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JAVANESE PERSPECTIVE OF NONVERBAL LANGUAGE: AN ETHNOPRAGMATIC STUDY

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ABSTRACT

The research focused on nonverbal language (NvL) of Javanese people in Indonesia who spoke the first Javanese language and the second language Indonesian using an ethnopragmatic approach. The purpose of research was to describe the perception of the Javanese community on the use of NvL, both dynamic and static NvL. This research used a descriptive qualitative method with data collection techniques through observation of people who were communicating, interviews with resource persons, and recording as supporting techniques for data collection. Data were analyzed by steps; data identification, classification, and interpretation. The results of research have theoretical implications. If aspects of local wisdom such as those possessed by the Javanese people are preserved, it will be able to provide benefits to the preservation of culture that has been passed down through generations in Javanese society. Such conditions will be able to illustrate that the community's perspective on Javanese culture is still well maintained from the past until now.

Keywords: nonverbal language, Javanese language, Javanese conversation

INTRODUCTION

Nonverbal language (NvL) is a form of wordless communication (Patel, 2014; Bonaccio et al., 2016), which includes body language. Body language can convey a great deal of non-linguistic information. Not all of the values, beliefs, thoughts, and intentions are verbally communicated. Through conscious and unconscious movements and postures that are accompanied by gestures, facial expressions, eye contact, and touch, one expresses his/her feelings and intentions. Each of these physical movements of the body parts could be interpreted differently by other people within a given context of communication. In every spoken verbal communication, 93% of it is always supported by NvL (Lapakko, 2007). This is natural because NvL had existed long before verbal language was used. Despite the widespread use of verbal language, the habit of using NvL still continues.

There are three types of NvL, namely (1) NvL that can stand on its own, (2) NvL that becomes the context of spoken verbal language, and (3) the metaphorical symbol of social status in the community. NvL can stand on its own when someone communicates without using words, but using gestures, sign language, signs, symbols, movement, gaze, head shakes, or nodding. In such communication,

NvL becomes the main tool in communication, like a little child who cannot speak using verbal language. Similarly, two people who do not know each other's language tend to communicate using NvL.

NvL, as a context for spoken verbal language, may be in the form of linguistic context (co-text), situational context, cultural context, and social context. NvL serving as various contexts can eliminate obscurity of the speaker's message, clarify the hearer's understanding of utterances containing implicature, and can be the references of utterances containing deixis.

NvL symbolizing social rank happens in architectural designs, such as home décor, body odor (Brown, 2011). Javanese is rich in nonverbal language, symbolizing social rank, which accompanies their daily communication, such as expression of *esem Bupati* (Regent's expression), *semu Mantra* (Mantra's expression), *dhupak Bujang* (a poor person's kick) (Pranowo, 2018).

Since interpretations of body language differ from people to people and cultures to countries, it is important to learn about them. So far, not many studies on Javanese NvL have been done. Thus, an interdisciplinary study of NvL must be conducted. The present tries to uncover those kinds of Javanese nonverbal language. The ethnopragmatic theory combining with ethnography and pragmatics is utilized.

Ethnography is a cultural study describing the life of a given community. The ethnographic study covers cultural knowledge, cultural behavior, and artifact. The purpose of the ethnographic study is to describe and analyze the culture of a certain society to understand its relationship with daily life (Spradley, 1979). Therefore, the use of verbal language is a cultural behavior, meaning that each NvL is a behavior of a certain culture.

There are three major theories used as a reference to discuss the issues in this research, namely the ethnographic theory, the pragmatic theory, and the theory of context. Each of which is elaborated in the subsequent subsections. Harris and Johnson (Santschi et al., 2015) have stated that ethnography can be identified in a narrow and broad sense. In the narrow sense, ethnography means 'a portrait of people', while in the broad sense, ethnography is a written description of a particular culture-the customs, beliefs, and behavior-based on information collected through fieldwork. Ethnography is derived from a Latin word *etnos* meaning 'people' and *grafein* meaning 'to describe or portray'. So, ethnography is a study of an object that describes the life of a community or people. Ethnography is the work of anthropologists to describe and analyze cultures, whose main purpose is to understand knowledge and relationship to get the perspective of the 'new world' in the community being studied (Aronson, 1995; Spradley, 1998). For this purpose, ethnography is a characteristic of anthropological studies.

One of the characteristics of anthropological studies is the process of change, slowly or quickly. This process of cultural change is determined by the intensity of cultural contact (e.g., communication of new ideas from other cultures about technology); the more cultural contact happens, the faster the process of cultural change takes place. Advanced industrial countries as the center of science and technology development have made new continuous innovations. The new innovations, i.e., communication technology, transportation technology, and information technology, and non-science and technology institutions, occur simultaneously, resulting in major changes in cultural ideas and cultural behavioral patterns of the people in developing countries.

These three types of technology lead to changes in all sectors of social life. With the advent of technological development and cultural behavioral change, the state boundary remains the administrative one. Aspects of ideology, science, technology, and arts have spread their influence on the life of people without being limited to state borders. The ethnographic research emphasizes on the researcher's sense of realities, a reflective thinking process, and the process of interpreting facts based on the concepts used, and developing an understanding, which prioritizes the values being studied. Using inductive and deductive norms, a researcher constructs the concepts and propositions from the empirical observation based on the social behavior of the given community. Geertz states that culture is a system of symbolic meanings (Kapferer, 1988).

As a language, culture is a semiotic system containing symbols that function to communicate and signify meanings from interpersonal thoughts. Culture is a phenomenal object, action, or event in the society which can be observed, felt, and understood. The main difference between Geertz's and Gooenough's definition of culture is that Geertz states that culture is a symbol and meaning that exists in the minds of individuals who act simultaneously as the social actors in public reality (Geertz, 1973). In contrast, Goodenough states that culture is a symbol and meaning which exists in the individuals' minds as a personal reality.

On the ethnographic concept, language is an aspect of cultural behaviors. Therefore, the linguistic analysis of ethnographic aspects focuses more on the use of verbal and NvL, as an independent study (for stand-alone NvL), and the use of NvL as contexts of utterances to eliminate meaning obscurity, and to explain deixis (Miller, 2011).

The pragmatic study is a study of language use in context (Brown & Yule, 2013). Crystal in Deda (2013) defines pragmatic as a branch of linguistics, which studies languages from the point of view of its users. In line with Crystal, Kasper defines pragmatics as the study of understanding and producing language through actions in contexts. Understanding and producing language is included as speech acts in contexts. Based on experts' opinion, it can be concluded that a pragmatic study is a study of language use both in terms of understanding and producing a language in real situations based on contexts (Buck & VanLear, 2013).

The analysis of language use from the speaker's point of view (expression) takes in the forms of (a) the speaker's diction when using the language in social interaction, (b) choices that consider the benefit of language use, and (c) ability to make the right choice from the pragmatic aspects. On the contrary, the hearer's point of view (understanding) always considers (a) the communicative effect, (b) the structure of utterance, and (c) the speaker's intent.

NvL also functions as the context of spoken verbal language use. By understanding NvL in contexts, at least the use of NvL is able to; (a) eliminate the obscurity of the speaker's meaning, (b) clarify understanding contained in the implicature, and (c) become the reference to interpret the utterances containing deixis (Santschi et al., 2015). Studies of language context are carried out through pragmatic studies. Pragmatics is a discipline that studies the relationship between signs and interpreters (Brown & Yule, 2013). In addition, pragmatics is a branch of linguistics that studies languages from the user's point of view, especially the choices they make, the obstacles they face in using language in social interaction, and the effect of using their language on other participants in communication actions (Dijk, 2009).

Based on these theories, the pragmatic study can be defined as the study of language use in contexts. Deda (2013) has stated that in communicating, the expressed meaning includes verbal and nonverbal meaning in contexts (Patel, 2014). Several experts define contexts from many different views, depending on the issues they face in the field. Widdowson in Zhou (2009) has defined context as aspects of the use of actual language that is considered relevant to meaning. In other words, context is a schematic construction to arrive at pragmatic meanings that have a matching code of linguistic elements with the schematic element. Cook, who studies the relations between discourse and literature, states that a context is only a form of knowledge of the world (Patel, 2014).

The term 'context' can be understood in a narrow sense and a broad sense (Miller, 2011). The context in the narrow sense refers to another part of the text preceding and following the speaker's utterances. The definition of context in the narrow sense is called co-text (Barry, 2011). The context, in the broadest sense, refers to all factors outside the text that are needed in communication. Basically, the context has important similarities; namely, one main focus of the context is the environment in which the discourse

occurs (Botting, 2005). It is not enough to use the pragmatic approach to study NvL because NvL is a product of people's cultural behavior. Hence, the study of NvL should also use an ethnographic approach.

METHODS

This research is a descriptive qualitative in nature, focusing on the Javanese non-verbal language. The research data are in the forms of spoken verbal utterances accompanied by NvL, which are video recorded. Interviews with the communicators and communicants as well as the informants are conducted to confirm the messages delivered using NvL. The collected data are then analyzed in the following steps: (1) identifying data, (2) classifying data, and (3) interpreting messages contained in the research data. The dynamic and static NvL of Javanese is then classified in terms of their metaphorical functions in contexts.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

NvL consists of all the body parts and movements, objects that are attached to the body, things that a person has, and someone's profession. Based on these classifications, there are two types of NvL, namely, dynamic and static NvL (Lapakko, 2007; Zhou, 2009). Dynamic NvL includes body movements, such as body language, parts, and movements; head gestures, such as movement and its parts; and hand gestures, such as parts of hands and hand movements. The use of NvL is always associated with the context of spoken language use or the context of one's life. Context is a variety of situations inside or outside the text (such as co-text, social background, cultural background) that can support the delivery of the speaker's message to be understood by the hearer (Wang, 2014). The forms of NvL depend on the context that surrounds it. Therefore, sometimes, the intent of NvL depends very much on the interlocutors' ability to interpret the context.

From the Javanese cultural perspective, every part of the body can produce NvL. However, the most dominant parts of the body producing dynamic NvL are (1) the movement of the head and its parts (such as nodding of the head, shaking of the head, squinting the eye, winking of the eye, facial expressions, lip movements), and (2) movements of the hand and its parts (elbow movement, finger movements, palm movements, such as, handshake), shoulder movements.

Head nodding is an approval expression. For example, to accept the offer of jackfruit, "Do you want to eat jackfruit?" the hearer just nods his head without saying 'yes'. To refuse an offer by the speaker, the hearer just shakes his head without saying 'no'. For example, Jarwo asks someone if he went to Jakarta a few days ago. The hearer may just shake his/her head. It means that he did not go to Jakarta.

Swiveling one's head is a sign of inattention. The gesture is made when the speaker is standing face-to-face with the hearer, while he/she must pay attention to another object at the same time. For example, the speaker is talking to the hearer when suddenly someone passes by. Without ignoring the hearer, the speaker takes a look at the other person passing by. In the meantime, the speaker's eye signals the hearer that the speaker still pays attention to the hearer and agrees with what the hearer says.

Facial movements express the speaker's feelings to the hearer. If the facial expression seems cheerful, it means that the speaker signals that he/she is pleased. For example, the speaker has just bought a new car, received a gift, heard that her child has just passed an exam, or just got a job, etc. Conversely, if the speaker's facial expression is sullen, it means that the speaker is angry with the hearer, or disappointed with an unexpected situation. For example, the speaker is disappointed because the hearer cannot complete a task assigned to him/her, or the speaker hopes that the hearer does not repeat the same mistakes. With such expression, the speaker's facial expression shows a disappointing feeling.

Lip movements for men are sometimes different from those of women. When a man protrudes his lower lip while drawing the upper lip backward, it indicates that he is disappointed with what the hearer means. Meanwhile, if a woman protrudes her lower lip, she intends to sneer at the hearer. However, people's perspectives are sometimes different. Lip movements can signal interest in the opposite sex, a disappointment to the hearer, and cynicism towards the hearer.

Another dynamic NvL is the movements of a hand and its parts. There are various hand movements. Extending a hand toward the hearer with the palm down and gesturing the hearer to move towards the speaker's body signals the hearer to approach. Extending a hand with a palm down and making a shooing movement vigorously away from the speaker means telling the hearer to go away from the speaker. The gesture of embracing the hearer tightly shows that the speaker has a close relationship with the hearer.

When the right elbow is folded to the left, and the palm is pressed to the left, it indicates that the speaker is asking that the hearer moves to the left of the speaker. Conversely, if the elbow of the left hand is folded to the right and the palms of the hand are clasped, it signals the hearer to move to the left.

Finger movements can also vary in meaning. When the right or left index finger is raised and pressed to the lips, the speaker signals that the hearer to be silent and stop talking. If the little finger is straightened down while the other fingers are folded, it signals that something does not really matter. If the index finger is pointed forward in an upright position while being waved left and right, it means that the hearer must not do what he/she is doing at the moment.

When Javanese people meet other people, they usually shake hands to indicate a close relationship with each other. The manner of shaking hands starts with extending both hands to shake the palm of the hearer's hand and then release it, and the palms are cupped and then pressed to the lips or the chest as an expression of friendship.

Body movements, though not really frequent, are commonly used by Javanese when communicating with others. Shrugging shoulders and opening the palms upward indicates that the speaker shows his/her disagreement with the hearer. If the speaker sways his/her buttocks to the left and right when dancing, it means that the speaker is cheerfully following the dance movement.

Static NvL is related to the body and its parts, and the objects attached to the body, objects owned by the person, social status in the society. Static NvL can also convey certain messages to the other person. Static NvL is an immobile NvL that is signaled by the speaker but can be understood by the hearer based on his perspective. Static NvL in the form of the body parts and body movements

includes body posture, nose shape, cheek shape, lip shape, tooth shape, skin color, hair color, and others.

The body posture for the Javanese people gives a special message to the other person. For ethnic Javanese, body posture usually has a height of about 160 cm. People whose body posture is more than 160 cm will be classified as tall, dark, and handsome (for men). On the contrary, women with a tall body posture are considered authoritative. And then, the bridge of the nose for the ethnic Javanese is usually large or 'pug'. Thus, the Javanese people who have a sharp-pointed nose are considered beautiful and graceful, especially for women. While the shape of the cheek for the ethnic Javanese is typically round. However, for the ethnic Javanese women, having dimples is considered graceful and beautiful.

The shape of the lips of women leaves a special impression for the Javanese men. Women who have thin lips are considered as beautiful and charming, whereas women with thick and full lips are charming. The shape of the teeth is not always visible all the time. However, the shape of the teeth gives a special message to the hearer. The row of white upper and lower teeth is the Javanese men's ideal shape of women's teeth. In the Javanese, the ideal shape is metaphorized as 'untune miji timun' or literally means 'the teeth are like the seeds of a cucumber'. In addition, ideally, the women and men's teeth must be white. Yellowish and scaly teeth leave an impression of dirty teeth. The most favorable skin complexion for the ethnic Javanese is flawless bright skin or metaphorized as 'kuning nemu giring' or 'yellow like temu giring tuber'. The skin tone 'kuning nemu giring' leaves an impression of flawless skin. On the contrary, pale white skin is not favorable among the Javanese; it leaves an impression of pallor. Likewise, a dark skin tone is not favorable because it leaves a dirty impression.

A Javanese person who has natural reddish hair is considered unhealthy. People with gray hair are considered old. Young people with gray hair are called 'galak uwan' or 'gray hair tendency'. However, in this modern era, young and older people dye their hair in many different colors. These people, young and old alike, are considered as being fashionable. The Javanese people's skin color tends to be brownish or 'sawo matang' (ripe sapodilla) or yellowish or 'kuning nemu giring' (yellow like temu giring tuber). However, the Javanese people with flawless bright skin are more favorable. In contrast, the Javanese people who have pale white or black skin are generally disliked.

The objects that are attached to the body are classified as static NvL. First is clothes and their functions. When going to work, a man always wears neat clothes to impress dignity and honor through his physical appearance, and that other people have to respect him. During a traditional ceremony (i.e., wedding), a Javanese man who is part of the bride's and groom's relatives will wear traditional clothes in cultural events to that he is a person who appreciates his cultural values. During a cultural event, a Javanese man always wears traditional clothes and accessories (kris, belt, and headgear or blangkon) to show that he still preserves the local culture. A woman always wears beautiful clothes for different occasions, and events show the impression of a beautiful and elegant woman. At home, both men and women of the Javanese ethnicity wear home clothes (housedress for women and undershort for men) to indicate that they want to relax.

The second is makeup. A woman always wears powder, lipstick, and red blush-on to beautify herself. A man and a woman always spray perfume before going out to leave an impression of a good smell of body odor to other people. A woman always wears accessories to show her beautiful and wealthy appearance. In contrast, excessive accessories (bracelets, large eardrops, anklets, too showy necklaces) give to show off the impression.

The NvL is also seen in social status in the society. Javanese people classify the rank of priyayi or aristocrats into two, namely 'priyayi cilik' (small aristocrats) and 'priyayi luhur' (noble aristocrats). Priyayi cilik consists of mostly people who get the honorific titles because they get promoted in their jobs, or due to higher education degrees. The title of priyayi cilik is given to those who have an important position in society, such as ulema, kyai, Catholic priests, and Protestant ministers. Meanwhile, priyayi luhur or noble aristocrats are those who obtain their titles because they are descendants of the royal family or commoners who show great service to the palace, such as KGPH (Kanjeng Gusti Pangeran Hariya), KGT (Kanjeng Gusti Tumenggung) (Pranowo, 2016). Those who are descendants of the royal family are dubbed as having 'blue blood' or royal blood. NvL seen in the social status is symbolized in three terms, each consisting of three things (telu-teluning atunggal – triune). Those belongings to 'telu-teluning atunggal' include priyayi cilik and priyayi luhur. The three aspects symbolize the level of aristocracy in the Javanese ethnicity.

First, nonverbal communication seen in the social status of the Javanese aristocracy is pangkat or title, in which someone's status is measured by the title in the job. Each person who achieves a high position in a work environment (i.e., regent, governor, members of the House of Representatives) is classified as a priyayi. Next, rank or derajat is a status of priyayi obtained by individuals who are considered to have a high position in the office. Lastly, semat is the wealth by which a person is deemed to earn a title as a priyayi in the Javanese society. Normally, a person who has a position (pangkat) and rank (derajat) will automatically have wealth (semat).

Second, nonverbal communication seen in the status of priyayi among the Javanese people is symbolized metaphorically as 'telu-teluning atunggal' such as kukila, turangga, and wanodya. Middle-class people with decent life usually keep a singing bird as a pet. Having a bird (kukila) as a pet symbolizes that he is a priyayi. However, in the modern times, the types of pets vary and get more expensive by keeping rare types of birds, such as peacock, cassowary, bantam cock, yellow-crowned bulbul (cocak rawa), the white-rumped shama (Murai Batu) from Medan, and others. The middle or upper social status symbol is turangga (horse) that refers to vehicles.

Indeed, even though they no longer live in Java, the Javanese society today still preserves the high-class social status in the past by maintaining horses that cost hundreds of millions of rupiah. However, turangga in modern times is interpreted as a vehicle, such as cars with certain brands that cost billions, private jet, cruise ships, and others. Another symbol of high social status is women or wanodya. The Javanese social status symbol requires a man to live with a woman. A man of high stature and wealth is not considered adequate until he takes a wife (wanodya). Wives or spouses are partners to procreate the next generation. There are five aspects to consider in the human's uncertain journey of life. They are siji pesthi (the first is predestination), loro jodho (the second is soulmate), telu wahyu (the third is blessings), papat kodrat (the fourth is destiny/fate), and lima bandha (and the fifth is wealth).

To choose a suitable life partner, a Javanese must consider the quality of the prospective candidates using the criteria of *bobot, bibit,* and *bèbèt*. It is not enough for the Javanese to have wealth and throne (*status*) without having a woman to complete their life. The Javanese culture in the past was patriarchal and biased against women as if men ruled the world. In Javanese, a wife is therefore considered '*kanca wingking*' or a domestic partner to complete domestic tasks such as *macak* (being beautiful), *manak* (delivering babies), and *masak* (cooking). *Bobot* is the criterion to determine a prospective wife based on personal quality, both physically and mentally, such as piety, education, occupation, ability, and behavior. *Bibit* is a criterion based on the lineage or hereditary. The prospective candidates must have a clear familial background and educational background. This is important to consider because their traits will be passed on to the next generation. *Bèbèt* is a social status related to titles, ranks, and prestige. Although obsession with this is not recommended, it is considered safer to take one's social status into account to determine life partners. It is undeniable that social status is one of the basic human needs.

Third, when communicating with others, the Javanese people are symbolized metaphorically as *esem Bupati, semu Mantri,* and *dhupak Bujang. Esem Bupati* (the regent's smile) symbolizes that someone has a noble title; he does not use verbal language to express himself but smile. People with high intelligence usually express their message using 'smile', instead of using verbal language to express anger or joy. The expression *esem Bupati* is usually stigmatized to someone who had great power in the past and was respected highly by his subordinates. For example, a ruler or employer got a report from his subordinate that his project was protested by a non-government organization. The ruler only smiled. He said that whoever dared to obstruct the national project, he would be sent to Sukabumi or '*suka bumi*' that refers to the grave or to be sent to Balikpapan or 'behind the board' that refers to a coffin. It means that whoever dared to obstruct the national project would be eliminated or killed.

Next, the *semu Mantri* is a communication model when NvL is used more often than the verbal language. The verbal language is expressed indirectly, for example, a speaker communicates to others by saying, "*wah durianmu bagus-bagus, itu jenis Musang King dari Malaysia ya, pak Tirta?*" (Wow, your durians look good. Is that Musang King from Malaysia, Pak Tirta?"). Such a question is posed by a regent who visited the durian orchard of one of the farmers in the agrotourism. Pak Tirta, the owner of the farm, does not answer 'yes' to the regent, but he understands without being told or *tanggap sasmita*. He understands the underlying meaning of the regent's statement. He does not only want to praise his durians, but he also wants to taste the durian. Pak Tirta orders his employees to prepare several good quality durians to be served to the regent. Pak Tirta is pleased with the regent's praise and as a token of gratitude; he gives his durian as a reward.

The regent is also responsive or tanggap sasmita that as a businessman, Pak Tirta wants to make a profit. So, the regent has said, "*durian pak Tirta akan saya ikut sertakan dalam pameran agro wisata sebagai buah andalan yang akan diadakan di German minggu depan!*" (I will invite Pak Tirta to participate in the agrotourism festival as the mainstay fruit to be exhibited in Germany next week!). The regent's statement is communicative feedback to respond to the semu mantri communication pattern that is shown by the farmer. In addition, another communication pattern called '*dhupak bujang*' refers to a social status given to low-class people with low educational and economic status. The low-class society communicates using direct verbal language to ensure that the hearer understands, for example, "*Kamu baru datang mesti lapar, sana ke dapur minta makan sama tantemu sana. Kalau makan yang kenyang ya?*"(You just came, and you must be hungry. Go straight to the kitchen and ask for food from your aunt. Dig in, will you?).

Body movements, as dynamic NvL, include movements of buttocks, breasts/chest, and belly. The movement of buttocks functions to express different intentions depending on the contexts. If a singer moves her buttocks while saying, "let's shake your body, fellows!" (it is usually said by a dangdut singer, both men and women), it can be interpreted that he/she intends to invite the audience to have fun even though the movement is rather erotic. If a man shakes his buttocks (as a context), he is expressing sexual moves. This is used to symbolize his sexual prowess. The swaying of the buttocks by women also shows the same erotic intention, namely sexually arousing the opposite sex. In contrast, if someone moves her buttocks while doing exercise in the gym to dance to the music and shouts, "move it, move it", it can be interpreted as an invitation to make the hip muscles more flexible.

For a man, pushing one's chest forward may express power, manliness, or courage. In the puppet show, a puppeteer is playing a puppet character by pushing forward the chest and saying, "This is my chest. Where is yours?" to show courage to the opponents during a fight. Belly may also convey comic intention by moving the belly up and down or moving it around. The movement of the belly is usually shown with clothes off to cause comic relief.

The most frequent part of the body to convey messages is the hand. Hands are able to convey various nonverbal messages. When someone's hand is extended forward with the palm down and moved up and down with a stronger stroke down, it means that someone is asking the hearer to move closer to the speaker. Likewise, when the hand is extended forward with the palm up and the elbow is moved toward the body, it means that the speaker wants the hearer to approach the speaker.

When the hand is stretched forward, the palm is open, and the fingers are closed and vertically moved to the left, the hand movement functions to convey the speaker's message that he/she wants the hearer to move to the left. In contrast, when the left hand is stretched forward, the left palm is open, and the fingers are closed and vertically moved to the right side, it indicates that the hearer is requested to move to the right according to the hand signal. When the right or left hand is clasped on the chest, and the palms are cupped and then moved aways from the body, it conveys a message that the hearer moves away from the speaker. In addition, when the right or left elbow is folded and raised, and the fingers clench into a fist that is raised and pulled downward strongly, it conveys the message that the speaker is satisfied with something or gets what he/she wants.

When the right hand is folded halfway, and the palm is open to the hearer and move to the left and the right, it functions to convey a message of rejection. In contrast, when the right or left elbow is crooked sideways, and the open palm is waved at the hearer, it functions to say goodbye to the hearer. In addition, when the right elbow is crooked sideways, the fingers form a thumbs-up sign and extend forward, the gesture functions to invite the hearer to come in.

The function of head gestures (parts and movements) varies. Nodding while talking to others functions to convey

the message to the hearer that the speaker agrees with what the hearer says. The nodding of the head represents 'yes' in verbal language. Meanwhile, the head-shaking to the left and the right while talking to the hearer functions to express disagreement with the hearer or rejection of the hearer's request. For example, when a speaker asks, "Do you want to eat *sate kambing* (lamb skewer)?", and the hearer replies by shaking his head. It means that he rejects the offer because his mouth is full.

The function of the eye in non-verbal communication is to convey a great of wordless messages to the hearer. The various messages mostly deal with feelings. Thus, for the hearer to understand the speaker's message takes sensitivity. When the speaker talks to the hearer while looking at the hearer's eyes dolefully, it functions to convey the message that the speaker is pleased with the hearer's intent. In contrast, when the speaker and the hearer look at each other menacingly with bulging eyes, it means that the speaker is boiling mad at the hearer because of inconvenient expression. When communicating with the hearer, the speaker casts his glance in the other direction; it may mean that the speaker is not pleased with the hearer's statement.

When the speaker winks at the hearer, it means that the speaker is interested in the hearer. Likewise, when the speaker is winking at the hearer, the speaker wants to attract the hearer's attention, especially when the hearer is the opposite sex. While the lips produce a lot of NvL in communication. While lips can be both dynamic and static NvL. Like the eyes, lips can convey messages which only be understood by the feelings. Thus, there should be a strong connection between the speaker and the hearer. A smile on the lips to the hearer functions to convey the message that the speaker is pleased with the hearer. In contrast, a pouting lip indicates that the speaker is disappointed or disagrees with what the hearer says.

The NvL found in the *priyayi* social status of the Javanese people is symbolized in three unities (*tri teluning atunggal* or triune). The three aspects symbolize the level of Javanese aristocracy. First, it symbolizes a position or *pangkat* (position in the job), *derajat* or rank (position in the society), and *semat* (wealth). *Pangkat* refers to the position in the government. Thus, they also have derajat or rank in society. Normally, those who have pangkat and derajat will automatically have *semat* (wealth). Second, the position is symbolled by *turangga, kukila,* and *wanodya*. Furthermore, the third, social position is symbolled by *esem Bupati, semu mantra,* and *dhupak bujang*.

The visualization of the Javanese aristocratic social status is manifested symbolically and metaphorically in several objects, namely kukila, turangga, and wanodya. People with middle social status and decent livelihood are characterized with *kukila* (birds as pets). In the past, pets were usually *perkutut* or turtledoves (because they were expensive) and singing birds (because they could sing beautifully). However, in modern times, the types of birds as pets vary. Some even keep rare animals that require the government's permit to keep them, for example, tiger, peacock, cassowary, and others. Another marker for the social status of the middle and upper-class society is *turangga* (horses) that refers to vehicles. Even though they do not live on Java island, Javanese people still preserve this high-class social status. Some of them even keep horses, which cost millions of rupiahs. However, in modern times, *turangga* refers to the vehicles one owns, such as cars with certain brands that cost billions, private jet, yacht.

In addition, Javanese people also view that human beings must find partners. A man of high stature and abundant wealth is considered inadequate without a wife (*wanodya*). A wife is a life partner to procreate the next generation. It is not enough for a man to have wealth and status without a woman or wife to complete his life. Javanese culture in the past was patriarchal and bias against women as if men ruled the world. Thus, a wife was considered as '*kanca wingking*' or a domestic partner to complete domestic tasks such as *macak* (being beautiful), *manak* (delivering babies), and *masak* (cooking).

The ethnopragmatic analysis is used to elaborate on the dynamic and static NvL in terms of the forms and functions of the NvL. Static NvL includes body posture, nose shape, cheek shape, lip shape, teeth shape, skin tone, and hair color. Without the movement, static NvL sends a powerful communicative effect (Patel, 2014). The static NvL, as in body posture (being tall), sends a communicative effect. It leaves an impression of power and bravery from the hearer's point of view. The sharp-pointed nose represents good appearance from the hearer's perspective; round cheeks (shaped like a *bakpau* or bun) leave an impression of sweetness; thick lips represent sensuality; regular rows of white teeth represent beauty for those who see; and bright skin tone leaves an impression of being flawless. Black is the normal hair color for people in Asia, including the Javanese people. People with black hair are considered good-looking by those who see them (Pranowo, 2018).

Other static NvL, as in social status in the society, is revealed through "*telu-teluning atunggal*" or triune, namely *pangkat, derajat,* and *semat*; *kukila, turangga,* and *wanudya*; *esem Bupati, semu Mantri,* and *dhupak bujang*. They are symbols and metaphors for the speaker and hearer. Symbols cannot be easily understood metaphorically by the hearer if he/she does not comprehend the metaphorical idioms. In contrast, if the hearer understands all the idioms, communication will be smooth and polite. Even though the statement is hard to understand by the speaker and hearer, if the hearer understands the meaning, he/she can capture the underlying message that the Javanese people like to show off, have a high ambition to pursue *pangkat, derajat,* and *semat* as high as possible.

On the contrary, dynamic NvL starts from the head, the body, the hand, and the feet to provide strong pragmatic meanings to the hearer. This corroborates Bonaccio et al. (2016) views that NvL is capable of sending out strong effects on the hearer. Besides, contexts can reveal utterances containing implicature. Implicature in utterances is used by Grice to explain what is implied or inferred by the speaker because sometimes, in a conversation, what is said is not always literary the same as what is meant. However, contexts in Grice's maxims (maxim of quality, the maxim of quantity, the maxim of manner, the maxim of relevance) allow utterances to be understood easily without any obscure meaning. For example, someone asks his wife, "What time is it, honey?" Since the husband and the wife are from Yogyakarta, his wife answers, "The train has not passed, honey," to which her husband replies, "There is still time, then." Given different contexts of the utterance, how would a Balinese husband or any husband from the eastern parts of Indonesia ask the same question to his wife? The probable answer would be, "The sun has set to the west, honey." The answer is asymmetric because the situational context of the utterance is different.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on these elaborations, some conclusions can be drawn. First, there are three types of NvL; the one that can stand on its own, the one that becomes the context of spoken verbal language, and the one whose metaphorical form represents one's social status in the community. Second, NvL that can stand on its own is used when someone communicates without using words, but using gestures, sign language, sings, symbols, movements, eye gaze, handshake, and nodding. In such forms, NvL is the basic means of communication among children who cannot speak the verbal language or for two people who cannot speak each other's verbal languages.

Third, the forms of dynamic NvL are; (1) movement of the head and its parts (such as lip movement, eye movement); (2) movement of the hand and its parts; (3) movement of the body and its parts (such as belly movement, movement of body parts, movement of chest, and movement of the buttocks). The forms of static NvL are body posture, facial features, hair color, skin tone, and cheek shape. Fourth, the functions of dynamic and static NvL are; (1) to eliminate meaning obscurity in the speaker's intent, (2) to clarify understanding of the speaker's utterance containing implicature, (3) to become the reference of utterances containing deixis, and (4) to clarify social status, level of intellectual ability, and one's social ranks.

The results of this research have theoretical implications. If aspects of local wisdom such as those possessed by the Javanese people are preserved, it will be able to provide benefits to the preservation of culture that has been passed down through generations in Javanese society. Such conditions will be able to illustrate that the community's perspective on Javanese culture is still well maintained from the past until now. Nevertheless, this research has limitations. The data presented is still limited to verbal descriptions and cannot include photographs as illustrations to clarify data descriptions. The next article presentation is expected; researchers can include photographs that clarify the data analysis.

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