Deconstructing Phatic Particles in Javanese: A Case Study of the Film Tilik (2018)

Inayatul Luthfiyyah[1]

[1]Linguistik, Fakultas Ilmu Bahasa, Universitas Gadjah Mada
Corresponding Author: inayatulluthfiyyah@mail.ugm.ac.id

Abstract

This study aims to describe the forms and functions of phatic particles in Javanese as used in the film Tilik (2018), directed by Wahyu Agung Prasetyo. Phatic particles are linguistic elements that function to maintain social relationships and express the attitudes of both speakers and interlocutors. These particles reflect the values of politeness, familiarity, and social harmony as expressed in everyday speech. The research employs a qualitative descriptive method with a pragmatic approach, drawing on Kridalaksana's (2008) theory of phatic functions and Leech's (1983) framework of practical functions. Data were obtained from Tilik's (2018) transcript and analyzed based on contextual and pragmatic meanings. The findings reveal seven types of phatic particles used by the characters, namely to/ta, lha ya, lho ya, kok, mbok, and je. Among them, to/ta and lho ya are the most frequently used, functioning to emphasize information and build mutual understanding. The particle kok expresses surprise or mild disagreement, while mbok is used to give advice or polite admonition. The particle je serves as a gentle marker of emphasis and social closeness. Overall, phatic particles play a crucial role in maintaining politeness, strengthening social solidarity, and representing the communicative, respectful, and harmonious character of Javanese society. This study affirms that language is not only a medium for conveying messages but also a vehicle for shaping cultural values and social identity.

Keywords: phatic particles; Tilik film; pragmatics

INTRODUCTION

Nasrullah, (2020) stated that the rapid advancement of digital technology has significantly transformed human communication and the consumption of information. Nowadays, society enjoys effortless access to social media, digital platforms, films, and various streaming services that deliver audiovisual content. For instance, while films were once restricted to cinemas, they are now conveniently available for home viewing via Wi-Fi and online streaming platforms. In addition to providing entertainment, films also reflect the socio-cultural dynamics of society, as highlighted by Chapman (2003). Elements such as humor, forms of address, and nuanced communication strategies found in cinematic dialogues

exemplify the diverse linguistic practices present within society.

According to Edgar (2010) Films employ language that reflects cultural values, patterns of communication, and even the collective identity of communities, conveying meaning through relationships. The examination of language in cinematic works is essential, as it uncovers methods for maintaining social relationships, conveying meaning, and creating meaning through social interaction. An illustrative example is the short film "*Tilik*" (2018), directed by Wahyu Agung Prasetyo, which gained widespread recognition for its depiction of Javanese society and the unique linguistic nuances of its characters. (Prasetyo, 2018).

Tilik (2018), a film that achieved considerable national attention and popularity, narrates the journey of several women who travel to visit the wife of their village chief in the hospital. The film distinguishes itself through its authentic portrayal of daily life, particularly evident in its use of naturalistic dialogue. The character Bu Tejo exemplifies the use of distinctive particle affixes that are characteristic of the Javanese language, thereby highlighting regional linguistic features within cinematic discourse.

Kridalaksana (2008) Identifies three categories of phatic expressions: those realized as phrases, single words, and particles. This research examines explicitly phatic expressions in the form of particles. As described by Kridalaksana (2008), phatic particle expressions serve to initiate or sustain communication,

ensuring the interaction proceeds smoothly without introducing additional informational content. Rahmi and Ramadhan (2019) further argue that variations in phatic expressions within sentences contribute significantly to meaning and emphasis. Gunawan (2020) notes that such phatic particle expressions function as grammatical elements lacking core semantic meaning, yet they play essential social and pragmatic roles. Distinguishing between forms, (Cendriono & Sudaryanto, 2023) explain that phatic particles are communicative and used to maintain interaction among speakers, as opposed to interjections, which are primarily expressive or emotive. Sitohang 2021) asserts that the significance of phatic particles is contingent upon context, fluctuating based on their placement within an utterance, whether at the beginning, middle, or end. In Javanese, phatic particles are employed to express politeness, familiarity, and to maintain social harmony between interlocutors. Examples in Indonesian include "dong," "deh," and "kok," among others, which are analogous to Javanese phatic particles like "lho," "rak," "to," "tah," "lha," "mbok," "je," "ding," and "yak." These elements are crucial for facilitating uninterrupted and meaningful discourse.

The film's most prominent Javanese phatic particles include "lho", "lha", "to", "kok", "mbok", "sih", and "je". For example, in the dialogue "*Wah, mesakke tenan to, wong kae kudu ngurus anak dewekan*" (Well, that is too bad, she has to take care of her child alone), the particle to is used to emphasize Bu Tejo's expression of sympathy and also invites her

listeners to empathize. Similarly, in Bu Tejo's line "*Ya wes Trek mampir pasar gedhe wae yo, dadi wong ki sing solutif ngono lho*" (Okay, Trek, stop by the big market, you know, people have to be solution-oriented like that), the particle lho highlights her opinion and creates a sense of informality and camaraderie. On the other hand, the utterance "*Mas, kok ketoke aku wes ra betah yo mas?*" (Sir, it seems like I cannot stand it anymore, sir) uses the particle kok to show mild surprise and express Dian's emotional state. Therefore, Tilik functions effectively as a way to explore the communicative roles of phatic particles in Javanese society.

To analyze the meanings of utterances containing phatic particles among characters in Tilik (2018), the researcher employed Leech (1983) theory, which emphasizes the dimension of social meaning. According to Leech (1983), language meaning is not solely determined by grammatical structure, but is also shaped by context and the intentions of the speaker. This theoretical framework distinguishes between semantic meaning, encompassing the literal and structural aspects of language, and pragmatic meaning, which arises from the interplay between the speaker, the hearer, and the situational context. (Akbar et al., 2023; Wahyudin et al., 2024) Within this perspective, language is regarded as a form of social action, where each utterance serves a specific communicative function, encompassing illocutionary acts such as statements, commands, requests, or advice, as well as broader social implications that extend beyond the literal content of the words. (Suoth, 2021).

In this research, the application of Leech's theory specifically addresses the pragmatic functions of phatic particles, rather than focusing on the politeness principles typically examined in discourse analysis. As noted by (Susanti & Agustini, (2017) phatic particles frequently do not serve to manage politeness directly, but instead convey the speaker's social disposition, regulate emotional proximity, and indicate degrees of familiarity or social hierarchy within interations. Through the integration of Kridalaksana's and Leech's theoretical frameworks, this study aims to demonstrate that Javanese phatic particles are not merely linguistic devices but also constitute social phenomena that embody the patterns of thought and interaction characteristic of Javanese society.

In this study, Kridalaksana's and Leech's theories are used in a complementary manner. Kridalaksana's framework (2008) offers the basis for identifying phatic particles both structurally and functionally, while Leech's theory helps explain how these particles shape social meaning in daily communication. As a result, phatic particles are seen not just as isolated language forms but as cultural phenomena rooted in the speech practices of Javanese society.

Extensive research has been conducted on phatic particles within both Indonesian and various regional languages. JR (2023) investigated the use of *nah*, *oh*, and *ya* in the @Kasisolusi podcast, concluding that these particles function to soften utterances and denote social relationships between speakers. M

& Savitri (2022) analyzed the particles "lah", "sih", and "dong" as found in the Online KBBI (Big Indonesian Dictionary), highlighting their significance in expressing closeness and the speaker's emotional states. Additionally, Maulani & Arum (2023) conducted a comparative study of East Javanese and Indonesian phatic particles, revealing that while pragmatic functions are analogous, their application varies significantly according to cultural context.

Further research by Yusma et al., (2024) identified that phatic particles in the Kampar Malay oral tradition function to uphold politeness and reinforce social values. Similarly, Adisti et al., (2024) observed that these particles play a comparable role in facilitating social interactions within Minangkabau marketplaces. Collectively, these studies highlight the pervasive function of phatic particles as crucial instruments for maintaining familiarity and politeness in communicative exchanges.

Nonetheless, most existing research has predominantly examined natural spoken discourse or oral traditions, with limited attention to film as a medium for investigating the function of particles within structured social interactions that closely mimic everyday communication. Moreover, prior studies have generally not synthesized Kridalaksana's theoretical perspective—which emphasizes the social forms and functions of particles—with Leech's framework on pragmatics and contextual meaning, nor have they delved into the cultural value dimensions of phatic particles specifically within Javanese society. These gaps highlight a substantial area that requires further scholarly exploration.

To address these gaps, the present study analyzes the film Tilik (2018) as its primary object, focusing specifically on the pragmatic functions of phatic particles in establishing social relationships among characters. Tilik was selected for its use of natural Javanese-language dialogue and its authentic depiction of village social realities, making it ideally suited for investigating how phatic particles reflect and construct interpersonal dynamics.

The objectives of this research are to identify the various forms and types of phatic particles present in the film Tilik, to elucidate their pragmatic functions in facilitating social relationships among characters, and to uncover the cultural values embodied in their use. Through these aims, the study seeks to contribute not only to the field of pragmatic linguistics but also to a deeper comprehension of language as a reflection of Javanese cultural identity.

This analysis is grounded in the conceptual framework provided by the theories of Kridalaksana and Leech. The integration of these perspectives enables a holistic examination, with Kridalaksana's theory facilitating the identification of the linguistic forms and functions of phatic particles, and Leech's theory elucidating their pragmatic roles, implications for politeness, and socio-cultural meanings within communicative contexts. Through this combined approach, the study seeks to demonstrate the interplay among

linguistic structure, social meaning, and cultural values as represented in the film Tilik.

METHOD

This research adopts a qualitative methodology. According to Moleong (2019), qualitative research aims to capture social and linguistic phenomena by providing contextualized and holistic narrative interpretations. Employing this approach is particularly suitable for examining the use of phatic particles in the short film Tilik (2018), as it enables an in-depth exploration of their function and meaning within authentic communicative contexts.

This study utilizes both primary and secondary data sources. The primary data comprises the transcript of the film Tilik (2018), which provides evidence of the use of phatic particles within Javanese conversation. Although the film's dialogues are scripted, Tilik was selected for its realistic and contextual depiction of Javanese linguistic practices, encompassing particles, expressions, and nonverbal cues that authentically mirror everyday social interactions. The secondary data consists of theoretical literature, including Kridalaksana's work on the structural and social functions of particles, Leech's framework on politeness principles and pragmatic meaning, as well as prior research relevant to the analysis. These data sources are employed in a complementary manner to reinforce the theoretical foundation and enhance the interpretive depth of the research findings.

Data collection for this study employed the Free Listening and Non-Participatory Conversation (FLNC) technique,

as outlined by Mahsun (2017), whereby the researcher observes conversational exchanges without direct involvement. This approach was supplemented by Sudaryanto's (2015) note-taking method to systematically document linguistic data. To capture pragmatic features—including intonation, emotional tone, and nonverbal contextual elements—a multimodal analytical approach was adopted, considering facial expressions, gestures, and situational factors. Data analysis proceeded through three stages: data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions or verification. These stages facilitated the identification of phatic particles, an explanation of their pragmatic functions, and an interpretation of the socio-cultural values embedded within their usage in the film Tilik.

The data analysis process follows the stages outlined by Sugiyono (2021), namely data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing/verification. During the data reduction phase, dialogues containing phatic particles are selected. In the data presentation phase, the selected data is classified and organized using tables and narrative descriptions. Finally, the conclusion-drawing phase involves interpreting the meanings, pragmatic functions, and socio-cultural values embodied in the use of these particles.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of the transcript from the film Tilik (2018) reveals that phatic particles are the most prevalent linguistic element in interactions between speakers and those they are addressing.

The gathered data showed a total of 143 instances of phatic particles exhibiting diverse forms and functions, including occurrences at the beginning, middle, and end of utterances. The subsequent data refers to the occurrence and frequency of phatic particles.

Table 1. Phatic particle data and frequency

No	Phatic Particle	Frequency
1.	*To/ta*	56
2.	*Lha, ya*	19
3.	*Lho, ya*	36
4.	*Kok*	21
5.	*Mbok*	6
6.	*Je*	3

The appearance of particles such as *to*, *lho ya*, and *mbok* in the movie Tilik (2018) did not merely function as politeness and social solidarity markers but also reflected the existence of social hierarchy and power relations implied in the Javanese culture of speech. In the Javanese cultural context, politeness in language is not only needed for maintaining harmony but also shows respect for the social status and age of the person being addressed. For instance, particle *mbok* is often used by women speakers to convey suggestions or criticism in a subtle way so that it will not be considered as confrontational or patronizing, reflecting a more subordinate social and gender position. Meanwhile, the particle *to* and *lho ya* often appear to emphasize an opinion without arousing a confrontational impression, therefore highlighting the principles of harmony

and *andhap asor* (humility) in Javanese culture. These particles are not only linguistic tools that foster familiarity, but also indicate the speaker's awareness of social hierarchies, gender roles, and power dynamics in speech interactions.

This research maintains the balance between linguistic analysis and pragmatic analysis through the complementary application of Kridalaksana's and Leech's theories. Kridalaksana's theory is used to systematically identify and classify the forms of phatic particles based on their morphological characteristics and syntactic functions in speech. After the forms and the distributions are found, Leech's theory is used to interpret the pragmatic functions and socio-cultural dimensions of the particle's usage. Utilizing this approach, the research extends beyond the descriptive level of form classification to reveal how phatic particles, such as to/ta, lho, and ya, play a role in maintaining politeness, social solidarity, and balance within the speech hierarchy in Javanese society. The integration of these two theories enables a more comprehensive analysis, where linguistic aspects play a foundational role. In contrast, pragmatic aspects elaborate on the understanding of social meaning and culture contained in language practice.

The findings of this study align with those of several previous studies. (Maulani & Arum, 2023) It was found that phatic particles, such as lho, sih, toh, and kan, functioned to foster social communication, maintain familiarity, and strengthen relationships between speakers as a form of harmony in Javanese society. Meanwhile, Lestari (2015)

also found that the use of phatic particles, such as *lho, kok, ta, mbok,* and *lah*, plays an important role in maintaining politeness, sustaining conversation, and reflecting the values of harmony and togetherness in Javanese culture. Both studies support the findings of this study, which show that the dominance of the particles *to/ta* and *lho*, *ya* in the film Tilik (2018) reflects a cooperative and harmonious communication pattern in line with the character of Javanese society.

The findings from this analysis reinforce Kridalaksana (2008) The view that phatic particles serve to maintain social relationships without adding new lexical meaning. Within Leech's (1983) pragmatic framework, these particles serve as a means of conveying the speaker's intentions and emotions, depending on the context of the interaction. Thus, the dominance of the particles' *to'* and *'ta'*, as well as *'lho', 'ya'*, reflects the way Javanese people negotiate meaning and social relations through language that is gentle, familiar, and full of cultural nuances. Therefore, the following discussion will describe the form and pragmatic function of each type of phatic particle found in the film Tilik, including *to/ta*, *lha ya*, *lho ya*, *kok*, *mbok*, and *je*.

Phatic Particle *to/ta*

The form of the particle *to* or its variant *ta* is a form of particle that is very often spoken by characters in the film Tilik (2018), with a total of 56 occurrences in various situations and conditions of speech. This makes the particle play a crucial role in maintaining the dynamics of interaction and social nuances that are

developed throughout the film. Kridalaksana (2008) elaborates that the function of the particle *also* has roles to sustain social contact and regulate the relationship between the addresser and addressee. Phatic particles in this movie are not only to strengthen the claim, but also to mark the closeness relation between speakers.

In the transcript data for the film Tilik (2018), the particle *to* is not found at the beginning of utterances but often appears in the middle and at the end of utterances. For example, the particle *to* appears in the middle of a sentence in Bu Tejo's utterance.

Yu Ning: *Wes kabeh to iki?* (Is that all?)

Yu Ning's utterance, which adds the particle *to* in the middle of the sentence, serves to emphasize the question, which is asking for confirmation from the interlocutor. By utilizing *this* approach, Yu Ning aimed to ensure that all preparations and items were complete, yet in a friendly tone. The particle in Yu Ning's speech serves to soften the utterance and avoid the impression of a direct command, such as *"Wes kabeh iki?"* which sounds unfamiliar and seems unfriendly. The insertion of *'to' makes the sentence feel light and friendly, indicating* an equal social relationship between speakers.

The particle *to* is dominant at the end of utterances, as in the following utterance by Bu Tejo.

Bu Tejo : *"jaga-jaga yen Dian kuwi sakjane wong wedok ora nggenah, godan-godani bojo-bojo ne dewe, iya to?"* (Careful, Dian might be an evil woman who often seduces our husbands, right?)

These words were spoken by Bu Tejo, who tried to convince the other women that the gossip about Dian, a woman of ill repute who often seduced other women's husbands, was not just a personal rumor, but something that almost the entire village knew about. Semantically, the particle *to* does not add any new meaning, but pragmatically, according to Kridalaksana (2008), the particle *to* has the function of inviting the interlocutor to agree with the speaker's opinion. In this conversation, Bu Tejo uses *to* to build understanding and seek justification from her conversation partner. By adding the particle *to* at the end, Bu Tejo emphasized her opinion while seeking social confirmation from her friends, not merely asking a question, but creating solidarity among fellow mothers.

The findings of this study are consistent with several previous studies. Research conducted by (Yuliana, 2017) shows that in the Javanese language used by the Madurese community in Jember, there are various forms of phatic markers, one of which is the particle *ta*, which serves to soften speech, indicate social familiarity, and maintain continuity of communication between speakers. This particle commonly appears in the middle or end of a sentence, similar to the distribution of particles *to* found in the film Tilik (2018). Similarly, Meldiana (2022) In her research on Javanese Phatic Markers in Youth Social Groups in Sambikerep District, Surabaya City, she also found that the particle *ta* serves to affirm, emphasize, and maintain social interaction among speakers. Therefore, the results of this study reinforce the view that the phatic particles *to/ta* have a pragmatic role in maintaining familiarity, solidarity, and social understanding among speakers, as reflected in the speech of the characters in the film Tilik (2018).

Phatic Particle *lha, ya*

One interesting form of phatic particles in the film Tilik (2018) is the particles *lha* and *ya*, because these particles have two elements that complement each other. From the film transcript data, it was found that this particle appeared 19 times, located in various contexts of interaction dominated by the characters Bu Tejo, Bu Tri, and Yu Ning. Although these particles do not appear as often as the particle to, the particles *lha*, *ya* give a distinctive flavor to the interactions between characters. According to Kridalaksana (2008), these particles serve to regulate discourse continuity and strengthen social relationships. They are often used to emphasize statements, strengthen arguments, or convey reactions that are logical yet relaxed and polite.

The Javanese language often uses the particle *lha* to signal the beginning of an explanation, reason, or response to a preceding statement (Kridalaksana, 2008). Meanwhile, the particle *ya* functions to soften the tone and refine the intonation of statements, so they do not sound stiff or forceful (Kridalaksana, 2008). The particles *lha*, *ya* are often combined to form a very distinctive pattern in Javanese social interactions, namely, to emphasize something gently. The transcript of this film shows that all *lha ya* particles are located at the beginning of

utterances, as in Yu Ning's utterance, which places *lha ya* at the beginning of her utterance.

Yu Ning: *"lha ya, aku mau ki di telpon karo Dian, ngabarake yen bu Lurah kuwi ambruk."* (Yes, Dian called me earlier to tell me that the village chief's wife had fallen.)

Yu Ning's statement came amid debate over whether the rumors about Fikri and Dian having a romantic relationship were true, as there were reports that the village chief's wife had fallen and Fikri, as her son, had taken her to the hospital with Dian. Bu Tejo had previously shown suspicion and judged Dian negatively, while Yu Ning tried to mediate by providing factual information. The use of *lha ya* at the beginning of the sentence shows that Yu Ning did not try to fight back head-on but rather asserted her position as a bearer of factual information.

This study is in line with the findings of Yuliana (2017), who examined phatic markers in Javanese among the Madurese community in Jember. The study explains that the particle *lha* serves to mark the beginning of an explanation, reason, or reaction to a previous utterance, and often appears at the beginning of a sentence to maintain discourse continuity and emphasize the speaker's statement. This function supports the findings of this study, which suggest that the combination of lha and ya particles in the film Tilik (2018) serves to subtly emphasize information, soften intonation, and strengthen social relationships between speakers.

Phatic Particle *lho, ya*

The particle *lho*, *ya* appears 36 times in interactions between characters in the film Tilik (2018). The particle *lho*, *ya* are often used to emphasize an opinion, indicate emotional involvement, and soften a statement (Kridalaksana, 2008). The combination of these two elements creates a balance between assertiveness and familiarity, with *lho* emphasizing the speaker's statement, while *ya* softens the tone to keep it sounding friendly. The particles *lho*, *ya*, and *lho ya* in this film can be found at the beginning, middle, and end of utterances. For example, the mothers place the particle *lho* at the beginning of their utterances.

Ibu-ibu: *"lho, bu Tri kok malah ngece"* (Hey, Bu Tri, why are you mocking?)

The particle *lho* is used to indicate the speaker's emotional involvement in the interlocutor's utterance. The utterance *"Lho, Bu Tri kok malah ngece"* expressed surprise and a slight disappointment, because Bu Tri, who was usually calm and respected, had acted mockingly.

Particle *lho* is also found in the middle of utterances, as in the following utterance by Bu Tejo.

Bu Tejo: *"akeh cara lho Yu nggo ndelikke meteng ki, padakke cah saiki ki pinter-pinter je"* (There are many ways to hide a pregnancy, you know. Kids these days are smart, you know)

Bu Tejo's statement emphasizes that hiding a pregnancy is not unusual and that there

are many ways to do so, thereby reinforcing the credibility of her statement. Particles such as *lho* serve to build social closeness. Bu Tejo's statement above shows that *lho* is used to convey information in a convincing tone while inviting the listener to become emotionally involved.

Lastly, particle *lho ya* are predominantly located at the end of utterances, as in the following utterance by Bu Tejo.

Bu Tejo : *"mangkane duwe HP ora mung dinggo nggaya tok, neng nggo nggolek informasi ngono lho ya?"* (Having a cell phone is not just for style, but also for finding information, you know?)

In her speech, Bu Tejo posed a rhetorical question. Bu Tejo did not really want an answer, but rather wanted to subtly emphasize her criticism. Bu Tejo criticized Yu Ning, saying that cell phones should not only be used as a fashion accessory, but also to search for information. The information in question is related to Dian's behavior on social media. The mothers saw photos of Dian on social media with a man posing close to her. *Lho* indicates an evaluative attitude, and *ya* gives the impression of agreeing with the criticism. The context of the particle in Bu Tejo's speech is to keep the criticism sounding casual, non-confrontational, and within the same group conversation.

These findings are in line with the results of research by Yuliana (2017) which identified the particle *lho* as a form of phatic marker in the Jember dialect of Javanese. The study explains that the particle *lho* serves to mark surprise, emphasis, and the speaker's

emotional involvement with the interlocutor, and can appear at the beginning, middle, or end of a sentence. This finding is supported by the results of N. H. Akbar's (2016) research has shown that the particles lho and ya belong to the category of phatic particles, which serve to maintain and confirm social relationships in conversational interactions. Both studies support the findings of this study, which suggest that the combination of lho and ya in the film Tilik (2018) serves a pragmatic function to emphasize opinions in a relaxed and familiar manner, signify emotional involvement, and maintain harmony in social relationships between speakers.

Phatic Particle *kok*

Particles *kok* are the most expressive form of phatic, both in Javanese and Indonesian. Particle *kok* in the movie Tilik (2018) appears 21 times; this particle generally appears as a function to express subtle rejection, surprise, uncertainty, and disagreement with the information stated by the interlocutor. (Kridalaksana, 2008). Unlike the previous particles, which have a subtle tone and confirm something like *to* or *lho*, *ya*, the particle *kok* indicates a gap between the speaker's expectations and the reality they face. This particle *kok* is found at the beginning, middle, and end of utterances, as in Yu Sam's utterance, which places the particle *kok* at the beginning of the sentence as follows.

Yu sam: *"kok dempel-dempelan koyo ngono kui"* (why are they standing too close like that?)

The particle *kok* appears at the beginning of a sentence and functions as a marker of reaction to the action of the interlocutor. Yu Sam reacted to someone's behavior that she considered inappropriate (*dempel-dempelan* or too close physically), so that it is used to express surprise mixed with displeasure. Within this context, *kok* serves as a mild evaluative form in which the speaker expresses criticism or disapproval without sounding aggressive.

Next, particle *kok* is located in the middle of the utterance, as in the following utterance by Yu Ning.

Yu Ning: *"senengane kok ngeyel"* (Why do you always have to act so stubborn?)

In this conversation, Yu Ning uses the particle *kok* to express her disagreement with Bu Tejo's attitude of arguing and refusing to back down. Bu Tejo believed she was revealing the truth about Dian's behavior, but Yu Ning disagreed with Bu Tejo's statement and considered Bu Tejo to be spreading false rumors about Dian's behavior. With the addition of the particle *kok*, the statement expresses dislike but remains in a light tone characteristic of Javanese conversation.

Lastly, in Bu Tri's speech, she placed the particle *kok* at the end of her speech as follows.

Bu Tri : *"ya mboten Bu Tejo, njenengan iku leres kok"* (No, Bu Tejo, you are right.)

The particle *kok* appears at the end of the utterance, serving to emphasize the truth of the statement with a convincing but polite tone. Bu Tri tried to agree with and calm Bu Tejo in a way that was neither patronizing nor condescending, instead affirming her statement with respect and empathy. Within this context, Bu Tri was not criticizing but instead affirming the truth of Bu Tejo's opinion. The use of the particle 'kok' made the utterance sound more familiar and reassuring.

The findings of this study align with the results from (Sugiarto, 2008) That explains how particles' ko' or 'kok' served to maintain social relationships between speakers, and also played a role in expressing emotional reactions such as surprise and affirmation without a confrontational tone. This is strengthened by Azzahra (2018) findings, which show that the particle *kok* is used to emphasize information, express uncertainty, and convey surprise in everyday conversation. Both studies support the findings of this study, which suggest that the particle *'kok'* in the film Tilik (2018) serves to convey evaluation, disagreement, or affirmation in a light and polite tone. The presence of the particle *'kok' at the beginning, middle, and end of utterances demonstrates its significant pragmatic role in maintaining communication continuity and fostering* social closeness between speakers.

Phatic Particle *mbok*

The Javanese language features signature phatic particles, one of which is the phatic particle "*mbok*", which serves various functions and holds distinct social meanings. The phatic particle mbok appears 6 times in the movie Tilik

(2018), and the particle mbok is often uttered by Bu Tejo and Yu Ning. The context of Bu Tejo and Yu Ning's conversation when using the particle *mbok* often contains suggestions, complaints, or implied criticism. It plays a significant role in speech as a way of conveying requests, advice, or expectations subtly and indirectly (Kridalaksana, 2008).

The particle *mbok*, which is located at the beginning of a sentence, is spoken by Yu Ning as follows.

Yu Ning: *"mbok ya uwis, wis ra sah nyebarke fitnah, Bu"* (Come on, do not spread false rumors, Bu.)

Yu Ning's utterance using the particle *mbok* was used to subtly advise and urge Bu Tejo to stop talking about the reasons why the village chief's wife was rushed to the hospital and the slanderous rumors that the village chief's wife was sick because she was thinking about Fikri and Dian's relationship. The particle *mbok* used by Yu Ning to maintain harmonious social relations, even though the content of the message is corrective. In other words, *mbok* allows speakers to convey criticism without threatening, because it softens commands into polite advice and maintains harmonious interpersonal relationships.

In contrast to the particle *mbok* placed in the middle of an utterance, as in Yu Ning's statement below.

Yu Ning: "*njenengan ki kok ya, mbok ora waton nek ngendikan*" (Bu Tejo, you should not talk like that.)

In this case, *mbok* functions not only as an interjection, but also to soften a command or advice. The particle *mbok* here reflects a negative politeness strategy, as Yu Ning wants to reprimand Bu Tejo, who often speaks carelessly, while still maintaining politeness and not threatening the other person. By saying *"mbok ora waton nek ngendikan"*, Yu Ning is actually reprimanding harshly but through soft-spoken words, typical of Javanese culture, which avoids confrontation.

These findings are aligned with the results of Yuliana's (2017) A study found that the particle *mbok* belongs to the category of Javanese phatic markers that serve to soften imperative or invitational utterances. The study explains that the particle *mbok* is often used to convey requests, suggestions, or recommendations in a subtle manner so as not to give the impression of directly giving orders. This function supports the findings of this study, which show that the particle *mbok* in the film Tilik (2018) is used by the characters, especially Bu Tejo and Yu Ning, to convey criticism, advice, or complaints in a polite and non-confrontational manner. Therefore, the existence of the particle *mbok* demonstrates its function as a politeness strategy unique to Javanese culture, namely, conveying corrective intent without threatening social relations between speakers.

Phatic Particle *je*
The Javanese language has many different dialects in each region, one of which is the dialect in the Bantul region, specifically in Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta. This dialect also

influences the particles that appear; the particle that appears in the Bantul region is the particle je, which is usually equivalent to *lo* and *kan* in Indonesian. Based on the transcript of the film Tilik (2018), the phatic particle *je* appears three times and is located at the end of all utterances. The phatic particle *je* often functions as a marker of confirmation of a speaker's statement, an affirmation of something that is considered prominent or already known to both the speaker and the addressee. (Kridalaksana, 2008; Rohimah, 2019)

Yu Ning: *"lha wong handphone ku ki mati je"* (Well, my cell phone is dead.)

Yu Ning's statement with the particle *je* helped Yu Ning clarify Dian's suspicion, because Dian had called Yu Ning, but she did not answer. Yu Ning did not say "My phone is dead!" (which could sound defensive), but instead said *"mati je"*, which feels gentler, less threatening, and remains polite.

This finding is in line with Rohimah's (2019) research, which examined the particle *je* in the Tuban Javanese dialect, found that it functions as an intensifier in both declarative and interrogative sentences, occupies a specific position in speech, and helps convey meaning more gently and politely. Thus, the appearance of the particle *je* at the end of Yu Ning's utterance in the film Tilik (2018) can be understood as a pragmatic strategy that affirms the statement without sounding threatening, in line with the function of the particle *je* that has been analyzed in other Javanese dialects.

CONCLUSION

Analysis of the film Tilik (2018) revealed the occurrence of 143 phatic particles, classified into six types within the transcript: *to* (56 instances), *lha ya* (19), *lho ya* (36), *kok* (21), *mbok* (6), and *je* (3). The frequent appearance of the particles *to* and *lho ya* suggests that Javanese speakers tend to foster mutual understanding and social solidarity through indirect, non-confrontational language. These phatic particles contribute to the maintenance of communicative harmony, serve to emphasize speakers' intentions, reinforce politeness between interlocutors, and support the sense of familiarity that characterizes Javanese social interaction.

From a pragmatic perspective, the use of these particles demonstrates how speakers manage social interactions and modulate emotional expression to uphold politeness within Javanese society. Kridalaksana's framework facilitates the identification of the linguistic form and function of each phatic particle. At the same time, Leech's theory enhances our comprehension of their pragmatic roles and the social meanings embedded in the utterances.

In summary, this research demonstrates that phatic particles are not merely structural elements of language, but also reflect the cognitive patterns, interactive practices, and norms of politeness within Javanese society. These insights make a meaningful contribution to sociolinguistic scholarship and regional language pedagogy, particularly in supporting the preservation of

Javanese values related to politeness and social harmony. The study's findings offer a foundation for incorporating regional language instruction that promotes awareness of social norms, enhances polite communicative competence, and fosters a dynamic understanding of culture through language, thereby establishing language as both a tool for communication and an instrument for imparting social and cultural values.

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