

## Positive Politeness Strategy And Social And Culture Value In Convenience Store Woman

Tasya Pratama\*, I Nyoman Aryawibawa, I Nengah Sudipa

English Literature Study Program, Faculty of Humanity Udayana University  
Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

<sup>1</sup>[[tasyapratamaa@gmail.com](mailto:tasyapratamaa@gmail.com)], <sup>2</sup>[[arya\\_wibawa@unud.ac.id](mailto:arya_wibawa@unud.ac.id)], <sup>3</sup>[[nengahsudipa@unud.ac.id](mailto:nengahsudipa@unud.ac.id)]

### Abstract

Language is a representation and an identity for each nation, it is part of the culture. Language is used as a tool to communicate and becomes a path to express other culture and social values. It comes with various forms, one of them is dialogue. Dialogue has an element called positive politeness strategy, a way for people to maintain harmonious relationship with others. Through analyzing dialogues, it also able to uncovers the culture and social value in the environment. Hence this article has the aim to find out what are the positive politeness strategy used by the main character in the novel *Convenience Store Woman* and what are the culture and social values reflected in it. This article relies on a qualitative method. The source of the data comes from the dialogue of main character (i.e., Keiko Furukura) in the novel *Convenience Store Woman* and obtained with documentation and observation technique. The data then will be analyzed by applying Content Analysis technique based on Levinson and Brown's positive politeness strategy (1987). The result shows that there are fifteen positive politeness strategy, Keiko Furukura uses fourteen out of fifteen strategies. She never uses the 'Joke' strategy and frequently uses 'Give gifts to Hearer' strategy as the answer for the first question. Subsequently, to answer the second question, the culture of *zangyō* and the society problem about marriage and labor shortage are apparent in the story as shown by the dialogue spoken by Keiko Furukura.

**Keywords:** positive politeness strategy, culture, society

### Abstrak

Bahasa merupakan sebuah perwakilan dan identitas setiap bangsa, bahasa merupakan sebuah budaya. Bahasa digunakan sebagai sebuah alat komunikasi dan menjadi jalan untuk mengekspresikan nilai budaya dan sosial lain. Bahasa mempunyai berbagai macam bentuk dan salah satunya adalah dialog. Dialog mempunyai sebuah elemen bernama strategi kesantunan positif, sebuah cara untuk menjaga keharmonisan hubungan dengan yang lain. Melalui analisis dialog, hal ini juga dapat menunjukkan nilai budaya dan sosial yang ada dilingkungan. Sehingga, artikel ini mempunyai tujuan untuk mencari tahu strategi kesantunan positif apa saja yang digunakan oleh karakter utama dalam novel *Convenience Store Woman* dan apa saja nilai budaya dan sosial yang direfleksikan dari novelnya. Pengerjaan artikel ini menggunakan sebuah metode kualitatif. Sumber data berasal dari dialog karakter utama (contoh. Keiko Furukura) dalam novel *Convenience Store Woman* dan data didapatkan dengan teknik observasi dan dokumentasi. Lalu data yang didapatkan dianalisis dengan teknik Analisis Konten berdasarkan teori strategi kesantunan positif milik Levinson and Brown (1987). Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa ada lima belas strategi kesantunan positif, Keiko Furukura menggunakan empat belas dari lima belas strategi. Ia tidak pernah menggunakan strategi 'Candaan' dan lebih sering menggunakan strategi 'Memberikan hadiah kepada pendengar' sebagai jawaban untuk pertanyaan pertama. Kemudian, untuk menjawab pertanyaan kedua, ada budaya

*zangyō dan masalah sosial tentang pernikahan serta kekurangan tenaga kerja yang tampak dicerita seperti yang ditunjukkan oleh dialog yang diucapkan oleh Keiko Furukura.*

**Kata kunci:** *strategi kesantunan positif, budaya, sosial*

## 1. Introduction

Language is the universal culture of humanity, also known as representation and identity for each nation and even ethnicity. Additionally, it is a tool for humans to socialize with others and becomes a path for language to express other values of culture and society from the community. In other words, the existence of culture and social values can be seen through language. What the people speak and how the people talk become the reflection of their society. One of the ways to utilize language is by dialogue, a spoken sentence by a character. Dialogue and language go hand in hand. Hence a dialogue can represent the culture and social values where the character is pictured. It is also a way for them to maintain the harmonious relationship they already build with the others. A dialogue with this purpose can be identified with having the element of positive politeness strategy.

It is an indicator to determine how the character interacts with the people around her and to find out the purpose of speaking the dialogue. There are many ways for a character to express feelings and thoughts to the other character, the Hearer. How the feelings and thoughts are expressed depends on the Speaker's aim in saying so. A character can interact with others to approve, show sympathy, and declare that she wants to help to lighten up the mood with jokes and others. These forms of dialogue can determine the strategy applied, hence can determine the purpose behind the use based on the theory referred to for this article. By diving into dialogue, especially in a different language, one can learn more about the other culture and feels the difference between the two cultures.

According to Hamrakulova (2020), the interpretation of politeness is different from one culture to another. When two different cultures interact, it could result in a new mixed culture. This shows more that language, especially politeness, goes hand in hand with culture. This article will become a point to uncover and study Japanese culture and social values more. This can be a way to analyze the deeper of the novel to understand the story and the character better. All this will be interpreted through the dialogue spoken by the

main character. Therefore, this article aims to answer two problems: the positive politeness strategies used by the main character in Convenience Store Woman and the social and cultural values reflected in the dialogues.

## **2. Method and Theory**

### **2.1 Method**

This article relied on the qualitative research method with the data form in sentences or dialogue. The data source comes from the novel written by Sayaka Murata titled Convenience Store Woman, a translated Japanese novel titled *Konbini Ningen*. Specifically, the data for this article is Keiko's Furukura dialogue as the main character of the novel. The data was collected from the novel with the Documentation and Observation technique. The collection process was helped with an instrument in the form of a table for a more organized process and data list. The collected data was then analyzed with Content Analysis technique to find the answers to the problems and fulfilling the aim of this article and then presented with informal text.

### **2.2 Theory**

#### **2.2.1 Pragmatics**

Using the theory written by Yule (1996) on pragmatics for explanation and acts as the reference while doing the article, Yule wrote that pragmatics study the relationship between the various kind of linguistic form and the people that use it. To weighing in on the explanation regarding pragmatics, the study involves exploring how human beings communicate with others using the strategy to let the Hearer know what the Speaker wants to convey and influences that play a role in deciding which strategy will work well and interpreting what the Speaker is saying. There are two main factors that plays a dominant role, which are the culture and social background where each region has their own standard and variety regarding the culture and social value. The values applied in the society effect how the Speaker thinks and to know which action or what to say is polite and respecting the Hearer.

### 2.2.2 Positive Politeness Strategy

According to Levinson and Brown (1987), positive politeness strategy is redress directed to the addressee's positive face, his perennial desire that his wants (or the actions/acquisition/values resulting from them) should be thought of as desirable. Redress consists in partially satisfying that desire by communicating that one's own wants (or some of them) are in some respects similar to the addressee's wants. It is oriented toward the positive face of Hearer, the positive self-image that he claims for himself. There are fifteen positive politeness strategies, divided to three major categories:

1. Claim Common Ground
  - a. Notice, attend to Hearer (his interests, wants, needs, goods)
  - b. Exaggerate (interest approval and sympathy with Hearer)
  - c. Intensify interest to Hearer
  - d. Use in-group identity markers
  - e. Seek agreement
  - f. Avoid disagreement
  - g. Presuppose or raise or assert common ground
  - h. Joke
2. Convey that Speaker and Hearer are cooperators
  - i. Assert or presuppose Speaker's knowledge of and concern for Hearer's want
  - j. Offer, promise
  - k. Be optimistic
  - l. Include both Speaker and Hearer in the activity
  - m. Give (or ask for) reasons
  - n. Assume or assert reciprocity
3. Fulfill Hearer's want for some X
  - o. Give gift to Hearer

### 2.2.3 Ethnography of Speaking

According to Dell Hymes (1972), he adapted, rearranged and extended his earlier model of a speech event, devoting attention also to the problem of the social locus of description. As reformulated, the framework is coded mnemonically by SPEAKING, thus: Setting, or Scene; Participants or Personnel; Ends (both goals/ purposes and

outcomes); Act Characteristics (both the form and the content of what is said); Key (tone, manner, or spirit in which an act is done); Instrumentalities (channel and code); Norms of Interactions and of Interpretation; Genres (categories or and code); Norms of Interaction and of Interpretation; Genres (categories or types of speech act and speech event). Hymes makes clear that this heuristic set of components is not be viewed as a checklist of discrete elements by emphasizing the need for statements concerning the interrelationships among components.

### 3. Literature Review

Two articles are reviewed for this article. Both articles contributed significantly as a reference in writing this article. The first one is by Ahmad, et al., titled *Cross-Cultural Politeness Perspective of Bapsi Sidhwa's Novel "American Brat"* published in 2020. The article aims to highlight the cultural difference between American and Pakistan through interactions. The article relied on a descriptive qualitative method based on Levinson and Brown's politeness strategy (1987) model in pragmatics. The article established that the Americans would often apply strategy bald-on record representing their power and domination to other groups, while Pakistani often use positive politeness strategy to defend themselves and main self-esteem.

The second article is written by Yuniarti, et al., titled *Positive Politeness Strategy On Catwoman Movie* published in 2020. The article focuses on revealing the strategies applied by the character Patience Phillips and why the character often used certain strategy. The article referred to the theory written by Levinson and Brown (1987) on politeness strategy and Unit of Context created by Dell Hymes (1998). The article relied on the descriptive qualitative research method. It reveals that Patience Phillip often applied the 'be optimistic' strategy and 'include both speaker and hearer in the activity' strategy, 'give (or ask for)' reasons strategy, 'assume or assert reciprocity' strategy, and 'give gifts to Hearer' strategy. Patience Phillips often applied this strategy because he wanted to express the desire to interact with other characters with socially and culturally accepted strategies.

#### 4. Result and Discussion

##### 4.1 Positive Politeness Strategy Used By The Main Character

Data 1 : Notice, attend to H (interests, wants, needs, goods)

Keiko's dialogue: **Good evening. Are you about to start your shift?**

In data 1, Keiko is working in the convenience store, placing a few orders for the customer. Then she notices that the Manager walks into the convenience store. Keiko then greets him with 'good evening.' Not stopping there, she also inquires if he is about to start his shift showing interest to the Manager. This data demonstrates the first strategy based on Levinson and Brown's positive politeness strategy (1987). The speaker notices the Hearer in terms of appearance or activity. In here, Keiko notices what the Manager is going to do. Since they have a working relationship and Keiko wants to come off as friendly, she attends to the Manager by greeting him and asks him about his activity.

Data 2 : Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H)

Keiko's Dialogue: **Really? That must be hard.**

In data 2, Shiraha talks about his thoughts on today's society. He thinks that modern society is still like in Stone Age. According to Shiraha, any minority or different people will be ostracized. The reason why he is still partnerless is that no woman would look at him for being poor. He also talks about his experience of being raped, and the people don't feel bad for it. Here, Keiko wants to raise common ground with Shiraha. Hearing Shiraha shares his thoughts and experiences, she sympathizes by saying this data. Based on Levinson and Brown's positive politeness strategy (1987), data 2 is appropriate to be identified with the second strategy. This strategy is often done through modifiers or intonation. In this data, the word 'Really' works as an intensifier and exaggerates Keiko's sympathy toward Shiraha.

Data 3 : Intensify interest to Hearer

Keiko's dialogue: **My sister has been e-mailing me all day. It's the first time I've ever seen her get so excited about something to do with me.**

Data 3 sets in Keiko's apartment after Shiraha and Keiko decided to be co-operators in solving each other's marriage problem. They decided they would get together to stop people from asking them about partners since they were already in their thirties and still not married yet. Keiko finally tells her sister that she has a partner, and her sister has been interested in her nonstop. Then Keiko shares this experience with Shiraha with this data. In this data, an exaggeration is used to intrigue Shiraha's interest. According to Levinson and Brown (1987), 'intensify interest to Hearer' strategy is done by 'making a good story' to increase the Hearer's interest. In data three, it can be identified with the 'intensify interest to Hearer strategy' because the part of "... I've never seen her get so excited..." is considered a technique exaggerate her sister's excitement.

Data 4 : Use in-group identity markers  
Keiko's dialogue: *Irasshaimasé!*

Data 4 happens when Keiko is about to start her shift in the convenience store. Before starting, she has a briefing with the other co-worker and Mrs. Izumi's supervisor. To end the briefing, Mrs. Izumi says this word and then repeated by Keiko and her co-worker as a warm-up. According to Levinson and Brown (1987), this data can be identified with the in-group identity markers strategy because it can be interpreted as jargon. The fourth strategy is used to convey in-group membership. This identification is supported by Dell Hymes' Speaking Grid (1982) participant. People in this data have the same association toward the word, besides used to greet the customer. It is also used as a warm-up during the briefing. Thus, it can be used to strengthen their solidarity.

Data 5 : Seek agreement  
Keiko's dialogue: **Sure, no problem! The sooner we get someone new the better.**

Before Data 5, the Manager mentioned that they are short on workers and trying many ways to find a new one. The sooner they get someone new, the better. Then the Manager asks Keiko's help to work an extra shift, and Keiko says yes. The Manager thanked her, and then she replied with data five. 'Sure, no problem!' is where she expresses that she is happy to help the convenience store. Then 'the sooner we get someone new, the better' part is Keiko expressing what she thinks to the Manager. According to Levinson and Brown (1987) for the latter data, Keiko is applying the strategy 'seek

agreement' because she repeats what the Manager said previously about the current situation. She is agreeing and raising common ground with the Manager.

Data 6 : Avoid disagreement

Keiko's dialogue: **I guess. Yes I have probably changed.**

Data 6 happens when Keiko is gathering with her friends. Then Yukari points out that Keiko seems different from when they met. Keiko does not want to appear different and show any changes. Hence she says this data in response to Yukari. According to Levinson and Brown (1987), this data applies the 'avoid disagreement' strategy. Keiko hedges her answer to Yukari's statement by using the word 'guess' and 'probably' as modifiers to make her answer vague. She does not want to show a disagreement to her friends.

Data 7 : Presuppose/ raise/ assert common ground

Keiko's dialogue: **If you need the toilet, it's over there. It doesn't flush very well, so make sure you turn the lever all the way.**

Data 7 happens when Shiraha arrives in Keiko's apartment. Keiko notices that Shiraha is restless. Then Keiko says this data to Shiraha. According to Levinson and Brown (1987), this data shows the application of the 'presuppose common ground' strategy. Keiko presupposes that Shiraha is restless because he wants to go to the toilet. She presupposes what Shiraha wants. In reality, Shiraha just stands up and sits down again without explaining why he is restless. She is trying to make Shiraha feel more comfortable.

Data 8 : Assert or presuppose Speaker's knowledge of and concern for H's wants

Keiko's dialogue: **You didn't have to come all the way over here. If you'd call me, I'd have gone to your apartment as usual.**

Data 8 happens when her sister named, Mami, suddenly comes to the apartment. If they want to meet, Keiko always comes to Mami's apartment. Out of surprise, Keiko utters this data. Based on Levinson and Brown (1987), this strategy applies when the Speaker asserts or implies knowledge of the Hearer's wants and willingness to fulfill them. This data shows that Keiko assumes that it is a bother for Mami to come here and wastes her energy and time. The part 'you didn't have to come all the way here' means that Keiko assumes Mami's willingness to come here. She does not want Mami to feel bothered.



Data 9 : Offer, promise  
Keiko's dialogue: **We will!**

In Data 9, Keiko is in a briefing with the Manager before starting the shift. The Manager ends the brief with '... Let's all do our best again today!' Keiko responds with this data. According to Levinson and Brown (1987), this strategy is used to stress cooperation with the Hearer. In this data, Keiko emphasizes her collaboration with the Manager by saying, 'we will!'. In this context, the word 'will' means that she will fulfill what is asked by the Hearer. She wants to fulfill her commitment as the convenience store worker.

Data 10 : Be optimistic  
Keiko's dialogue: **Look, we have to work together to pull it off! Tuan, please, get all of these ready now!**

In data 10, Keiko is busy preparing the advertisement POP to promote today's special to the customer, and they are behind schedule. Keiko rushes to finish everything and asks Tuan for help, but he is busy inquiring about everything she says. Finally, she utters this data as the last request of help to Tuan. According to Levinson and Brown (1987), this strategy happens when the Speaker assumes cooperation from the Hearer based on a mutually shared interest. In part 'Look, we have to work together to pull it off!...' is where Keiko assumes that Tuan also wants to finish putting up the advertisement POP. Subsequently, the part 'Tuan, please, get all of these ready now!' is where Keiko assumes that Tuan will help her without asking if he wants to help. They both are co-worker hence Keiko assumes Tuan will work together with her.

Data 11 : Include both Speaker and the Hearer in the activity  
Keiko's dialogue: **But, it's dead. Let's eat it!**

Data 11 is a flashback to when Keiko is still a kid. She was playing in the playground with the other kids and found a dead bird on the ground. She brought it to her mother and told her to let's cook it for dinner. Her mother is flabbergasted, and Keiko uttered this data to convince her mother further to eat it. According to Levinson and Brown (1987), this strategy can be indicated by 'let's,' an inclusive 'we' word. In this data, the word 'let's' is present and used to convince her mom to eat the dead bird together with her. She wants to do this together with her mother and share what she wants with her.

Data 12 : Give (or ask for) reasons

Keiko's dialogue: **Shiraha, if all you want is a marriage of convenience, then how about getting together with me?**

Data 12 takes place after Keiko hears Shiraha complains about his problems with society. He is still partnerless despite already getting old. He also continues to berate Keiko for being partnerless, too. Seeing that they both have the same problem, Keiko sees an opportunity to help both of them. By co-operating together to get married. Then Keiko proposes her idea with this data. According to Levinson and Brown (1987), this strategy is applied when Speaker gives reasons to the Hearer why Speaker wants what she wants and implies that they can help each other. In part '... then how about getting together with me?' Keiko implies that she can help him, which is '... a marriage of convenience.' She wants to make co-operation with Shiraha.

Data 13 : Assume or assert reciprocity

Keiko's dialogue: **So, Shiraha are you coming to my place? As long as you pay for food, you can stay there.**

Shiraha agrees to Keiko's suggestion to marry her out of convenience. Then Keiko finds out that Shiraha has nowhere to live. Hence Keiko offers him her apartment to live with this data. According to Levinson and Brown (1987), this strategy is indicated when the Speaker claims cooperation by giving reciprocal obligations. The obligation of reciprocal shows in the part where Keiko says '... As long as you pay for food, you can stay there.' Keiko wants to show that they can work together to make they both comfortable.

Data 14 : Give gift to Hearer

Keiko's dialogue: **I can see how stressful that would be.**

Shiraha shares his thoughts on why he does not like to go outside. He says that people like to invade his privacy by asking private questions. Hearing that, Keiko utters this dialogue. According to Levinson and Brown (1987), this strategy is a classic positive politeness action of giving gifts with the output to be liked, admired, cared about, understood, and so on. This data is identified with the 'give gift to Hearer' strategy because Keiko is giving sympathy to Shiraha. She understands what Shiraha feels because she is also like that. She makes Shiraha feel understood.

#### 4.2 Culture In *Convenience Store Woman*

There is one culture that is apparent through Keiko's dialogue. It is the Japanese work culture that is also emphasized by the novel's narration. According to James, et al., (1991), Japanese workers are perceived to be deeply dedicated and committed to their work. They often spend time socializing with their co-worker than their family. They tend to be derived from the satisfaction of work activities related. The culture of Japanese hard-work can be found in several of Keiko's dialogues:

**“... Sixteen years ago, I learned from manager #2 that my pay covers the basic requirement to manage my life so that I’m fit for work. I must get enough sleep before going to work.”**

Page 102 - Paragraph 6

This dialogue shows two strong points regarding the Japanese work culture. The first one is that Keiko stated that she has been working for sixteen years in the same place. Yet, with the years she spent in the convenience store, she never gets a promotion and is still stuck as a part-time worker. Keiko does not mind the stagnant sixteen years because she still gets satisfaction from finishing her job as a part-time worker at the convenience store. She also does her best to fulfill her commitment to the convenience store by ensuring she has enough sleep to be fit tomorrow and be at her best productivity. In other words, Keiko is loyal to where she works, the convenience store.

**“Um. I don’t think I can. I have to be in good physical shape for work the next day, so I’d better get home early.”**

Page 74 – Paragraph 3

In this dialogue, her mother asks Keiko when she can visit her and her husband again. Keiko then reminded that she could not get home during New Year’s Event because she was busy working at the convenience store. This dialogue becomes another proof of the Japanese work culture. They often prefer to spend time with their co-workers working together more than with their family. She chooses her work over her family during what is considered one of the most important events in the calendar. Her number one priority is work and then family.

**“Listening to the voice of the convenience store. The voice of the convenience store won’t stop flowing through me. I was born to hear this voice.”**

Page 161 – Paragraph 2

**“I realize now. More than a person. I’m a convenience store worker. Even if that means I’m abnormal and can’t make a living and drop down dead, I can’t escape that fact. My very cells exist for convenience store.”**

Page 161 – Paragraph 4

These two dialogues prove Keiko's long-lasting and enormous loyalty to her work in the convenience store. She starts feeling like she is born to be one and cannot live without working as a convenience store worker. She does not care about other achievements, her wealth, or what people say about her life. She no longer cares if she cannot blend in with society. Because what matters to her now is that she still works as a convenience store worker, and she will be loyal to her work until the day she dies, as she stated. She and the convenience store are now one and inseparable, the soul of the convenience store is flowing through her body.

Besides the work culture, two social problems are addressed in the novel and shown through Keiko's dialogue. The first one is the labor shortage which is mentioned multiple times. For example, in this dialogue:

**“Really, he left us in the lurch again? I can’t believe he’d do that knowing how short-staffed we are.”**

Page 28 – Paragraph 3

In this dialogue, Sugawara, Mrs. Izumi, and Keiko are talking in the back room of the convenience store. This room is where the worker gets ready before their shift. They are frustrated that the convenience store has had a hard time finding a new worker to fill the shifts. The manager has tried many ways to find a new worker, and he interviewed many people. However, not everyone fits according to the manager’s criteria. As a result, there are times when the manager asks Keiko to work an additional shift, as shown in data 5. Here Keiko stresses to the manager that it is better if they can find a new worker as soon as possible.

According to Couture (2018), the Japanese have faced this problem due to the declining population of young people. This is why the Japanese government decided to pass legislation that allowed more foreign workers in Japan to solve the problem. The number of foreign workers in Japan has more than doubled since 2000. This solution is also

discussed in the novel, where Tuan, one of Keiko's co-workers, is introduced as a foreign student working in the convenience store.

The last social issue that this novel address is the marriage problem. According to Betherford, et al. (2001), over time, Japan's economy has grown. The female position in the working industry also increases, attracting more women to focus on careers rather than getting married. Most single women live with their parents and hence contribute little to the household expenses when earning a high salary. This is a comfortable lifestyle. It contrasts the marriage life where the husband is busy working and not to mention facing her mother-in-law's guidance. Adding to the problem is the rising divorce rate, making marriage look more unattractive. The low rate of marriage is now acknowledged as a problem. At some point, women do not think or consider about marriage, although they still have the pressure from the society to get married and have kids. This problem is addressed as shown in one of Keiko's dialogues:

**“No, no. It's just because I'm not strong. That's all”**

Page 38 – Paragraph 1

This is Keiko's respond to her friends when they start to invade her privacy about her marital status. She knows that she is not weak. She is strong and fit for a woman of her age. She can still work hard as a convenience store worker, yet she uses this excuse when her friends ask why she does not have a husband. Keiko keeps giving many reasons and refuses to find someone to the point that her friends speculate that she may be asexual. In this novel, Keiko never mentions planning her future with a husband and a child in vision. The closest she gets to married is when she proposes a cooperation with Shiraha.

**“Shiraha, if all you want is a marriage of convenience, then how about getting together with me?”**

Page 91 – Paragraph 4

This is the closest point where Keiko wants to get married, unlike the conventional marriage based on feelings and love. She wants to do this based on cooperation and a way to get people to stop asking her about partners. As the story progresses, she realizes that it is not working for her. This is not what she wants. Shiraha wants her to start working at an office, but Keiko is loyal to the convenience store. In the end, she chooses the convenience store and leaves Shiraha behind, who forced her to quit the job to which she has devoted her life to for the last sixteen years.

## 5. Conclusion

This article was done to find out the positive politeness strategies applied by the main character in the novel *Convenience Store Woman* and the cultural and social values reflected in it. The theory created by Levinson and Brown (1987) about positive politeness strategy is used as a reference to explain the data and helped with *The Ethnography of Speaking* by Dell Hymes' (1972). It is established through the analysis that there are fifteen positive politeness strategies, and Keiko uses fourteen strategies. Throughout the story, Keiko never uses the 'joke' strategy as the answer to the first question. Subsequently, answering the second question regarding the culture and social value in the novel. One cultural value addressed in the novel is the Japanese working culture, where they are identified as hard workers and have a high dedication to their workplace. There are also two social issues addressed in the novel. The main character sees through the first problem, which is low-rate marriage. The first problem leads to several domino effects, including the second problem, labor shortage in Japan. It forced Japan to rely more on foreign workers through new legislation.

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