Javanese Mataram cultural community.

While the community belonging to the Javanese Mataram subculture is found throughout Central Java and in certain areas of East Java, it is centred primarily in Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Unlike the JACC, the Javanese Mataram community continues to be strongly influenced by the Mataram Kingdom, and for this reason, Javanese cultural values are still upheld strongly by this community. The Javanese Mataram community is known to be more roundabout in its expression of speech, especially speech that is face-threatening. The expression of criticism, for example, is considered to be impolite (Poedjosoedarmo 1978), and for this reason it should be expressed indirectly (Pranowo 2009a:2). From the perspective of language use, the Javanese Mataram cultural community uses a dialect of Javanese that differs from that of the JACC. Although the subject of criticism in the Javanese Mataram cultural community is also interesting to study, due to a number of limitations, the current article focuses only on the use of criticism in the JACC.

It should be stated that up to the present time, only a small number of studies on the speech act of criticism in the Javanese community or other ethnic communities in Indonesia (with different cultural backgrounds) have been carried out by experts; quantitatively, their writings show insignificant numbers. Still, the speech act criticism is in fact an important subject to study, bearing in mind that it also has an important function as a means of social control. A bibliographic search identified one researcher as having studied criticism in the Javanese community, namely Gunarwan (1996). However, his research explores the Javanese community in general, without specific focus on any particular subculture. In his study, Gunarwan uses speech strategies which follow those introduced by Brown and Levinson (1987), namely the strategies of bald on record, on record plus positive politeness, on record plus negative politeness, and off record. The contexts of criticism are determined based on the parameters of \pm power, \pm solidarity, and \pm formality.

Apart from the one by Gunarwan, no other studies of criticism were found, either in the context of the Javanese community or in other ethnic communities in Indonesia. The only relevant studies found were about the speech act of criticism in communities in Vietnam, China, and other countries, such as the ones carried out by Tracy et al. (1987), Tracy & Eisenberg (1990), Wajnryb (1993), Toplak and Katz (2000), Nguyen (2005, 2008), Hoang Thi Xuang Hoa (2007), and Farnia & Hiba Qusay Abdul Sattar (2015). It is important to underline the fact that none of

the studies on criticism by the experts mentioned here are related to the function of criticism as a means of social control, whereas as emphasized above, making a criticism is in fact a way of controlling. Therefore, it is important that criticism be studied in accordance with its function, namely as a means of social control in order to prevent deviant behaviour.

2. Definitions of criticism

A number of experts are found to have given different definitions of criticism. Mulac et al. (2000: 310), for example, state that criticism has been conceptualized as a negative evaluation of some aspect of an individual that is communicated to others. A more comprehensive definition is given by Nguyen (2005: 110), who writes that

A criticism is defined as an illocutionary act whose illocutionary point is to give negative evaluation on H's actions, choices, words, and products for which he or she may be held responsible. This act is performed in hope of influencing H's future actions for the better for his or her own benefit as viewed by S or to communicate S's dissatisfaction/discontent with or dislike regarding what H has done but without the implicature that what H has done brings undesirable consequences to S. (H is for Hearer, S for Speaker)

Meanwhile, Hoang Thi Xuan Hoa (2007: 136) states that criticizing is sometimes performed to vent the speaker's negative feeling or attitude to the hearer or the hearer's work, choice, behaviour, etc. On a similar note, Min Shang-Chao (2008: 67) takes the view that criticism is concerned with the negative evaluation of the behaviour of an individual.

If we look carefully, the various definitions of criticism given by these experts above can be seen to have one similarity, namely that criticism is generally associated with the negative evaluation of the behaviour of the recipient of the criticism. This negative evaluation is expressed with the intention to have the recipient carry out introspection or self-correction, so as to become better in the future.

3. Criticism as a means of social control

In the present article, criticism is viewed in terms of its function as a means of social control. Controlling means attempting to prevent deviant behaviour so that it is restored to what is considered normal. On this basis, a criticism does not have the same function as other similar speech acts, such as insulting or cursing, which are not a form of social control. Example (1) shows how criticism functions as a

means of social control (in an educational environment/school). In this example, the criticism is expressed by Mr. Djazuli, a High School principal. The criticism is directed towards Mr. Ahmad, a teacher at the school. Mr. Ahmad is criticized because he is considered to have violated the school rules by smoking while he was teaching. The criticism by Mr. Djazuli is expressed as follows:

- (1) *Sebelumnya saya mohon maaf kepada Pak Ahmad. Begini Pak. Apa tidak bisa Bapak tidak merokok ketika sedang mengajar di kelas? Sebab, itu bisa membawa dampak yang kurang baik bagi siswa.* (–P+D+Pu)
 ‘Beforehand, forgive me, Mr. Ahmad. It’s like this, Sir. Could you not smoke while you are teaching in the classroom? Because it could have an unfavourable impact on the students.’ (my translation)

Criticism (1) is expressed in a teachers’ meeting in the context (–P+D+Pu).¹ The action of Mr. Ahmad smoking while he was teaching in the classroom is considered to have a potentially unfavourable impact on the students. Therefore, Mr. Ahmad is criticized by Mr. Djazuli, the school principal, as in Example (1). The criticism made by Mr. Djazuli above is clearly not just an expression of a negative attitude towards Mr. Ahmad’s actions, but is also a form of control over Mr. Ahmad’s violation of the norms. With this criticism, it is hoped that Mr. Ahmad will correct his behaviour in the future by no longer smoking while he teaches in the classroom.

Example (1) shows clearly how criticism functions as a means of social control. Criticism is intended to control an individual so that he or she no longer engages in deviant behaviour, and also to encourage the individual to carry out introspection and self-correction.

4. Strategies of criticism

Criticisms are always expressed using a particular strategy. There are two types of criticism strategy discussed in this article, namely the strategy of Direct Criticism (DC) and the strategy of Indirect Criticism (IC). DC is a strategy in which the criticism is expressed transparently, clearly, explicitly, and not ambiguously. A direct strategy occurs when the speaker’s meaning is the same as the linguistic meaning or sentence meaning (Searle 1996). According to Blum-Kulka et al.

1. The context (–P+D+Pu) means that the criticism is made to a recipient (R) whose status or power is lower (–P) than the critic (C). The relationship between C and R is not close (+D), and the criticism is made openly and in public (+Pu), namely in a school meeting. This context of criticism will be explained properly below.

(1989: 18), a direct strategy may be marked by linguistic indicators or by semantic content. A direct strategy, in the words of Brown and Levinson (1987), is generally an 'on record' strategy.

By contrast, an IC strategy is a strategy in which the criticism is expressed non-transparently, implicitly, or ambiguously. In an IC strategy, the speaker does not express his intention through a linguistic meaning. According to Searle (1996), an indirect strategy has two locutionary forces: the one of the secondary illocutionary act, the other of the primary illocutionary act, such that the speaker expresses the primary illocutionary act through the secondary illocutionary act. In Brown and Levinson's terms, an indirect strategy is an 'off record' strategy. From the point of view of Grice's Cooperative Principle, an indirect strategy violates the maxim of manner, and specifically the submaxim "avoid obscurity and ambiguity".

Examples (2) and (3) show how the DC and IC strategies are determined with reference to the present article.

- (2) *Pak Agus, terus terang saya dulu bangga dengan Bapak. Tapi akhir-akhir ini saya agak kecewa karena Bapak ternyata lebih sibuk mengurus bisnis sampingan daripada mengurus pekerjaan kantor. Tolong Pak diatur waktune jangan sampai pekerjaan kantor terlantar (-P+D-Pu).* 'Mr. Agus, frankly, I used to be proud of you. But recently I have been rather disappointed because you appear to be busier managing your side business rather than taking care of your office work. Please Sir, manage your time so that your office work is not neglected.'
- (3) *Pak Agus, saya ikut senang Bapak punya bisnis sampingan. Tapi saya mohon bisnis Bapak tidak mengganggu pekerjaan kantor. Jadi, tolong ya Pak waktunya diatur (-P+D+Pu).* 'Mr. Agus, I am happy that you have a side business. But I ask that you do not allow your business to interfere with your office work. So please, Sir, manage your time.'

Criticisms (2) and (3) above take place in a government office and are made by the head of the office to one of his employees, a Mr. Agus. Criticism (2) is made in the context (-P+D-Pu), while criticism (3) is made in the context (-P+D+Pu) (the different types of contexts of criticisms are explained below). Mr. Agus is criticized because he often leaves the office during work hours to take care of his side business (see also the criticism by C, in Table 1, below).

If we look closely, it can be seen that criticism (2) above is expressed clearly and transparently by the speaker. The negative evaluation which is the substance of the criticism is stated explicitly. The speaker's meaning is the same as the linguistic meaning or sentence meaning. In criticism (2), the speaker intends to express disappointment to the hearer and this sense of disappointment is expressed explicitly through the phrase *Tapi akhir-akhir ini saya agak kecewa* 'But

recently I have been rather disappointed'. Based on this, it can be concluded that criticism (2) above uses a DC strategy.

By contrast, in criticism (3), the negative evaluation which is the substance of the criticism is not stated explicitly. There is not a single phrase in criticism (3) in which the meaning expresses the negative evaluation of the speaker to the hearer (Mr. Agus). The negative evaluation is not expressed explicitly, but rather through a request. This is indicated by the phrase *Tapi saya mohon bisnis Bapak tidak mengganggu pekerjaan kantor* 'But I ask that you do not allow your business to interfere with your office work'. Although criticism (3) is expressed with a request, based on its context, Example (3) is clearly a criticism. What the speaker intends to convey to the hearer is in fact "Mr. Agus does not know the rules, taking care of his personal business during work hours so that it interferes with his office work", but what he says instead is in the form of a request, as shown in Example (3). Hence, in this case there is a difference between what is intended to be conveyed and what is actually said. What is intended to be conveyed is the primary illocutionary act, while what is actually said is the secondary illocutionary act. The speaker expresses the primary illocutionary act (a criticism) through the secondary illocutionary act (a request). Based on this, criticism (3) can be determined to be a criticism which uses an IC strategy. All the criticisms discussed in this article are analysed in this same way to determine whether they use DC or IC strategies.

5. Contexts of criticism

Criticisms are always expressed in a particular context. In everyday life, these contexts of criticism are highly complex and may be determined by numerous parameters such as power, social distance, education, age, gender, place, and so on. In the space of our article, it is not possible to take into consideration all the parameters that construct contexts of criticism; therefore, these contexts are determined based on the interaction of two parameters that are considered to be important in the JACC, namely \pm Power ($\pm P$) and \pm Distance ($\pm D$) (Brown and Levinson 1987). However, these two parameters are complemented by another parameter that is also considered to be of great importance in the JACC, namely \pm Public ($\pm Pu$). The interaction of these three parameters produces the various kinds of criticism context commonly found in the JACC, namely $(+P+D+Pu)$, $(+P+D-Pu)$, $(+P-D+Pu)$, $(+P-D-Pu)$, $(-P+D+Pu)$, $(-P+D-Pu)$, $(-P-P+Pu)$, $(-P-D-Pu)$, $(=P+D+Pu)$, $(=P+D-Pu)$, $(=P-D+Pu)$, $(=P-D-Pu)$. Here, context $(+P+D+Pu)$ means that the criticism is directed towards a person with higher power ($+P$), in a relationship that is distant ($+D$), and the criticism is expressed

in public (+Pu). Context (-P-D-Pu) means that the criticism is directed towards a person with lower power (-P) in a close relationship (-D), and the criticism is expressed in private (-Pu). Context (=P+D+Pu) means that the criticism is directed towards a person with more or less equal status or power (=P), in a relationship that is not close (+D), and the criticism is expressed in public (+Pu); and so on for the other contexts.

6. Method

The data in this article was collected using a number of Discourse Completion Tasks (DCTs). The DCTs were formulated in the form of descriptions of different situations which describe an example of deviant behaviour or a particular violation of social norms by a person in the contexts (+P+D), (+P-D), (-P+D), (-P-D), (=P+D), and (=P-D). The material of the criticisms described in the DCTs and the contexts in which they are framed is summarized in Table 1.

Each of the examples of material of criticisms (A to F) above were formulated in the DCTs in accordance with their contexts. One type of material was formulated in one DCT so a total of 6 DCTs were used as a tool for collecting data. Below is an example of one of the six DCTs from Table 1 which presents the material for criticism (in the context -P-D).

You are the head of an office. Your subordinate by the name of Ms. Fatonah has a low level of responsibility towards her work. She prefers to spend her time in the office playing games even when she has a lot of work piling up. As the head of the office, of course you do not like Ms. Fatonah's behaviour. Incidentally, your relationship with Ms. Fatonah is quite close and familiar.

Question:

As the SUPERIOR or HEAD of Ms. Fatonah, what would you do to Ms. Fatonah?

- a. *I would criticize Ms. Fatonah in an office meeting in front of a lot of people, with the words (write what words you would use) (-P-D+Pu)*
- b. *I would criticize Ms. Fatonah in private/face to face, with the words (write what words you would use) (-P-D-Pu)*

In the DCT above, the Recipient (R) (Ms. Fatonah, an employee) is described as having a lower status (-P) than the Critic (C) (the head of the office). In addition, it is explained that the relationship between C and R is quite close (-D). It is important to note that in this DCT, there is a single question with two optional answers, (a) and (b). The task of the informant is to select the option that he or she considers to give the most suitable answer, whether it is (a) or (b). Of course the informant must not choose the answer carelessly, but should pay close attention to the DTC

Table 1. Material of criticisms and contexts as described in the DCTs

Type of material	Context	Material of criticism
A	(+P+D)	Mr. Mahfud, the head of your office, is often angry towards employees who lack discipline, whereas he too lacks discipline and does not set a good example of discipline to his employees (subordinates).
B	(+P-D)	Mr. Djazuli, the head of your office, does not care about his employees and allows his subordinates to behave in an undisciplined manner. Since Mr. Djazuli took charge of the office, the situation in the office has become worse.
C	(-P+D)	Mr. Agus, your subordinate in the office, often leaves the office during work hours to take care of his side business. As a result, Mr. Agus's work in the office is neglected and left unfinished.
D	(-P-D)	One of your subordinates at work, Ms. Fatonah, likes to spend her time in the office playing games even when she has a lot of work piling up. As a result, Ms. Fatonah's work is never in order.
E	(=P+D)	You and Mr. Wahab (your work colleague) are appointed by the head of the office to work together in a team to handle a particular job. It turns out that Mr. Wahab's attitude to the work is casual and disappointing. As a result, you are reprimanded by your superior because of Mr. Wahab.
F	(=P-D)	Mr. Marzuki, your good friend at work, is choosy about which jobs he handles. If there is a job with money involved, he is very keen but when there is a job that does not involve money, he does not want to know and leaves it all to you.

context presented, and then select the option that he or she would really use in that context. If the informant chooses option (a), it means that in the context (-P-D), the informant feels it would be more appropriate to express the criticism openly (+Pu), such as in an office meeting or another type of meeting at work. On the contrary, if the informant chooses option (b), it means that he or she feels it would be more appropriate to express the criticism in private (-Pu).

Based on the DCT above, two different types of data can be obtained. First, data that explain in which kind of context the criticism is more appropriately expressed in public (+Pu) and in which context the criticism is more appropriately expressed in private (-Pu); also, what factors encourage the informant to express the criticism in public and what factors lead the informant to express the criticism in private. Second, data that explain what criticism strategies tend to be used by the informant when forced to make a criticism in these different contexts, whether a DC strategy or an IC strategy. Both of these types of data will be used to answer the questions or problems addressed in this paper.

The DCTs in this article were distributed to 50 informants in the area of the JACC. The data obtained from these DCTs were then cross-checked through in-depth interviews with the informants who had completed the DCTs. The questions presented in these interviews were the same as the questions in the DCTs. The interviews were intended to make sure that what the informants had answered in the DCTs was not simply a description of what they felt they should do according to the norms of the JACC, but was in fact the real action they would take if they were in the situation described. If the informant's answer in the DCT was different from the answer given in the interview, the informant was required to clearly state which answer they would really choose. It should be added that one of the writers of the present paper belongs to the JACC and spends his day to day life in a JACC area, and as such has a fairly good understanding of the norms of the JACC; this was helpful for judging whether or not the answers given by the informants made sense. Subsequently, the data were analysed using a method of pragmatic equivalence in which the determining tool was context (cf. Djajasudarma 2010; Sudaryanto 2015).

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7. **Criticism: Its expression in various situational contexts based on the parameters ($\pm P$), ($\pm D$), ($\pm Pu$) in the office domain**

As stated above, the contexts of criticism in this article are determined based on the interaction of the two parameters ($\pm P$) and ($\pm D$), with the addition of one more parameter that is important in the JACC, namely ($\pm Pu$). In the JACC (in the office domain), criticism must be expressed in the proper context. In this case, it is extremely important to pay attention to and take into consideration the parameters ($\pm P$) and ($\pm D$) when deciding whether a criticism should be expressed openly ($+Pu$) or if it is better expressed in private ($-Pu$). Hence, the decision to express a criticism either publicly ($+Pu$) or in private ($-Pu$) cannot be made carelessly but should take into consideration the contexts and socio-cultural norms that prevail. An inappropriate choice is prone to create tension or even conflict between C and R. For example, in the context ($+P-D$), it is culturally more appropriate to express a criticism in private ($-Pu$), but C expresses the criticism in public ($+Pu$) in an office meeting. This type of criticism may be highly embarrassing for R and thus likely cause a conflict. The question is one, how criticism is expressed in the JACC in accordance with the contexts and socio-cultural norms that prevail, and two, what patterns can be seen. The answers to these two questions can be seen by referring to Table 2.

In Table 2, we see that in the context ($+P+D$) with material A, 40 informants chose to execute the criticism in public ($+Pu$) while the other 10 informants chose

Table 2. Patterns for expression of criticism in various situational contexts based on the parameters ($\pm P$), ($\pm D$), ($\pm Pu$)

No. DCT	Type of context and material of criticism	Expression of criticism		Number of informants
		(+Pu)	(-Pu)	
1	(+P+D), (Material A)	40	10	50
2	(+P-D), (Material B)	8	42	
3	(-P+D), (Material C)	30	20	
4	(-P-D), (Material D)	7	43	
5	(=P+D) (Material E)	8	42	
6	(=P-D), (Material F)	17	33	

to execute the criticism in private ($-Pu$). This leads us to the understanding that making a criticism in the context ($+P+D+Pu$) is considered more common in the JACC than making a criticism in the context ($+P+D-Pu$). Meanwhile, in the context ($+P-D$) with material B, 8 informants chose to execute the criticism publicly ($+Pu$), while the other 42 informants preferred to execute the criticism in private ($-Pu$). This means that in the JACC, making a criticism in the context ($+P-D+Pu$) is considered to be more face-threatening than making a criticism in the context ($+P-D-Pu$).

Next, in the context ($-P+D$) with material C, 30 informants chose to execute the criticism openly ($+Pu$), while the other 20 informants chose to execute the criticism in private ($-Pu$). This means that making a criticism in both the context ($-P+D+Pu$) and ($-P+D-Pu$) is considered equally acceptable in the JACC. In the context ($-P-D$) with material D, 7 of the informants chose to execute the criticism publicly ($+Pu$), while the other 43 informants preferred to execute the criticism in private ($-Pu$). This means that making a criticism in the context ($-P-D-Pu$) is more common in the JACC. Meanwhile, in the context ($=P+D$) with material E, 8 of the informants chose to execute the criticism openly ($+Pu$), while the other 42 informants chose to execute the criticism in private ($-Pu$). This means that making a criticism in the context ($=P+D-Pu$) is preferred to making a criticism in the context ($=P+D+Pu$). Finally, in the context ($=P-D$) with material F, 17 informants chose to execute the criticism in public ($+Pu$), while the other 33 informants preferred to execute the criticism in private ($-Pu$). This means that making a criticism in the context ($=P-D-Pu$) is preferred to making a criticism in the context ($=P-D+Pu$).

If we examine the results in more detail, the choice to express a criticism in public ($+Pu$) or in private ($-Pu$) is not made randomly; rather there is a clearly

dominant parameter which functions as an axis: namely, the parameter ($\pm D$). If in a particular context, the parameter ($-D$) is present, criticism in the JACC is more likely to be made in private ($-Pu$). In other words, the parameter ($-D$) tends to encourage C to express the criticism in private ($-Pu$). Meanwhile, the parameter P, either ($+P$), ($-P$), or ($=P$), when paired with ($-D$) in the context concerned, tends to have no significant influence. Thus it can be understood why in contexts such as ($+P-D$), ($-P-D$), and ($=P-D$), the parameter ($-Pu$) always receives a much higher score or value than the parameter ($+Pu$), with a ratio of (8:42) for ($+P-D$), (7:43) for ($-P-D$), and (17:33) for ($=P-D$). Diagram 1 illustrates the tendency to express criticism in public or in private based on the axis ($-D$) (the asterisk indicates that a choice is less preferred).

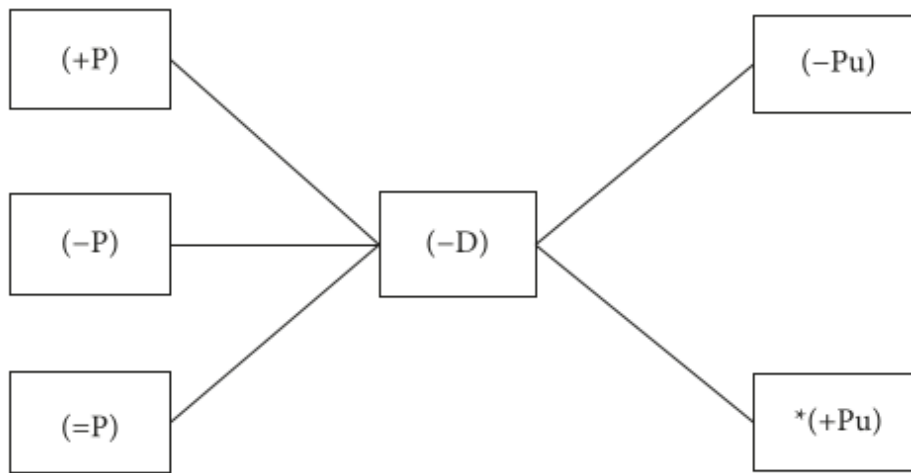


Diagram 1. Tendency to express criticism publicly ($+Pu$) or privately ($-Pu$) based on axis ($-D$)

Furthermore, if in a particular context, the parameter ($+D$) is present, criticism in the JACC is sometimes expressed openly and sometimes in private, depending on the power or status of R in the office. If R has a higher status or position than C ($+P$), parameter ($+D$) in the office domain encourages C to express the criticism openly ($+Pu$). Therefore, in the context ($+P+D$), parameter ($+Pu$) receives a much higher value/score than parameter ($-Pu$), with a ratio of (40:10). If this is portrayed in the form of a diagram, the tendency to express criticism based on axis ($+D$) in combination with parameter ($+P$) can be shown as in Diagram 2.

By contrast, if the status or position of R is lower ($-P$), then parameter ($+D$) gives C the freedom to express the criticism either publicly ($+Pu$) or privately ($-Pu$). Therefore, in the context ($-P+D$), both parameters ($-Pu$) and ($+Pu$) receive an equally high score with a ratio of (30:20). If this is portrayed in the form of a diagram, the tendency to express criticism based on axis ($+D$) in combination with parameter ($-P$) can be shown as in Diagram 3.

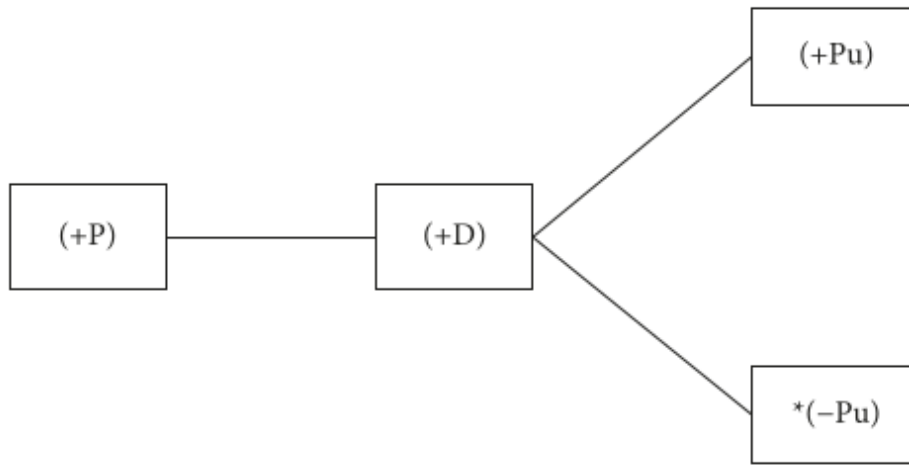


Diagram 2. Tendency to express criticism publicly (+Pu) or privately (-Pu) based on axis (+D) in combination with parameter (+P)

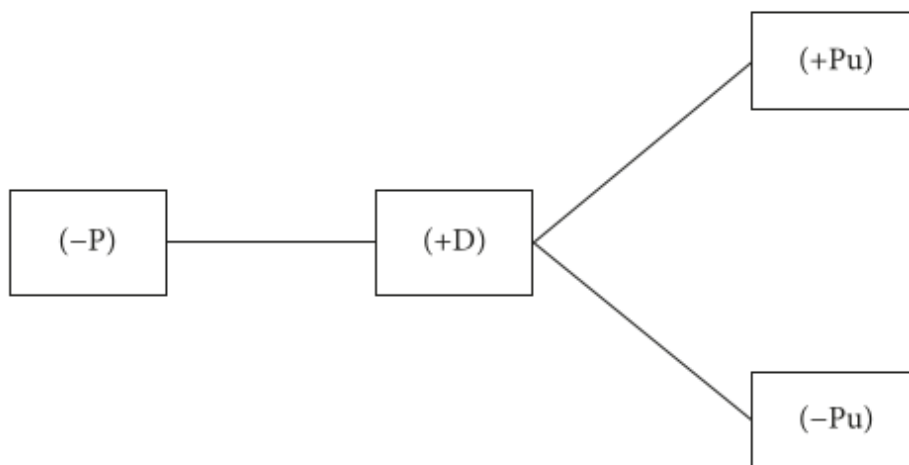


Diagram 3. Tendency to express criticism publicly (+Pu) or privately (-Pu) based on axis (+D) in combination with parameter (-P)

However, if the status of C and R is equal or relatively similar ($=P$), parameter (+D) encourages C to express the criticism in private (-Pu) rather than in public (+Pu). Therefore, in the context ($=P+D$), parameter (-Pu) receives a much higher score than parameter (+Pu) with the ratio (8:42). If this is portrayed in the form of a diagram, the tendency to express criticism based on axis (+D) in combination with parameter ($=P$) can be shown as in Diagram 4.

Based on axis ($\pm D$) above, it can be seen which contexts of criticism are preferred and which contexts of criticism are less preferred in the JACC. Based on axis (-D), the contexts of criticism that have a high preference are contexts such as (+P-D-Pu), (-P-D-Pu), ($=P-D-Pu$). Based on axis (+D) in combination with parameter (+P), the context of criticism that tends to be preferred is (+P+D+Pu). Based on axis (+D), in combination with parameter (-P), the contexts of criticism that tend to be preferred are (-P+D+Pu) (-P+D-Pu). Based on axis (+D), in combination with parameter ($=P$), the context of criticism that tends to be preferred is ($=P+D-Pu$).

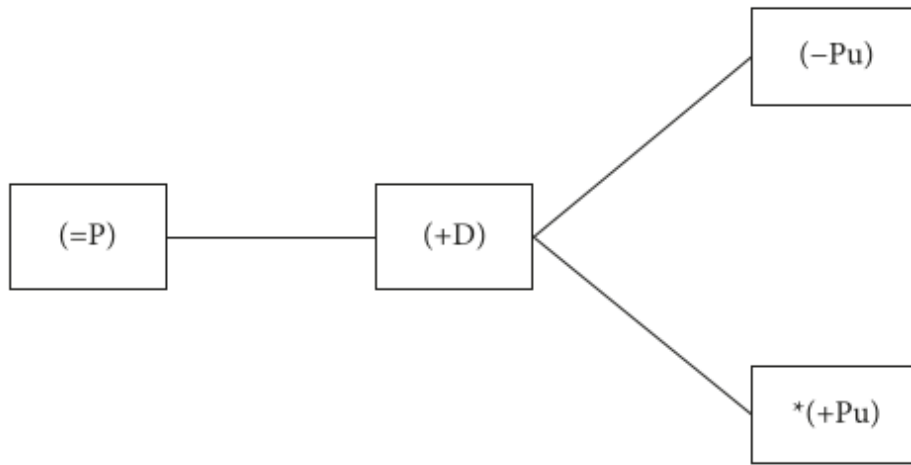


Diagram 4. Tendency to express criticism publicly (+Pu) or privately (-Pu) based on axis (+D) in combination with parameter (=P)

3

Meanwhile, contexts of criticism such as $*(+P-D+Pu)$, $*(-P-D+Pu)$, $*(=P-D+Pu)$, $*(=P+D+Pu)$, $*(+P+D-Pu)$ tend to be less preferred in the JACC. This is due to the fact that these contexts do not conform to their axis. The context $*(+P-D+Pu)$, for example, does not match its axis (-D) because the axis (-D) is paired with (+Pu), whereas it should be paired with (-Pu); consequently, context $*(+P-D+Pu)$ is not preferred. Of course, making a criticism in a context that is disliked or has a low degree of preference carries the risk of creating greater tension or conflict: the less a context is preferred, the higher the risk, the more a context is preferred, the lower the risk. Figure 1 shows degrees of preference of contexts of criticism in the JACC (as based on Table 2).

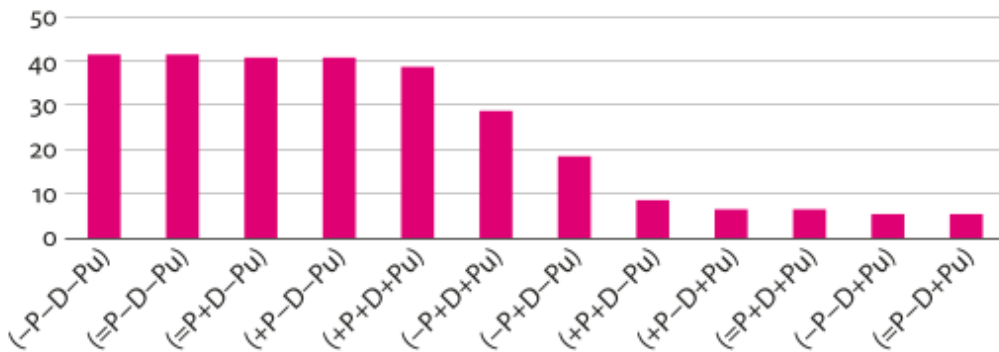


Figure 1. Degrees of preference for using contexts of criticism in the office domain

In Figure 1, the higher the column, the safer it is to make a criticism in that particular context. In contrast, the shorter the column, the more risky it is to make a criticism in that particular context. In other words, the further to the left the context chosen, the safer the criticism that is being made. Conversely, the further to the right the context chosen, the more face-threatening the criticism that is expressed.

The question is whether the pattern for expressing criticism in the JACC as explained above also applies to the Javanese Mataram cultural community. As mentioned earlier, thus far there has been no specific research on this subject in the Javanese Mataram community, so it is not possible to generalize the pattern of expressing criticism in the JACC to all Javanese subcultures. As explained above, the characteristics of the Javanese Mataram cultural community are somewhat different from those of the JACC. Being still strongly influenced by the Mataram Kingdom, the Javanese Mataram cultural community's dialect is different from that of the JACC. This influence may also be present in the dimension of values of norms, so what is considered to be good or bad, appropriate or inappropriate⁹ and so on, may also differ from what is viewed as such in the JACC. Therefore, in order to give a definite answer to the question of whether the pattern of expressing criticism in the JACC can also be applied to the Javanese Mataram cultural community, more evidence needs to be provided, which requires further, more specific research.

8. DC and IC strategies: Their use in various situational contexts based on the parameters ($\pm P$), ($\pm D$), and ($\pm Pu$) in the office domain

In the JACC, DC and IC strategies cannot be used carelessly or at random. These two types of strategy must be used appropriately in accordance with the contexts and the socio-cultural values that prevail. If these are ignored, the criticism is prone to create tension or even conflict between C and R. In the context ($=P-D+Pu$), for example, it is more appropriate to express a criticism using an IC strategy; if instead, the speaker expresses the criticism with a DC strategy, this is prone to create conflict and may damage the close relations between C and R. The question is how these DC and IC strategies are used in accordance with the different contexts and socio-cultural values that prevail in the JACC. In order to answer this question, let us observe Table 3.

The data in Table 3 come from the 6 DCTs with the material of criticism described above; as shown in the Table, in each DCT, the informants have two choices of context for expressing criticism. Each DCT was completed by 50 informants; every informant gave one statement or expression of criticism, so in total 50 statements were obtained for each DCT. In DCT 1, for example, each informant could choose to express the criticism either in the context ($+P+D+Pu$) or $*(+P+D-Pu)$. In Table 3, 40 informants ($=40$ statements) preferred to express the criticism in the context ($+P+D+Pu$). Of these 40 statements, 25 reflected the use of an IC strategy, while 15 reflected the use of a DC strategy. Meanwhile, 10 of the informants ($=10$ statements) chose to express the criticism in the context

Table 3. Use of DC and IC strategies in various situational contexts based on the parameters ($\pm P$), ($\pm D$), and ($\pm Pu$) in the office domain

No. DCT	Type of context	Type of strategy	Number of uses of strategy	Number of statements per DCT
1	(+P+D+Pu)	IC	25	50
		DC	15	
	*(+P+D-Pu)	IC	10	
		DC	0	
2	(+P-D-Pu)	IC	31	50
		DC	11	
	*(+P-D+Pu)	IC	8	
		DC	0	
3	(-P+D+Pu)	IC	20	50
		DC	10	
	(-P+D-Pu)	IC	13	
		DC	7	
4	(-P-D-Pu)	IC	30	50
		DC	13	
	*(-P-D+Pu)	IC	7	
		DC	0	
5	*(=P+D+Pu)	IC	8	50
		DC	0	
	(=P+D-Pu)	IC	42	
		DC	0	
6	(=P-D-Pu)	IC	22	50
		DC	15	
	*(=P-D+Pu)	IC	13	
		DC	0	

*(+P+D-Pu). Of these 10 statements, none reflected the use of a DC strategy. DCTs 2 to 6 can be read in the same way as described for DCT 1.

A careful look at Table 3 shows that in the contexts that are less preferred or show a low degree of preference, there is a tendency not to use, or to avoid the use of, a DC strategy. This is evidenced by the data in Table 3: there, the use of a DC strategy in contexts such as *(+P+D-Pu), *(+P-D+Pu), *(-P-D+Pu),

*($=P+D+Pu$), *($=P-D+Pu$) receives a score of zero. Not a single informant out of the 50 chose to use a DC strategy in the contexts marked with an asterisk above. From this, it can be concluded that in the office domain, when a criticism has to be expressed in a context that is inappropriate or disliked, the criticism strategy considered to be more suitable is an IC strategy. What is seen here in the JACC appears to be quite normal and may also occur in other Javanese subcultures, bearing in mind the fact that the use of an IC strategy is often felt to be milder or less harsh than a DC strategy.

One thing that is interesting to note in Table 3 is the use of a DC strategy in contexts 3 with a high degree of preference (not marked by an asterisk), such as ($+P-D-Pu$), ($-P-D-Pu$), ($=P-D-Pu$), ($+P+D+Pu$), ($-P+D+Pu$), ($-P+D-Pu$), ($=P+D-Pu$). In these contexts, on average the use of a DC strategy is also seen to receive a lower score than does an IC strategy. From the data presented in Table 3, it can be deduced that in general, the JACC has a tendency to express criticism using an IC strategy rather than a DC strategy, both in contexts with a high degree of preference and in those with a low degree of preference.

The phenomenon described here is interesting with regard to the common stereotype of the JACC as a community that is more direct and forthright (especially if compared with the Javanese Mataram cultural community). Based on this stereotyping, the results of our study could be expected to show that a DC strategy is more frequently or more commonly used in the JACC than is an IC strategy; however, the facts show that this is not the case. On the contrary, an IC strategy is used more often than a DC strategy, which indicates that the notion of a stereotyping having developed in the past lacks scientific support.

In addition, the findings in this research do not go against the findings of the study by Gunarwan (1996). Although Gunarwan does not specifically compare the JACC with the Javanese Mataram cultural community, he does find evidence that the 'bald on record' strategy (more less identical with the DC in the present research) is not used widely by the Javanese community in general, including the JACC. According to Gunarwan, there are only two differences between these communities. First, statements of criticism in the Javanese Mataram cultural community are more often expressed using the higher Javanese *kromo* language, while in the JACC they are more often expressed using the lower Javanese *ngoko* language. Second, the Javanese Mataram cultural community uses more negative politeness, while the JACC more often uses positive politeness.

It is also important to note that although the use of an IC strategy is more common than a DC strategy in the JACC, this does not mean that a DC strategy cannot be used at all. It is true that in contexts with a low degree of preference, a DC strategy tends not to be used (or avoided). However, in contexts with a high degree of preference (without an asterisk), a DC strategy is found to be quite

prevalent. In Table 3, it can even be seen that a DC strategy is used in all contexts with a high degree of preference. This indicates that in such contexts, the use of a DC strategy in the JACC is not altogether deemed as impolite, or something that violates the value of politeness. In other words, the use of a DC strategy in contexts with a high degree of preference is still regarded as normal or common. Whether or not the use of strategy in these contexts is different from that in the Javanese Mataram cultural community would require further research. It is clear, according to Poedjosoedarmo (1978), however, that criticism in the Javanese Mataram cultural community tends to be categorized as speech that is unpleasant and impolite. Therefore, according to Pranowo (2009a, 2009b), criticism in the Javanese Mataram cultural community should be expressed indirectly. What Poedjosoedarmo and Pranowo are saying implies that the most likely use of criticism strategy in the Javanese Mataram cultural community is an IC strategy, not a DC strategy, and this includes contexts with a high degree of preference. Even so, the subject still requires more detailed research and verification.

9. Conclusion

- a. On the one hand, criticism has a very important function in life in society (as a means of social control), but on the other, criticism is likely to be face-threatening. Therefore, in some cultures criticism is often expressed carefully, in the appropriate context, with the proper strategy.
- b. In the JACC, contexts for expressing criticism are influenced by the parameter ($\pm D$). This parameter ($\pm D$) is the axis which determines the context for expressing criticism. If a context contains axis ($-D$), the criticism tends to be expressed privately ($-Pu$), while the parameter ($\pm P$) with which it is paired has no significant influence. This is why in the JACC, expressing criticism in contexts such as $(+P-D-Pu)$, $(-P-D-Pu)$, $(=P-D-Pu)$ is preferred to expressing criticism in the contexts $*(+P-D+Pu)$, $*(-P-D+Pu)$, $*(=P-D+Pu)$.
- c. If a context contains axis ($+D$), the parameter ($\pm P$) with which it is paired also influences the expression of a criticism. If axis ($+D$) is paired with ($+P$), the criticism tends to be expressed openly. Making a criticism in the context $(+P+D+Pu)$ is preferred to making a criticism in the context $(+P+D-Pu)$. On the contrary, if axis ($+D$) is paired with ($-P$), it is common for the criticism to be expressed either publicly ($+Pu$) or privately ($-Pu$). Executing a criticism either in the context $(-P+D+Pu)$ or in the context $(-P+D-Pu)$ is not a problem in the JACC. However, if axis ($+D$) is paired with ($=P$), it is more common for the criticism to be expressed privately ($-Pu$). This is why making a

criticism in the context (=P+D–Pu) is more often preferred to making a criticism in the context (=P+D+Pu). This pattern for expressing criticism in the JACC is something specific which may not necessarily apply to other Javanese subcultures. However, because each Javanese subculture is operating under the same Javanese cultural umbrella, it is possible that all of the different subcultures have a number of similarities. Nevertheless, this still requires proper verification through a more specific study.

- d. Viewed in terms of strategy, criticism in the JACC generally has a tendency to be expressed using an IC, rather than a DC strategy. This finding would seem to indicate that the stereotyping which has developed in the past about the JACC, labeling it as a community that is direct and forthright, cannot be supported scientifically. In effect, the use of a DC in the JACC is not altogether regarded as a strategy which violates the value of politeness. The use of a DC strategy in contexts with a high degree of preference is considered to be normal or commonplace. Whether or not the use of a DC strategy in such contexts is also found in other Javanese subcultures remains a question that requires further research.

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