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Politeness Strategies in Teacher-Student WhatsApp Communication

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Abstract

One of the emerging issues of the use of text-messaging over the WhatsApp application, among teachers and students is concerned with students' impoliteness. A body of literature has extensively argued that students are less polite language users when sending texts to their teachers, and the current study sought to examine the politeness strategies used by the two groups. Specifically, it aimed to examine whether or not there is a significant difference between English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teachers and students in the use of politeness strategies in sending text messages to each other. To this end, the study addresses secondary EFL teacher-student WhatsApp communication and presents an analysis of politeness strategies from a total of 200 WhatsApp texts. The analysis of the politeness strategies was based upon on Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness framework. Findings of the study revealed that students employed more politeness strategies than their teachers. With the emphasis on age and social status, Indonesian EFL learners perceived teachers to be of a higher social class where students were required to highly respect them.

Keyword: text message, WhatsApp, politeness strategies, EFL teachers, EFL learners, pragmatic competence

Introduction

Indonesia is one of biggest social media users worldwide with a total of 130 million users or 49% social media penetration of its population ('We are social' & Hootsuite, 2018). Recent statistics by 'We are Social' also highlight that the time spent online by Indonesian people reached three hours and thirty-nine minutes per day. This amount of time includes the use of social media from mobile devices, and with this amount Indonesia is recorded as the third highest-growing social media country at 23%, following Saudi Arabia (32%), and India (31%). Among many social media platforms, the WhatsApp application is counted as one of the preferred platforms for Indonesian people to use (DailySocial, 2017). WhatsApp use penetrates 41% of the Indonesian population with time spent in the application use reaching eleven minutes, with an average 23 application sessions each day (Dogtiev, 2018).

There has been a plethora of using WhatsApp as a social media communication platform in the educational context in Indonesia. In many Indonesian universities, WhatsApp is used to share information about campus activity, discuss various topics as well as research collaboration projects among students, teaching staff and campus administration (e.g. Kurniasih & Riyadhshyah, 2018; Oktaviani & Laturrahmi, 2013). In some secondary schools, the application has functioned to bridge communication between teachers and parents (Mayangsari & Aprianti, 2017; Sari, Zulaiha, & Mulyono, 2019). Despite the benefits offered from utilising WhatsApp for social media communication in educational settings in Indonesia, issues regarding politeness among the interlocutors have emerged within such a digital communication environment. Studies by Oktaviani and Laturrahmi (2013) and Yulia (2016) for example, show that students had little awareness regarding politeness when communicating with their teachers. Students were observed to have

a low level of sociolinguistics competence, resulting their lack of understanding of social distance and power relation with the teachers. This was depicted throughout by the use of slang language that many students had perceived as symbols of egalitarianism, modernity, and expression during the communication process (Oktaviani & Laturrahmi, 2013).

The issues of impoliteness in digital communication as it occurred in the Indonesian education context are also found in many countries: in the Greek education context (e.g. Economidou-Kogetsidis, 2011), Iran (e.g. Farahian & Rezaee, 2012), and German, Saudi Arabian, and Japanese universities (e.g. Danielewicz-Betz, 2013). To address these impoliteness issues, literature has suggested the role of politeness strategies to help speakers achieve particular communication goals (Eshghinejad & Moini, 2016; Holmes & Stubbe, 2015; Spencer-Oatey & Žegarac, 2017). In this paper, politeness strategy is concerned with 'the actions taken by competent speakers in a community in order to attend to the possible social or interpersonal disturbance' (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 312) and this includes the utilisation of polite language (e.g. requesting speech act) in particular communication types in a digital environment. Eshghinejad and Moini (2016) assert that particular norms and conventions may apply in certain cultures and communities and thus require speakers' communication competence to address impoliteness issues.

The current study aimed to investigate the politeness strategies applied by Indonesian EFL secondary teachers and students. Specifically, it examined the use of politeness strategies in WhatsApp text messaging between the teachers and their students in two settings: lower and upper secondary school schools. Two research questions were addressed as follows:

- 1) What are politeness strategies employed by EFL lower and upper secondary school teachers and students in WhatsApp text-messages?
- 2) Is there any difference between EFL lower and upper secondary school teachers' politeness strategies and the students' politeness strategies?

Literature review

Politeness strategies

The current study relies upon the politeness theory proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). They proposed four politeness strategies such as bald on record, positive politeness, negative politeness, and off-record. Bald on-record politeness strategy is perceived as the speaker (S) showing directness and baldness that generally sounds disrespectful and rude. The strategy is often applied to the closest friends and family. There are five sub-strategies that can be applied to allow politeness strategies in communication among interlocutors, such as showing disagreement (criticism), giving suggestion/advice, requesting, warning, and using imperative forms. Some expressions such as “*No one makes your hair stronger*” (showing disagreement or criticism), “*Dress like a goddess and god will flock to you!*” (giving suggestion or advice) and “*Go away!*” (using imperative form) may describe the use of the Bald-on-record politeness strategy.

Positive politeness maintained the interlocutor’s positive face by expressing friendship, carrying out common ground. The positive politeness strategy commonly aims to improve the speaker and interlocutor’s closeness by demonstrating affection, warmth and reciprocity. For example the expression: “*Jim, you’re really good at solving computer problems. I wonder if you could just help me with a little formatting problem I’ve got*” is used to address the H’s interest, wants, needs, and goods. In addition, the expression of “*I know you like marshmallows, so I’ve brought you home a whole box of them, I wonder if I could ask you a favor...*” may be used to assert or presuppose the speaker’s knowledge of and concern for the H’s wants.

Negative politeness strategy on the other hand is oriented toward the interlocutor’s negative face, by establishing carefulness and distance. It is frequently instilling commands of a speaker to the interlocutor. In a communication situation, negative politeness strategy is more preferred to use because it is safer to hearer’s peace and determination rather than the speaker’s expressions of

regard. Brown and Levinson suggest several negative politeness strategies such as being direct, not presuming/ assuming, not coercing H, not to impinge on H, readdressing what H wants. Finally, off-record politeness strategy occurs when the speaker let the interlocutor interpret the meaning of any utterances during the FTA. The utterances can be interpreted in many ways since off-record strategy delivers clues, hints and dubious.

Previous studies

Several studies have been conducted to examine students' politeness strategies in foreign language education settings. Adel, Davoudi, and Ramezanzadeh (2016) conducted research to investigate politeness strategies used by Iranian EFL learners in a class blog. Adopting Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies framework, the study analyzed fourteen English translation students at Payam-e-Noor University in a class blog. The blog was an opportunity for asynchronous interaction in response to their teachers and peers. It included the language used by the learners to interact with their peers and also their instructors. The results showed that learners frequently used positive strategies as signs of a psychologically close relationship, reciprocity and friendship in a group. Thus, the use of politeness strategies while interacting with peers and instructors shortens social distance and makes the learning activity more interesting.

Vinagre (2008) explored the politeness strategies used in collaborative e-mail exchanges among EFL students at Antonio de Nebrija University in Madrid, Spain. She investigated how collaborative e-mail exchanges could reduce or minimise the threat to somebody's negative face by applying the politeness strategies. The application of politeness strategies aimed to minimise the risk of a breakdown in communication due to linguistic or cultural misunderstandings. The findings of this research showed that most of students preferred using positive politeness strategies rather than other models of politeness strategies. It is interesting that the result of the study did not confirm Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory, especially on the

extent to which it issued the concept of social distance. In the study, the students were observed to share their message directly and clearly, although it was less polite. Moreover, the students wanted to establish a close relationship, and friendship with their partners through the collaborative e-mail exchanged.

Eshghinezad and Moini (2016) carried out research in the implementation of politeness strategies used in text-messaging. The study investigated if there was significant difference between male and female EFL students, in their use of positive and negative strategies when sending text messages to their university professor. To this end, a total of three hundred Persian and English written text message were analysed. Findings of the study found positive evidence in that male and female students employed all politeness strategies offered by Brown and Levinson (1987) to maintain politeness to their professor. However, there was no significant difference between the two groups and there was no significant difference between the use of positive and negative strategies in the text messages as well.

Maros and Rosli (2017) evaluated politeness strategies in the Twitter updates of female English Language Studies Malaysian undergraduates. A total of 776 tweet updates were documented and evaluated by using Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory. Students' open-ended questionnaires were also collected to corroborate the analysis result. The findings of the study revealed that the most of participants employed four politeness strategies such as positive politeness strategies, negative politeness strategies, bald on-record, and off-record politeness strategies. However, most of them preferred applying the positive politeness strategy. This study also found that the limited space for tweet updates had been one of the factors that contributed to misfires and misunderstanding of text messages among the students.

The earlier studies above have depicted university students' efforts to maintain politeness in the digital communication environment by applying politeness strategies as proposed by Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory. Including bald on-record, positive politeness, negative politeness, and off record strategy.

Unfortunately, the teachers' choice of politeness strategies when sending messages to the students were not specifically addressed in the previous studies. While the studies have extensively focused on the investigation of politeness strategies in higher education settings, little attention has been paid to addressing issues of teachers' and students' politeness strategies in the secondary school context. The current study thus aimed to address this gap by exploring if there is a significant difference between EFL teachers and students in the use of politeness strategies in sending text messages to each other. The result of this study can contribute to the study of English as a Foreign Language Teaching and Learning, by providing some insight into politeness strategies which are used in Secondary School contexts.

Method

Study design

A mixed method combining two research strands was adopted to address the two research questions. Particularly, the current study employed a two-phase sequential exploratory design (Creswell, 2003; Morse, 2016; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). As suggested by Eshghinejad and Moini (2016), the qualitative method was employed to allow the codification and interpretation of the WhatsApp text messages from the teachers and students; while the counterpart quantitative method was used to facilitate the statistical analysis of the data.

Corpus of the study

The text-messages data were collected from a cohort of 50 lower secondary school EFL students aged between 13 and 14 years old, 50 upper secondary school EFL students aged between 16 and 17 years old, and 10 female teachers aged between 25 and 40. All the English teachers were Indonesian. Prior to the data collection, consents were obtained from the school principals and the participants. When obtaining the consents, the participants were informed that their participation in the current study were

voluntary and their responses (texts) would be kept confidential and anonymous. To maintain the nature of the conversation in WhatsApp and to avoid bias, participants were also told that their participation would not influence their academic score as well as teachers' career at the schools and there were no right and wrong expressions in the texts (see Bryman, 2008; Lin, 2016).

A total of 200 messages were collected and classified into two cohorts of corpus: 100 messages of lower secondary teacher and students (henceforth LS corpus) and 100 messages of upper secondary school teacher and students (henceforth HS corpus). The messages within the two cohort corpuses were Indonesian (N=59) and English (N=141), but the length of the Indonesian and English messages varied. The shortest text was one word and the longest was twenty-one words. Each language cohort in WhatsApp messages was classified into Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness strategies, including bald on-record, positive politeness, negative politeness, and off-record.

Data collection and analysis

The current study focused on the examination of politeness strategies in WhatsApp text messages sent by lower and secondary school EFL students to their teachers and the teachers' responses. The study examined the messages that had already sent by the students and had already been replied to by the teachers to allow for a natural interaction environment. After obtaining consent from teachers, the parents/guardians, and the students themselves to evaluate their messages, the teachers were asked to download and send the collection of messages to the researchers. The text messages were then printed out and classified into Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness strategies. Such a classification was aimed to highlight the types of politeness strategies applied by all student and teacher participants. The politeness strategies by all participants from the cohorts were tallied and the result was presented in percentages. Furthermore, a statistical analysis using the chi-square test was performed to examine if the politeness strategies employed by LS groups (i.e. lower secondary teachers

and students) and HS groups (i.e. upper secondary school teachers and students) were significantly different.

Findings

Results of bald on-record politeness strategy

Bald on-record politeness strategy is concerned with the speakers' use of direct and bald language in communication. While the choice of strategy is aimed at avoiding misunderstanding, hearers often find it disrespectful and rude. In the current study, a descriptive corpus analysis was employed to examine the frequency of Bald on-Record Strategy in lower (LS) and upper (US) secondary school teachers and students, as shown respectively in Table 1 and 2 below:

Table 1: Bald-on record strategy employed by LS teachers and students crosstabulation

		Bald on-Record Politeness Strategy						Total
		Showing Disagreement (criticism)	Giving Suggestion /Advice	Requesting	Warning/Threatening	Using Imperative form	None*	
LS Teachers	Count	2	2	0	4	9	33	50
	%	4.0%	4.0%	0.0%	8.0%	18.0%	66.0%	100.0%
LS Students	Count	0	0	1	0	0	49	50
	%	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	98.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	2	2	1	4	9	82	100
	%	2.0%	2.0%	1.0%	4.0%	9.0%	82.0%	100.0%

*None = the participants chose none of the strategies given in the table.

Table 2: Bald on-record strategy employed by US teachers and students crosstabulation

		Bald on-Record Politeness Strategy					Total
		Giving Suggestion Advice	Requesting	Warning/Threatening	Using Imperative form	none	
US Teachers	Count	4	5	1	8	32	50
	%	8.0%	10.0%	2.0%	16.0%	64.0%	100.0%
US Students	Count	0	1	0	0	49	50
	%	0.0%	20%	0.0%	0.0%	98.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	4	6	1	8	81	100
	%	4.0%	6.0%	1.0%	8.0%	81.0%	100.0%

From the two tables above, it can be seen that LS teachers employed the bald on-record strategy to show disagreement, giving suggestions/advice, warning/threatening, and to use the imperative form. Meanwhile the US teachers adopted the strategy

of making a suggestion, requesting, warning/threatening, and using the imperative form. What is interesting to highlight is LS teachers' use of bald on-record strategy for showing disagreement. LS teachers were observed to use the imperative form more and the request form less to the students. In contrast, US teachers used requests more and the imperative form less. This finding indicates that teachers consider students' age as well as level of education in giving instructions and making requests. The use of imperative forms among LS and US teachers has indicated the imposition of teachers' authority on their students. The following example 1 (Ex.1) shows the use of bald on-record strategy by a LS teacher.

Ex. 1: Learn the exercises and do not forget the vocabulary.

As shown in the Example, LS teacher used Bald on-Record politeness strategy as an imperative form to the receiver baldly. The teacher's use of the imperative form was to emphasise something important and required the students to complete a particular task. In the above case, LS teachers wanted the students to learn the exercise in the textbook and reminded them always to remember about vocabulary. Other example is reflected on US teachers' use of warning as in example 2 below:

Ex. 2: If you do not come, you will be left behind.

In example 2, the teacher warned the student not to be lazy and attend the class. The teacher pointed out the risk of not attending the class. The warning was made clearly and was appropriately understood by the students.

It is interesting to note that both LS and US teachers and students used direct, clear and unambiguous text although the findings revealed that LS and US students employed less bald on-record strategy than their teachers. As shown in Table 1 and Table 2, LS students and US students use bald on-record strategy only in the context of requesting.

To address the question if the teachers; and students' bald on-record strategy was significantly different, a statistical analysis

was performed by utilising Chi-Square tests and the findings are shown in Tables 3 and 4 respectively below:

Table 3: Comparison between LS teachers' and students' bald-on strategy

	Showing Disagreement	Giving Suggestion	Warning or Threatening	Using Imperative Form
Chi-Square	84.640 ^a	84.640 ^a	84.640 ^a	67.240 ^a
Df	1	1	1	1
Sig.	.000	.000	.000	.000

Table 4: Comparison between US teachers' and students' bald-on strategy

	Giving Suggestion	Requesting	Warning or Threatening	Using Imperative Form
Chi-Square	84.640 ^a	77.40 ^a	96.040 ^a	70.560 ^a
Df	1	1	1	1
Asymp. Sig.	.000	.000	.000	.000

The calculation of LS teachers' and students' sub-categories i.e. disagreement, giving suggestions, and warning/threatening were shown to be similar ($x^2 = 84,640$, $p < .05$). The other sub-strategy i.e. using the imperative form was shown at $x^2 = 67.240$ with $p < .05$. These findings indicated that there was significant difference between LS teachers and the students in the bald on-record strategy. Similarly, statistical calculation on bald on-record strategy was shown significant at all aspects i.e. giving suggestion ($x^2 = 84,640$, $p = .000$; $p < .05$), requesting $x^2 = 77,440$, $p = .000$; $p < .05$), warning or threatening ($x^2 = 96,640$, $p = .000$; $p < .05$) and using the imperative form ($x^2 = 70,560$, $p = .000$; $p < .05$).

Results of a positive politeness strategy

As discussed earlier, positive politeness maintained the interlocutor's positive face by expressing friendship, claiming common ground, and assuring them that FTA is not considered as a negative evaluation (Maros & Rosli, 2017). The choice of such a strategy particularly is to improve the speaker's and interlocutor's closeness by demonstrating affection, warmth and reciprocity. The result of corpus analysis of LS and US teachers' and students'

positive politeness strategy is presented in the following Table 5 and Table 6:

Table 5: Positive strategy employed by LS teachers and students crosstabulation

		Positive Politeness Strategy				Total
		Claiming Common Ground	Convey that S and H are cooperators	Fulfilling H's want for some X	None	
LS Teachers	Count	15	6	2	27	50
	%	30,00%	12,00%	4,00%	54,00%	100,00%
LS Students	Count	22	9	1	18	50
	%	44,00%	18,00%	2,00%	36,00%	100,00%
	Count	37	15	3	45	100
	%	37,00%	15,00%	3,00%	45,00%	100,00%

Table 6: Positive strategy employed by HS teachers and students crosstabulation

		Positive Politeness Strategy				Total
		Claiming Common Ground	Convey that S and H are cooperators	Fulfilling H's want for some X	None	
HS Teachers	Count	12	2	1	35	50
	%	24,00%	4,00%	2,00%	70,00%	100,00%
HS Students	Count	15	5	2	28	50
	%	30,00%	10,00%	4,00%	56,00%	100,00%
	Count	27	7	3	63	100
	%	27,00%	7,00%	3,00%	63,00%	100,00%

From the above tables, three sub-strategies of positive politeness strategy employed by LS and US teachers and students in WhatsApp communication, such as claiming common ground, conveying that speakers and hearers are cooperators, and are fulfilling the hearer's (H) want for something. Claiming common ground includes noticing, attending to receivers' interests, wants, needs, and goods; exaggerating, intensifying interest to receivers, using group language or dialect, seeking agreement, avoiding disagreement, presupposing common ground, and joking. Through the performing and claiming common ground sub-strategy, both the senders and the receivers belong to the same set of people who share specific wants, goals, and values. This sub-strategy can be performed in several ways, such as noticing/attending to H, exaggerating, intensifying interest to H, using in-group identity

markers, seeking agreement, avoiding disagreement, presupposing common ground, and joking. The example of this strategy employed by the LS teachers or students would be shown below.

Ex.3: Yes, that's right. There will be training for drama. It will be performed at the farewell party.

(agreement)

Example 3 contained positive politeness strategy. The LS teachers performed this sub-strategy by expressing agreement. The text-message occurred when the teacher agreed and shared the same idea with the previous message sent by the students.

Chi-square test was employed to examine if there was significant difference between LS and US teachers and students. The findings are presented in Table 7 and Table 8 below:

Table 7: Comparison between LS teachers' and students' positive politeness strategy

	Claiming Common Ground	Conveying that S and H are Cooperators	Fulfilling H's want for some X
Chi-Square	19.360 ^a	49.000 ^a	84.640 ^a
Df	1	1	1
Asymp. Sig.	.000	.000	.000

Table 8: Comparison between US teachers' and students' positive politeness strategy

	Claiming Common Ground	Conveying that S and H are Cooperators	Fulfilling H's want for some X
Chi-Square	19.360 ^a	67.240 ^a	88.360 ^a
Df	1	1	1
Asymp. Sig.	.000	.000	.000

Table 7 above has shown that there was significant difference between LS teachers' and students use of sub-positive politeness strategies, such as claiming common ground ($\chi^2 = 19.360$, $p = .000$; $p < .05$), conveying that speakers (S) and hearers (H) are cooperators ($\chi^2 = 49.000$, $p = .000$; $p < .05$) and fulfilling H's want for some X sub-strategy ($\chi^2 = 84.640$, $p = .000$; $p < .05$). This indicates that LS students used claiming common ground and conveying that S and H are cooperators strategies more than the

teachers. LS teachers were shown to employ fulfilling H's want for some X strategy more than the LS students. Similar results are also obtained from chi-square test analysis of US teachers and students. As in Table 8, the difference of the use of sub-positive politeness strategies between US teachers and students remained significant (claiming common ground, $\chi^2 = 19.360$, $p = .000$; $p < .05$; conveying that S and H are cooperators, $\chi^2 = 67.240$, $p = .000$; $p < .05$; and fulfilling H's want for some X sub-strategy, $\chi^2 = 88.360$, $p = .000$; $p < .05$). US teachers employed more of claiming a common ground strategy but less conveying that S and H are cooperators and fulfilling H's want for some X strategy than the students.

Results of negative politeness strategy

Negative politeness strategy is associated with the interlocutor's negative face by establishing carefulness and distance. It frequently involves speakers' command expression to the interlocutor. Table 9 and Table 10 present negative strategy employed by LS teachers and students and US teachers and students respectively.

Table 9: Negative strategy employed by LS teachers and students crosstabulation

		Negative Politeness Strategy					Total
		Be Indirect	Not presuming/ assuming	Not coercing	Communicate S's want to not impinge on H	None	
LS Teachers	Count	0	7	0	3	40	50
	%	0.00%	14.00%	0.00%	6.00%	80.00%	100.0%
LS Students	Count	1	18	3	6	22	50
	%	2.00%	36.00%	6.00%	12.00%	44.00%	100.0%
Total	Count	1	25	3	9	62	100
	%	1.00%	25.00%	3.00%	9.00%	62.00%	100.0%

Table 10: Negative strategy employed by US teachers and students crosstabulation

		Negative Politeness Strategy					Total
		Not presuming/assuming	Not coercing	Communicate S's want to not impinge on H	Redressing other wants of H's	None	
US Teachers	Count	9	0	4	3	34	50
	%	18.00%	0.00%	8.00%	6.00%	68.00%	100.0%
US Students	Count	14	1	8	0	27	50
	%	28.00%	2.00%	16.00%	0.00%	54.00%	100.0%
Total	Count	23	1	12	3	61	100
	%	23.00%	1.00%	12.00%	3.00%	61.00%	100.0%

The two tables above have shown that LS and US students employed more sub-negative politeness strategies than their teachers. LS and US students used all sub-negative politeness strategies with the most frequently used being not presuming/assuming. On the other hand, LS and US teachers employed two sub-categories of negative strategy, i.e. not presuming/assuming and communicate S's want to not impinge on H. It is interesting that both teachers and students used the not presuming strategy more frequently than other sub-strategies. Percentage of not presuming/assuming strategy of HS teachers (18%) remains higher than the LS teachers (14%) while for students, LS students' not presuming/assuming strategy (36%) was observed to be higher than US students (28%). The text below showed the example of LS students' practice of not presuming/assuming sub-strategy.

Ex. 4: *Assalamu'alaikum ma'am, is there any remedial for the final score which is under 55? (questioning)*

Example 4 above illustrates the implementation of not presuming/assuming sub-strategy. The writer applied the sub-strategy through questioning in the case that students asked his/her teacher whether there was any remedial or not.

Statistical analysis was performed to examine the difference between LS and US teachers' sub-strategies and LS and US students' sub-strategies and the finding is presented in Table 11 and Table 12 below:

Table 11: Comparison between LS teachers' and students' negative politeness strategy

	Being Indirect	Not Presuming or Assuming	Not Coercing
Chi-Square	96.040 ^a	12.960 ^a	88.360 ^a
Df	1	1	1
Asymp. Sig.	.000	.000	.000

Table 12: Comparison between US teachers' and students' negative politeness strategy

	Not Presuming or Assuming	Not Coercing	Communicating S's want to Not Impinge on H	Redressing Other Wants of H's
Chi-Square	64.000 ^a	96.040 ^a	57.760 ^a	88.360 ^a
Df	1	1	1	1
Asymp. Sig.	.000	.000	.000	.000

As shown in Table 11 above, there was significant difference between LS teachers and students' practice of negative politeness strategy, such as being direct sub-strategy ($\chi^2 = 96,040$ $p = .000$; $p < .05$), not presuming or assuming ($\chi^2 = 12,960$, $p = .000$; $p < .05$) and not coercing sub-strategy ($\chi^2 = 88,360$, $p = .000$; $p < .05$). This indicates that LS students employed more negative politeness strategy than the teachers. The statistical analysis for the US teachers and students suggests a similar result. US teachers used not presuming or assuming, not coercing, and communicating S's want to not impinge on H strategies ($p < .05$) less than the students. Students were shown to have used redressing other wants of H's strategy less than the teachers.

Results of 'off-record' politeness strategy

Off-record politeness strategy reflects a condition where the speaker allows the interlocutor to interpret the meaning of any utterances during the FTA. Within such a condition, the utterances can be interpreted in various ways from clues, hints and dubious provided by the speakers. Result from the corpus analysis is presented in Table 13 below:

Table 13: Off-record strategy employed by US teachers and students crosstabulation

		Off Record Politeness Strategy			Total
		Invite Conversational Implicature	Be vague or ambiguous	none	
US Teachers	Count	0	0	50	50
	%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
US Students	Count	1	3	46	50
	%	2.00%	6.00%	92.00%	100.00%
Total	Count	1	3	96	100
	%	1.00%	3.00%	96.00%	100.00%

The analysis of teacher and student WhatsApp texts found that off-record politeness was employed only by US students. Although the percentage is relatively small, US students used the invite conversational implicature strategy and the be vague or ambiguous strategy to promote politeness when sending WhatsApp texts to their teachers. Example 5 below presents US students' practice of invite conversational implicature strategy.

Ex 5: Assalamu'alaikum ma'am, Ma'am, I went to school because you said that the deadline for paying school payment was on 12th. However, there was nobody at school, it was really quiet. (presuppose)

In example 14, the writer applied the first sub-strategy through the presupposing way. In this case, the writer delivered his/her idea related to the deadline of paying school payment. In fact, the deadline was not on the 12th of the month.

The difference between teachers and students' politeness strategies

A statistical analysis was performed to examine if there was any difference between teachers' and students' politeness strategy regardless of their level of education i.e. LS and US. Table 14 below, presents the result.

Table 14: Comparison between teachers' and students' politeness strategy

	Value	Df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	52.602 ^a	9	.000
Likelihood Ratio	58.487	9	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	11.294	1	.001
N of Valid Cases	200		

The statistical analysis as shown above resulted that the person chi-square value was 52,603 with $p < .05$. This finding indicated that there was a significant difference between teachers' and students' politeness strategy in text-messaging through *WhatsApp* regardless of their level of education.

Discussion

EFL secondary school teachers' politeness strategies

Findings of statistical analysis have shown that teachers' three politeness strategies when sending *WhatsApp* text-messages include bald on-record, positive politeness strategies, and negative politeness strategies. Politeness is the most frequently-used strategy applied by the teachers. Using this strategy, teachers attempted to address social distance with the students, which is also suggested by earlier studies by Adel et al. (2016) and Vinagre (2008). In the case of the current study, social distance was addressed by teachers' use of friendly expressions reflected in three-sub categories such as claiming common ground, conveying that S and H are in cooperation, and fulfilling H's want for some X. In addition, the findings revealed that bald on-record politeness strategy was the second most frequently-used strategy employed by the teachers. Within 'faceless' communication as in the digital environment, the teachers considered that direct and bald messages would help avoid misunderstanding. US teachers employed four bald on-record sub-politeness categories, i.e. showing disagreement (criticism), giving suggestions/advice, warning and threatening, and using the imperative form. On the other hand, LS teachers used giving suggestions/advice, warning and threatening, requesting, and also using the imperative form.

Finally, findings of the study highlighted the use of negative politeness strategy in teachers' WhatsApp text-messages. It was shown that LS teachers used two sub-politeness strategies, i.e. not presuming/assuming and communicating S's want to not impinge on H. US teachers were observed to use one more strategy besides what have been used by the LS teachers, i.e. redressing other wants of hearers.

EFL secondary school students' politeness strategies

Findings of the current study have suggested that LS students employed different politeness strategies compared to US students. While US students employed all politeness strategies, LS students preferred to use three politeness strategies, such as negative politeness strategies, positive politeness strategies and finally, the bald on-record politeness strategy. Interestingly, the most frequent strategies employed by US students and LS were similar, that is, negative politeness strategy followed by positive politeness strategy and bald on-record strategy. This finding corresponds to an earlier study by Eshghinejad and Moini (2016) that suggests EFL learners' preference for using negative politeness strategy when sending text messages to their teachers. It is interesting that while LS and HS teachers attempted to minimise social distance between themselves and the students, students, on the other hand, preferred to keep such a distance. Students' high respect towards their teachers, as well as the age difference that are applied in Indonesian culture might be seen as critical factors that led to students' practice of negative politeness strategy. Indonesian EFL learners have the perception that the teacher is in a high position, and accordingly this affected their choice of negative politeness strategy. This indicates that the role of one's social status, rank and position might influence interlocutor's politeness strategy in addition to ethnicity and religion (see further in Culpeper, Haugh, & Kádár, 2017; Eshghinejad & Moini, 2016).

The differences between teachers' and students' politeness strategies

Findings from the statistical analysis have shown that there is a significant difference between teachers' and students' use of politeness strategies in WhatsApp conversations. Teachers were observed to practise three politeness strategies i.e. bald on-record, positive politeness strategies, and negative politeness strategies, while students were shown to apply all politeness strategies. The corpus analysis of teachers' and students' text messages have suggested teachers' dominance in the conversation. Teachers' practice of bald on-record strategy, with an emphasis on the use of imperative form, has indicated that teachers attempted to impose their authority on the students. This finding is in line with the previous study by Eshghinejad & Moini (2016) that addresses several issues of gender, age, background, knowledge of speakers and hearers in the practices of politeness strategies.

Conclusion

The current study has examined politeness strategies applied by Indonesian EFL secondary teachers and students in WhatsApp text-messages. Based upon Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory, the analysis of the text-message corpus revealed that students employed more politeness strategies than their teachers. With the emphasis on age and social status, Indonesian EFL learners perceived teachers to be of a higher social class. Due to this position, students were required to highly respect teachers. Students' high respect towards their teachers and the age gap between the teachers had impacted students' preference of negative politeness. While teachers attempted to minimize their social form with the students, students felt otherwise. Findings of statistical analysis also revealed significant differences between teachers' and students' politeness strategies.

Findings of the current study have implications for both teachers and students, particularly regarding the importance of pragmatic competence in written communication within a digital environment. The findings help both teachers and students to

choose appropriate language in various situations in digital communication contexts in order to minimise the misunderstanding, to minimise FTA, and to create effective communication between senders and receivers or between speaker and hearer. It is important to acknowledge the limitations of the current study. First, the study analysed both Indonesian and English texts at a time. In language learning classroom contexts, pragmatic competence of foreign language learners may vary which thus would affect their L1 and L2 pragmatic choices to express their thoughts during communication in WhatsApp (Flores-Salgado & Castineira-Benitez, 2018; Yule, 2016). Many studies also have revealed the correlation between L2 proficiency and pragmatic transfer (e.g. Maeshiba, Kasper, & Ross, 1996; Taguchi, 2011). Further study should address this issue by comparing teachers' and students' use of first and foreign language in WhatsApp communication so that cultural implication and differences in politeness strategies between the two languages can be drawn. In addition, the current study has been concerned with a small sample size and restricted to a certain communication environment in the secondary school context. Further research studying politeness strategies in digital communication environments should include more participants from broader contexts.

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