

**NOMADIC INTERACTION: UNVEILING
DEICTIC EXPRESSIONS AND POLITENESS
PRINCIPLES IN “NOMADLAND” MOVIE**

M. Haidar Bagir

*Universitas Pertiwi
haidarbagir14@gmail.com*

ABSTRACT

This research aims to unveil the types of deictic expressions found in communication between nomads in the movie "Nomadland" and to explain how the characters in "Nomadland" movie apply politeness principles in their interactions with fellow nomads. The method used in this research is a qualitative descriptive method and to get the data needed for this research, the data collection is conducted by choosing and watching the film, reading the film's script, collecting the data, identifying the data, classifying the data, then analyzing the data based on deixis and politeness principles theory and drawing a conclusion related to the results of the data that has been analyzed. The theoretical framework used in this research is two pragmatics concepts, namely deixis from Brown and Levinson and politeness principles from Leech. The results of this study show that there are 5 types of deixis found from the 17 data analyzed. They are Person Deixis (11 data), Spatial or Place Deixis (1 data), Temporal or Time Deixis (1 data), Social Deixis (1 data) and Discourse Deixis (3 data). Meanwhile, there are 6 types of politeness principles applied by the characters from the 7 data analyzed. They are Tact Maxim (1 data), Generosity Maxim (1 data), Approbation Maxim (2 data), Modesty Maxim (1 data), Agreement Maxim (1 data), Sympathy Maxim (1 data).

Keyword: *Pragmatics, Deictic Expressions, Politeness Principles.*

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap jenis-jenis ekspresi deictic yang terdapat dalam komunikasi antar nomad dalam film "Nomadland" dan menjelaskan bagaimana tokoh-tokoh dalam film "Nomadland" menerapkan prinsip kesantunan dalam berinteraksi dengan sesama nomad. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah metode deskriptif kualitatif dan untuk mendapatkan data yang diperlukan dalam penelitian ini, pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan cara memilih dan menonton film, membaca naskah film, mengumpulkan data, mengidentifikasi data, mengklasifikasikan data, kemudian menganalisis data berdasarkan teori prinsip deiksis dan kesantunan serta menarik kesimpulan terkait dengan hasil data yang telah dianalisis. Kerangka teori yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah dua konsep pragmatik, yaitu deiksis dari Brown dan Levinson dan prinsip kesantunan dari Leech. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan terdapat 5 jenis deiksis yang ditemukan dari 17 data yang dianalisis. Yaitu Deiksis Orang (11 data), Deiksis Spasial atau Tempat (1 data), Deiksis Temporal atau Waktu (1 data), Deiksis Sosial

(1 data) dan Deiksis Wacana (3 data). Sedangkan prinsip kesantunan yang diterapkan tokoh terdapat 6 jenis dari 7 data yang dianalisis. Maksim tersebut adalah Maksim Kebijaksanaan (1 data), Maksim Kedermawanan (1 data), Maksim Persetujuan (2 data), Maksim Kesederhanaan (1 data), Maksim Perjanjian (1 data), Maksim Simpati (1 data).

Kata kunci: Pragmatik, Ekpresi-ekspresi Deictic, Prinsip Kesopanan.

INTRODUCTION

Language is used to communicate and convey concepts, feelings, or desires verbally or in writing. In order to avoid misunderstandings or misinterpretations between the sender and the recipient, the language we chose needs to have meaning based on context. Furthermore, language is typically used in other domains, such as language as the arts in different forms, for instance, music, novel and movie which becomes one of the most favorite literature works (Isminarni, 2022).

In watching a movie or generally communicating in real life, it's important to understand that the literal meaning of what is said is not always the speaker's intended meaning. When it comes to intended meaning, Pragmatics is the study which deals with it. It is concerned with the study of meaning as communicated by the speaker (or writer) and interpreted by listener (or reader) (Yule, 1996:3). Within this field, “Deixis” that refers to ‘pointing’ via language using deictic expressions (Yule, 1996). Additionally, there are “Politeness Principles” that ensure utterances are considered polite. It concerns a relationship between two participants whom we may call *self* and *other* (Leech, 1983). Politeness is a crucial principle in language usage; it necessitates consideration for others' emotions (Wardhaugh, 2006) Deixis and Politeness Principles are two concepts from Pragmatics as a branch of Linguistics. Pragmatics is study of how we use linguistic knowledge in context

(Saeed 2003). Meanwhile, context is an essential factor in the interpretation of utterances and expressions (Cruse, 2006).

Types of Deixis according to Brown and Levinson divided into five types, they are: Person Deixis, Spatial or Place Deixis, Temporal or Time Deixis, Social Deixis and Discourse Deixis.

1. Person Deixis

Person deixis is expressed through personal pronouns (Renkema, 1993). It is divided into first, second and third person deixis. First person deixis is a grammaticalization of the speaker's reference to himself, second person deixis involves the encoding of the speaker's reference to one or more addressees, third person deixis involves the encoding of reference to persons and entities which are neither speaker nor addressee of the utterance.

2. Spatial or Place Deixis

Place deixis concerns the encoding of spatial location relative to the location of the participants in the speech event.

3. Temporal or Time Deixis

Time deixis is also known as temporal deixis. Time deixis refers to time relative to a specific temporal reference point, typically the moment of utterance. The deictic words yesterday, today, and tomorrow anticipate the calendarical or absolute ways of referring to the relevant days.

4. Social Deixis

Social deixis concerns the aspects of sentences that reflect or establish or determine by certain realities of participants or the social situation in which the speech event occurs.

5. Discourse Deixis

Discourse deixis has to do with the orientation within a text from the perspective of the writer or speaker. In addition, it deals with the encoding of reference to portions of the unfolding discourse in which the utterance (which includes the text referring expression) is located.

Regarding politeness principles, Leech (1983) categorizes maxims into six, namely: Tact Maxim, Generosity Maxim, Approbation Maxim, Modesty Maxim, Agreement Maxim and Sympathy Maxim.

1. Tact Maxim

The concept of this maxim is to minimize cost to *other*, maximize benefit to *others*.

2. Generosity Maxim

The concept of this maxim is to minimize benefit to *self*, maximize cost to *self*.

3. Approbation Maxim

The concept of this maxim is to minimize dispraise of *other*, maximize praise of *others*.

4. Modesty Maxim

The concept of this maxim is to minimize praise of *self*, maximize dispraise of *self*.

5. Agreement Maxim

The concept of this maxim is to minimize disagreement between *self* and *other*, maximize agreement between *self* and *others*.

6. Sympathy Maxim

The concept of this maxim is to minimize antipathy between *self* and *other*, maximize sympathy between *self* and *others*.

METHOD

This study uses a qualitative method which involves conducting research through methods that collect and analyze data using observations. Furthermore, this method relies on text and image data, has unique steps in data analysis, and draw on diverse designs (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). The data are the dialogue of the “Nomadland” movie as the object of this research. To gather the data in this research, the following steps are done. Firstly, watching the “Nomadland” movie. Secondly, finding deictic expressions and politeness principles applied by nomads characters in the movie through their dialogues. Then, classifying the findings into five types of deixis and six types of politeness principles.

The writer does the following steps :

1. Watching the movie “Nomadland”.
2. Finding deictic expressions and politeness principles applied by nomads characters in the movie through their dialogues.
3. Classifying the findings into five types of deixis and six types of politeness principles.

4. Analyzing the findings of deixis and politeness principles in detail.
5. Drawing conclusion based on the data analysis

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Types Of Deictic Expressions In “Nomadland” Movie

This part describes and shows the data of the Deictic Expressions found in the movie. In this chapter, the writer uses one theory to help the writer analyze the first problem formulation, namely Deictic Expressions applied by the characters in “Nomadland” movie, in communicating between fellow nomads. The theory used is the Deictic Expressions by Brown and Levinson. In this chapter the writer finds 5 types of Deictic Expressions. They are, Person Deixis, Place Deixis, Time Deixis, Social Deixis And Discourse Deixis. The summary of analysis of deictic expressions and their frequency of appearance found in communication between nomads in “Nomadland” movie is drawn in the table below.

Table 1. Types of Deictic Expressions and their frequency of appearance in “Nomadland” movie.

No	Kinds of Deixis	Numbers
1	Person Deixis	
	First Person Deixis	6 words
	Second Person Deixis	2 words
	Third Person Deixis	3 words
2	Spatial or Place Deixis	1 words
3	Temporal or Time Deixis	1 words
4	Social Deixis	1 words
5	Discourse Deixis	3 words
Total Number Of Deictic Expressions		17 words

a. Person Deixis

First Person Deixis

Dialogue 1

This dialogue occurs when Swankie shows off her rock collections to Fern and suddenly she loses balance in her body.

Fern : “What’s going on? What?”
Swankie : “**I** don’t feel very good. **I** got a headache.”
Fern : “Here. Sit down. What’s going on? What do you need?”
Swankie : “**My** head hurts really really bad and **I’m** nauseated.”
Timestamp: 0:37:02-0:37:19

In the dialogue above, the first-person deictic expressions are “I” and “My”. The pronoun “I” is used twice by Swankie in the phrases “I don’t feel very good” and “I got a headache”. This deictic expression refers specifically to Swankie, the speaker. The use of the word “I” here is included in first person deixis because it refers directly to the speaker's personal point of view and circumstances. In

addition, Swankie uses “My” and “I’m” in her statement “My head hurts really really bad and I’m nauseated.” The possessive pronoun “My” indicates Swankie’s ownership of her head and the pain she is feeling, while “I’m” (a contraction of “I am”) describes her condition of feeling nauseated. These expressions are also categorized as first-person deixis because they refer directly to Swankie, the speaker, and describe her personal health issues.

Dialogue 2

This dialogue happens when nomads have a meal, Fern and Linda are there waiting for the meal eagerly.

Swankie : “Oh, yeah, yeah, yeah. There’s plenty”
Dave : “Yeah, **we** got plenty. Jump and shout.”
Swankie : “How many vegans we got here?”
Fern : “What’s that?”
Dave : “This is vegan.”
Fern : “No, **I’m**... **I’m** a carnivore.”
Timestamp: 0:46:58 -0:47:21

In the dialogue above, there are 4 deictic words. They are “we” appears twice and “I’m” appears twice as well. The singular first-person deictic expression “I’m” appears twice in Fern’s response, “No, I’m... I’m a carnivore.” Each instance of “I’m” serves as a deictic expression referring specifically to Fern, the speaker. The first “I’m” in “No, I’m...” expresses Fern's initial refusal to become vegan, identifying her personal dietary preferences. The repetition of the word “I’m” in “I am a carnivore” strengthens his statement and further clarifies his stance, indicating that he eats meat. Furthermore, Dave and Swankie use the pronoun “we” in their statements. Swankie asks, “How many vegans we got here?” and Dave responds, “Yeah, we got plenty. Jump and shout.” The pronoun “we” in both instances is a

first-person plural deictic expression that refers to the collective group of nomads present at the meal. This usage of “we” includes both the speakers (Swankie and Dave) and their fellow nomads.

Second Person Deixis

This conversation takes place at Ceder Pass Campground when Fern and Linda stop at a campsite to pick up trash. Then, Victor comes up.

Victor : “Excuse me.”
Fern : “Yeah, Hey.”
Victor : “Are **you** the camp host?”
Fern : “Yeah, I’m Fern. That’s Linda May.”
Victor : “How **you** guys doin’?”
Fern : “Good.”
Timestamp: 0:48:38-0:48:44

In the dialogue above, the second-person deictic expression “you” is used twice by Victor. The first instance occurs when Victor asks, “Are you the camp host?” In this context, “you” refers specifically to Fern, whom Victor is addressing directly. The second instance of “you” is in the phrase, “How you guys doin’?” Here, refers to both Fern and Linda May, indicating that Victor is addressing both of them collectively.

Third Person Deixis

This dialogue happens when Fern knocks on Swankie's car door and asks for help to take her to town because her car has a flat tire.

Swankie : “Didn’t you see the flag?”
Fern : “Yeah, yeah. I’m sorry.”
Swankie : “**It** means I don’t wanna be disturbed.”
Fern : “I know. I need a ride to town.”
Swankie : “Why?”
Fern : “I blew my tire.”
Swankie : “Well, go change **it**.”

Fern : “I don’t have a spare.”
Swankie : “You don’t have a spare? You’re out here in the boondocks and you don’t have a spare?!”
Timestamp: 0:33:25 -0:33:42

In the dialogue above, the third-person deictic expression “it” is used by Swankie twice. The first “it” in the sentence “It means I don’t wanna be disturbed” refers to the flag that Swankie has set up to indicate that she does not want to be disturbed. The second “it” in the phrase “Well, go change it” refers to Fern’s tire.

Spatial or Place Deixis

This dialogue occurs in the club where some nomads enjoy time dancing together. Dave approached Fern while she was sitting alone. He asks her to dance. He hesitates but eventually accepts.

Dave : “Looks like you got a hankering to go out **there**.”
Fern : “No.”
Dave : “You sure?”
Fern : “Okay.”
Dave : “Come on.”
Fern : “Alright.”
Timestamp: 0:29:00 -0:29:12

In the dialogue above, the place deictic expression “there” is used by Dave. The pronoun “there” refers to the dance floor where people are dancing. As a place deictic expression, “there” indicates a specific location where the dancing is taking place.

Temporal or Time Deixis

This dialogue occurs in the morning at Ceder Pass Campground. Fern walks around the campground, she was excited about her new job, offering coffee to campers.

Fern : “Hello, Coffee?”
Dave : “I know you.”
Fern : “Yeah, hi. Dave, right? Guess.”
Dave : “Fern.”
Fern : “Yes. I have your can opener.”
Dave : “Yeah yeah yeah, you do. Are you working here **now** or”
Fern : “Yeah, first year. So coffee?”
Dave : “Yeah sure.”
Timestamp: 0:46:59-0:47:21

In the dialogue above, the time-deictic expression “now” is used by Dave in his question, “Are you working here now or” The term “now” is a temporal deictic expression, referring to the reference time to the moment of the conversation.

Social Deixis

This dialogue occurs when Fern is smoking alone. Then, he sees Derek, one of the travelers in his early twenties, approaching him. He's straight out of a Walt Whitman novel, wearing suspenders and a deformed cowboy hat.

Derek : “Hello, **ma’am**. You by chance have an extra cigarette?”
Fern : “Yeah, sure.”
Fern : “Need a light”
Derek : “I’d love one.”
Timestamp: 0:32:30 -0:32:41

In the dialogue above, the social deictic expression “ma’am” is used by Derek when he addresses Fern. The term “ma’am” is a form of social deixis, which

refers to the use of language that reflects social relationships, status, and respect between the speakers. It is often used to show politeness and respect towards a woman, particularly one who is perceived to be older or in a position of authority.

Discourse Deixis

This dialogue happens when Fern's van is worked on by a mechanic. Swankie lectures Fern who tries to listen patiently.

Swankie : “You can die out here. You’re out in the wilderness, far from anybody. You can die out here. Don’t you understand **that**? You have to take **it** seriously. You have to have a way to get help. You have to be able to change your own tire.”
Fern : “I appreciate **it**, thanks Swankie.”
Timestamp: 0:33:46 -0:33:58

In the dialogue above, the discourse deictic expressions “that ” and “it” are used by Swankie and Fern to refer to previously mentioned parts of their conversation. Swankie's use of “that” in “Don’t you understand that?” refers back to her warning about the dangers of being in the wilderness. The first “it” in “You have to take it seriously” refers to the overall situation and the need for preparation in the wilderness. The second “it” in Fern's response, “I appreciate it, thanks Swankie,” refers to the advice and lecture Swankie has just given.

Application of Politeness Principles in “Nomadland” Movie

This part describes and shows the data of the Politeness Principles found in the movie. In this chapter, the writer uses one theory to help the writer analyze the second problem formulation, namely Politeness Principles applied by the characters in “Nomadland” movie, in communicating between fellow nomads. The theory used

is the Politeness Principles by Leech. In this chapter the writer finds 6 types of Politeness Principles. They are, Tact Maxim, Generosity Maxim, Approbation Maxim, Modesty Maxim, Agreement Maxim, and Sympathy Maxim. The summary of analysis of Politeness Principles and their frequency of appearance in communication between nomads in “Nomadland” movie is drawn in the table below.

Table 2. Types of Politeness Principles and their frequency of appearance in “Nomadland” movie.

No	Kinds Of Politeness Principles	Numbers
1	Tact Maxim	1 utterances
2	Generosity Maxim	1 utterances
3	Approbation Maxim	2 utterances
4	Modesty Maxim	1 utterances
5	Agreement Maxim	1 utterances
6	Sympathy Maxim	1 utterances
Total Number Of Utterances		7 utterances

Tact Maxim

This dialogue occurs in the desert, around Fern’s van. Fern approaches Derek who sits alone by the fire and offers him a sandwich.

Fern : “Hi, want a sandwich? You hungry?”
Derek : “I think I’ve met you before.”
Fern : “Yes, I’m Fern. I was working at TRock in Quartzsite.”
Derek : “You let Noodle sell his rocks there, didn’t you?”
Fern : “Yep”
Derek : “**Would you like a beer?**”
Fern : “Yeah. I’ll trade you for a sandwich.”
Timestamp: 1:17:38-1:18:03

In the dialogue above, Derek's use of the phrase "Would you like a beer?" exemplifies Leech's Tact Maxim, which emphasizes minimizing the imposition on the listener while maximizing the benefit to them. By phrasing his offer as a question, Derek politely gave Fern the option to accept or decline the beer without feeling pressured. This polite form respects Fern's autonomy and makes the offer seem considerate and less intrusive. Derek's use of "Would you like a beer?" rather than a more direct statement like "Here, have a beer", shows his sensitivity to Fern's preferences and comfort, thus applying the Tact Maxim effectively. This approach not only offers something of value but also frames it in a way that highlights Fern's freedom of choice, increasing the politeness and reducing any potential imposition.

Generosity Maxim

This dialogue takes place in the desert, Fern just arrived in the land where a group of nomads gather. Fern meets Linda may and hugs her. Later, one of the nomads approaches and gives Fern a chair.

One of nomads : "Sit here ma'am. Keep the chair"

Fern : "Thank you."

Timestamp: 0:18:40-0:18:44

In the dialogue above, the nomad's statement "Sit here ma'am. Keep the chair" exemplifies Leech's Generosity Maxim, which involves minimizing the benefit to oneself and maximizing the benefit to the other person. By offering Fern a chair and suggesting she keep it, the nomad is demonstrating a generous act that prioritizes Fern's comfort and needs over his own. This expression of generosity shows the nomad's willingness to sacrifice their own use of the chair for Fern's

benefit, which aligns with the principle of maximizing the listener's benefit. Additionally, by addressing Fern respectfully with “ma’am”, the nomad increases the politeness of the offer.

Approbation Maxim

Dialogue 1

This dialogue takes place in the desert, around Fern’s van. She has a conversation with Derek by the fire.

Fern : “Got a girlfriend anywhere?”
Derek : “Well, to be truthfull, there is one. She lives up in the North Country, on a small farm. She is happy with her life there. I write letters to her.”
Fern : “**Smart man, very good. Letters are good.**”
Derek : “I just can’t ever write about anything I reckon she’d care about.”

Timestamp: 1:18:44-1:19:12

In the dialogue above, Fern's response was “Smart man, very good. Letters are good.” exemplifies Leech's Approbation Maxim, which emphasizes minimizing dispraise and maximizing praise of the listener. By calling Derek a “smart man” and approving of his letter-writing practice with “very good” and “letters are good”, Fern offers positive reinforcement and encouragement. This response increases Derek's self-confidence and validates his actions, making him feel valued and respected. Fern's praise shows Derek's concern and effort in maintaining his relationship with his girlfriend. The use of such affirming language helps build good relationships and creates a supportive atmosphere.

Dialogue 2

This dialogue takes place in the kitchen, Dave shows Fern a photo on his flip-phone, his son James and his wife Emily together. She is pregnant.

Dave : “That’s his wife, Emily.”

Fern : “**Oh, she is cute.** Hope she’s older than she looks.”

Dave : “She’s gonna have a baby.”

Timestamp: 1:03:07-1:03:12

In the dialogue above, Fern's response is “Oh, she is cute.” exemplifies Leech's Approbation Maxim, which involves minimizing dispraise and maximizing praise of the listener or a related third party. By complimenting Emily's appearance with “she is cute”, Fern is offering a positive remark that aligns with the principle of maximizing approval. This compliment served to affirm Dave's positive feelings toward his son's wife and created a friendly, supportive interaction. Compliments are a socially good way to show interest and approval, thereby contributing to a pleasant conversational tone.

Modesty Maxim

This dialogue occurs in the desert, around Fern’s van. She has a conversation with Derek by the fire.

Derek : “You gave me a lighter back in quartzite.”

Fern : “You still have it?”

Derek : “No, that’s long gone but I do have this for ya? Want you to have it.”

Fern : “Thanks. It’s really beautiful. What’s that stone?”

Derek : “That right there is dinosaur bone.”

Fern : “Really?”

Derek : “**I think so. But I only know what they tell me.**”

Fern : “Where are your mom and dad?”

Derek : “Back home in Wisconsin.”

Timestamp: 1:18:10-1:18:36

In the dialogue above, Derek's response "I think so. But I only know what they tell me." exemplifies Leech's Modesty Maxim, which involves minimizing praise of oneself and maximizing dispraise of oneself. By saying "I think so", Derek shows uncertainty and humility about the information he provides, which downplays his knowledge and expertise. Furthermore, by adding "But I only know what they tell me", Derek further reduces his authority on the matter, attributing his knowledge to others rather than taking credit for it himself. This modesty in Derek's response serves to avoid the impression of being arrogant or overconfident, thus making his statement more humble and self-effacing. This application of the Modesty Maxim increases the politeness of the interaction by ensuring that Derek does not appear arrogant, instead of presenting himself as a humble and modest person.

Agreement Maxim

This dialogue happens when Fern knocks on Swankie's car door and asks for help to take her to town because her car has a flat tire.

Swankie : "Didn't you see the flag?"
Fern : "Yeah, yeah. I'm sorry."
Swankie : "It means I don't wanna be disturbed."
Fern : "**I know**. I need a ride to town."
Swankie : "Why?"
Fern : "I blew my tire."
Timestamp: 0:33:25-0:33:35

In the dialogue above, Fern's statement "I know. I need a ride to town". proves her application of Leech's Agreement Maxim, which involves minimizing disagreement between speakers. By acknowledging Swankie's concern ("I know"), Fern shows understanding and agreement with Swankie's preference not to be

disturbed. This acknowledgment helps to maintain relationship and avoid conflict by validating Swankie's initial statement.

Sympathy Maxim

This dialogue takes place inside Fern's van, Swankie was seen coughing.

Fern : "You all right?"
Swankie : "Mmm hmm I guess I'm all right."
Fern : "You okay?"
Swankie : "Doctors told me that .. Well, I had cancer removed from my lung a while back and small cell carcinoma. And they told me it's spread to my brain. And they've only given me seven or eight months to live."
Fern : "I'm sorry ... I'm sorry."
Timestamp: 0:37:43-0:38:57

In the dialogue above, Fern's response "I'm sorry ... I'm sorry". Proves her application of Leech's Sympathy Maxim, which involves expressing concern and sympathy towards the other person. By repeating "I'm sorry," Fern acknowledges Swankie's difficult situation and shows genuine empathy. This repetition emphasizes Fern's emotional response and conveys her sincere feelings of compassion and regret upon hearing Swankie's diagnosis. Additionally, Fern's use of the Sympathy Maxim serves to validate Swankie's emotions and demonstrate support in a challenging moment. This response is both empathetic and respectful, showing Fern's readiness to listen and offer emotional comfort without intruding or minimizing Swankie's experience.

CONCLUSION

There are 17 data of Deictic Expressions found in this thesis. They come from 5 types of Deixis theory proposed by Brown and Levinson. They are Person

Deixis (11 data), Spatial or Place Deixis (1 data), Temporal or Time Deixis (1 data), Social Deixis (1 data) and Discourse Deixis (3 data). Additionally, There are 7 data of Politeness Principles found in this thesis. They come from 6 types of Politeness Principles theory proposed by Leech. They are Tact Maxim (1 data), Generosity Maxim (1 data), Approbation Maxim (2 data), Modesty Maxim (1 data), Agreement Maxim (1 data), Sympathy Maxim (1 data).

Context, which deixis deals with, is something that cannot be separated from the utterances uttered. Therefore, one should be able to give clear meaning by showing clear context when having a conversation one to another. Besides that, another aspect that one might often apply when having a dialogue is politeness principles which used to be considered polite and to maintain a good relationship with others. Both deixis and politeness seem to be unknown by many people although they often, or even always use it regularly. By knowing them, help everyone to be more aware of what has often been said.

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