

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

In this chapter the writer analyses the short film *Tilik* from Youtube. The writer discusses the answers of the research questions which are mentioned in Chapter I. To analyse the research question on the short film *Tilik*, the writer used theories in Chapter II. Data are collected, analysed and arranged to present arguments to support the answers of the research questions.

4.1 Women in communication

Women are typically the experts in the types of communication that build, maintain, and strengthen relationships. In this case, the writer focuses on the communication in Javanese women in *Tilik*. The conversation starts when the group of rural Javanese women get in the truck to visit Bu Lurah who is sick in town. Since Bu Lurah means the head of a village, it means that these women are the housewives of the villages. Similar to Moedjeska (as cited in Coates,1996) about connection between women friends, the group of Javanese women already have connections between them; they are housewives who live in the same village, which makes it easy for them to communicate.

4.1.1. Women talk to maintain friendship

From the data analysis, the writer found that the women in *Tilik* talk to maintain friendship. As stated earlier, women are the expert in the types of communication that strengthened the relationship. To maintain the relationship they

need to interact and they choose to communicate with each other to protect their bonds. In maintaining their friendship, women will choose a topic which can make the rest of her women friends contribute in discussing the topic.



Figure 4.1 Yu Sam is talking to Bu Tejo

Yu Sam starts a conversation rather than stays silent during the ride. The conversation started by Yu Sam is questioning the relationship between a member of the village and the other. It is a menial topic. It seems that the conversation is just Yu Sam's way to maintain the relationship she has with the rest of the women with her on their way to visit Bu Lurah.

Dialogue 1

Yu Sam : *Fikri ki karo Dian apa bener sesambungan to Bu? Aku ki yo, krungu-krungu Fikri ki mau mangkat neng omah sakit ngeterke Bu Lurah iku karo Dian.* [Is it true that Fikri and Dian are in a relationship? I heard that he brought Mrs. *Lurah* to the hospital with her.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 00:39)

In the dialogue above, communication occurs when a group of Javanese women gather. These women talk about a day-to-day topic they all acknowledge. It is in accordance with Coates' (1996) finding, where she mentions that communication could happen when women friends live close to each other and manage to see each other very regularly. Yu Sam realized what she was doing was to connect with the housewives. In this case, the connection between them means their friendship. In accordance with Coates' (1996) theory, she mentions that women communicate when there is a connection between them, and the connection is friendship.

Further into the conversation, after Yu Sam opens up the topic, her female friends start to ask Yu Sam some questions to clarify. Here, Yu Sam triggers her female friends to express their emotions, in this case curiosity. Asking questions is one of the action responses from their curiosity. In turn, the action response can also trigger more curiosity as shown in Dialogue 2.

Dialogue 2

Bu Tejo : *Oh hoo to?* [Really?]

Yu Sam : *Iya!* [Yes!]

Yu Tri : *Tenane lho ah.* [Are you sure?]

Yu Sam : *Iya Bu!* [Yes, I am.]

Yu Tri : *Yu Sam, kabare seka sapa lho?* [Who said that?]

(Prasetyo, 2020, 00:50)

The dialogue above is an example of a type of action response. Initially, Yu Sam's topic triggers the Javanese women to become curious, and later Yu Sam's responses to the other speakers' questions, where Yu Sam very confidently confirms the 'truth' of the topic, make them even more curious. Their curiosity makes the conversation go on and on so that it can make everybody contribute to the conversation, thus maintaining their friendship.

It is interesting to note that during the conversation, the women are carefree to express their emotion and give responses. In Berman's (1999) study of the Javanese *priyayi*, the higher level Javanese and the nobles, she claimed that the Javanese women coming from *priyayi*'s background will only express emotions and action response when they are in a dire social event. In the case of the women's conversation in *Tilik*, the women seem to be more carefree in expressing their emotions to each other. Thus, the writer might say that these Javanese women do not need to be in an extreme social event to express their emotion and to give response because they are not *priyayi* but the commoners who seem to be freer to express emotion as they are not bound to too many rules and etiquettes.

4.1.2 Predominantly about people and draw heavily on personal experiences

The second finding of the way the women in *Tilik* communicate with each other is that they predominantly talk about people and draw heavily on personal experiences. Women share their personal experience stories to their women friends. They even share their own stories or stories of a person who is close to them. Moreover, women also share their mundane activities and their problems and anxieties to their women friends.

a. Talking about people or people who are close to them

The whole conversations presented by dialogue 3 to dialogue 6 show that the evidence that these three women predominantly talk about people or someone who is close to them (Coates, 1996). In *Tilik*, the women talk about Dian, a fellow village member.

Dialogue 3

Bu Tejo : *Eh, Dian ki gaweane apa yo? Kok jare ana seng tau ngomong yen gaweane ki rak nggenah ngana kuwi lho. Kan mesaki Bu Lurah to yen nganti nduwe mantu gaweane rak nggenah nggana kuwi lho yo. Ana seng tau ngomong nek gaweane Dian ki mlebu metu hotel ngana kuwi lho. Terus neng mall karo wong lanang barang. Gawean apa yo?* [I wonder what Dian does for a living. I heard that she does an inappropriate job. Poor our Bu Lurah if she's going to have that kind of daughter-in-law. Someone said that she often rents a room and goes to the mall with different guys. What kind of job is that?]

Yu Sam : *Moso sih?* [Really?] (Prasetyo, 2020, 01:20)

Dialogue 3 obviously shows that Bu Tejo talks about Dian, a village member that she and other women are familiar with, instead of talking about politics, economy, or other conflicts related to social injustice. The women's talk follows Coates' (1996) finding which states that women talk predominantly about people or

someone who is close with them. These women also talk about Dian's job and her acts that they consider inappropriate.

Dialogue 4

Bu Tejo : *Eh, aku dadi kelingan sesuatu... Aku ki tau mergoki Dian muntah-muntah saben wayah e bengi.* [Hey, I just remember something. I once caught Dian throwing up at night.]

Yu Tri : *Tenane?* [Really?]

Bu Tejo : *Tenan. Pas kuwi aku ki bar balik seko pengajian. Neng cedhak omah'e Mbah Dar Kae kan petengan to. Nah, ana wong, muntah-muntah seko dhuwur motor. Bar tak cedhaki lho kok Dian. Bukane aruh-aruh karo aku, malah minggati coba. Kuwi iki nek ora mergo muntah meteng, napa kok kudu minggati aku coba?* [Yes. That night, I was on my way home from Qur'an recitation. Near Mbah Dar's house, in the dark junction, there was someone throwing up. When I went closer, it turned out it was Dian. Instead of saying hello, she just ran away. If it was not morning sickness, why would she run away from me?] (Prasetyo, 2020, 05:50)

In a further dialogue, dialogue 5, Gotrek joins the conversation by suggesting Dian to be the candidate of the new head of the village. Of course, Bu Tejo said no immediately, Yu Sam and Yu Tri followed in surprise.

Dialogue 5

Gotrek : *Saiki ngene wae Bu. Nek seng dadi Lurah Dian wae piye?*

[Okay, let's settle this. What if we elect Dian to be the head of the village?]

Bu Tejo : *Ya Allah, yo ojo!* [Ew, no way in hell!]

Gotrek : *Bapak-bapak mesti milih kabeh lho.* [All men would vote for her for sure.]

Mba Yati : *Heh, rak sah reko-reko.* [Don't you dare to think about that.]

Bu Tejo : *Ojo, ojo banget, Ya Allah. Amit-amit. Ya Allah, desane dewe iso ambyar kaya ngana.* [Please don't let her. Knock on wood. God forbid, our village would come to an end.]

Mba Yati : *Iya, aku setuju karo Bu Tejo. Ojo Dian. Bojoku ki lho, senengane, gateli. Senengane lirak-lirik. Jewer meneh apa piye?* [Yes, I agree with you, Bu Tejo. Don't choose Dian. My husband is a bastard, he is always glancing at that filthy woman. Do I need to pull your ear again?] (Prasetyo, 2020, 12:05)

The three women obviously show their dislike to the thought of Dian being the head of the village by firing words suggesting their rejection: *ojo* [no], *rak sah reko-reko* [don't you dare]. Bu Tejo, Yu Sam, and Yu Tri's reactions to Gotrek's suggestion shows that Dian is indeed a person that all the women know of and familiar with. So that the conversation is absolutely about people the women know

(Coates, 1996). Yati, Gotrek's wife, who joins the conversation later, further proves this fact. She agrees with Bu Tejo not to consider Dian as the new head of the village.

Dialogue 6

Bu Tejo : *Oh, saiki aku ngerti.* [Now I get it.]

Yu Sam : *Ngerti apae, Bu?* [What?]

Bu Tejo : *Kenapa Bu Lurah ki nganti nggeblak meneh.* [Why Bu Lurah passed out again.]

Yu Tri : *Lha napa?* [Why?]

Bu Tejo : *Mesti gara-gara mikirke anake yen nduwe hubungan karo Dian. Yo ora?* [It must be about how she knows her son is dating Dian. Right?]

Yu Ning : *Bu Tejo ki lho. Ngomong ke Dian meneh, kok yo rak ana bosen-bosen e to yo?* [Bu Tejo, why are you always talking about Dian? Aren't you bored with that?]

Bu Tejo : *Dian ki yo aneh-aneh wae kok. Wong sak umurane kok ora ndang rabi? Wong konco-koncane wis do rabi coba.*
[It's her fault. She should've gotten married at her age. All of her friends are already married.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 14:45)

Bu Tejo, in dialogue 6, makes an assumption why Bu Lurah is sick and the answer comes back to Dian. In the characteristic of women communication by Coates (1996), Bu Tejo finds it enjoyable talking about someone. When Yu Ning asks, Bu Tejo shows one of the reasons why she cannot stop talking about Dian.

She says that it is weird that Dian does not get married when her friends are already married. For Javanese women, it is idealistic that a woman must do 3M; *macak*, *manak*, *masak* (*macak*, grooming; *manak*, delivering offsprings; and *masak*, cooking) as suggested by Kuntjara (2016). Since Dian has not got married, Bu Tejo brings this fact to talk about her.

The group of women are considered gossiping about someone they know because they talk about Dian without her presence. Following the pattern of gossiping by Guendouzi (2015), this type of gossiping is considered as bitching. Bu Tejo even spreads rumours which she heard from someone else about Dian's inappropriate job. Other than that, Bu Tejo's talk also shows that she has interest in someone else's life; a feature considered as gossiping according to Guendouzi (2015).

b. Talking based on personal experience

In this dialogue, Bu Tejo continues talking about Dian according to her personal experience, confirming Coates' (1996) theory that women mostly like to share stories about their personal experiences or someone who is close to them. When Bu Tejo tells her story of how and when she saw Dian throwing up, it is an act of telling her personal experience to her female friends. After telling her story, Bu Tejo concludes by saying that Dian might be pregnant. Bu Tejo's conclusion is strengthened by other women's opinions as seen in dialogue 7.



Figure 4.2 Bu Tejo talks about matters related to her personal experiences

Dialogue 7

Bu Tejo : *Oalah Yu Sam, Yu Sam. Kaya aku ki rak tau meteng wae. Yo jelas bedo to yo wong muntah mergo meteng karo wong muntah masuk angin ki, yo orak? Bedo banget yo orak?*

[Come on now, Yu Sam. I've been pregnant too, of course it's different. Morning sickness and throwing up are completely different cases. It is very different.]

Yu Tri : *Ya iyalah, cetha beda to Yu Sam. Piye to, mbiyen aku yo meteng je. Aku to mbiyen kae, Bu Tejo, meteng anakku ki rasane muntahku ki kaya kepiye yo...*

[Yes that's right. I've been pregnant too. During my first pregnancy, I wanted to throw up, but it felt like....]

Bu Tejo : *Kaya rak ana isine ngana to?* [Like there's nothing to throw up?]

Yu Tri : *Hoo.* [Yes, that's right.]

Bu Tejo : *Lha kuwi mangkane aku dadi kelingan begitu ndelok Dian kuwi.* [That's why I remember when I saw Dian that

night.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 06:50).

Still similar to Coates' (1996) theory on women characteristic in telling personal experiences, Bu Tejo's explanation of her experience of being pregnant to Yu Sam in dialogue 7 is joined by Yu Tri who also shares her pregnancy experience. Those women's stories strengthen the assumption that Dian is pregnant.

The telling of personal experience is indeed practiced by the women. Further their discussion about pregnancy, Yu Tri shares her feeling of discomfort towards Dian because she claims that she had a bad experience with Dian (see dialogue 8).

Dialogue 8

Yu Tri : *Eh, tapi tenan lho Bu Tejo, Mba Yati. Aku ki tau ngonangi bojoku karo Dian ngobrol nganyik banget.* [But it's true, ladies. I once caught my husband talking to Dian so intimately.]

Bu Tejo : *Ih, Ya Allah, Ya Allah.* [Oh my God, really?]

Yu Tri : *Tak mutungi telung dina. Sengit to aku.* [I don't say a word to him for three days. I was furious.]

Yu Sam : *Yen aku ora wedi nek bojoku meh seneng karo Dian.* [I'm not worried my husband would get on Dian.]

Yu Tri : *Lha kenapa?* [Why is that?]

Bu Tejo : *Lha kenapa?* [Why is that?]

Yu Sam : *Lha bojoku wis rak iso attahiyat.* [Because he can't even get it on.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 12:34)

In dialogue 8, Yu Tri tells her personal experience in seeing her husband talking intimately with Dian. She tells how she felt to her friends. Yu Tri's personal experience is shared by Yu Sam who says that she is not afraid if her husband is hitting Dian because her husband cannot even “*attahiyat*”, an informal Javanese expression to show an attack. In Yu Sam's context, “*attahiyat*” connotes the ability to be sexually aroused. Thus, Yu Sam shares the fact that her husband is sexually impotent. Akin to Coates' (1996) theory, the two women are sharing their stories based on personal experiences.

The other dialogue (dialogue 9) shows that the women not only talk about their personal experiences, but also the story that other people shared to them personally.

Dialogue 9

Yu Tri : *Ngerti rak? Aku ki tau to, diceritani karo Panjul.* [Guys, Panjul once told me.]

Bu Tejo : *Panjul... kidul njegleg kae omahe?* [Panjul... whose house in the south of floodgate?]

Yu Tri : *Panjul kae, tau cerita karo aku. Dee ki tau konangan Dian mlaku-mlaku neng mall coba.* [Panjul told me that he caught Dian hanging out with someone at the mall.]

Bu Tejo : *Neng mall?* [At the mall?]

Yu Tri : *Karo sapa?* [With whom?]

Bu Tejo : *Karo sapa?* [With whom?]

Yu Tri : *Karo om-om.* [With a sugar daddy.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 15:54)

Dialogue 9 shows the act of talking about someone based on someone else's experiences. In this case, Yu Tri shares a story she hears from her friend, Panjul, who caught Dian hanging out with a sugar daddy in a mall. It can be seen that Yu Tri also enjoys talking about Dian by adding Panjul's story.



Figure 4.3 Bu Tejo showing evidence of Dian walking with someone

The act of adding new materials can also be seen in dialogue 4 where Bu Tejo suddenly remember seeing Dian throwing up at night. Bu Tejo make assumption that Dian is pregnant and her women friends starts to add their personal experiences in pregnancy.

Another example of adding new material in the conversation is shown in dialogue 10. It is when Yu Ning jokingly says that Pak Tejo runs for the candidacy for the head of village after Bu Tejo tries to give extra money to Gotrek. Yu Ning's action by making a joke of Pak Tejo's candidacy to be the new head of village can be considered as adding a new material to the conversation, thus making the conversation going. Nevertheless, this dialogue also shows an indication of vote buying with a hope of returning the favour. If it is true that Bu Tejo's husband is running for the head of the village, the money recipient will feel that there is a connection between the candidates and the recipients of money, Gotrek.

Dialogue 10

- Bu Tejo** : *Oh ya, Trek. Nyoh. Mau aku dititipin karo bapakne bocah- bocah.* [Trek. I have something. My husband asked me to give it to you.]
- Gotrek** : *Apa ki, Bu? Mau ya wis dikei karo ibu-ibu.* [What is it? It's already taken care of by the others.]
- Bu Tejo** : *Nggo tambah-tambah rapopo. Kowe orak gelem apa piye?* [It's okay, it's for you. Don't you want it?]
- Gotrek** : *Piye, Yu Ning?* [How is it, Yu Ning?]
- Yu Ning** : *Ya wis, ditompo wae. Kuwi deki-deki mahar seko Pak Tejo. Arep njago Lurah, lho.* [Just take it. Count it as a gift from Pak Tejo. He is running for the head of the village.]
- Gotrek** : *Oh, dadi Pak Tejo arep njago Lurah to, Bu?* [I see, so Pak Tejo is going to be the head of the village.]
- Bu Tejo** : *Ora, ora. Tapi yo, sakjane ki, nek misal, yo warga seng ngejokke bojoku nggo dadi Lurah ngana, kaya Gotrek apa piye, kaya Yu Ning ngana, dadi tim sukses ngana, masak aku yo nolak.* [It's not about that. Well, if the people want to, you know, elect him to be the head of the village, let's say, you or Yu Ning, would want to be the campaign team, it'd be disrespectful to say no.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 10:29)

As Coates (1996) states, women add new material to keep the conversation going. As a result, the conversation continues with Bu Tejo asking others what if people want her husband to be the new head of the village. If Gotrek and Yu Ning want to be in the campaign team for Pak Tejo, Bu Tejo would welcome them. This dialogue also shows that Bu Tejo talks about politic and tries to persuade Gotrek and Yu Ning to pick Pak Tejo as the new head of the village. Bu Tejo directly did a face-to-face campaign by means of candidates coming down directly or being represented by the winning team with promotions in the field.

4.1.3 Adding new material to the topic

The third finding of the way the women in *Tilik* communicate with each other is that they add new materials to the topic during a conversation. During their conversation in *Tilik*, the women add something new to the general topic which enables speakers to self-disclose more easily and move on to new revelation.

Dialogue 11

Bu Tejo : *Nyoh saiki coba delok. Ki delok ki.* [Try to take a look at this now.]

Yu Sam : *Eh iya ik! Bu, delok bu. Mosok kaya ngene fotone. Ih dempel-demplan kaya ngana. Astaghfirullah hal adzim.*

[What is that? Guys come here, look at this. She poses like that? May God forgive her.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 02:08)

Following Coates' (1996) theory that women maintain their conversation by adding new material, this group of Javanese women starts with the talk about Dian's life, further Bu Tejo keeps the conversation going by opening up a sub-topic to dig deeper about Dian's life. The conversation can be seen in dialogue 3 where Bu Tejo asks about Dian's job and adds rumours that are circulating in the village. Similar to Coates' (1996), these women develop their topic into a subtopic by exchanging sensitive information about Dian. From the dialogue above, Bu Tejo added another material in the conversation, the evidence of the rumours about Dian. The evidence is in the form of Dian's photo in Bu Tejo's phone.

4.1.4 Exchanging vulnerable talking or pleasure in others' failures

The fourth finding on the way the women in *Tilik* communicate with each other is that they exchange vulnerable talking and pleasure in others' failures. The term exchanging vulnerable talking or pleasure in others' failure in fact indicates that women talk about everything or whatever they feel; they do self-disclosure. Coates (1996) says that in doing self-disclosure the women are vulnerable since everything they talk about comes back to them. When women share their private issues, it may cause women to be vulnerable, thus their stories can be distributed in gossips.

Dialogue 12

Bu Tejo : *Coba saiki mbok yo do mikir. Mbok do mikir. Bu Lurah kuwi, Bu Lurah ki yo wis gerah bolak balik to. Sakke lho Bu Lurah kuwi.* [Anyway, let's think a second about our Bu Lurah, she is getting sick often. Give her a break.]

Yu Sam : *Apa to?* [What are you guys talking about?]

Bu Tejo : *Wis ngana kuwi uripe yo dhewe. Nduwe anak siji wae imbas inggis ngana kae. Cah lanang kae, ngana to? Dadine wis wayahe Bu Lurah kuwi leren. Mesaki to Bu Lurah kuwi.* [On top of that, she's living by herself. Her only son couldn't be counted on. Don't you agree? It is the time for her to get some rest. I feel sorry for her.]

Yu Ning : *Padune ben Pak Tejo seng dadi Lurah. Hee rak?* [That's you wanting your husband to replace her, isn't it?]

Bu Tejo : *Njur yo wis wayahe desane dewe ki butuh lurah sing cak set cak set ngono lho. Tur orak single! Nek single kuwi ngowo uripe dewe abot.* [No it's not! I just feel sorry about her. Beside, it's the time our village to have a handy head of village. And not single! Because if single, they can't even get a hold of their life.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 11:25)

In this dialogue, Bu Tejo talks about Bu Lurah's condition. She mentions Bu Lurah's health and family disgrace. Yu Ning teases Bu Tejo's intentions in making Pak Tejo as the new head of the village; it can be seen that Bu Tejo has a hidden

meaning in talking about Bu Lurah. It seems like Bu Tejo is trying to take Bu Lurah down and make her husband the new head of the village. Moreover, when Bu Tejo mentions that Bu Lurah needs to get some rest, it is actually an act of campaign. Bu Tejo aims Gotrek and the other women into agreeing that it is time for Bu Lurah to take a rest from her job, thus aims to gain support in carrying out a political activity to choose Pak Tejo as the new head of the village. Bu Tejo also links the campaign to an event or phenomenon that is in the spotlight or is happening at the present time, Bu Lurah's condition. Since Bu Lurah is sick and single, Bu Tejo brings up the fact to persuade the others to think about looking for the new head of the village.

As said by Coates (1996), when Bu Tejo talks about Bu Lurah, she does self-disclosure, she shows her hidden agenda of wanting her husband to become a Pak Lurah and Bu Lurah herself, thus she is vulnerable to the other women's judgement. Interestingly, although Bu Tejo exchanges her vulnerability, she also seems to enjoy Bu Lurah's misfortune; thus she is taking the pleasure of someone else's failure.

Dialogue 13

Yu Ning : *Bu Tejo ki ngapae? Kok njur meneng wae. Wis mau rak gelem ngewangi nyurung truk, saiki mung meneng wae. Ojo-ojo bener, mau ki duit seng dikei Gotrek mau ki duit seng orak berkah? Ya to?* [What's your problem? Why are you suddenly being so quiet? You didn't even bother to help us push the truck and now you are being so quiet. I wonder if that was a bribe that you gave Gotrek. Isn't it?]

Bu Tejo : *Astaghfirullah, Ya Allah...* [Astaghfirullah, may God

forgive you ...]

Yu Ning : *Iseh ngarani Dian nganggo susuk harang. Ki maraki truk e Gotrek mau dadi mogok to?* [You were saying that Dian has a charm. That was the reason the truck got stuck.]

Bu Tejo : *Eh, Yu Ning. Nek ngomong ki ati-ati lho yo.* [Yu Ning, watch your mouth.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 18:25)

Dialogue 13 shows a very rare moment of Yu Ning starting a conversation. Knowing Bu Tejo goes silent during the ride, Yu Ning starts to attack her because Bu Tejo does not help the other women pushing the truck. Yu Ning is blaming Bu Tejo's money given to Gotrek as the reason for the truck being stuck. It can be seen that Yu Ning was taking pleasure in Bu Tejo's failure, her silence. Resembling Coates' (1996) theory that women can say whatever they think or whatever they feel during vulnerable talking, Yu Ning has the right to say how she feels about Bu Tejo's absence in helping other women.

Dialogue 14

Bu Tejo : *Dadi, nyebarake kabar seng rak ceto kuwi, klebu fitnah ora?* [So, is talking around about something that is not certain yet is an act of slander?]

Everyone : *Yo mbuh yo...* [How about that?] (Prasetyo, 2020, 28:25)

In dialogue 14, Bu Tejo becomes big headed and mocks Yu Ning. Bu Tejo accuses Yu Ning for spreading rumours. She asks Yu Ning whether spreading rumours is considered slander or not. The group of women answer mockingly; saying they do not know about it. The reason Bu Tejo mocks Yu Ning is because

earlier Yu Ning accuses Bu Tejo for being slander. Here, Bu Tejo takes pleasure in Yu Ning's oversight for blaming her. The act of Bu Tejo mocking Yu Ning is the act of taking pleasure from others' failure, in this case Yu Ning's failure to keep the secret. Bu Tejo's act is in accordance with one of the characteristics of women in communications according to Coates (1996).

4.1.5 Asking questions

The fifth finding of the way the women in *Tilik* communicate with each other is that they frequently ask questions during their conversation. Asking questions has several functions, it is also a part of information seeking, conversational maintenance, instigating stories, topic initiation, topic development, hedging, rhetorical and avoiding playing the expert. Indeed, women use asking question in a wide variety of ways during a conversation.

Yu Ning uses asking questions as rhetorical questions in the dialogue below:

Dialogue 15

Yu Ning : *Walah walah... Bu Tejo. Kok le kayak dokter? Lha wong nyatane awake Dian nganti sak prene yo ora ana perubahan kok.* [Come on guys, why do you act like a doctor? We can't even see any changes with Dian's body.]

Bu Tejo : *Akeh cara lho, Yu, ngondeleke meteng ki. Padake cah saiki ki pinter-pinter.* [There are so many ways to hide pregnancy. Teenagers are more cunning nowadays.]

Yu Ning : *Tenane, Bu?* [Really?] (Prasetyo, 2020, 07:18)

According to Coates (1996), rhetorical questions are often left unanswered, apart from a minimal response. Meaning that other participants agree with what is said and the conversation moves on. When Yu Ning asked whether they are doctors, Bu Tejo only answered that teenagers are more cunning nowadays. When Yu Ning asked again whether teenagers are really cunning nowadays, Bu Tejo stayed silent and did not answer the question. It can be seen that Bu Tejo is avoiding answering Yu Ning's question or to be precise Yu Ning succeeds using rhetorical questions to her women friends.

Dialogue 16

Bu Tejo : *Heh, Yu Sam, kira-kira, menurutmu ki, si Dian ki nganggo susuk ora? Nganggo susuk ora ki?* [Yu Sam, do you think Dian has a charm?]

Yu Tri : *Ketoke hoo.* [I think so.]

Bu Tejo : *Ketoke hoo to. Hoo rak?* [I think so.]

Yu Sam : *Yo isa mungkin, isa ora sih, Bu. Lha cen Dian kan bocahe wis ayu. Kan akeh wong seng seneng to?* [It could be yes, it could be no. She is pretty after all. Many eyes are on her, right?]

Bu Tejo : *Nek modal mung ayu ki yo rak cukup, ya to? Wong lanang kabeh iso dadi seneng ki kan mesti nganggo susuk mbarang.* [If it were just about a pretty face, it's nonsense. All men are in love with her, it must be because of her charm.]

Yu Ning : *Walah... Jenengan-jenengan ki kadohan tenan nek mikir. Nganti pikirane Dian nganggo susuk barang.* [You took it too far, guys. How could you think that Dian has a charm?] (Prasetyo, 2020, 16:30)

In dialogue 16, Bu Tejo suddenly asks Yu Sam whether Dian is using *susuk*, a charm, or not. *Susuk* is a traditional belief that refers to a way of spiritually inserting a foreign object into one's body to gain an advantage. One of the advantages is that, *susuk* can be used to beautify the person who used it. The question given to Yu Sam is to instigate the other women into thinking that Dian is really using a charm. The question that Bu Tejo chirp is actually one of the functions in asking questions, instigating stories by Coates (1996). However, Bu Tejo fails to instigate Yu Sam into believing Dian has a charm because Yu Sam gives a fifty-fifty answer. Not so sure with her own answer, Yu Sam added the fact that Dian is already charming which makes it impossible for her to use a charm. Bu Tejo argues that she is sure Dian is using a charm to make men fall in love with her.

Dialogue 17

Bu Tejo : *Yu Sam, saiki aku arep takon, ket mau, aku takon-takon soal Dian, Yu Ning ki mesti maido rak?* [Yu Sam, let me ask you this, when I ask around about Dian, was Yu Ning always making a big deal about it?]

Yu Sam : *Hoo.* [Yes, she was.]

Bu Tejo : *Trus nek aku ki, ngenei informasi soal Dian, apa aku ki keleru?* [So, when I give information about Dian, was it wrong?] (Prasetyo, 2020, 19:20)

From the dialogue above, Bu Tejo uses asking questions to Yu Sam as rhetorical questions. Similar to one of the functions of asking questions by Coates (1996), Bu Tejo asks those kinds of questions as a way of expressing general truths. This also asserts the Javanese women group's view to check whether the group consensus still exists.

Dialogue 18

Yu Ning : *Yan. Piye keadaane Bu Lurah, Yan?* [How's Bu Lurah's condition, Yan?]

Dian : *Sakjane, ibu-ibu iki mboten sah mriki riyen, Bu.* [Actually, you don't need to come here.]

Yu Ning : *Kok mboten sah mriki riyen piye to? Wong wis tekan kene, Yan. Piye?* [What do you mean? We are already here, Yan. So, how is her condition?]

Dian : *Bu Lurah niku taseh neng ICU, dados durung saget di tueni, Bu.* [Bu Lurah is still in the ICU, she's not allowed to get visitors.]

Yu Ning : *Lha kok kowe ki rak ngabarin aku to, Yan?* [Why didn't you tell me before?]

Dian : *Jenengan kula kontak mawon angel banget kok.* [I couldn't reach you at all.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 25:04)

From dialogue 18, Yu Ning keeps asking about Bu Lurah conditions to Dian. The type of questions Yu Ning is asking are considered as information-seeking questions, according to Coates (1996). Representing the rest of the women, Yu Ning asks those questions to get better information about Bu Lurah's condition in the hospital. The act of asking questions as information seeking can also be found in dialogue 9, where Bu Tejo rephrased Yu Tri's question to get an answer of whom Dian was going out with.



Figure 4.4 Dian replying to questions thrown by Yu Ning.

Other than that, asking questions also functions as topic initiation which can be seen in dialogue 1. Yu Sam asking about the relationship between Dian and Fikri is considered as topic initiation. This type of question can initiate the other speaker to tell stories or ask more questions about the topic. Later, when the other women throw questions to Yu Sam to clarify the topic, it is considered as topic development. The act of asking question as topic development can also be seen in dialogue 2 and dialogue 3. Asking questions play a crucial role in the maintenance of conversation where they allow participants in the conversation to check that they are still in tune with each other. In this case is when Bu Tejo tells Yu Ning to be

more updated and ask the rest of the women if it is right to be more updated so Yu Ning could follow the conversation (see dialogue 24).

4.1.6 Mirroring and repetition

The sixth finding of the way the women in *Tilik* communicate with each other is by mirroring and repeating the speakers' words or sentences. Mirroring consists of one person saying something about themselves and then the other person responding with something similar from their own experience. Repetition is almost the same as mirroring. The only thing that differs them is that repetition can involve words, grammatical structures and meaning, meaning that repetition can occur at lexical, syntactic and semantic levels.

Dialogue 19

Yu Ning : *Yo orak ngana, Bu. Yen berita tentang Dian kuwi mau, ternyata Dian ki orak kaya seng diomongke Bu Tejo kuwi mau, apa kuwi jenenge rak fitnah? Fitnah kuwi dosa gedhe lho, Bu.* [But not like this, if info about Dian are not true like what you talked about, wouldn't it be a slander as well? Slander is a heavy sin.]

Bu Tejo : *Yo rak fitnah to yo, saksine yo rak mung aku kok. Ya ampun, Yu Ning ki kok yo orak kasiyatan ngana kuwi.* [Of course it's not, I'm not the only one who talks about it. Wake up!]

Yu Ning : *Aku ki paling orak srek mbek wong sing senengane umuk karo seng senengane fitnah!* [I don't get along well with

people who loves to show off and defame other people.]

Bu Tejo : *Opo?! Umuk?! Kok iso jenengan ngonekke aku umuk?! Enak wae nek ngomong!* [What did you say?! Show off?! How could you say that I love to show off?! Watch your mouth!]

Yu Ning : *Yo kaya jenengan kuwi!* [That's the reality!] (Prasetyo, 2020, 20:19)

In dialogue 19, Yu Ning is getting tired of Bu Tejo's speculation about Dian. Yu Ning accuses Bu Tejo as a slander which Bu Tejo denies by saying others are also the witness of Dian's behaviour. Getting tired of Bu Tejo, Yu Ning frankly accuses her by saying that Bu Tejo is a show off and a slander. The word *fitnah* means slader and *umuk* means show off. As shown in the dialogue above, the word *fitnah* has been repeated three times by Yu Ning and followed by Bu Tejo who repeats it once. Meanwhile the word *umuk* has been said by Yu Ning once and repeated by Bu Tejo twice.

The act of repetition can also be seen in dialogue 9 where Bu Tejo repeats Yu Tri questions to get the answer she wanted to hear. Dialogue 16 also shows the act of repetition where they are talking about Dian's charm. Bu Tejo asks the same question twice; her assumption and another question are using the same word twice.

Moreover, Coates' (1996) theory of mirroring can be seen in dialogue 7 where Yu Tri shares her story of being pregnant after Bu Tejo assumes that Dian gets pregnant. One person saying something about themselves and then the other person responding with something similar from their own experience is an act of mirroring.

The act of the Javanese women mirrors and repeats is a way for them to follow on the topic they are talking about. Moreover, the act of mirroring and repetition is also used to engage the other women to join and contribute in the conversation.

4.1.7 Talk freely about sex

The seventh finding of the way the women in *Tilik* communicate with each other is that they talk freely about sex. In accordance with Copenhaver's (2002) theory, women do not talk freely about sex to her male or female friends. However, the Javanese women in *Tilik* are different, they do talk freely about sex.

Dialogue 20

Yu Ning : *Bu, dikon mudun.* [You could get down now.]

Bu Tejo : *Piye to Gotrek ki! Aku kon nguyuh neng tengah sawah opo piye?! Wegah aku! Wedi ula!* [Are you kidding me?! Do you want me to take a pee in the middle of the rice field?! I don't want to get bitten by a snake!]

Yu Ning : *Neng rak wedi karo ula ne Pak Tejo to, Bu?* [But you are not scared of Pak Tejo's snake, right?]

Everyone : *Wooring* (Prasetyo, 2020, 08:34).

Dialogue 20 shows how the Javanese women makes fun of Bu Tejo who is scared to get bitten by snake if she peed in the rice field. They replace the word “snake” that has a real meaning of the real animal into “Pak Tejo’s snake” which have another meaning as his private part. When the Javanese women said that Bu Tejo is not afraid of Pak Tejo’s “snake” it is considered as talking about sex. The words of “is not scared” shows that Bu Tejo is familiar with Pak Tejo’s “snake”

and might enjoy it sexually.

Moreover, in dialogue 8, Yu Tri also tells her story about her husband and Dian. She was jealous of Dian for having a conversation with her husband. The context suddenly changes into a private conversation when Yu Sam tells her story, for this reason about sex. The act of exchanging personal experience happens again in this dialogue. These Javanese women also did not need to pretend in expressing their dislike of Dian. The same as Coates' (1996) finding, when communicating with women's friends, they are free to act and express themselves, there is no need to pretend around them. Even Yu Sam is not embarrassed talking about her sex life towards her friends, even though Gotrek is there. She even mentions that her husband cannot “*attahiyat*” which connotes the inability to be sexually aroused. Yu Sam also points her index finger up to show the meaning of “*attahiyat*” more clearly to her friends. Unlike Copenhaver's (2002) idea that women do not talk about sex freely, but Yu Sam seems to normally talk about it even though there is Gotrek.



Figure 4.5 Yu Sam sharing story of her sex life to her friends.

The two dialogues above shows that the Javanese women in *Tilik* talks about sexuality is an act of trespassing the traditional gender boundaries. In general, Javanese women are known to be calm, soft and gentle people. That they keep their way of talking and use their word wisely. In this case when they decided to talk about sex freely, they are already crossed their gender boundaries.

4.1.8 Tactful

The eighth finding of the way the women in *Tilik* communicate with each other is that they show their tactfulness in communication. Akin to Copenhaver's (2002) theory, women are tactful in communication. In the short film *Tilik*, some women are able to show the characteristic of tactfulness.

Dialogue 21

Yu Ning : *Walah walah... Jan. Jenengan-jenengan ki lho, ngalahke wartawan wae. Nganti isa reti sisik melik uripe liyan. Nganti kaya kuwi jan.* [You guys, are you detectives now? Your job seems to investigate other's lives.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 04:32)

Yu Ning is being wise and tries to make them stop talking by sarcastically asking if they are detectives. Another characteristic of women in communicating by Copenhaver (2002) is shown by Yu Ning, being tactful. Yu Ning is still trying to make them stop talking about Dian. Nevertheless the conversation about Dian did not died down as the other women keeps giving material to talk about Dian. Another tactful trait represented by Yu Ning can be seen in the dialogue 15. After Bu Tejo and Yu Tri make an assumption that Dian is pregnant, Yu Ning tries to

make them stop talking about Dian by asking a question and giving evidence that Dian's body does not show any sign of pregnancy.

Dialogue 22

Yu Ning : *Neng kabeh kuwi hurung karoan bener lho, Bu Tejo. Berita seko internet ki yo kudu dicek sek. Ora mung waton dilek wae. Kelingan ora, warga desa nggonan dewe ki mbiyen ki nganti keapusan obat herbal sing diiklan ke ning internet lho. Tenan kuwi.* [But not all of them are true. We have to double check them first, don't take it so blatantly. Remember when one of us was tricked by herbal medicine ads from the internet. It happened.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 04:55)

Yu Ning's tactfulness is also shown in the dialogue above. Hearing her female friends believe in the internet, Yu Ning has tried to remind their friends to not believe everything that is uploaded on the internet. They have to double check its validity before spreading it.

Dialogue 23

Yu Ning : *Mbok yo wis, ora usah nyebarke fitnah, Bu.* [Enough, no need to slander about her.]

Yu Sam : *Hoo, bener jare Yu Ning. Heh, Bu Tejo, fitnah kuwi yo, luwih kejam timbang pembunuhan.* [I agree with Yu Ning. Bu Tejo, slandering kills a thousand times.]

Bu Tejo : *Aku ki rak fitnah, aku ki yo mung meh jaga-jaga wae ngana lho.* [I'm not slandering about anything, I just want to

take precaution.]

Yu Ning : *Jaga-jaga seka apa?* [From what?]

Bu Tejo : *Yo jaga-jaga, yen Dian kuwi sakjane uwong wedok orak nggenah. Goda-goda ni bojo-bojo ne dewe.* [From the fact that Dian is actually not a noble woman. She loves to flirt with our husband.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 15:20)

From dialogue 23, it is crystal clear that Yu Ning tries to make Bu Tejo stop talking and spreading hoaxes about Dian again. In this scene, Yu Sam agrees with Yu Ning. She warns Bu Tejo that spreading hoax is way more evil than murder. In the dialogue above, Yu Ning and Yu Sam show their tactfulness, one of the characteristics of feminine gender stereotypes in communication by Copenhaver (2002) to Bu Tejo.

4.1.9 Use talking to build consensus and to hold people together

The ninth finding of the way the women in *Tilik* communicate with each other is that they use talking to build consensus and to hold people together. In consonance with Copenhaver's (2002) theory of gender stereotype in communication, women use talking to build consensus and to hold people together either for males and females.

Dialogue 24

Bu Tejo : *Mulakno Yu Ning, sregep o maca berita seko internet. Yo rak?* [That's why it's time for you to upgrade your reading skill through the internet. Okay?]

Yu Tri : *Kuwi lho, Yu Ning.* [True that, Yu Ning.]

Bu Tejo : *Dadine nek diajak ngomong nyambung gitu lho.* [So you know what we are talking about.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 04:44)

In this part, Bu Tejo uses talking to build consensus and to hold her women friends together. Similar to Copenhaver's (2002) traits of women in communication, after they had an argument over Dian, Bu Tejo tells Yu Ning to be more updated by reading the news on the internet. This also shows that in order to be a part of the gossip group, Yu Ning has to be more updated on the internet to follow what the rest of the women were talking about. In the writer's opinion, the reason Bu Tejo tells Yu Ning to be more updated is to enable her to join the conversation. Resembling it to Guendouzi's (2015) theory of gossiping, Bu Tejo shows that the ability to get along in the conversation makes them part of the group.

Later, Yu Tri and Bu Tejo team up to tell Yu Ning that everything on the internet is valid. Bu Tejo understands that Yu Ning and Dian have a family bond, but Bu Tejo claims that she only wants to tell the rest of the women to take precautions and be careful of Dian.

Dialogue 25

Yu Tri : *Heh, Yu Ning. Piye e? Jenengane internet yo gaweane wong pinter. Yo rak bakal keliru to yo. Ana-ana wae. Hoo to, Bu Tejo?* [Yu Ning, what's your problem? The Internet is created by smart people. It's impossible to be wrong. You are a fool. Is that right, Sis?]

Bu Tejo : *Lha iya. Nek bodo yo rak mungkin iso ngawe internet to yo. Aku ki reti Yu Ning, aku ki bukane apa-apa. Jenengan kan sakjane yo seh anak sanak karo Dian. Ya to? Mulakno ket mau kuwi mbelani Dian terus. Aku ki mung ngandani ibu-ibu ki lho ben do waspada nek memang Dian kuwi uwong wedok seng rak genah. Hoo to?* [Of course. Dumb people would not capable to do such things. I don't mean to judge her or anything, and I know you are still related to her, right? That's why you are on her side all the time. I just want to tell them to take precautions that Dian is a threat. Right, ladies?]

Yu Tri : *Hoo, Bu Tejo.* [You are right, Bu Tejo.]

Bu Tejo : *Dian kuwi mlebu meresahkan warga, isa dadi nganggu rumah tangga neng desane dewe. Bahaya kuwi.* [Dian is disturbing our people, she could be a homewrecker. That's so dangerous.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 20:08)

Dialogue 25 shows that Bu Tejo once again uses gossiping about Dian as an excuse to remind her friends that Dian is a bad person. Her act of building consensus is similar to Copenhaver's (2002) feminine characteristic of gender stereotypes in communication.

Nevertheless, Bu Tejo also shows another characteristic in using talking to build consensus as shown in dialogue 17 and dialogue 23. In dialogue 17, Bu Tejo asks questions to Yu Sam as a way of expressing general truths of giving

information about Dian is not wrong at all. In dialogue 23, Bu Tejo denies spreading hoaxes about Dian. The reason Bu Tejo talks a lot about Dian is to build consensus to be more careful of Dian. Building consensus through talking is also one of the feminine characteristics of gender stereotypes by Copenhaver (2002) .

Bu Tejo actually has a good point by giving information about Dian to her women friends even though her way of delivering is considered bitching. As stated by Guendouzi (2015), bitching is associated with comparative competition for social capital, while peer group news-giving is associated with maintaining social links by giving information. Bu Tejo just wants her and the rest of the women to stay alert because Dian flirts with their husband.

4.1.10 Women talk or interrupt – along the speaker’s argument

The tenth finding of the way the women in *Tilik* communicate with each other is that they talk or interrupt along the speakers’ argument. The characteristic of women talking or interrupting along the speakers’ argument is similar to Kiprotich and Rotich (2018) theory of gender stereotype communication. Women most likely will interrupt during a conversation when they disagree with the speakers’ argument. Later, they will argue back to the speaker’s argument.

Dialogue 26

Yu Ning : *Bu Tejo, njenengan ki kok yo mbok ra maton nek ngendikan.* [Bu Tejo, can you please not say something unreasonable?] (Prasetyo, 2020, 03:28)

The dialogue above shows Yu Ning is interrupting the conversation by telling Bu Tejo to not spread false rumour. The characteristic of interrupting in Kiprotich and Rotich's (2018) feminine gender stereotype of communicating is identical with Yu Ning. She interrupts the conversation and scolds Bu Tejo.



Figure 4.6 Yu Ning interrupts Bu Tejo in sharing false rumours.

Dialogue 27

Yu Sam : *Bu Tejo.* [Bu Tejo.]

Bu Tejo : *Apa?* [What?]

Yu Sam : *Emange nggo muntah-muntah ki yo mergo meteng po piye? Lha iki buktine, Yu Nah, muntah-muntah to mau, dekne yo ora meteng.* [Are you sure pregnancy is the only reason for someone to throw up? Look at her, Yu Nah, she was throwing up hard and not pregnant.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 06:38)

Yu Sam argues by asking if vomiting means being pregnant. This part matches Kiprotich and Rotich's (2018) theory about interruption in that Yu Sam shows the characteristic of feminine in communication, speaking along the

argument. Yu Sam argues to Bu Tejo who said that throwing up means pregnant. Yu Sam also gives evidence of Yu Nah who threw up and was not pregnant.

Moreover, there is also a scene where Yu Ning and Bu Tejo interrupt each other during their argument. In dialogue 13, Yu Ning accused Bu Tejo for bribing Gotrek that made the truck get stuck. Bu Tejo interrupts by telling Yu Ning to watch her mouth. Another dialogue that shows women talk or interrupt during an argument can be seen in dialogue 19 where the two of them are having a fight after Yu Ning accused Bu Tejo for being a slander. The two women, Bu Tejo and Yu Ning show their emotion, disliking the topic of conversation and action of response, and interrupting the conversation.

In dialogue 22 Yu Ning also argues on Bu Tejo's argument by saying that not everything that is on the internet is right. But Yu Tri argues on Yu Ning's statement. Yu Tri mentions that everything that is uploaded on the internet is valid because only smart people could create the internet. The two women, Yu Ning and Yu Tri, show another characteristic of women in communicating, speaking along the argument by Kiprotich and Rotich (2018).

4.1.11 Women are able to express their tender feeling

The eleventh finding of the way the women in *Tilik* communicate with each other is that they are able and unable to express their tender feelings. According to Copenhaver's (2002) and Kiprotich and Rotich's (2018) theory, women are supposed to be able to express their tender feelings and talk about it to their friends. However, it must be known that not all women are able to express tender feelings.

Dialogue 28

Bu Tejo : *Uwis, uwis. Sing penting dewe kan wis reti keadaane Bu Lurah kuwi aman-aman wae. Hoo to? Nek perkara rak isa tilik ki yo rapopo. Wis saiki, penake dewe mulih wae.*

[Enough. The important thing is we know that our Bu Lurah is fine. Whether we can't visit her it's not worth being a problem. Let's go back home now. It's enough, let's go home now.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 26:47)

In this dialogue, Bu Tejo does not show any sign of sympathy towards Bu Lurah's condition. Knowing that Bu Lurah is fine, she suggests to the others that it is better to go home. However, from dialogue 12, Bu Tejo expresses her tender feelings about Bu Lurah's condition towards her friends. Akin to Copenhaver's (2002) and Kiprotich and Rotich's (2018) gender stereotype feminine characteristic, Bu Tejo expresses tender feeling because she was worried about Bu Lurah's health. Although Bu Tejo seems to care about Bu Lurah, Bu Tejo is trying to take Bu Lurah down and make Pak Tejo as the new head of the village.

Dialogue 29

Yu Ning : *Apa ya keliru, yen aku ki gemati karo Bu Lurah? Apa ya keliru, yen aku ki selak meh reti kahananne Bu Lurah?* [Is it wrong, if I care about Bu Lurah? Is it also wrong, if I want to know how she is as soon as possible?]

Bu Tejo : *Uwis, Yu Ning. Ora ana seng salah, ora ana seng keliru. Awak e dewe ki reti yen niatmu kuwi ki sakjane apik. Eh,*

Trek, Trek, Trek, Gotrek. [That's fine, Sis. No one is at fault. We know that you have good intentions, right? Trek, Gotrek.]

Gotrek : *Piye, Bu?* [What is it?]

Bu Tejo : *Iki ki wis adoh-adoh tekan kene, piye nek dewe ki mampir Pasar Gedhe wae?* [Iki ki wis adoh-adoh tekan kene, piye nek dewe ki mampir Pasar Gedhe wae?]

Gotrek : *Manut, Bu. Piye ibu-ibu kuwi, liyane?* [No problem, but how about the others?]

Bu Tejo : *Piye ibu-ibu?* [What do you think, ladies?]

Semua : *Ayo mangkat!* [Let's go there!]

Bu Tejo : *Ya wis, Trek. Mampir Pasar Gedhe wae ya. Dadi wong ki yo seng solutip ngana lho yo.* [Okay then, Trek, let's stop by the central market. That's how it's done, always offer a solution.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 27:38)

From this dialogue, Yu Ning expresses how disappointed she is about Bu Lurah's condition. Again, Bu Tejo does not show any sign of sympathy towards Yu Ning. Instead, she offers Yu Ning and the rest of the women a solution for not being able to visit Bu Lurah. Bu Tejo's solution is to visit *Pasar Gedhe*, a traditional market in Yogyakarta. When Yu Ning shows her disappointment to her women friend's, Bu Tejo opts to give solutions rather than expresses tender feelings. Giving solutions is one of the masculine traits of gender stereotypes in communicating by Copenhaver (2002).



Figure 4.7 Bu Tejo giving a solution to her friends.

As has been elaborated, the group of Javanese women in *Tilik* already have a connection as housewives. To maintain their connection, these Javanese women communicate during their visit to Bu Lurah. However, their rapport talk turns into gossiping, similar to Coates (1996), when women communicate, they are often given derogatory names such as gossip. The rapport talk changes into gossiping when they decide to talk about the absence of Dian's life. Though they gossip about Dian, they have good intentions to warn their women friends about Dian. Additionally, the group of the Javanese women keeps adding stories, adding new materials, asking questions, sharing their personal experiences, talking about someone else, mirroring and repeating in their discussion. These actions develop them to talk for a longer period, which also shows that they are talkative. On top of that, one of the Javanese women, Mba Yati, Gotrek's wife, says one of Javanese words that is considered harsh which is *gateli* to her husband (see dialogue 5). In English, the word *gateli* have similar meaning to fuck or bastard. Women, according to Copenhaver (2002) in gender stereotypes in communication, are not supposed to speak harsh words. The characteristic of speaking harshly is in the masculine category.

The women in communication's characteristics found in this analyses are that Javanese women; talk to maintain friendship or relationship, predominantly talk about people and draw heavily on personal experiences, add new material to the topic, exchange vulnerable talking, ask questions, often mirroring and repeating phrases, talkative, tactful, and use talking to build consensus and to hold people together. By relating these characteristics to Coates (1996), Copenhaver (2002) and Kiprotich and Rotich (2018), Javanese women can be seen as almost having all the feminine traits in communication. Below are the classification of Javanese women in communication feminine traits attested by Coates (1996), Copenhaver (2002) and Kiprotich and Rotich (2018):

Table 4.1 Feminine traits found in Javanese women communication in *Tilik*.

Feminine traits in communication
1. Talk to maintain friendship and relationship.
2. Predominantly about people and draw heavily on personal experiences.
3. Work together, rephrasing what each other says and adding new material to the topic.
4. Exchanging vulnerable talking or pleasure in others' failure.
5. Asking questions.
6. Mirroring and repetition.
7. Talkative, women talk for longer periods of time.
8. Tactful.
9. Use talking to build consensus and to hold people together.
10. Women talk or interrupt-along with the speaker's argument.

Table 4.1 shows that the group of Javanese women possess only ten feminine traits out of thirteen feminine traits of women in communication. This analysis shows that the group of Javanese women subverts gender stereotypes. Not every

woman who communicates with each other shows feminine traits in communication, some even able to show masculine traits in communication. Meaning that women are also able to perform masculine traits in communication.

4.2 Javanese Local Wisdom Represented by Javanese Women in *Tilik*

In this discussion, the writer will talk about the local wisdom represented by the Javanese women in *Tilik*. Javanese people are those people who uphold their principles, local wisdom and cultures. The discussion below covers the Javanese local wisdom shown by the Javanese women in the short film *Tilik*.

4.2.1 *Rukun*

In analyzing the women's communication in *Tilik*, the writer found one of the Javanese local wisdoms, *rukun*. *Rukun* or harmony is a principle that is seen in the atmosphere of working together, within the family and community, and is expected to be maintained in all social relations. Based on the short film, the Javanese women are able to hold on to the *rukun* principle and it can be already seen in the beginning of the short film.

Dialogue 30

Yu Ning : *Mau seng sepuluh ewu sapa njih?* [To whom does this ten thousand belong?]

Bu Tejo : *Sakke yo Bu Lurah kuwi.* [I feel sorry for our Bu Lurah.]

Yu Ning : *Wis kabeh to iki? Tak lebokke amplop lho ya?* [Is this all? I'll put it in the envelope then.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 00:21)

In the dialogue above, the group of Javanese women are collecting money in an envelope which will later be given to someone. From the title *Tilik*, meaning to visit someone who is sick, it is clear that the envelope will be given to a sick person. Giving an envelope with money in it to someone who is sick is an act of care. Equivalent to Nugroho (2012) theory of Javanese local wisdom, these Javanese women show the act of *rukun*, or harmony. In creating harmony, these Javanese women spare their time to visit Bu Lurah using a truck. Meaning that, this group of Javanese women is there for the sick person and wishing the sick person to be healthy soon.

Dialogue 31 shows how these women can keep each other informed of what is going on around them. In this case, Yu Ning was the one who told the news to the housewives through a WhatsApp group. Yu Ning explained that Bu Lurah is sick and is in the hospital.

Dialogue 31

Yu Ning : *Lha yo mau ki aku ditelfon karo Dian, ngabarke nek Bu Lurah ki ambruk, lha dadi digowo neng omah sakit to, Bu. Mulane aku ndang-ndang ngabarin ibu-ibu kabeh neng kene ki seko WhatsApp ki lho. Seko grup WA ne dewe.*

[Dian called me, saying that our Bu Lurah passed out. That's why they bring her to the hospital immediately. That's why I told you all about it through our WhatsApp group.]

(Prasetyo, 2020, 01:02)

Later, they decide to make a visit to see Bu Lurah's condition using a truck to reach the hospital. This shows that the group of Javanese women has a strong bond with each other and Bu Lurah. To maintain the bond, the group of Javanese women plans a visit to show that they are there in the good and bad times. Their action is also a part of Javanese local wisdom according to Nugroho's (2012) theory, more precisely on the act of *rukun*. The action of *tilik* is actually a part of *gotong royong* because it shows that these Javanese women try to maintain good relations and harmony in their village.

Another act of *rukun* is shown in the scene where Yu Nah is about to vomit because she has motion sickness.

Dialogue 32

Yu Ning : *Lho, tha ngapa? Ehh, sapa sing ngowo kresek nggo Yu Nah?* [Are you okay? Who got a sick bag? Oh God, how could this happen?] (Prasetyo, 2020, 05:16)

In dialogue 32, Yu Ning notices something is wrong with her friend, Yu Nah. She asks a question to her to ensure Yu Nah's condition. Later, Yu Ning finds out that Yu Nah is about to throw up. Quickly, she asks the group for a plastic bag. The group of women gave Yu Nah a plastic bag and pat Yu Nah's bag to make sure she is okay. This is another example of *rukun* in the style of Nugroho (2012). Seeing one of her female friends about to throw up, Yu Ning quickly asked her friends to give a plastic bag to Yu Sam. If Yu Ning did not act quickly, Yu Sam might throw up on her women friends that could lead to fray.



Figure 4.8 Yu Nah throwing up in a plastic bag given by her friends.

Further, the act of *rukun* is also shown when Bu Tejo is having a problem in holding her urine (see dialogue 33). Yu Ning helps her by giving a rubber band to tie it on Bu Tejo's toe. Tying a toe to hold urine is a myth believed by most rural people.

Dialogue 33

Yu Ning : *Nyoh, jempole dikareti ndhisik. Ben ora sido kebelet nguyuh..* [Tie your toe with this rubber band. It'd hold your pee.]

Bu Tejo : *Dikareti kepiye?* [What do you mean?]

Yu Sam : *Cekelan, cekelan aku. Wis? Wis hurung?* [Hold on to me. Did you do it? Is it done?]

Bu Tejo : *Sek, tak empet sek.* [Wait, I'll hold it]

Yu Sam : *Ditahan sek to, Bu.* [Hold it longer.]

Bu Tejo : *Aduh! Gotrek mbok dikon mandek wae sek! Aku kebelet nguyuh ki.* [Oh, God! Could we ask Gotrek to stop for awhile? I can't hold it any longer.]

Everyone : *Trek! Mandek sek, Trek! Trek! Trek!* [Trek! Stop here, Trek! Trek! Trek!] (Prasetyo, 2020, 07:53)

With the help from Yu Sam, Bu Tejo is able to tie her toe, but the rubber band did not help her to hold her urine. The rest of the Javanese women call on Gotrek to stop for the sake of Bu Tejo. It can be seen that the Javanese women are helping Bu Tejo to hold her urine and to call Gotrek to make a stop. Those acts represent what Nugroho (2012) calls as *rukun*, the act of helping is a form of *gotong royong* which can lead to harmony or *rukun*.

The act of *rukun* shown by doing *gotong royong* is shown by the women when there is a technical problem with Gotrek's truck (see dialogue 34).

Dialogue 34

Yu Ning : *Piye, Trek?* [How is it, Trek?]

Gotrek : *Wah, ketoke kudu di surung.* [It must be pushed, Sis.]

Yu Ning : *Waduh...* [Oh God...]

Everyone : *Siji, loro, telu! Ayo! Alhamdulillah!* [One, two, three! Go! Thank God!] (Prasetyo, 2020, 17:47)

Gotrek tells Yu Ning that in order for the truck to start, it must be pushed first. The group of Javanese women get off to push the truck. Counting one, two, three in unison, the group of Javanese women push the truck until it starts again normally. The same as Nugroho (2012) theory of Javanese local wisdom, the group of Javanese women shows another act of *gotong royong* by pushing the truck in unison. To be able to push the truck together, they need to count from one to three and push the truck in unison together.



Figure 4.9 The Javanese women pushing the truck together.

In one particular scene, the women show an example of “*rukun*”. It is when the truck is stopped by a police officer. The scene contains witty dialogues between the women and the police officer.

Dialogue 35

Pak Polisi : *Ibu-ibu ini paham aturan kan?* [Ladies, you understand the law, right?]

Bu Tejo : *Pokoknya kami mau tilik Bu Lurah. Titik. Jenengan nek ngeyel tak cokot tenan lho.* [We are going to visit our Bu Lurah! Case closed. If you don't let us go, I'll bite you off!]

Everyone : **inaudible**

Bu Tejo : *Ayo Bu, ndang mudun kabeh. Aku yo gumun banget iki. Jalok diapake to, Pak? Kowe ki jalok diapake to, Pak? Jalok tak cokot apa piye?* [That's it! Let's go down and get him! What do you want from us, Sir? Do you want me to bite you off?!] (Prasetyo, 2020, 23:16)

The police officer emphasizes the valid law to the group of women in dialogue 35. The group of Javanese women still does not want to obey the police officer. But Tejo, who is exasperated by the police officer, tells the group of women to get off from the truck and bite him off. The group of women who are also exasperated and wanting to reach their destination to see Bu Lurah, gets off and attacks the police officer. Their act to be free from the police officer is also considered as *gotong royong*. Although it seems to cross the line of creating harmony as stated by Nugroho (2012), these Javanese women have good intentions to be able to visit Bu Lurah as soon as possible.

It is very unfortunate that when they finally arrive at the hospital, they cannot enter the hospital to visit Bu Lurah because they come at the non-visit time. In dialogue 36, Yu Ning gives Fikri, Bu Lurah's son, an envelope containing money that have been collected by the Javanese women together.

Dialogue 36

Yu Ning : *Mas Fikri, pokoke Ibu di jagani yo, ojo ditinggal-tinggal.*
[Fikri, stay beside your mother, don't go anywhere.]

Mas Fikri : *Njih, njih.* [Alright, Mam.]

Yu Ning : *Wis, pokoke muga-muga ndang mari. Sedilit.* [We hope everything goes better. Wait a second.]

Mas Fikri : *Napa iki, Bu?* [What is it, Mam?]

Yu Ning : *Seko Ibu-ibu.* [It's from us.]

Mas Fikri : *Malah ngerepotke.* [You don't need to.]

Yu Ning : *Ora, wis pokoke ditompo wae yo. Wis, muga-muga Ibu*

ndang mari. Nek ana apa-apa ojo lali kabar-kabaran yo.

[It's fine, just accept it. We hope for the best of your mum.

Don't forget to give us updates about it.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 26:10)

In this scene, even though they cannot show and give their support directly to Bu Lurah, the women represented by Yu Ning are still trying to strengthen the bond of harmony between them and Bu Lurah. The act of *rukun* happens again when Yu Ning insists Fikri take the envelope as a form of attachment to maintain the harmony atmosphere between the group of women and Bu Lurah. Yu Ning also reminds Fikri to give the latest update about Bu Lurah's condition to her. Yu Ning really wants to make sure that Bu Lurah is fine.

4.2.2 *Hormat*

The second finding of the Javanese local wisdom shown by the women in *Tilik* is *hormat* or polite. This principle particularly says that everyone in the way they speak and carry themselves must always show respect for others, according to their degree and position. Based on the short film, the position of the group of the Javanese women are housewives while Dian and Fikri are teenagers. The differences in their position could lead them on how to act to each other.

Dialogue 37

Bu Tejo : *Eh, sek, sek, sek, sek. Iki berarti, nganu, Mba Dian nganterke Mas Fikri, anu, nganterke Ibu neng omah sakit? Wis, dilung-dilung kaya wong bojoan wae. Wis*

ndang di tresnake ki wong loro. [Wait... wait... So Dian took Fikri and his mom to the hospital, right? You guys are not official but act like it. Why don't you get married now?]

Yu Ning : *Bu Tejo, malah seng diomongke kok seng orak-orak to?*
[Why are you back at it again?] (Prasetyo, 2020, 25:54)

In dialogue 37, Bu Tejo dares to say that what Fikri and Dian do is a scandal in front of Fikri. Yu Ning glares at Bu Tejo and admonishes her. Yu Ning feels ashamed of Bu Tejo for saying that. In *hormat*, or respect, context according to Nugroho (2012), Bu Tejo does not seem to reflect on being polite while Yu Ning does. Yu Ning tries to be polite to Dian and Fikri, but Bu Tejo ruins it by asking about the scandal. In this case, Bu Tejo does not feel ashamed but Yu Ning does. Yu Ning reflects the act of being *isin*, or shame since Bu Tejo cannot be polite to Dian and Fikri. It is true that Dian and Fikri are younger, but considering the situation of Bu Lurah being sick, Bu Tejo's act is unacceptable.

Furthermore, in dialogue 18, there is something different in the context of language. They are still using Javanese language, however Dian uses *krama* speech level in talking to the group of Javanese women. The easiest *krama* word can be noticed when she uses *kula* (*krama* speech) instead of *aku* (*ngoko* speech) when referring to herself while speaking to Yu Ning. Similar to Berman (1999) statement where Javanese speech level should be used based on social status or age. Since the group of Javanese women only consist of housewives, they are talking to each other using *ngoko* speech level. Meanwhile Dian, who is much younger than them, uses *krama* speech level to talk to the elders as an act of *hormat*.

4.2.3 *Sabar*

The third finding of the Javanese local wisdom shown by Javanese women in *Tilik* are *sabar* or patience. As mentioned by Nugroho (2012), the principle of patience is instilled in Javanese women since their teens, which later shows that they have high resistance in enduring pain.

The act of *sabar* can be seen in dialogue 14 where Bu Tejo mocks Yu Ning by asking whether giving false information is considered a slander. Yu Ning says nothing, instead she stays silent, ignoring Bu Tejo's mock. Yu Ning is the one who takes the initiative to invite the housewives to visit Bu Lurah who is sick. However, Yu Ning has not confirmed yet to Dian whether Bu Lurah could be visited or not. Yu Ning's will to maintain *rukun* by visiting Bu Lurah is very noble. But she cannot hide the sadness and the shame in her, knowing that Bu Lurah cannot be visited. Yu Ning, in her position can only be patience, or *sabar*, in facing Bu Tejo's mock. Akin to Nugroho (2012) Javanese local wisdom of *sabar*, Yu Ning accepts everything that comes to herself without any protest or rebellion. Instead, she stays silent during the ride with a sulky face.

Based on the discussion above, the group of the Javanese women only represents three out of four Javanese local wisdom stated by Nugroho (2012). The one local wisdom flaunts in this short film is the local wisdom of *sak madya*. Bu Tejo, the main character in *Tilik* does not show the principle of being *sak madya* or having self-control ability. According to Nugroho (2012), Javanese women are required to have the ability to control themselves. Especially during communication, women are sued to not showing off their wealth and not talking too

much. However, the short film shows that these Javanese women talk too much and some even show off their wealth.

Dialogue 38

Bu Tejo : *Aku ki bukane nyilikke bandanne keluargane Dian lho, ya. Cetha ket cilik Dian ki ditinggal minggat karo bapake. Ibune wae nduwe sawah yo rak sepiro. Mulakno, rampung SMA dekne orak kuliah. Nembe nyambut gawe, handphone anyar, motor anyar. Hee rak? Ge kuwi ki duit seko endi coba? Ge larang-larang kabeh lho kuwi. Kaya aku rak tau merk wae.* [I'm not saying anything about their family. Her father left her when she was a child, her mother just has a little plot of rice field. That's why she didn't go to college. She just started working, suddenly her phone is new, and so does her motorcycle. Where does that money come from? Those are very expensive. I know branded things.]

(Prasetyo, 2020, 03:53)

Bu Tejo, in dialogue 38, does not show the act of *sak madya*. Bu Tejo's talk does not reflect the act of *sak madya*. She talks too much about Dian's life, especially on her mother's rice field. Rice fields in the rural environment are considered a property of wealth. In the dialogue above, Bu Tejo says that Dian's mother's rice field is not that big, or small. In this case, Bu Tejo might compare Dian's mother's wealth to hers so she could say such things. Furthermore, Bu Tejo

even claims she knows branded and expensive things which Dian bought. Still not holding onto Nugroho (2012) statement of *sak madya*, Bu Tejo talks too much by showing off her wealth and knowledge. Bu Tejo acts superior to any other Javanese women in the scene.

Dialogue 39

Bu Tejo : *Heh, Yu Ning. Dhewe ki napa to, orak nganggo bus wae?*

Malah reko-reko wae nggo truk barang. [Yu Ning, why didn't we take a bus instead of this truck?]

Yu Ning : *Bis sing biasane kae ki lagi do metu kabeh. Ketara rak isa*

nek dadakan iki, Bu. Iki ki yo Alhamdulillah, ana truk e si Gotrek iki iso dadakan. [The bus we usually take was occupied. Besides, we can't take it so suddenly. Thank God, Gotrek can take us with his truck.]

Bu Tejo : *Yo reti ngana kan aku iso nelponke kanca ne bapake*

bocah-bocah sing nduwe bis ngana lho. Dadi rak rekasa ngene ki. [If it were the case, I could talk to my husband. He has a friend who got a bus. So we don't have to struggle like this.]

Yu Ning : *Jenenge yo darurat kok yo, Bu. Nek jenengan ki rak*

rekasa numpak truk iki yo ra po po kok. Seng penting ki awake dhewe ki ndang tekan kana, tekan omah sakit, trus reti kahananne Bu Lurah. Sakke Bu Lurah kae. Seng jagani ning omah sakit sapacoba? Rak nduwe sopo-sopo,

rak nduwe bojo, anak siji wae yo ngana kae. [It was an emergency. If you don't want to go with this truck, it's no biggie. The important thing is we get there, to the hospital and make sure if our Bu Lurah is okay. Poor her, nobody is taking care of her. She has no one, no husband, and an unreliable son.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 13:50)

In dialogue 39, Bu Tejo shows no principle of being *sak madya* again. First of all, she complains about riding the truck. Saying trucks are not comfortable and it is better to ride a bus. Second, she suggests to Yu Ning that Bu Tejo might give a call to her husband's friends who own a bus. Unlike Nugroho's (2012) Javanese local wisdom of *sak madya*, Bu Tejo is not being moderate in life. Bu Tejo does not seem to understand that it is urgent. She still prefers taking a bus so she does not have to suffer on the truck. Yu Ning underlines the reasons they are on a truck to Bu Tejo; because it is urgent and it is the only vehicle that can load many people to visit Bu Lurah.

Dialogue 40

Bu Tejo : *Aku ki sengit nek ana wong seng sok ngrasani bapake bocah- bocah. Dumeh saiki meh dadi pemborong sukses, kekancan karo para pejabat, trus saiki senenge ngomong seng ora-ora. Kaya jenengan saiki.* [I'm upset when someone lies about my husband. Just because now he is a successful contractor, befriended with a lot of politicians, people talk lies and gossip about it. Like what you do right

now.] (Prasetyo, 2020, 18:58)

Bu Tejo, in dialogue 40, is angry at Yu Ning who insinuates Bu Tejo for giving bribes to Gotrek which causes the truck to break down. Bu Tejo does not like it when someone talks bad about her husband. In this dialogue Bu Tejo does not reflect the act of *sak madya* by Nugroho (2012) once again. Bu Tejo thinks that because her husband is a successful person and has lots of politicians as friends it makes it easy for people to gossip about Pak Tejo. Actually, Bu Tejo does not need to mention her husband's job, but since she cannot stop showing off, she has to mention it.

Dialogue 41

Bu Tejo : *Pak Polisi! Kami tu mau tilik Bu Lurah lho, Pak!* [Excuse me, Officer! We are going to visit our Bu Lurah.]

Yu Ning : *Bener kuwi, Pak! Selak sore iki, Pak.* [That's right, Officer! We are running late, it's getting dark.]

Bu Tejo : *Ini itu keadaan darurat lho, Pak! Mbo tolong, Pak! Nuraninya tu lho, Pak! Empatinya itu lho, Pak! Ya Allah!*
[It's an emergency, Officer! Please, let us go! Use your heart! Give us some sympathy!]

Pak Polisi : *Sabar-sabar Bu, njih?* [Hold on, hold on.]

Bu Tejo : *Apa tak telponke saudara saya yang polisi apa gimana? Bintangnya lima jejer-jejer gitu, berani apa?* [Do you want me to call my police officer relation? He has five badges, do you dare to meet him?!] (Prasetyo, 2020, 22:55)

In dialogue 41, the truck is stopped by a police officer. Gotrek gets a ticket for breaking the law. The group of women is not having it that they have to interrupt the conversation between Gotrek and the police officer. Bu Tejo tells the officer that they have to seek Bu Lurah. Yu Ning, who was having a fight with Bu Tejo, helps her to talk to the officer. Yet, the officer is not quick enough to respond which makes Bu Tejo mad by saying she has a police officer relation with five badges. Bu Tejo, once again does not show the act of *sak madya* by showing off her relation who has five badges. But in this case, she uses it to escape getting a ticket and to get to the hospital quickly.

In addition, Bu Tejo also shows the act of being flaunted by spreading false rumour of Dian using a charm through their visit to the hospital (see dialogue 16). Bu Tejo even asks about the relationship of Dian and Fikri in front of them (see dialogue 37). The group of women were worried about Bu Lurah's condition yet Bu Tejo has a chance to mention about Dian's affair in that kind of situation. Once again, Bu Tejo breaks the local wisdom of *sak madya* since she talks too much in front of other people.

According to Nugroho (2012), the values of Javanese women's local wisdom that still exist and are firmly held by Javanese women are the values of *rukun*, *hormat*, *sak madya*, and *sabar*. However, the group of Javanese women were only able to show *rukun*, *hormat* and *sabar* in the short film. The act of *sak madya* did not happen during the film because Bu Tejo talks too much by boasting her wealth and brags about Dian's life to her female friends.