

**ENTERTAINING MALE CLIENTS IN AN INDONESIAN
KARAOKE CAFÉ:
A STUDY OF ACCOMMODATION STRATEGIES**

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ABSTRACT

Accommodation strategies are important in service based workplace where the choice of appropriate language plays a significant role for both the service output and customers' preference or satisfaction. Linguistic research on accommodation strategies in workplace discourse mostly focussed on the importance of accommodative communication styles as an integral part of giving good service to the customers. However, the nature of some services might sometimes compel employees to perform non-accommodative communication styles to the customers. In a gendered workplace where service employees often have to deal with their customers' misbehaviour such as asking for sexual service or coercing them to drink liquor; non-accommodative communications become evident.

This study provides analysis of both accommodative and non-accommodative communication styles used by female Guest Relations Officers (GROs – a euphemism term for paid female companions) in an Indonesian Karaoke Café. Approximately 16 hours recordings of interactions between 5 GROs and their 16 clients during 7 Karaoke Sessions were analysed. The latest work of the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) by Giles and Gasiorek (2012) was used as the main framework of this study. Analysis of code-choice, address terms, politeness, refusals and other linguistic aspects are also included within the analysis of CAT. This study also provides a critical discussion of how 'doing gender' is related to the notion of communicative accommodation.

It was found that both accommodation and non-accommodation strategies occur during the participants' interaction. Different and asymmetrical code exchanges (Bahasa Indonesia and Javanese) among the participants which indicate divergence strategies were sometimes perceived as accommodative by all the participants. Furthermore, crude

forms of Javanese were often used as swear words by the service providers while speaking to their clients. This communication styles were perceived as accommodative instead of rapport threatening. Non-accommodative communication styles occur mostly within discourse management and interpersonal control strategies of CAT where the service providers do not attend to or challenge the clients' dominance and power.

This study also shows that the participants' communication styles were influenced by the nature of workplace, the requirements of doing gender well in the workplace, as well as the way in which the service providers balance the needs of the stakeholder.

Keywords: Communication accommodation theory, accommodation strategies, non-accommodation strategies, gendered workplace, doing gender

ABSTRAK

Strategi akomodasi adalah penting di tempat kerja yang menyediakan perkhidmatan dimana penggunaan bahasa yang sesuai memainkan peranan penting untuk hasil perkhidmatan ataupun kepuasan pelanggan. Sebahagian besar kajian linguistik mengenai strategi akomodasi dalam wacana tempat kerja tertumpu kepada kepentingan gaya bahasa yang bersifat akomodatif sebagai bahagian penting untuk memberikan layanan baik kepada pelanggan. Namun begitu, sifat tertentu sesetengah tempat kerja menyebabkan pembekal perkhidmatan menggunakan gaya bahasa yang tidak akomodatif kepada pelanggan. Sebagai contoh, mereka harus menghadapi perilaku buruk pelanggan seperti permintaan layanan seksual atau memaksa meminum minuman keras. Dalam kes seperti ini, komunikasi yang bersifat tidak akomodatif daripada pembekal perkhidmatan tidak dapat dielakkan.

Oleh sebab itu, kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji gaya komunikasi yang bersifat akomodatif dan tidak akomodatif yang digunakan oleh Pegawai Perkhidmatan Pelanggan (GRO) di sebuah tempat karaoke di Indonesia. Kajian ini menganalisis sekitar 16 jam rakaman audio daripada perbualan antara 5 GRO dan 16 pelanggan semasa 7 sesi karaoke. Kajian terbaru mengenai Teori Penyesuaian Komunikasi (CAT) oleh Giles dan Gasiorek (2012) digunakan sebagai rangka kajian ini. Ia juga meliputi analisis pemilihan kod, kata sapaan, kesopanan, penolakan, dan aspek linguistik yang lain. Tambahan lagi, kajian ini juga menyediakan pembincangan kritis mengenai bagaimana konsep '*doing gender*' dan gaya komunikasi saling berkaitan.

Hasil kajian mendapati bahawa kedua-dua strategi akomodatif dan bukan akomodatif berlaku semasa interaksi peserta dan persepsi mereka terhadap kedua-dua strategi adalah subjektif. Pertukaran kod yang berbeza dan asimetri (Bahasa Indonesia dan Jawa) oleh peserta yang menunjukkan strategi *divergence* kadangkala dianggap

sebagai akomodatif oleh semua peserta. Tambahan pula, perkataan kasar dalam Bahasa Jawa yang sering digunakan sebagai sumpah seranah telah digunakan oleh pembekal perkhidmatan kepada pelanggan mereka. Gaya komunikasi ini dianggap sebagai strategi akomodatif dan bukannya sebagai *rapport threatening*. Gaya komunikasi bukan akomodatif kebanyakannya berlaku di dalam kategori *discourse management* dan *interpersonal control* yang mana pembekal perkhidmatan mengelak atau mencabar dominasi dan kuasa pelanggan.

Kajian ini juga menunjukkan bahawa gaya komunikasi peserta dipengaruhi oleh sifat tertentu tempat kerja, keperluan '*doing gender well*' di tempat kerja serta cara pembekal perkhidmatan mengimbangi keperluan pihak-pihak yang berkepentingan.

Keywords: Teori Penyesuaian Komunikasi, strategi akomodasi, strategie non-akomodasi, tempat kerja berasaskan gender, *doing gender*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BI	: Bahasa Indonesia
KC	: Karaoke Café (the research site)
LC(s)	: Ladies Club (female service providers)
M	: Manager of the research site
MC(s)	: Male Client(s)
NJ	: Ngoko Javanese
OP	: Operator (karaoke operators)
R	: Researcher

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

Service work typically requires interaction between service providers and their customers. Such interactions are commonly done via face-to-face or telecommunication devices such as telephone, email and others. In order to achieve their work goals and to attain a 'competitive advantage', service providers usually communicate using specific language styles (Czerniawska, 1998 in Cameron, 2000, p. 324). In some work places where people not only sell their products but also provide services to their customers, communication skill becomes a valuable skill used to entice the customers.

Sparks (1994) found that the communication styles and the competence level of service providers can have an impact on their customers' behaviour. She did an experiment involving 40 male and 56 female students who attended a front office management course at an Australian university and audio-recorded their role-play. The actors (one female and one male) perform a role-play as reservationists making a hotel booking. All the actors performed their roles based on the same script but different communication styles were used (p. 44):

- Convergence or accommodative reservationist style: used customer's name, sought customer's preferences, and responded to information used by the customer
- Maintenance style: customer's name is not mentioned and a standard dialogue is used
- Highly competent: confident, use of positive words e.g. "certainly", "definitely", and faster speech rate

- Moderately competent: the same verbal content as for the previous condition, but spoken in a slower, more hesitating manner
- Low competence: some pauses, use of doubtful phrases, e.g. “I think” and a slower speech rate manner.

In addition to those variables, the gender of the “reservationists” was also examined. The students were then asked to place themselves as the customer and rate the audio-tapes. Although this study cannot be used to make generalisation, the results suggest that customer services’ communication style influences the performance ratings of service providers in a service encounter. The convergent style used by the reservationist tended to get higher ratings from the participants. The study also reveals that convergent strategies become more important whenever the reservationist performed low competence. The result shows that female students tend to give higher scores than male students. It might be caused by the female expectations, that the service is not important or they have fewer experiences than the male subjects. Women’s sensitivity and awareness of other people’s feelings might influence their evaluation on the reservationists (pp. 39-48).

Other study conducted by Cameron (2000) on call centre institutions found that features such as smile, pitch, volume, acknowledgement, minimal responses play important roles for call centre service. Sparks and Callan (1992) also underline the value of communication style, particularly convergence strategies, in a service encounter. Those studies clearly show that accommodative communication styles are important in the hospitality industry.

Service providers in the hospitality industry such as reservationists and call centre operators as mentioned in the studies above usually have to follow certain rules of communication which may limit their interaction with their customers and make it

more restricted to transactional talk. However, the communication between customers and employees could be different in terms of style, content and tone based on the nature of the workplace and its organisational settings. Some workplaces require close contact that expects service providers to enter into the personal space of their clients, sometimes physically. For example, hairdressers and driving instructors need to be close to their clients in order to provide their service (McCharty, 2000).

Additionally, gender also plays a significant role in determining what customers expect as good service (Hall, 1993) and may affect the communication styles in the workplace. Gendered and sexualised workplaces mostly organise the interactions between employees and customers in such a way that sexually objectifies the employees. Typically, wearing revealing and sexy uniforms is a normal occurrence in a gendered organisation (LaPointe, 1986 in Hall, 1993, p. 456). For example, many waitresses in restaurants wear short skirt and tight uniforms. Another example is the appearance of female Guest Relation Officers (GROs – also known as paid female companions) who often wear full make up and suggestive clothing to accentuate their sexuality. These typical characteristics of gendered organisation may trigger problematic interactions as they can increase the risk of sexual harassment and other kinds of misbehaviour by the customers.

Research on gendered organisation conducted by (Hall, 1993, p.464) found that female workers in low-prestige restaurants tend to ‘flirt, talk, and smile’ more with their male customers. Flirting is accepted as part of their interaction with male customers whereby they joke around; tell racist, dirty and sexist jokes together. This might be one of their communicative accommodation strategies in which they converge to the customers’ speech style or attune to the customers’ conversational needs in order to be more likeable and to create a ‘friendly atmosphere’. However, it often increases the possibility of sexual objectification of service workers. In many circumstances, service

providers often have to accept subordination from customers when they do personal service work (Mars & Nicod, 1984 in Hall, 1993, p. 456).

Another example of problems occurring in gendered workplaces can be found in Guerrier's and Adib's (2000) study which discusses the customers' harassment toward hotel employees. They explained that harassment is basically the misuse of power, and hotel employees often subordinate themselves to the power of the harassing guest just as what their managers required them to do, e.g. guests asking for companionship or sexual services. One of the employees said that she normally respond to this politely by saying, for example "I am really tired", "well I'm going out tonight" or "I've got an early shift tomorrow" instead of "get lost" (p. 697).

Customers' misbehaviour and subordination toward service providers as shown in Hall's and Guerrier's & Adib's study above could be triggered by several factors. Study on aggression and violent behaviour conducted by Yagil (2008) explicates several antecedents of customers' misbehaviour ranging from organisational, managerial and interpersonal level of workplace. Within the organisational and managerial level, she explained that some organisations often arrange the interaction and service roles in a particular way to give customers the belief that they are in control of the relationship with the employees. As a result, the power gap often increases between customers and employees. In addition, some organisations also structure the service roles and the work environment in a sexualised manner by, for example, hiring employees based on their attractiveness. The belief that good service is conceptualised as consistency of friendliness, subservience and flirting, often requires the employees to exhibit their sexual availability as part of their job which could increase the possibility of customers' misbehaviour. Other than that, there are many enabling and legitimising factors such as the low status of service providers and their dependency on the customers (mostly financial dependency). The norms of informality and ideology of accommodation could

also be problematic. Although both can enhance the attractiveness of the service, informal and accommodative interaction conducted in an environment which lack organisational structures can easily blur the boundary between work and social interaction. Informality and accommodation also enable customers to behave more freely, but restrict service providers to protect themselves. All in all, service providers are required to be liked by the customers by any means necessary. Consequently they could end up being the victim of their customers' misbehaviour in order to satisfy them (Yagil, 2008 pp. 144-146).

Many linguistic researches on accommodation strategies in the workplace focus on the importance of accommodative communication styles as an integral part of giving good service to the customers (e.g. Callahan, 2009; Sparks, 1994; Sparks & Callan, 1992). In fact, the nature of gendered workplace sometimes compels employees to perform non-accommodative communication styles toward their customers. Unfortunately, studies which highlight interactions in gendered and vulnerable work places are mostly based on managerial or social psychological point of view and do not provide enough linguistic explanations. For example, Guerrier's and Adib's (2000) research which clearly show the occurrence of non-accommodative communication styles of hotel employees did not explain the findings linguistically since they focused on managerial aspect. Therefore, this study attempts to focus more on the linguistic aspects of communications occur in a gendered workplace.

One of the highlights of this study is to investigate how the participants deal with dilemma in which they have to give the best service to the clients while on the other hand protect themselves from their customers' misbehaviour (for example request for sexual service). This research also aims to contribute to the growing literature of the manifestation of (non)accommodation strategies and the concept doing gender in a gendered organisation. This research was conducted in a karaoke-café (henceforth KC)

place in Semarang Regency, Central Java Province, Indonesia. Most of the service providers in this KC are females, whereas male workers usually do security or technical work. Sexual objectification of female workers is inevitable since the customers are commonly male. Preliminary observations at the research site suggest that close contact between clients and service providers is very obvious and small talks are often found during their interactions.

1.2. Research Objectives and Questions

This research attempts to provide an insight into the nature of accommodation and non-accommodation as well as doing gender. Among others, this research aims to i) contribute to the literature of accommodation and non-accommodation at the workplace and the concept of doing gender and ii) provide an insight into the lives of female karaoke workers in Central Java and the site of engagement practices. To achieve the objectives of the research, three research questions are asked in this study:

- i. How do female employees adjust their communication style while interacting with their male clients?

This research question which is answered in Chapter 4 aims to reveal various kinds of accommodation and non-accommodation strategies used by female employees to achieve specific objectives by examining the participants' conversation obtained from recordings and field notes. In order to provide appropriate answers to this question, examination of speech acts, face management, code-switching and language registers of the interlocutors are included in the analysis of (non)accommodation strategies.

- ii. Why do the female employees perform certain strategies and how do the clients perceive and evaluate such strategies?

This question aims to examine the perception and evaluation of both employees and clients toward each other's communications styles. Focus is given mainly to the clients' perceptions of the female employees' communication styles. Data from both transcripts and semi-structured interview are analysed to provide answers for this question. This research question is answered in Chapter 5.

- iii. How does 'doing gender' contribute to the notion of accommodation strategies?

This final question provides a critical discussion of how 'doing gender' is related to the notion of communicative accommodation by relating the data findings to relevant theories and concepts. This question is also addressed in Chapter 5.

1.3. Research Site

The study takes place in a small tourism area in the Semarang Regency of Central Java, Indonesia that was first opened in late 2010. It has 12 karaoke rooms (approximately 5 x 6 meters each), a mini bar, and a restaurant. The cost of using a karaoke room is Rp. 50.000 perhour, and Rp. 60.000 perhour for the services of a GRO, also known as 'Ladies Club' (henceforth LC). It means, customers should pay for Rp. 110.000/hour if they are accompanied by one LC, Rp. 170.000/hour by two LCs, and so on. The KC has the most expensive service package compared to other places in the same area. However, the survey done by the *paguyuban* (a local organisation that deals with all the issues regarding entertainment places and facilities in the area), shows that this place is rated as the best karaoke cafe in the area based on the number of its clientele and its facilities.

While the place is spacious, airconditioned, and comfortable; the technology is simplistic. The customers cannot directly choose and to play any songs as there is no remote control or a touchscreen LCD interface for the clients. Clients need to inform the operators using the microphones provided in the room of their playlist of choice. They can also place their food and drink orders with the operators.

Even though it is located in a tourism hub, all of the male clients are locals whereas the female workers come from different parts of Indonesia. The owner provides free proper accommodation to the female workers inside the workplace. Twelve LCs live in the hostel, while the rest live in a boarding house outside of the research site. LCs are prohibited from providing commercial sex services and they are not allowed to go out with any male client or bring any male client and/or male friends to the hostel. Any LC who breaks the regulation will be fired. Most interactions between LCs and male clients are done inside the karaoke room while some are in the gazebo. The map and pictures of the research site and participants' interactions are provided in the Appendix A.

1.4. Activities at the Research Site

This research site opens daily at 2 p.m. and closes at 1 a.m. It closes for 7 days during the first week of the fasting month and 7 days during Eid. The LCs prepare work before 2 p.m. on regular days. They sign the attendance list and wait for their potential clients in the LCs' waiting room. The room has glass windows which enable clients to view and select them from the outside. This is a reason the LCs' waiting room is also known as the 'Aquarium' or 'LCs' Showroom'. Usually the clients will go there to select the LC before entering the karaoke room. Alternatively, the clients can go to the karaoke room directly and ask the operators to select LCs for them or just rent a karaoke room

without being accompanied by an LC. All interaction between the LCs and clients are done inside the karaoke room.

As mentioned in the previous section, the operators are always involved in most of the transactions between the LCs and the clients. They also have the responsibility as the ‘time keeper’ of the Karaoke Session whereby they put running text on the video to inform the clients when their Karaoke Session is about to end which usually followed by a question about whether they want to continue or close the session. LCs usually act as the ‘moderator’ between the clients and the operators. When the clients decide to close the session, the operators often give them time a bonus by playing two bonus songs before their time is over. Interactions among LCs and clients usually end after the Karaoke Session ends. However, when they already have or gradually increase familiarity and closer relationship, some clients ask the LCs to accompany them in the restaurant or gazebo after the karaoke.

Unlike formal institutions which have some sort of fix (and often written) rules which may govern the interactions among their members, e.g. standing orders in parliament meeting (Yoong, 2010), the KC does not have specific and written Standard Operating System (SOP). In order to work in this KC, some LCs only need to ask the owner and most of them can work directly without any specific requirements, trainings, or contract. Explanation about the employees’ job description, obligations and rights are delivered orally concerning their working hours, structure of organisation, dress code and operationalisation of business (e.g. how the employee will get the salary). Even though their job is mainly to accompany and entertain the clients, there are no specific rules about what they may or may not say to clients or how they should communicate with them. This is probably because the interactions among the LCs and clients are mostly informal. In addition, many LCs often offer pseudo-intimacy to their clients to

be more likeable. It obscures the border of their relationship, which they may confuse as clients-employee, friends, or even lovers.

1.5. The Research Participants

As mentioned earlier on, the female workers in this research site are addressed as LC, acronyms of ‘Ladies Club’ in Bahasa Indonesia. This term is translated from Bahasa Indonesia, *wanita yang bekerja di klub* or ‘women who work in a club’. While it may appear agrammatical in English, this is how the women and clients address them. From the information of the ex-manager, it is more respectful than PK (*Pemandu Karaoke* or Karaoke Guide), PL (*Pemandu Lagu* or Song Guide), *cewek* (girl) as the other three have negative connotation as PSK (*Pekerja Seks Komersial*, Indonesian euphemism for prostitute). By using LC instead of PK, PL, *cewek*, or freelance; they constructed their identity as a professional worker who do not offer sex as part of their service.

They do not have a stable income as their salary is based on the total hours of accompanying the customers. Therefore, getting more customers and accompanying them longer will benefit them. Some of the LCs have their own regular clients who always request for them when they come. In this sense, maintaining good relationship with the customers inside and outside the workplace is very important for the LCs to get more clients, which translates into more income.

There are about 30 LCs with different social backgrounds and they work full or part time. However, only 5 LCs agreed to be interviewed and to take part in this research. Their details are as follows:

Table 1.1 Female Participants

CODE	AGE	MARITAL STATUS	CHILD (REN)	MAIN LANGUAGE	OTHER LANGUAGE(S)
LC01	Mid 30s	Divorced	2	Bahasa Indonesia	Javanese
LC02	29	Divorced	1	Javanese	Bahasa Indonesia English
LC03	33	Divorced	1	Javanese	Bahasa Indonesia English French
LC04	22	Divorcing	1	Javanese	Bahasa Indonesia
LC05	early 30s	Single	1 (foster)	Javanese	Bahasa Indonesia

When asked, the LCs said that they engage in this line of work in order to support their children, siblings, relatives or parents financially. They have kept their job and workplace a secret from their families. Four out of five LCs were engaged in the data collection. LC04 participated in the pre-interview but did not participate in any Karaoke Sessions and post-interviews.

Male clients are known as MC in this research. The following table shows basic information of the MCs.

Table 1.2 The Male Participants

CODE	AGE	MARITAL STATUS	CHILD (REN)	MAIN LANGUAGE	OTHER LANGUAGE(S)
MC01	24	Single	-	Javanese	Indonesian
MC02	24	Single	-	Javanese	Indonesian
MC03	25	Single	-	Javanese	Indonesian
MC04	27	Married	1	Javanese	Indonesian
MC05	31	Divorced	1	Javanese	Indonesian
MC06	26	Married	-	Javanese	Indonesian
MC07	28	Married	1	Javanese	Indonesian
MC08	28	Single	-	Javanese	Indonesian
MC09	23	Single	-	Javanese	Indonesian
MC10	26	Single	-	Javanese	Indonesian
MC11	26	Single	-	Javanese	Indonesian
MC12	20	Single	-	Javanese	Indonesian
MC13	18	Single	-	Javanese	Indonesian
MC14	20	Single	-	Javanese	Indonesian
MC15	22	Single	-	Javanese	Indonesian

MC03 had visited the site twice before this research is conducted. Hence, he knows most of the male workers (included the manager and the owner) and some of the LCs. MC09 and MC10 visited the site three times during the data collection of this research (see Appendix C, Karaoke Sessions 4, 5, and 7). The rest of the participants' first visit was the day when the data collection was done. The other male clients live in different regions and never visited the research site before. MC05 is MC04's employee whereas MC06, MC07, MC08 are the acquaintances of the researcher's friend. They rented a villa near the research site to celebrate a success at their job and were willing participants in this research.

There are many KCs, hotels, motels, villas, and females working as GRO or prostitute around the research area. It is known that many GROs in most of the KCs also provide sexual services outside the KCs. Based on the interviews and observations, none of the clients used 'LC' when referring to the female employees in this research site. They use either PK, PL, *Frilen* or *cewek*. Some of them also expected sexual services from the LCs.

The next chapter discusses some literature relevant to this study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses a number of relevant theoretical and conceptual ideas which are related to this study. The following subsections provide the following key discussion:

- Gender, doing gender and gendered organisations in service work (Section 2.1).
- Literature related to linguistics analysis (Section 2.2)

2.2. Gender, Doing Gender, Gendered Organisation and Workplace Discourse

In order to provide theoretical insight into the type of work performed by LCs, this section will first discuss these important preliminaries: service work, gender, doing gender in a gendered organisation and workplace discourse. Service work is a kind of business where people commonly sell some intangible product. In a sense, the LC's role and duties are parallel to the aforementioned characteristics of service work.

Frenkel (2005, pp. 357-358) uses three criteria to define service work. First, service work requires an interactive contact, usually in a form of front-line activity whereby the workers need to give service, assistance or advice to the customers. They can also take care of some individuals or be a representative of some organisations. Second, in terms of knowledge, creativity and skills; service work is usually ranked lower as it does not need complex skills from the workers. Third, service work is usually paid work that contributes to the informal or informal economy.

The nature and characteristics of service works can be better explained based on the principles of equity and social exchange (Zeithaml *et al.*, 1988 in Sparks, 1994, p. 214). Three aspects are usually considered by the customers in judging quality services.

The first is 'responsiveness' which includes the willingness of the workers to help the customers. Second is 'assurance' where the customers can judge the service given by the workers based on their knowledge and courtesy, trust, and confidence. Thirdly, 'empathy' where workers show caring attitudes and provide individualised attention to the customers.

The relationship between workers and customers plays a significant role since the customer is an important and central figure in service work. In other words, the success of a service business rests on the ability of its employee in dealing with their interpersonal relations and communications with the customers. Service satisfaction of the customers can be influenced by the way the employees communicate with them in at least two ways: the ability of the employee to i) communicate effectively and ii) build a relationship with the customers (Sparks, 1994, p. 215). The customers' satisfaction may also benefit employees. For example, in the context of the current research, LCs who are able to communicate well and build good rapport with their clients will get repeated business from the same client.

As mentioned earlier, LCs are defined by their gender. There are no male karaoke workers because there is no demand for them as the majority of clients who solicit LCs are males. As such, LCs then are expected to 'do gender'. At this juncture, it would be most apt to dwell into the conceptual ideas of gender and doing gender in a gendered service work.

Gender is defined as categories which are social constructions based on sex, whereas sex is biological (Coates, 2004, p. 3). The term 'man' and 'woman' can refer to definitions based on biological differences, whereas the terms 'masculine' and 'feminine' are always about what we are expected as gender characteristics (Goddard & Patterson, 2000, p. 1). Doing gender means creating differences which are not natural, essential, or biological between girls and boys and women and men. This means that

doing gender is a conscious or unconscious action of creating differences or categorisation between two gender categories, male and female, which are not merely based on natural or biological differences such as hormones, vocal cords, skins, etc. Rather, it refers to the categorisation of the sex-role socialisation where people are not only competent being 'men' or 'women', but also by being competent females or males (West & Zimmerman, 1987, pp. 139-141).

Certain service work considers gender and doing gender as an important element apart from language use. Acker (1990, p. 146) states that an organisation can be categorised as gendered when it uses the differences between male and female or masculine and feminine as the basic categories in classifying benefit and drawback, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity. An example of gendered organisation can be found in Hall's (1993) research on middle class restaurants. She found that restaurants do gender through gendering process, i.e. employing workers and assigning them in such a way which displays gender otherness. The research site of the current study is clearly organised based on gender stereotypes in which all the technical work such as operator and security, as well as managerial position are occupied by male. Female employees work as cleaners, cooks and entertainers (LC).

Since the data of this research are based on workplace discourse, it is important to clarify the terms and characteristics of 'workplace discourse'. Both 'workplace discourse' and 'institutional discourse' are often used interchangeably. They cover interactions which occur in all occupational settings. Drew and Heritage's (1992) definition of 'institutional talk' as 'task-related talk' which involves 'at least one participant who represents a formal organisation' can also be adapted here to define workplace discourse (as cited in Koester, 2010, p. 5).

As described in the previous section, this research only focuses on the participants' interactions inside the research site when they engage in their business. Private interactions between LCs and their regular clients outside the context of workplace such as their private telephone calls are not included in this study. Since the most noticeable feature of workplace discourse is transactional or task-oriented talk, it is important to discuss the conceptual ideas of transactional talk and its differences with relational talk.

The most important feature, which distinguishes 'institutional talk' from ordinary conversations, is 'goal orientation' in which one or more participants aim to achieve goal, task and identity during the communication. The second feature is the 'constraints of allowable contribution' which means that people engage in a workplace discourse usually pay more attention on what it is considered proper to say or write in such setting. Transactional and relational talks were traditionally seen as two separate talks which serves different functions. Malinowski (1972) states that phatic communion is used in an unrestricted and purposeless social intercourse. However, more current studies reveal that relational talk cannot be neglected in workplace discourse (Koester, 2010, p. 97).

Even though 'transactional talk' is obvious in workplace discourse; people who work together are not merely engaged in a transactional or work related matter. In close-contact service encounters, there are higher opportunities for clients and service providers to engage in relational talk more frequently. They might share some information about their families, hobbies or gossips and they often build their relationships through 'relational-oriented' talk. For instance, McCarthy's (2000) research on small talk in the workplace states that only less than 10% of conversations between hairdressers and their customers were task-oriented. Similar to McCarthy's research, observations which were conducted in the research site of this study suggest

that LCs and clients engage in relational talk more frequently during Karaoke Sessions. Small talk can help service providers (LCs) and their clients build good relationships with each other. LCs who can communicate well often build good relationships with their clients and become more favourable. This in turn will benefit them as it would increase their regular clients.

Previous researches suggest that spatial setting, such as chairs arrangement in the hairdresser's salon can affect the interactions of the participants. In this study, the spatial setting of the research site (see Appendix A) is indeed a factor that influences the interaction among the participants. For instance, the big and long sofa which only has two armrests on the edge enables the participants to sit very close side by side without any barrier. Besides, the environment such as the loud music around the site sometimes forced the participants to speak louder and closer to each other. This increases the tendencies for more physical contact. This typical environment and interaction provide the possibility of sexualisation of LCs or sexual exploitation without any act of doing sex.

2.3. Linguistic Analysis

Several theories and concepts relevant to the analysis of this research are discussed in the following subsections:

- Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)
- Rapport management
- Javanese communication etiquette
- Speech acts
- Code-switching

- Humour and gender in interaction

2.3.1. Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)

Giles first introduced the Accommodation Theory in 1973. He initially labelled it as the Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) because it was focused on speech variables such as accents. His work was a response against Labov's (1966) famous sociolinguistic study of linguistic variations used by shop assistants in different shopping malls around New York City. While Labov suggested that the speakers' choice of prestigious and non-prestigious speech style is determined by their social class position as well as the formality and informality of the speaking context, Giles argued that interpersonal dimension of language use is also equally important.

According to Giles, the speaker's choice of styles in Labov's study could be the result of 'interpersonal accommodation' process. This means that the language choices of the interviewees (shop assistants) were not merely determined by their social class and formality of the context but also probably because they were 'accommodating' the interviewer linguistically. In other words, speech modification could be viewed not only as determined by the social context but also as a speaker's dynamic and subjective response of the addressee (Ylänné, 2008, pp. 165-166).

This theory has been revised several times and it has been moving in a more interdisciplinary direction. Hence, it has been relabelled as the Communication Accommodation Theory, or CAT for short (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991, p. 7). Nonetheless, the primary notion remains: people use language to negotiate social distance between themselves and their interacting partners through the use some strategic behaviours (Shepard, Giles, & Le Poire, 2001, p. 34). CAT is based on the assumption that communication 'mediates and maintains interpersonal and intergroup relationships' (Gallois & Giles, 1998 in Giles & Gasiorek, 2012, p. 4).

In the latest study on CAT, Giles and Gasiorek (2012) includes a formal and elaborated definition of communication as part of the theory as well as more detail conception of communication (non)accommodation. Thus, instead of treating communication simply as a process of transferring information, they suggest that it should be also considered as a “joint effort in inferential problem solving by its interactants” (Berger, 2001 in Giles & Gasiorek, 2012, p. 9). CAT considers communication as both a means of exchanging information and negotiating social category membership (Giles & Ogay, 2006 in Giles & Gasiorek, 2012, p. 11), which means that the basic function of communication is to achieve some form of shared understanding and mutual believes, particularly because people may have different perspectives, past experiences, and expectations. Misunderstanding or miscommunication can occur when shared understanding is not achieved at the content level. People have to make inferences about what others are thinking based on the verbal and nonverbal signals that they send to each other in order to develop a better shared understanding of content and socio cultural expectations (Levinson, 2006; Scholer, 2005 in Giles & Gasiorek, 2012, pp. 10-11).

Speakers normally adjust their communicative behaviours based on their evaluations of two basic criteria: i) interlocutors’ communicative characteristics in context and ii) the desire to establish and maintain positive personal and social identity (Galois *et al.* 2005 in Giles & Gasiorek, 2012, p. 4). Each speaker evaluates and makes attributions about the encounter and the other speaker. Labels such as impoliteness, faux pas, and social deviance as mentioned beforehand (which are categorised as non-accommodative behaviours) are the outcome of those attributions or evaluations of the interlocutors’ communicative experience.

Accommodation is an important part of communication since it involves an inference process and evaluation of the interlocutors’ communicative behaviours. There

are two functions of accommodation: *affective function* and *cognitive function*. Affective function essentially shows that accommodation allows people to manage their social distance and related identity because they deal with the emotional state. Within this function, a number of more specific social effects of accommodation such as identifying or appearing similar to others, maintaining face, maintaining relationship, and maintaining control have been put forward. On the other hand, cognitive functions deal with the cognition aspect that looks at the extent to which speakers are understood and how discourse is directed and managed (Gallois *et al.*, 2005 in Giles & Gasiorek, 2012, pp. 4-5).

There are numerous *adjustment (or conversational) strategies* that can be implemented in order to fulfil the functions of accommodation i.e. approximation, interpretability, discourse management, and interpersonal control, and they are all realised through a number of different behavioural manifestations. Jones *et al.* (1999) provide a useful comprehensive coding system for both verbal and nonverbal behaviours of accommodation, which can be applied to define the behavioural parameter of each accommodation strategies. The way in which the behaviour or combinations of behaviours are carried out is essential to helping assign the behaviours to certain communication strategies (pp. 134-138).

The following list shows four adjustment strategies as well as how Jones and his colleagues codify certain behaviours for each strategy and set them as the parameters of accommodation: (Giles *et al.*, 1991, p. 7, Shepard *et al.*, 2001, p. 35, Giles & Gasiorek, 2012, pp. 5-6, Street, 1991, pp. 131-156; Jones *et al.*, 1999, pp. 139-141):

i. Approximation strategies

Approximation strategies refer to the adjustment of *verbal and nonverbal behaviours* which are done by the speakers in order to be more similar or different from their conversational partners. It concerns on the participants' responses of other's productive performance as it actually is, as it is perceived, or as it is stereotyped. Approximation strategies include *convergence, divergence, maintenance* and *complementary* strategies.

Convergence is defined as 'a strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviours in terms of a wide range of linguistic/prosodic/ non-verbal features' (Giles, *et al.*, 1991, p. 7). This strategy usually occurs when speakers try to win approval, build rapport, communicate effectively or establish the same group or social identity. Not surprising, convergence is usually perceived positively because it stimulates smooth communicative exchanges (Giles *et al.*, 1987; Natale 1975; Street & Giles 1982 in Street, 1991, pp. 131-156).

Divergence can be said as the opposite of convergence as it occurs when individuals emphasise differences in speech and non-verbal behaviours between themselves and others in order to show distinctiveness from interlocutors. For example, when speaking to an interlocutor who is using non-formal style and slang terms, a speaker may demonstrate a divergent response (e.g. by speaking in a more formal style and emphasising normal or formal terms rather than slang) if he/she wants to dissociate from the partners, show his/her disapproval, change the nature of the interaction, or to urge the partner to adopt a more serious and formal style.

Maintenance refers to the absence of accommodative adjustments whereby individuals maintaining their 'default' or original way of

communicating, despite accommodative attempts of the interaction partner (no attempt to either converge or diverge). For example, Indonesian speakers may maintain their own distinct dialect when speaking to Malaysian interlocutors and do not attempt to converge or diverge. They do this to maintain their own social group identity, and this does not compromise intelligibility.

In some interactions, difference role, power and social status of the participants are very salient, such as interaction between doctors and patients, parents and children, or interviewers and interviewees. Convergence and divergence may or may not be the most appropriate strategies in these kinds of interactions since dissimilar speech patterns are expected. Hence, people may “opt to maintain their communicative dissimilarity”.

When the speakers emphasise the values of sociolinguistic differences based on different power, status, or roles they occupied, it is considered as complementarity strategies. For example, when a lawyer interviews his/her clients, he/she may ask questions and interrupt the clients to understand more about the case. Even though the clients may feel anxious about it, they may maintain these communication characteristics throughout the entire communication event (Giles *et al.* 1987; Street 1981, 1991 in Anzaldúa, 2012 p. 80). Complementarity can be perceived positively when all the interactants mutually expect and prefer to maintain the communicative differences. Thus, interactions carried out in complementary style are typically stable and the exchange may be maintained throughout the interaction. In contrast, the interlocutors may evaluate the speaker’s complementarity strategy as unfavourable if they wish that the interaction was carried out by other pattern of accommodation, such as convergence (Coupland *et al.*, 1988; Patterson 1983 in Street, 1991, pp. 135-136). Since this research examines the ways LCs interact

with their clients, this research would not give much consideration to the complementarity strategy because the complementarity looks at the ways every interlocutors (in this case, both LCs and MCs) interact.

Divergence, on the other hand, occurs when an interactant adapts a type of behaviour opposite to that of a partner. While complementarity can be stable throughout the interaction, communicative divergence creates an unstable exchange that can terminate the interaction, cause unfavourable impressions of the speakers which can result in changes of the interlocutors' behaviour (Giles *et al.*, 1987; Patterson 1983 in Street, 1991, pp. 135-136). In this research, communication behaviour, linguistic manifestation and social appropriateness are considered to be manifestations of approximation strategies.

ii. Interpretability strategies

This strategy focuses upon the ability of the interlocutors to comprehend the language performance of the speakers. Interactants who undertake such strategies may adjust the way they deliver information as well as the complexity and comprehensibility of their talk in order to be more understood by their interlocutors (Shepard *et al.*, 2001, p.36, Yläne, 2008, p. 173). For example, in order to be understood by others, an interactant may increase the clarity and explicitness of their talk by altering their speech rate, simplifying the complexity of their utterances, adjusting the volume of their talk and repeating their utterance (Giles & Gasiorek, 2012, pp. 5-6).

According to Jones *et al.* (1999, p. 140), this strategy can be assessed by looking for instances where the speaker adapted his/her communication style to facilitate the interlocutors' understanding and to choose topics about which interlocutors would have a shared mutual knowledge in. If the participants

slowed down their speech and increased their response latency, frequency of long and short pauses (but not converging or diverging from their partner), they are attuning the interpretability of the utterances. They may also talk about topics which their partner would know and be interested. In addition, they maybe asked questions to check their understanding or provided extra information when responding to a question.

iii. Discourse management strategies

This strategy focuses on how the speakers attune to the conversational needs of the interactants and how they guide the conversation in specific ways. There are three subcategories of discourse management strategies: field, tenor, and mode. 'Field' refers to the ideational content of the talk (such as topic selection); 'tenor' focuses on the management of interpersonal position and face; and 'mode' relates to the procedures used for structuring talk, such as patterns of turn allocation (Jones, *et al.*, 1999, p. 25).

This strategy can be realised through the adjustment of conversational moves such as topic selection and sharing, face maintenance, backchanneling, and turn management. Jones *et al.* (1999) stated that when their research participants shared the management of topic changes, decisions about the topic discussed, and topic development, they were labelled as accommodating. In addition, the instances of a balance between turns in which participants gave and asked for information or opinions were also one of the parameters of accommodation (p. 141). In this study, emphasis is given on field and tenor. Topics selections and rapport management are explained in more detail rather than the structure of talk itself (mode).

iv. Interpersonal control strategies

This strategy allows the interactants to address the social dynamics in an encounter. For example, speakers can address relative power or status differentials by assuming a leadership style in their interaction with interlocutor. In order to assess this strategy, Jones *et al.* (1999, p. 141) investigate the roles of the participants and behaviours associated with dominance or control occurs during the interaction. This strategy can also be realised through interruption, self-disclosure (Giles & Gasiorek, 2012, p. 6), or the use of address forms (Shepard, *et al.*, 2001, p. 36).

It is important not to view all the strategies as exclusively separated because they can work together in any interaction (Hamilton, 1991 in Jones, *et al.*, 1999, p. 126). Sometimes interactants may have multiple goals during an interaction (e.g. be friendly yet maintain authority). Interactants can variously adjust their behaviour: they may display convergence among body positions, speech rate, and facial expressions yet maintain complementarity among talk durations, frequency of interruptions, topic initiation and touch (Street, 1991).

Most of the early works on CAT were mainly focused on *approximation strategies* as CAT is essentially based on the Similarity Attraction Theory (Byrne, 1974), which shows that the more similar one's communication style is to another, the higher possibility of interpersonal attraction and approval he/she will get. However, in order to work with discourse data, it is important to identify accommodation which goes beyond approximation (Yläne, 2008, p. 171). This is because accommodative talk not only occurs when the participants share any obvious speech characteristics. Rather, it occurs when the participants can achieve 'a high degree of fit between their typically different, but potentially tunable, behaviours' (Coupland *et al.*, 1988, p. 28).

According to Giles and Coupland (Giles, *et al.*, 1991, p. 89) approximation is “either not the salient criterion or is even highly inappropriate”.

Similarity and differences in speech features alone cannot clearly determine the social relation of the interactants as well as the result of their interaction. Social norms, context, and many other factors may influence the interlocutors’ perception of accommodation and non-accommodation. Among bilingual Javanese Indonesians, for example, the exchange of Javanese speech levels (both symmetrical and asymmetrical) as well as code-switching between Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia (henceforth, BI) can show the dynamic social relations of the speakers. Symmetrical exchange of certain speech levels which clearly shows speech similarity, e.g. *Ngoko-Ngoko* may in fact be evaluated negatively as non-accommodative behaviour (e.g. impolite) if the speakers neglect the social status and relationship of their fellow interlocutors. In some cases, different communication styles are more acceptable (e.g. complementarity). However, if a speaker uses complementarity strategies all the time during interaction (e.g. asymmetrical exchange of *Krama-Ngoko* to show respect and politeness, formal style, and less expressive), whereas his/her interlocutor wish to establish friendliness and eliminate social distance among them, the interaction may also be evaluated negatively as being non-accommodative.

Thus, the analysis of approximations strategies is a little more obscure and problematic as (non)accommodation is complex. To explain the social values of language choice, it is best to see the exchanges of Javanese speech levels as well as BI (or any other language) in broader terms of accommodation and non-accommodation instead of just convergence and divergence. Additionally, subjectivity of participants’ evaluation of certain strategies is also important to explain the data. The following figure illustrates how the terms and concepts of CAT are all related and how they can contribute to the theoretical framework of analysis:

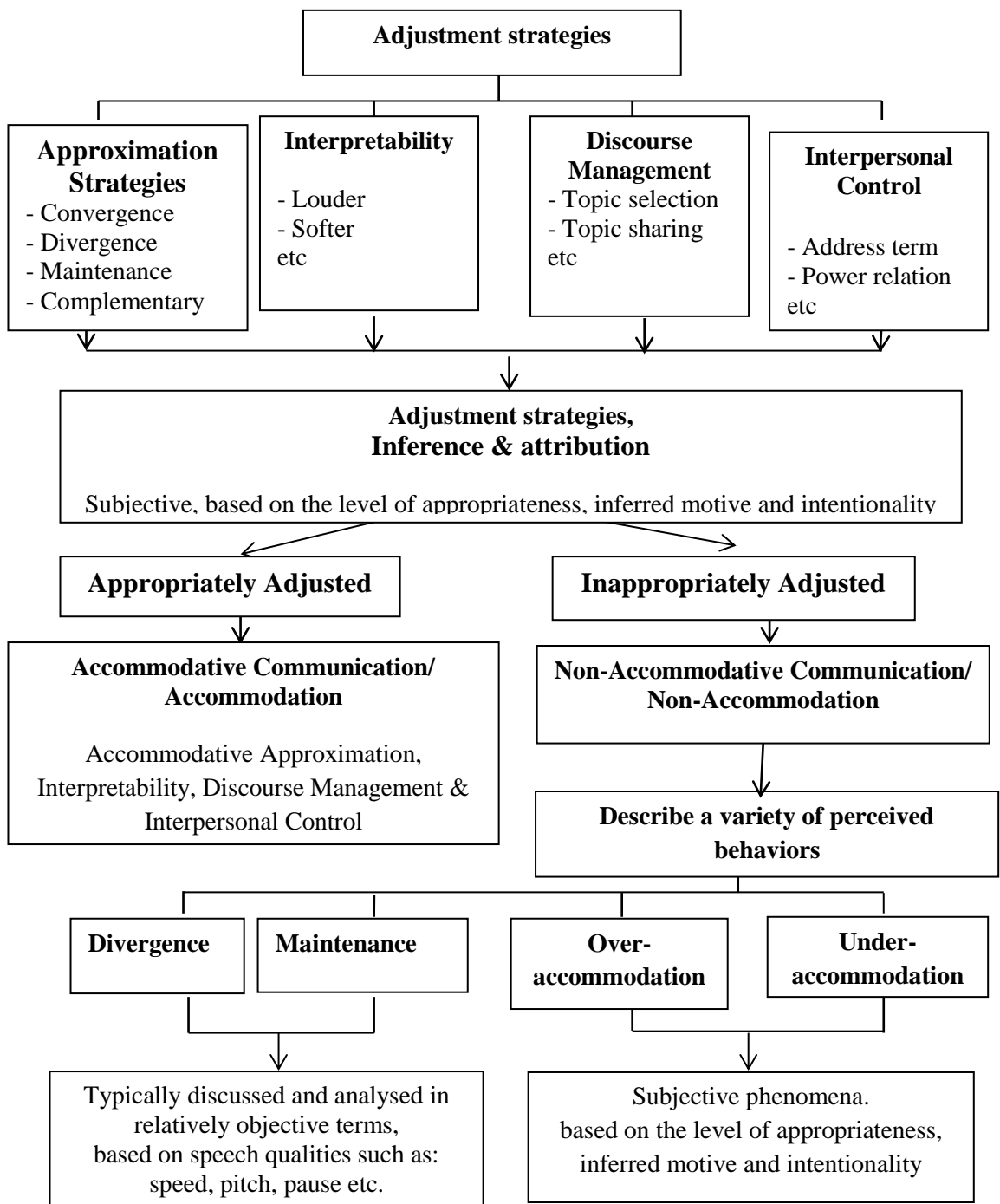


Figure 2.1 Communication Accommodation & Non-Accommodation Model

Adopted from Giles and Gasiorek (2012a & 2012b)

Accommodation is a general term which subsumes adjustment strategies such as approximation, for example. Moreover, there are terms such as *over-accommodation*, *under-accommodation* and *over-convergence* (Ylänné, 2008, pp. 171-173).

While the CAT often views actions and outcomes dichotomically (accommodation versus non accommodation), Giles and Gasiorek (2012, pp. 3-6) argue that non-accommodation can be described as a variety of perceived behaviours: divergence, maintenance, over-accommodation and under-accommodation.

Over-accommodation is a form of miscommunication wherein a speaker perceived as being overly attuned to his/her sociolinguistics behaviours by other participants. In other words, the other participants judge his/her communicative adjustments exceed the necessary level given for a successful interaction in a particular interaction (Giles & Gasiorek, 2012, p. 32).

Under-accommodation on the other hand is defined as miscommunication wherein a speaker is perceived to be insufficiently (or not at all) adjusted to his/her speech relative to the level needed or desired by interactants (Giles & Gasiorek, 2012; Coupland *et al.*, 1988).

The significant distinction between the four types of non-accommodation outlined above is the subjectivity. Divergence and maintenance are typically discussed and analysed in relatively objective terms by using objective variables like speech rate, pause length and pitch. In contrast, over- and under-accommodation are inherently subjective since they depend on the recipients' perception and evaluation of behaviour, not the objective qualities of the behaviour itself. Gasiorek and Giles' (2012) study which focus on under- and over-accommodation states that intentionality and motive play significant role in understanding non-accommodation. Intentionality and motive are defined as follows:

“Intentionality refers to whether an act is seen as purposeful (i.e., intentional, as opposed to unintentional) and the term motive refer to the content, and by extension valence, of perceived intentions when behaviour is seen as purposeful” (Gasiorek & Giles, 2012, p. 312).

Speaker's motives and intentionality perceived by interlocutors influence the evaluation of non-accommodative behaviour and affect the participants' interpersonal relation (Giles & Gasiorek, 2012, p. 14). The more familiar we are with someone, the more likely we are to explain his/her behaviour in terms of purposes, needs, and other mediating factors. For example, when a stranger uses taboo words, we might think that he/she is rude and impolite. However, if he/she is our close friend, we might instead explain that his/her taboo words are intended as joke or even unintentionally used that taboo words because we are essentially seeing things through our friend's eyes. Generally, non-accommodative behaviours are evaluated more positively when they are perceived as justifiably unintentional or when they are positively motivated (Gasiorek & Giles, 2012, pp. 314-315). Regardless of the interactants' perceptions of intent, patterns of non-accommodation may be perceived positively by third party audiences sharing an in-group identity with the speaker. The following figure shows how inferred motive affect participants' evaluation of non-accommodation behaviour:

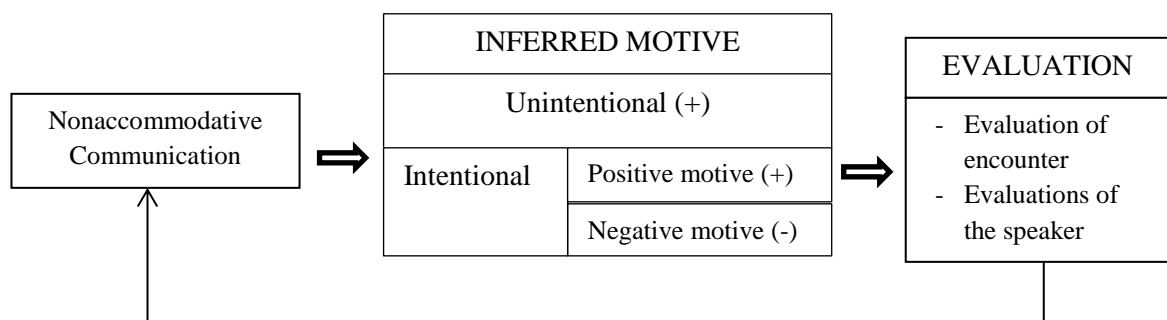


Figure 2.2 Model of inferred motive and predictive motive of non-accommodation (Gasiorek & Giles, 2012 p. 319)

Giles and Gasiorek (2012) emphasise the subjectivity of under- and over-accommodation. They mentioned that speech which is objectively divergent in terms of qualities such as speed or pitch can be experienced as both distancing (i.e. under-accommodating) and accommodative depending on the conversation circumstances,

(Giles & Gasiorek, 2012, p. 8). This explains how convergence, divergence and complementarity can be examined from a social relation point of view. For example, when someone of a higher status encounters a subordinate who speaks in a formal and non-expressive style to show respect and different power (complementarity), he/she may exhibit different communication styles. For example, by smiling, joking, showing more relax posture, self-disclosure and using more colloquial style to encourage his/her subordinate to be more relax and less formal. This kind of maintenance can be viewed as accommodative by the interlocutor and evaluated positively if he/she labelled the speaker as being friendly, nice and not arrogant superordinate.

Accommodative maintenance in the above example is relatively different with complementarity. The superordinate speaker in the above example may maintain different speech styles by using non-formal language, less animated and non-expressive style, slow speed and deep tone. When both parties (the superordinate and subordinate) mutually maintain these different communicative styles, it can be said that they maintain (accommodative) complementarity styles. In some cases, both parties can take advantage of this communication style, particularly when they think that their communication becomes more effective by maintenance (other example: communication between lawyers and their clients).

Subjectivity influences the recipients' evaluation of certain communication styles and their interlocutors. Since the recipients make evaluations, the speaker's actual motive or intentions cannot always determine whether certain behaviour ought to be categorised as accommodative or non-accommodative. Rather, it is the participants' perception of the speaker's motive that matters. Speakers who intend to adjust their speech appropriately may be perceived as non-accommodative which can make the interaction problematic. Thus, accommodation and non-accommodation are ultimately

social attributions and not merely based on objective behaviours or communicative features (Giles & Gasiorek, 2012, pp. 8-9).

Furthermore, they did not clearly define and set the criteria for what they believe to be ‘appropriate’ behaviour. Different interlocutors in an interaction might have different perceptions of ‘appropriate adjustment’ depending on the context and communication norms of their interaction. Even though the coding system of behaviours outlined by Jones *et al.* (1991) as mentioned before is helpful to see the ‘measurement’ of accommodation strategies, the results of their study which is mainly based in an academic context, meaning this may or may not be similar to the result of this (or other) study. This is due to the fact that different communication context may have different social norms according to the social practice of particular group.

In order to deal with these fuzzy concepts, this research examines the participants’ reactions by looking at the perlocutionary effects of their interaction to assess the subjectivity. Additionally, the social practice and norms governing the interactions in this study are taken into consideration at the analysis level.

2.3.2. Rapport Management

This section focuses on the relation of rapport management strategies as an important part of CAT. Since rapport management is closely linked to the theory of politeness, we shall discuss briefly about this theory. Since it was introduced, Brown and Levinson’s concept of face and politeness has become the fundamental framework for many researches on politeness strategies. However, there are many other researchers who challenged the claim of Brown’s and Levinson’s politeness universality. For example, Matsumoto’s (1988) argues that acknowledgement and maintenance of others’ relative position in the Japanese context are the main consideration in Japanese social

interaction rather than maintenance of an individual's proper territory. According to him, Brown and Levinson neglected the interpersonal and social perspective of face as they overemphasised the notion of individual freedom and autonomy. Matsumoto suggests that Brown's and Levinson's concept of politeness is mainly based on western context and not always applicable for the Asian context. However, Tsuruta (1988) states that previous researchers actually viewed politeness in different domain. According to him, Brown and Levinson focused more on illocutionary politeness whereas Matsumoto and others focused on stylistic domain (Spencer-Oatey, 2008, p. 13).

Considering these problems, Spencer-Oatey (2008) proposed a modified framework which conceptualises face and rapport. In line with Tsuruta (1988), she believes that Brown and Levinson's notion of positive face has been underspecified and that negative face issues are not necessarily face concerns at all. Rapport management, which she defines as "the management of harmony and disharmony among people", consists of three interrelated components: i) the management of face, ii) the management of sociality rights and obligations, and iii) the management of interactional goals. Face management involves the management of face sensitivities in an interaction. Sociality rights and obligations deal with the management of social expectancies, which she defines as "fundamental social entitlements that a person effectively claims for him/herself in his/her interactions with others" whereas interactional goals is defined as "the specific tasks and/or relational goals that people may have when they interact with each other" (Spencer-Oatey, 2008, pp. 13-14).

Failure to address the components of rapport management will consequently threaten positive rapport (harmony) between people, especially when they show face-threatening behaviour, as well as behaviour that threatens the addressees' rights and goals. For example, when a student asked the supervisor to check his/her lengthy work in a very short period of time before the deadline, he/she may threaten the supervisor's

sociality rights. Thus, the supervisor might feel imposed, irritated, annoyed, or angry but not necessarily lose his/her face. Losing face happens when one feels as though he/she has lost credibility or has been personally de-valued (e.g. student criticising the supervisor for not being able to finish checking his/her work before the deadline) (Spencer-Oatey, 2008, pp. 17-18).

Similar to CAT, rapport management and rapport threat depend on subjective evaluation. The evaluation depends not only on the content of the message but also people's interpretations and reactions of who says what under what circumstances. This means that all use of language, not only the performance of certain speech acts, can affect rapport. Spencer-Oatey and Xing (1998, 2004, and 2008) suggest that there are five interrelated domains which play important roles in rapport management (Spencer-Oatey, 2008, pp. 20-21). Those domains are listed as follows:

- i. Illocutionary Domain: the implications of performing certain speech acts in relation to the rapport-threatening/rapport-enhancing strategies. Brown and Levinson (1987) primarily focused on this domain.
- ii. Discourse Domain: the discourse content and structure of an interchange. It includes aspects such as topic choice and management, inclusion or exclusion of personal topics and organisation of information sequence.
- iii. Participation Domain: part of the discourse domain. It is concerned about procedural aspects of an interchange such as turn-taking, inclusion/exclusion of people present in an interaction, and use/non-use of listener responses.
- iv. Stylistic Domain: stylistic aspect of an interchange. It deals with aspects such as tone (serious/joking), genre-appropriate lexis/syntax, address terms, and honorifics.

- v. Non-verbal domain: non-verbal aspects of interchange such as gesture, eye-contacts, and proxemics.

It is clear now that these domains are also interrelated with communication adjustment strategies in CAT; particularly the discourse management, interpersonal control, and complementarity strategies (see Section 2.3.1). Therefore, this study focuses more on ‘rapport management’ (Spencer-Oatey, 2008); a term that is used throughout this study rather than ‘politeness’ (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

There are three main factors that influence people’s use of rapport management strategies, as illustrated below:

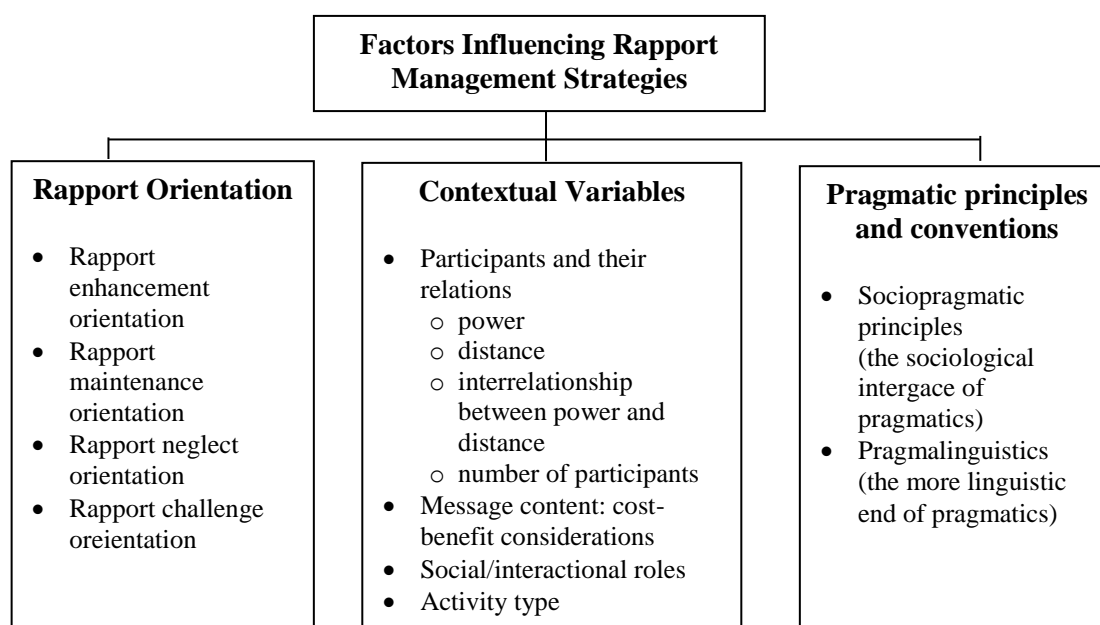


Figure 2.3 Factors influencing rapport management strategies (Spencer-Oatey, 2008, pp. 31-34)

The realisation of rapport management might be different across cultures since different societies have their own justification of what they believe to be appropriate in certain context. Therefore, it is important to consider the sociocultural factors and social practice of an encounter to explain rapport as well as CAT. This study focuses on the

salient sociocultural aspects of Javanese because the participants are mostly Javanese and used either Javanese or Indonesian language during their interactions.

To explain the term appropriateness in the context of this study, it is best to consider that all of the participants in this study belong to a social institution which has certain rules and norms. ‘Social institution’ is defined as social formation wherein its members behave accordingly to the norms and common social practices of that social institution (Goffman, 1961 in Yoong, 2010, p. 27). ‘Social norms’ itself is defined as “the accepted or required behaviour for a person in a particular situation” that is “an expectation shared by group members which specified behaviour that appropriate for a given situation” (Cuber, 1995; Secord & Backman, 1974 in Yoong, 2010, p. 28). In other words, a social institution usually has a set of rules or norms which can define the appropriateness of its members.

However, since both LCs and MCs basically understand the purpose of their interaction (i.e. to do karaoke, to entertain and to be entertained, to serve and to be served), the clients must have certain expectation during their interaction with their clients. Thus, we can say that all the participants have what Spencer-Oatey (2008) believes to be the components of rapport management, i.e. ‘sociality rights and obligations’, ‘interactional goals’, and to some extent, ‘face’. In addition, we should also note that culture has a very significant role in the production of language. Since all the research participants except LC01 belong to the same cultural group (Javanese), they may share certain cultural norms governing their interaction which most probably reflected in their use of language. Based on that fact, we can assume that they may also share (more or less) similar criteria of appropriateness in relation to CAT and rapport. All interactions or behaviours against their expectations and social norms might be considered as inappropriate and therefore non-accommodative.

2.3.3. Javanese Communication Etiquette

In order to comprehend the rapport management techniques practiced in the KC, one has to have some knowledge about Javanese etiquette in communication. The Javanese society is basically categorised as a ‘large power-distance and low individualism’ society (Hofstede, 1986 in Nadar, 2012, p. 168). Researchers (e.g. Geertz, 1976; Sukarno, 2010; Nadar, 2007) have pointed out that the Javanese speakers’ cultural concepts are strongly manifested in the language structures of Javanese. Among Javanese, there is a set of unwritten ‘rules’ or cultural concepts which govern their interactions. This is also known as *tata krama* (‘the language styles, a good conduct of etiquette’), *andhap-asor* (‘humbling oneself while exalting others’) and *tanggap ing sasmita* (‘being able to catch the hidden meaning’) (Sukarno, 2010, p. 61).

The first salient concept is *tata krama* which is literally ‘the arrangement of language’ (*tata*: ‘to arrange’ and *krama*: ‘language’). Culturally, this means good conduct or etiquette. It requires Javanese people to respect those of relatively higher social statuses (Geertz, 1950 in Kuntjara, 2001, p. 202). This social attitude is shown in their use of *undha usuk bhasa* which is also known as the speech level (Uhlenbeck, 1970), or speech style (Errington, 1988 in Sukarno, 2010, p. 61). It shows a strict system of speech levels that reflects the social stratifications based on genealogy, kinship, wealth, occupation, education, age, gender and noble background of the interactants.

Some linguists distinguish the speech styles of Javanese into two categories, namely *Ngoko* and *Bhasa* (e.g. Herrick, 1984) whereas others such as Poedjosoedarmo (1982) and Errington (1988) assert that there are three speech levels: *Ngoko*, *Madya*, and *Krama*. *Ngoko* is the lowest variety of the language commonly use among friends or when speaking to people with lower status. *Madya* is the middle variety of the language containing some shortened *Krama* words combined with *Ngoko* variety. The

highest variety is *krama* which commonly used for someone with higher social status (Oakes, 2009, p. 820). In addition, there are two special honorific vocabularies known as *Kromo Inggil* (High Kromo) and *Kromo Andhap* (Humble Kromo). These honorific vocabularies are used to show respect and recognition for the interlocutor's or third parties' high status (Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 1982, p. 5). Various social factors may cause asymmetrical exchanges of Javanese speech style where speakers of higher social status can speak low level Javanese (*Ngoko*) but the lower status interactants should reply using high level Javanese (*Kromo*) (Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 1982). Thus, complementarity is not only inevitable, but also expected.

Aside from these three speech levels, there is another variation known as crude forms. Some of them were originally *Ngoko* forms which are used in different context. They occur in slang or in utterances which reflect anger and they are usually avoided (Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 1982, p. 38). Most of the crude forms (which function as swear words) often include body parts terms such as such as *ndhas* 'head' (*Ngkoko*: *sirah*, *Krama Inggil*: *Mustaka*), *moto* 'eyes' (*Ngoko*: *mripat*, *Krama Inggil*: *Soca*). Expression such as '*Ndas mu!*' (literally means 'your head') uttered in strong intonation can function as strong swear words which are to be interpreted negatively by the hearer.

Javanese also use various address terms, which cover both titles and vocatives, in different speech styles which imply the social relationship between the interactants. Titles are terms such as 'Mr.' and 'Mrs.' in English whereas vocative is 'title, a name, or a title followed by a name used in addressing someone'. Since there is a wide range of address terms in Javanese, the current section only focuses on terms which are found in the data (Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 1982, pp. 40-46):

i. Titles

Javanese titles are derived from kinship to address unrelated addressees or people of the right age to have such kinship relation to the speaker. Some titles found in the data are as follow:

- a. *Mas*. It means ‘gold’ and it is originally used to address elder brother. It is also used as a title to address male interlocutors who are older than the speakers or whom the speakers meet for the first time to show respect.
- b. *Mbak*. It means ‘beautiful sister’ and originally used to address elder sister. Similar to *mas*, it is used as a title to address female interlocutors who are older than the speakers or whom the speakers meet for the first time to show respect.
- c. *Dhek*. It means ‘younger sibling’ used to address both male and female interlocutors who are younger than the speaker.

ii. *Njangkar* (use of name without any title).

It is used when the speaker engage in the *Ngoko* style and do not wish to show special respect to the hearer.

iii. Second person pronoun references

- a. The avoidance pattern.

Javanese enables speakers to modify their utterance in such a way omits ‘you’. For example:

Putrane raq loro to? /the-children two isn’t-it-so?/

“You have two children, don’t you?”

A title or the name of the hearer is often used as vocative in the avoidance pattern as in the sentence below:

Tindak sakeng pundi, Pak? /go-from-where-father?/

‘Where are you coming from, Father/Sir?’

b. Kowe

This term is commonly used in *Ngoko* to indicate two different things: great intimacy among interlocutors especially when the hearers belong to the same generation or younger and of the same or lower social class who had known each other since a long time, and it may denote speakers’ disrespect attitude towards the hearers. Using *kowe* to someone older than us or not of a close intimacy is considered disrespectful.

c. Panjenengan or short form: *njenengan*

This is the honorific form of direct address and usually accompanied by *Kromo Inggil* and *Kromo Andhap*. Nevertheless, it also occurs in *Ngoko* and *Madya* as an honorific. Some close friends may exchange *ngoko* symmetrically whilst showing their mutual respect by addressing each other as *njenengan* instead of *kowe*. That is to say, people can still show mutual respect and affection by using honorific address term.

Every Javanese should use each of the speech levels and address terms in an appropriate situation to appropriate addressees. However, with knowledge of the lingua franca, Bahasa Indonesia (BI), Javanese speakers are able to freely express themselves or withhold their social status or ethnic identity (Kuntjara, 2001, p. 201). Moreover, Subroto *et al.* (2008) discover that the vocabularies and understanding of *Krama* and

Krama Inggil varieties by Javanese young generations have decreased as they have little use for the varieties. They tend to speak using the *Ngoko* variety or switch to BI due to their limited knowledge (such as the vocabularies) of other Javanese speech styles. As a result, it leads to symmetrical exchange of a speech level rather than asymmetrical exchange of different speech levels.

Andhap-asor dictates Javanese keep a low profile. They may not denigrate the interlocutors and praise him/herself. Practically, *tata krama* and *andhap-asor* are closely interrelated (Sukarno, 2010, p. 67). Being polite in Javanese, one must know how to behave politely (*tata krama*) and have a sense of *andhap-asor* (humble).

The last norm is *tanggap ing sasmita* which requires the people to have ‘the ability to read between the lines’. Geertz (1976, p. 244) states that indirectness is the tendency of Javanese culture because they often do not say directly what they really mean. It is inline with Wierzbicka (1991) who states that the concept of disguise or *ethok-ethok* is typically Javanese. Indirectness is preferable whereas boldness, straightforwardness and directness are often considered offensive. It is considered appropriate to conceal one’s wishes and one’s intentions, particularly if they are in conflict with other people’s wishes or desires (in Nadar, 2012, p. 169). People are expected to skilfully hide their feelings but at the same time also able to ‘read others’ mind’ since *rasa* (feeling) is very important but frequently not vaguely expressed.

2.3.4. Speech Acts

As explained in the previous section, certain behaviours can be categorised as accommodative or non-accommodative depending on the participants’ perception, evaluation, and attribution of such behaviour. The language form and speech acts used by the speaker may influence participants’ perception of certain behaviours. For

example, questions which are asked to check participant's understanding about what the speaker's said (interpretability strategies) can be perceived as accommodative behaviours. However, when the speaker asked excessive questions to check the participant's understanding, it may be perceived as non-accommodative behaviour (over-accommodative). Consequently, analysis of speech acts used by the speaker is relevant for this study.

Yule (1996, pp. 47-48) defines speech acts as 'actions performed via utterances'.

Performing actions via utterances involve three related acts:

- Locutionary act: the act of producing the meaningful language structure and form
- Illocutionary act: the act of producing an underlying intent with some kind of function in mind
- Perlocutionary act: the effect of the underlying intent produced by the speaker

As mentioned in the previous section, accommodative and non-accommodative are subjective in nature. Therefore, it is important to take into account both illocutionary and perlocutionary act of the participants to explain the subjectivity of (non)accommodation. The analysis focuses on the illocutionary point and the degree of strength of the illocutionary point. The basic purpose of the speakers in making an utterance (illocutionary points) and how 'strong' they delivered it (the degree of strength of illocutionary points) are considered as the most important aspect in identifying and categorising the types of speech acts (Yoong, 2010, p. 46). Other than that, perlocutionary effects as the result of the interactional strategies are also examined.

Koester (2002, p. 170) states that the speech acts such as disagreement, directives, and suggestions are usually performed indirectly and often prefaced by

tokens of agreement such as *yes*, *but*, etc. However, her research corpora are mostly based on professional workplace and conversations among co-workers. In this study, the natural spoken data from the participants' conversations show that there are some occurrences of direct and indirect refusals. Refusals often occur whenever the participants discuss something or whenever the MCs coerce the LCs to do something (e.g. dance, drink, or provide sexual service).

Bach's and Harnish's (1979) taxonomy of speech acts provides significant contribution on the classification of speech acts (See Appendix B). In addition, Spencer-Oatey's (2008) work on rapport management also highlights the importance of speech acts as one of rapport management. Within the rapport management theory, speech acts are categorised as illocutionary domain of politeness, something which Brown and Levinson (1987) mostly focused on (see Section 2.3.2 and Appendix B). Thus, the analysis of speech acts can be very helpful to explain CAT and rapport in detail.

2.3.5. Code-Switching

Javanese bilinguals often code-switch between Javanese and BI. They may also code-switch between different levels of Javanese. Since Javanese and BI have different social values, we need to pay attention to the language used by the speaker and the interlocutors' reactions upon his/her language choice to determine whether the participants perceived a speaker as being accommodative or non-accommodative. As mentioned in Section 2.3.1, the speaker's actual motive is not really relevant to the labelling process of behaviour. For example, some LCs who switch to Bahasa Indonesia from *Ngoko* Javanese to show respect, can be perceived as being non-accommodative because the male clients prefer to communicate in *Ngoko* Javanese instead. In this sense, concepts of code-switching are very relevant for this research.

Code-switching has been defined in various ways. For example, Scotton and Ury (1977, p. 5) define code-switching as “the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation or interaction”. The variety of codes can be anything from different and unrelated languages to two styles of the same language (for example, code-switching from *Ngoko* Javanese to *Kromo* Javanese). Most agree that code-switching involves “the alternate use of two or more languages in the same utterance or conversation” (Grosjean, 1982; Gardner-Chloros, 1991; Milroy & Muysken, 1995; Myers-Scotton, 1997 in Sachdev & Bourhis, 2001, p. 408).

Scotton and Ury’s (1977) research on code-switching and its functions in social interaction prove that the main reason governing the interlocutors to code-switch is caused by their desire to “redefine their interaction by moving it to a different social arena”. In the Indonesian context, “trigger word may cause a speaker to switch from one language to another” (Clyne, 1967 as cited in Gunawan, 2005, p. 136). The most comprehensive study so far in the way Indonesians code-switch are Goebel’s (2002 & 2005) ethnographic studies which observe the code choice in intra- and inter-ethnic communications in two neighbourhoods in Semarang, Central Java.¹ His research involved two and a half years observations of 167 members of middle income neighbourhood and low income neighbourhood show that in same gender interactions, and he discovered that *Ngoko* Javanese is often used by males in inter- and intra-ethnic communications to signal familiarity. The results contrast considerably with the previous research done by Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1982, pp. 4-5, 15) who believe that social status and age are determining factors of asymmetrical exchange of Javanese speech styles.

¹ Both of the articles are based on Goebel’s PhD dissertation in 2000. His work is very relevant for this research as he also did this research in Semarang, Central Java.

2.3.6. Humour and Gender in Interaction

The data also show the LCs using humour and participating in jokes initiated by their male clients. Their social lubricants often contain humorous utterances, mimics and tease. Humour is a type of amusement created by speakers who manipulate discourse cues, prosodic and paralinguistic features (Holmes, 2000). Jokes can be regarded as politeness expression in a number of ways as follow (Holmes, 2000, pp. 163-167):

1. Humour as positive politeness

Humour can be used to take into account the hearer's positive face needs by expressing a sense of belonging within a group, friendliness, collegiality and solidarity. When they share common opinion about what is perceived to be humorous, they can maintain the solidarity within the group. Whereas for the speakers, humour can be used to save their positive face needs. It can also function as a self-disclosure means, especially of embarrassing or difficult information and situation.

2. Humour as negative politeness

In this sense, humour can be used to lessen the FTA towards the hearer face, for example by down-toning a directive speech act, criticism and insult.

Early works on language and gender such as Lakoff's (1975), believe that women have no sense of humour whereas men tell jokes more. Men's jokes usually contain sexuality and aggressive humour, whereas women are believed as to laugh more likely than men, especially nonsensical and non-aggressive humour. Women tell jokes more about their personal stories which often self-effacing nature (Hay, 2000, p. 52). However, further investigation about humour and gender reveal that the use of humour among men and women in conversation are more varies. Hay (2000) proposes the functions of humour

in men and women conversations which can be generalised into three main categories: expression of solidarity, power, and to serve psychological functions (p.717).

Lampert and Ervin-Tripp (2006) state that humour have a risk of being interpreted as insult. Their examination of 59 transcripts of natural conversations among mixed- and same sex groups of friends in educational discourse suggests that in same sex group, men can tease freely whereas women usually told self-disclosure jokes among themselves. Hay (2000, pp. 718-726) explains that humour serves to fulfil the following functions:

i. To express solidarity

Humour can create solidarity and a sense of belonging within a group. This kind of humour can be considered a type of convergence technique. In this classification, humour can do the following:

- a. *To share.* Humour can reveal and share something about the speaker with members of the group and to increase group solidarity.
- b. *To highlight similarities.* Humour can share experiences and other similarities between the speaker and the hearer(s).
- c. *To clarify and maintain boundaries.* Humour can express the boundaries of acceptability and solidarity (S) among group member which can be used to clarify who belongs to which groups. An example of this kind of humour is jokes which making fun of outsiders who do not belong to the same group to show the boundary. This humour expresses the convergence strategies among the group and divergence attempt towards outsiders.

d. *To tease (S)*. Teasing can serve two functions. It can be an expression of solidarity (convergence strategy and positive politeness strategy) as well as an expression of power toward others (divergence strategy and FTA). Teasing as an expression of solidarity (S) occurs when people tease and insult each other playfully with intention to be amusing. Thus, will show and increase the solidarity and acceptance within the same group.

ii. To express power

Some humour can create and maintain power. This kind of humour can be categorised as divergence if the speaker fosters conflict, control others, tease and create boundaries and division based on power among them. Some of these strategies include:

- a. *Fostering conflict*. Humour to intentionally humiliate someone or deliver an aggressive act such as express direct and clear disagreement with others.
- b. *To control*. This kind of humour invokes power towards other by trying to influence the behaviour of the other people.
- c. *To challenge and set boundaries*. This kind of humour usually challenges the existing boundaries within group.
- d. *To tease*. This kind of humour is intended to attack the hearer's personal details and assert genuine criticisms rather than to be playful or amusing.

iii. Psychological reaction

Humour can also express the psychological intention of the speakers.

- a. *To defend*. In this kind of humour, the speaker tends to protect themselves by showing their weaknesses before anyone else does.

- b. To cope with a contextual problem.* This humour usually used by the speakers to cope with the problems in context. For example, assignment problems among students.
- c. To cope with a non-contextual problem.* This kind of humour usually deals with more general problem which is not included in the context.

The next chapter discusses the methods used in this research.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter explains the study's research methodology. It explains the data type and research design (Section 3.2), research instruments (Section 3.3), and approaches to data analysis (Section 3.4).

3.2. Data Type and Research Design

This research is an ethnographic study that examines the accommodation strategies LCs use to interact with their clients. The primary data of this research are natural conversation among the participants that are collected via audio recordings and field notes. Data were collected over 2 months on a weekly basis from July 2012 to first week of September 2012, and from 23 October 2012 to 3 November 2012. A total of 16 hours audio recording along with additional field notes were collected from 7 Karaoke Sessions.

3.3. Research Instruments

Instruments such as an audio recorder, notebook and pen were used during data collection. An audio recorder was used instead of a video recorder because the latter might cause ethical problems. Furthermore, the participants have expressed feelings of being uncomfortable about being videotaped. However, they agreed to be photographed as long as their faces on are blurred to protect their identity. Additionally, semi-structured interviews were conducted to get basic demographic data of the participants

as well as to triangulate the research analysis. The computer software, Sony Sound Organiser (see Appendix E for the screen capture) was used to edit some irrelevant data and help the transcription process. The data were then transcribed using Jefferson's transcription notation. These are explained in greater depth in the following subsections.

3.3.1. Naturalistic Observation and Recording Methods

There are two stages of naturalistic observations in this research. The first observation was done by visiting the research site several times before working hours for the purpose of familiarisation with the participants and the research area. The second observation was done during the working hours when the participants were 'doing their businesses' inside the karaoke room.

Audio recording was done after the permission was granted by the owner and the participants. Recordings were done mostly inside the karaoke rooms and gazebos near the restaurant where participants' interaction were evident. The participants knew that they were being recorded but none of them gave much attention to it when they were engaging in the Karaoke Sessions and had become familiar with the researcher presence. Around sixteen hours of audio data were collected from the participants' interactions and three hours from the interview. Some of irrelevant recordings were eliminated. The audio data were then transcribed using a modified version of Jefferson's (1979) transcription notation (in Schiffrin, 1993, p. 425). Additional notations were used to indicate the linguistic varieties used by the participants (Century Gothic for BI, Courier New for Javanese) and their English translations (Times New Roman). The star (*) sign is used to indicate word per word translation in order to show the original word formations. Below is the transcription symbols used in this research:

Table 3.1 Transcription notation

	Indicator	Examples	Description
1	[[	X: text Y: text	Marks utterances which start simultaneously.
2	[	X: text text Y: text	Marks overlapping utterances which do not start simultaneously.
	]	X: text (text) text Y: (text)	Marks the end of overlapping point.
3	=	X: text = Y: =text	Marks contiguous utterances where the second utterance being latched immediately to the first (without overlapping it).
4	=	X: text (text =) Y: (text) X:=text	Links different parts of a single speakers' utterance.
5	=[[	X: text text= Y:= [[text Z: [[text	Marks the point where more than one speaker latches directly onto a just-completed utterance.
6	] =	X: text (text)= Y: (text) Z:=text	Marks the utterances which end simultaneously and latched by subsequent utterance.
7	(x sec)	X: text (2 sec) Y: text (3 sec)	Indicates pauses counted in seconds
8	(pause)	X: text text (pause) Y: text text	Marks untimed intervals heard between utterances
9	(.)	X: text (.) text	Marks a short untimed pause within an utterance
10	:	X: text: text:: Y: text text	Indicates an extension
11	.	X: text text. text Y: text text	A stopping fall in tone, not necessarily the end of a sentence
12	,	X: text text, text Y: text text	Indicates a continuing intonation, not necessarily between clauses of sentences.
13	?	X: text text? Y: text text	Indicates a rising inflection, not necessarily a question
14	!	X: text! text Y: text text	Indicates an an animated tone, not necessarily an exclamation
15	-	X: text- text Y: text text	Marks cut off words or sounds
16	↑↓	X: ↑text text Y: text text↓	Indicates rising and falling of intonation
17	CAPITAL	X: text text Y: TEXT TEXT	Indicate an louder utterance
18	_____	X: text <u>text</u> Y: text text	Indicates emphasis
19	°	X: text °text° Y: text text	Indicate the utterance which is quitter than the other
20	(())	X: text ((laugh)) Y: text text	Used to add simple meta information from the transcriptionist
21	()	X: text () text	Used to mark transcriptionist's doubt
22	><	X: text >text<	Indicates part of an utterance with quicker pace
23	<>	X: text <text>	Indicates part of an utterance with slower pace

Table 3.1 (Continued)

24	[...]	X: text ... text [...] X: text	Indicates ellipsis
25	Courier New Font	X: text text	Javanese
26	Century Gothic font	X: text text	Bahas Indonesia and other non- Javanese words
27	Times New Roman	X: text text	English translation of utterances
28	*	X:*text text text	Marks word per word direct translation
29	→	X → Y : text text text	X speaks to Y

The main issue with collecting audio data is the nature of the research site. The loud music makes the data difficult to transcribe. Therefore, field notes were also used during the recording of the events observation to note some utterances and behaviours which were difficult to be documented by the voice recorder alone. Another shortcoming is the contents of audio recorder. Even though one Karaoke Session normally last for one to three hours, for most of the time, the participants were singing.

3.3.2. Interview

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the LCs and MCs to get relevant information such as their profiles and to ask them for their opinions regarding their interactions. The first interview was conducted to get the information about the participants' background such as name, age, address, etc. This interview also included some questions about the female workers' job such as 'How does it feel to be an LC?' and some questions for the male customers such as 'How often do you go to this place?', 'Do you feel satisfied with the service given by the female workers here?' etc. The questions asked are shown in Appendix D.

The second interview was conducted after the recording of the natural interaction among female servers and male customers in order to further clarify why

they perform certain action or use certain accommodation strategy as well as their perceptions toward certain issues found in the data. No guidelines were prepared for this interview. The questions were mostly based on the data found in the recording. It includes questions related to the reasons why the participants used certain languages, what do they mean by saying such utterances, and how do they feel and interpret certain utterances said by others, etc.

There were initially some obstacles in the research. LCs were initially reluctant to participate in the research as they were insecure to reveal information about themselves. Hence, only four LCs joined this research. As mentioned earlier, it is also difficult to convince male clients to be the research participants, as they did not want their private session to be interrupted. Hence, as mentioned in the introduction, only seven sessions were recorded with 15 male clients. Moreover, field notes taken from the observation of natural conversation might not represent the actual utterances as the conversations were very rapid and dynamic. Four LCs and eight MCs were interviewed. Most of the LCs were reluctant to participate as they do not want their private live being explored.

3.4. Data Analysis Processes

This research uses CAT as the research's theoretical framework of analysis. Analysis will only cover accommodation strategies and parameters of non-accommodation (divergence and under-accommodation) found in the data because other strategies like maintenance and over-accommodation are not found in the data.

Categories of verbal and non-verbal behaviours of accommodative strategies provided by Jones *et al.* (1999) were used in this study. Even though the domain of their research (academic domain) is clearly different from this study, their classifications of behaviours and coding system for accommodation strategies are still relevant enough to

be used. It should be mentioned here that the design of this study is qualitative description. It is not intended to measure and examine the frequency of certain behaviours as part of accommodation strategies but to explain qualitatively the strategies, the speakers' motivation in using such strategies, as well as the implication of such strategies (perlocutionary force) on the participants' perspective and evaluation of the communication encounter.

Since CAT can be explained in several ways by analysing some linguistics features of talk, each analysis of adjustment strategies also includes the analysis of *code-switching*, *rapport management*, *speech acts*, and *humours*. Explanations of the code-switching occurs in the data is included in approximation strategies in order to see how participants try to be close or distant to each other through similar or different code choices. To some extent, code-switching is also included in the analysis of interpersonal control because it helps explain the use of L and H varieties of a language to show the power relations, familiarity, and level of respects among the participants.

The rapport management strategies proposed by Spencer-Oatey (2008) are used as the basic idea to explain interpersonal control strategies, discourse management strategies, and approximation strategies (particularly complementarity) since all of these elements are interconnected. Since rapport management also includes speech acts under illocutionary domain of rapport management, speech acts analysis proposed by Spencer-Oatey (2008) is adopted for this study (See Appendix A for the list of speech acts).

The next chapter provides an analysis to the first research question.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to answer the first research question by exploring both accommodation and non-accommodation strategies used by LCs during their interactions with MCs. The analyses are categorised based on four types of adjustment (or communication) strategies: Approximation strategies (Section 4.2), interpretability strategies (Section 4.3), discourse management strategies (Section 4.4) and interpersonal control strategies (Section 4.5). Each section provides an explanation of adjustment strategies which can be categorised as accommodative as well as non-accommodative (if there is any). It is also important to note that almost all of the excerpts in each section can be explained from the different adjustment strategies points of view. For example, excerpts in the complementarity strategies section can also be explained from an interpersonal control standpoint. To avoid overlap of analyses, each excerpt is explained only from one adjustment strategy point of view.

4.2. Approximation Strategies

Jones *et al.* (1999) state that when participants adjust their behaviour to be more similar to their partners, they practice approximation strategies. This study considers the subjectivity of ‘appropriateness’, ‘perceived motive’ and ‘intentionality’ as the most important aspects to determine accommodative and non-accommodative behaviours (Giles & Gasiorek, 2012a; 2012b). This means that similar communication style may not necessarily mean that the speakers are being accommodative. For example, different communicative styles that show respect can be perceived as being accommodative. To determine whether a speaker is being accommodative or not, we should also take into

account the speaker's motive and intentionality perceived by other interlocutors in communication, and not necessarily the actual motive and intentionality of the speaker itself (Giles & Gasiorek, 2012, pp. 14-15). The data show the LCs practicing convergence, maintenance and divergence. These are discussed as follows.

The participants in this research can speak at least two languages: Javanese (mostly *Ngoko* variety and some honorifics in *Krama*) and BI. As a result, they often adjust their speech by code-switching in order to be more similar or different to their interlocutors. LCs often use BI during their initial interactions with MCs to show respect despite the fact that all participant except LC01 are Javanese who conveniently speak *Ngoko* in their daily life.

LCs who serve non-familiar clients for the first time generally shift to *Ngoko* within 30 to 60 minutes of their interactions, and this can be interpreted as convergence as the LCs use the speech styles that MCs find comfortable. At this point of time, they have already become familiar with each other and engage in self-disclosures (e.g. their emotions and aspirations and more private life details). Convergence tends to occur gradually than abruptly.

The following excerpt demonstrates accommodative convergence. The example involves three participants: LC02, MC01 and MC02. During one hour of Karaoke Session, LC02 often used BI as a maintenance strategy to show respect. After the Karaoke Session ended, they continue to chat outside the karaoke room. LC02 shifts to NJ and communicates with the MCs in a more relaxed way. They discuss their life experiences and tease each other.

Example 4.1 Accommodative convergence: LC02 adopts MCs' communication style and linguistic register

Turn	Speakers	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
Karaoke Session 1 Time of occurrence 1:02:50 Context participants interactions at gazebo after Karaoke Session			
1	MC01 → LC02	meh hendel mbak?	*want handle mbak? do you have to serve anyone else after this mbak?
2	LC02 → MC01	dalem?	what?
3	[...]	[...]	[...]
4	LC02 → MC01	ganti LC? ganti cewek?	do you want to be accompanied by another LC? another girl?
5	MC01 → LC02	(2 sec) meh tadarus aku	*(2 sec) want tadarus I I want to read Quran
6	ALL	hahaha	((laughs))
7	LC02 → ALL	aish (1 sec) <u>kobong</u> aku langsung hehe	ah (1 sec) I will be <u>burned up</u> immediately ((laughs))
8	[...]	[...]	[...]
9	LC02 → MC02	jajal mbok nek wani- mbok nek wani ja:l diida:k	If you dare- if you dare try: to step on these: ((bonfire))
10	MC02 → LC02	ngko ndak ndarani pamer ilmu mbak hehe	I don't want other people think that I'm showing off my power mbak ((giggle))
11	LC02 → MC02	heeh jal	he:y just try it
12	MC02 → LC02	neng ngetan kono nggo opo jal? neng Banten telung tahun ngopo jal? hehe	why do you think I spent my time in the East? In Banten for three years, what do you think I did there? ((laughs))
13	ALL	hehe	laughs
14	LC02 → MC02	hayo makane:: ngopo jal?	that's why:: what did you do there?
15	MC02 → LC02	BAKUL <u>CILLOT</u> hahaha	selling cilot ((laughs))
16	ALL	hahaha	((laughs))
17	LC02 → MC02	ha yo: ngerti aku haha	yea:h i knew it ((laughs))

In Turn 2, LC02 gradually converge by using *Krama dalem* first instead of *Ngoko opo* (both means 'what') because she was still trying to show respect by using a higher variety. In Turn 4, LC02 used both NJ and BI to ask whether the MCs wanted to have another Karaoke Session and to be accompanied by another LC. MC01 refused the offer by jokingly saying in NJ that he will go home and read the *Quran* instead. The participants then switched to NJ when they tell jokes and tease each other as shown in Turn 5 to 17. In Turn 9, LC02 joked with MC02 by daring him to step into a bonfire.

MC02 responded by saying that he stayed in East Java and Banten for quite a long time and that evoked the participants' shared common knowledge about East Java and Banten. Both areas are very famous of their mystical culture and martial arts such as *reog* and *debus* where practitioners demonstrate remarkable abilities such as walking on a fire and eating flaming firewood. The punch line of his humour is when he said *bakul cilot* in Turn 15. He created a scenario in which he became a *cilot* (traditional snack) seller in East Java and Banten instead of learning *reog* or *debus*. Interestingly, as the participants became closer to each other, LCs use NJ more freely.

Interviews conducted after the data collections suggest that all participants generally agree that NJ is more *santai* 'convenient' to use, especially when they want to tell jokes. According to them, some jokes are funnier when they are told in Javanese. The MCs evaluated the LCs more favourably if the latter converge to NJ, the daily language of MCs. This example demonstrates the language choice being accommodative because they are adjusted appropriately and evaluated positively by the participants.

From the rapport management point of view, by converging to NJ, LC02 implies that MCs' communication style is worth imitating. She acknowledged the positive face of her clients. By imitating their speech style, she also fulfilled her job obligation to serve her clients and to entertain them.

The next example shows the LC practicing maintenance strategy. She does not change her code to sound like her clients, instead she uses BI to emphasise her role as a female server whose job is to entertain her clients and to take care of their needs. Note that by doing so, it is arguable that the LC accentuates her clients' more dominant status.

Example 4.2 The use of BI to show respect and different power relation

Field Note				
Karaoke Session		2		
Time of occurrence		Approximately 10 minutes after the opening		
Context		LC01 offers the clients to drink together		
Turn	Participants	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English	
1	LC01 → ALL	nih mas minum	Here mas drink	
2	MC04 → LC01	aku ra ngombe kok mbak	I don't drink ((alcohol)) mbak	
3	MC03 → LC01	aku wes kapok hehe, wingi mlebu rumah sakit	I'm done with that ((laughs)), I had to stay in the hospital not so long ago ((because of drinking alcohol too often))	
4	LC01 → MC03 & MC04	lho trus kalau nggak minum ini minum apa? Akua? Fanta?	* If then if not drink this drink what? If you don't want to drink this, then what do you want to drink? Aqua? Fanta?	
5	MC04 → LC01	sprit we sprit	*Sprite only Sprite just order Sprite for us	
6	[...]	[...]	[...]	
7	LC01 → MC05	Mas ini kalau nggak diminum sayang. Tak temenin minum ya? Sekali ya? Tapi nanti nyanyi lho ((mengambil satu sloki lalu minum))	Mas if you don't drink this, it will be wasteful. I will accompany you to drink, okay? Once, okay? But you have to sing after this. ((she takes one shot of liquor and drinks it))	

In this example, LC01 used BI whereas all the MCs continued to use NJ. Turn 1 shows that she offered the MCs a drink because she noticed that none of them touched the liquor ordered by MC05. MC03 and MC04 refused her offer in NJ and explained that they could not drink alcohol (Turn 2, 3, and 5). MC05 became upset because his friends refused to drink the liquor he had ordered. To pacify his disappointment, LC01 drank it to comfort MC05 (Turn 7). Here we also see LC practicing rapport management, as she tries to ensure that her clients are not feeling antagonistic or unhappy.

4.3. Interpretability Strategies

This section focuses on how the participants adjusted their speech to facilitate comprehension. Speech features such as volume and speech rate as well as the extent of

how speakers clarify miscommunication are analysed. It must be mentioned here that one of the limitations of this analysis is that due to the recording taking place in a noisy environment, it is not possible to do a sterile analysis of acoustics in terms of amplitude and pitch. However, we are able to see how the loud music at the karaoke often caused misunderstandings among participants via conversational analysis. The interlocutors often shout at each other to ‘compete’ with the loud music and to facilitate understanding. Shouting in this case is not considered rude because it is intended to facilitate understanding and to mitigate miscommunication. The data show that LCs practise interpretability accommodation.

Evidence of accommodative interpretability strategies can be seen in Examples 4.3 and 4.4.

Example 4.3 Adjusting speech rate, volume, and lexicon to facilitate understanding

Karaoke Session	5		
Time of occurrence	12:00		
Context	LC01 asked MC09 whether he has a lighter		
Turn	Speakers	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	LC01 → MC09	>punya korek nggak< eh?	* >have lighter not< eh? do (you) have a lighter?
2	MC09 → LC01	hm?	*hm?
3	LC01 → MC09	punya korek nggak?	*have lighter not? do (you) have a lighter?
4	MC09 → LC01	opo?	what?
5	LC01 → MC09	<BAWA KOREK MA:S?>	<BRING LIGHTER MA:S?> did you bring a lighter mas?
6	MC09 → LC01	ora nggowo	i didn't bring

In Turn 1, LC01 asked MC09 whether he had a cigarette lighter, but MC09 could not hear her clearly because MC10 was singing and the music was very loud. Consequently, LC01 adjusted her speech by speaking louder and with a much slower pace (Turn 5) to ensure that MC09 would understand what she said. She also simplified the lexicon of

her utterance by changing *punya korek nggak eh?* to *bawa korek mas?* In the context of utterance, these adjustments were appropriately crafted and therefore perceived as acceptable by MC09.

Another example of accommodative interpretability can be found in the Example 4.4.

Example 4.4 Adjusting the volume and emphasising the utterances to clarify misunderstanding

Karaoke Session 5		Time of occurrence 1:04:14		Context MC10 misheard the word <i>nyanyi</i> 'to sing' and <i>wangi</i> 'fragrant'	
Turn	Participants	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English		
1	LC01 → MC10	nyanyi yo? (1 sec) nyanyi	*sing yes? (1 sec) sing		
2	MC10 → LC01	opo↑?	you should sing, okay? sing what↑?		
3	LC01 → MC10	nyanyi	sing		
4	MC10 → LC01	mosok? wangi:?	really? fragrant?		
5	LC01 → MC10	hah?	hah?		
6	MC10 → LC01	WANGI?	FRAGRANT?		
7	LC01 → MC10	((LAUGH)) <u>NYANYI:</u>	((LAUGH)) <u>SING:</u>		
8	MC10 → LC01	o:h nyanyi: krunguku wangi, wangi o:po?	*o:h <u>sing</u> : i heard fragrant fragrant what:t? What fragrant?		
9	LC01 → MC10	((giggle)) belum ada satu botol ma:s	*((giggle)) not yet one bottle of liquor ma:s		
10	MC10 → LC01	oh iya ya ((laugh))	you haven't finished one bottle (of liquor) mas yeah right ((laugh))		

While MC09 was singing, LC01 asked MC10 to sing together (Turn 1). MC10 could not hear it clearly and misheard her saying *wangi* (fragrant). To clarify this misunderstanding, LC01 said *nyanyi* louder to emphasise it (Turn 7). When shared understanding was achieved, LC01 joked and teased MC10 in Turn 9 by implying that

he was already drunk. MC10's positive reaction in line 10 shows that he perceived LC01's utterance as accommodative and positively motivated.

These two examples show four common ways used by the participants to address interpretability aspects during their encounters: i) speaking in louder volume in a very noisy environment, ii) adjusting their speech rate by speaking in slower pace to ensure that the participants understood what is being said, iii) by emphasising their utterances or words, and iv) by attuning to the interpretability aspects by simplifying long or complex utterances.

4.4. Discourse Management Strategies

This section demonstrates how some of discourse management strategies are manifested in the data. The focus is mainly on how topics were selected, introduced, and developed (field) as well as how LCs manage interpersonal position and face (tenor) following Jones *et al.* (1999). Tenor as the sub-category of discourse management is clearly interconnected with interpersonal control strategies. This section explains how interactants respond to questions and the extent to which they had shared viewpoints (See Appendix C for a detailed list). Since most of the participants like to discuss humorous topics, this section also analyses the occurrences of humour and their effect on the participants' interactions.

This section also includes rapport components as part of the analysis since discourse management strategies of CAT are closely related to discourse and the participants' domain of rapport management (Spencer-Oatey, 2008). Topic selections and development are explained in terms of their relation with the three components of rapport management, i.e. the management of face, the management of sociality rights

and obligation, and management of interactional goals. This section covers analyses of accommodative and non-accommodative discourse management strategies.

4.4.1. Accommodative Discourse Management Strategies

The data suggest that while LCs and MCs can mutually select the conversational topics, it is the LCs who commonly initiates the conversational topics at the start of their interaction to end awkwardness when they first meet their clients. As the interaction progresses, the clients would introduce new topics and the LCs would often provide positive feedback such as continuing the topic by answering the MCs' questions, providing positive backchannels, and showing agreement. These are shown in the following example.

Example 4.5 Querying the client personal details

Karaoke Session	7		
Time of occurrence	52:53		
Context	MC10 asking some private questions to LC05		
Turn	Participants	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	MC10 → LC05	nek- nek pulang nganu (.) sebulan sekali?	*if- if go home nganu (.) once in a month? so, do you usually go home once in a month?
2	LC05 → MC10	ra mesti	not always
3	MC10 → LC05	ra tau ba:li! hehe lali omah yo?	you never go ho:me! ((laugh)) you forgot your way home didn't you?
4	LC05 → MC10	bali nek bodo, karo nek idul adha kui tok, nek ono penting nek ra ono penting ra mulih	i go home on eid al-fitr, and eid al- adha that's all, only when there's something important if there's nothing important then I won't go home
5	MC10 → LC05	ra tau nileki anake po:? he?	you never visit your children:n? huh?
6	LC05 → MC10	((menggeleng))	((shaking heads))

Example 4.5 (Continued)

7	MC10 LC05	→ anak e piro?	how many children do you have?
8	LC05 MC10	→ (2 sec) telu	(2 sec) three
9	MC10 LC05	→ <u>wuakeh e!</u> (7 sec) mosok ra tau bali lho	<u>so many!</u> (7 sec) seriously you never go home?
10	LC05 MC10	→ lha yo <u>bali:</u> nek idul fitri karo nek idul <u>adha:</u>	i told you i <u>go home:</u> only on eid al fitr and eid al <u>adha:</u>
11	MC10 LC05	→ rodo wah kowe ki, paling ora ki yo syukuran barang. (2 sec) he?	you're a bit crazy, at least you should go home whenever there is a traditional ceremony. (2 sec) right?
12	LC05 → MC10	((menjulurkan lidah))	((sticking out her tongue))
13	MC10 LC05	→ malah melet hehe	why are you sticking out your tongue ((giggle))

In the example above, MC10 introduces a new topic by asking LC05 a question. She reciprocates by giving information about her private life such as things about her children and how often she visits them even though she seems reluctant to answer such questions at first, as indicated by her pauses and non-verbal responses (Turns 6, 8, and 12). Although she was uncomfortable providing additional information in Turn 9, LC05 did not end the topic because she did not want to appear rude and offending to her client. It is interesting to note that she seems to have told a lie about her number of children as she made a disclosure at the first interview that she has a child. This could be her attempt at fulfilling her own needs for privacy, and not to appear as being non-accommodative while protecting her true identity. LCs also addressed their clients' needs, as Examples 4.7 and 4.8 show.

Example 4.6 Initiating topics concerning the clients' 'welfare' and needs

Karaoke Session	1 (5 August 2012, session started at 10:29 p.m.)		
Time of occurrence	8:12		
Context	LC02 offers the clients to order some drinks		
Turns	Participants	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	LC02 → all MCs	mas minum apa mas ?	mas what do you want to drink?
2	MC02 → LC02	SING ↑PANAS MBAK °seng anget°	HOT ↑DRINKS MBAK °warm drinks°
3	LC02 → all MCs	teh? e:h jahe? (pause) kopi? kopi? kopi susu?	tea? e:h ginger drink? (pause) coffe? coffee milk?
4	MC01 → LC02	enak e opo?	which one is the most delicious?
5	LC02 → all MCs	jahe anget yo?	*ginger warm yes? what about hot ginger drink, is that okay?
6	MC01 → LC02	susu jahe	ginger milk
7	MC02 → LC02	susu jahe?	ginger milk?
8	LC02 → R	mbak e akua?	do you want aqua mbak? ((mineral water))
9	R → MC02	Ya	yes

The above excerpt shows LC02 starting a new topic by asking her clients about what they would like to drink. Since the MCs do not really know what kind of beverages provided in the research site, they asked LC02 for some information and suggestions.

Example 4.7 Querying the client's song preference

Karaoke Session	1		
Time of occurrence	44:25		
Context	MC01 select a song and LC02 making fun of song title		
Turn	Speakers	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	MC01 → LC02	ketika pertama:, ku jumpa:: dengan mu:, kui-	ketika pertama:, ku jumpa :: dengan mu:, that one that one
2	LC02 → MC01	nganu | jangan-	that one is | jangan-
3	MC01 → LC02	| kui duet yo?	| that one is a duet song right?
4	LC02 → MC01	ho oh	yes
5	MC01 → OP	JANGAN ADA DUSTA↑ DIANTARA KITA↑	JANGAN ADA DUSTA↑ DIANTARA KITA↑
6	LC02 → MC01	jangan ada <u>ana:k</u> diantara kita	let there be no <u>children:n</u> between us
7	MC02	hahaha	hahaha

Example 4.7 (Continued)

8	MC01 LC02	→ jangan ada opo mbak?	let there be no what?
9	LC02 MC01	→ <u>an</u> ↑A:k	<u>chil</u> ↑drE:n
10	MC01 LC02	→ waduh	ups
11	ALL	hahaha	((laughs))
12	MC01 LC02	→ <u>wah</u> gawat iki	<u>wah</u> this is dangerous
13	MC02 ALL	→ bahayA: bahaya. pakani watu:? hehe	dangeroU:s dangerous. we feed them with ro:cks? ((giggle))
14	MC01 ALL	→ maen AMA:N?	play SA:FE?
15	MC02 ALL	→ haha maen aman?	((laughs)) play safe?

The excerpt above was recorded when the participants were discussing about what songs to sing. When MC01 asks the operator to play an Indonesian duet song *Jangan ada dusta diantara kita* ‘Let there be no lies between us’ in Turn 5, LC02 jokes by changing the word *dusta* (lies) into *anak* (child) in Turn 6, which became a new topic of discussion. This joke is most probably triggered by the fact that many LCs in KCs are engaged in forbidden affairs with their clients. Having children from their forbidden relationship is considered as the worst scenario.

As a respond to that, MCs continued the topic by adding more humourous comments. For example, MC02’s utterance in line 13 *pakani watu* ‘feed (the child) with rocks’ is related to their current condition in which he believes that they are not financially settle and will not be able to feed and raise any children. MC01’s feedback in line 14 *maen aman* ‘play safe’ appeared as if he ‘warn’ himself and other MCs to maintain their relationship (both sexual and non-sexual) with LCs as safe as possible. Furthermore, the topic developed to more explicit sexual-related matter as when MCs change the lyrics into *pakai pengaman dulu* ‘wear a condom first’ and *pakai pengaman saja* ‘just wear a condom’, as shown in the following example.

Example 4.8 Participants' further reactions of the topic introduced by LC02

Karaoke Session	1		
Time of occurrence	48:22		
Context	MCs change the song lyrics		
Turn	Participants	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	LC02 & MC01	((menyanyi duet)) sebelum terlanjur, [kita jau:h melangka::h,]	((singing duet)) before [we proceed further,]
2	MC02	[pasang pengama:::n dulu, HAHAHAHAHA]	[wear protecto:::r first ((laugh))]
3	MC01	pakai pengaman saja::	*wear protector just:: Just wear a protector

The fact that the clients continued the topic introduced by LC02 and responded to it positively indicates that the MCs saw LC02's utterances as being favourable. LC02 joke during the transactional talk successfully creates friendly atmosphere between them in their first encounter. It is therefore sufficient evidence that LC02's performed accommodative discourse management.

The data suggest that sex-related topics capture the interest of most MCs and therefore the LCs often initiated this kind of topic. This can be seen in the following example:

Example 4.9 Introducing sexual-related topic by changing the song lyrics

Karaoke Session	4		
Time of occurrence	1:27:30		
Context	MCs were singing a song and LC05 change the lyrics		
Turn	Speakers	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	MC09 → & MC10	be:gitu:: beratnya:: kau lepas [diri ku]	It seems so difficult for you to release/let...go/ take off
2	LC05	[clanaku haha]	[me my pants ((laugh))]
3	All	haha	((laughs))

The example above was recorded when the MCs were singing a popular Indonesian pop song. LC05 intentionally change the lyrics from *kau lepas diriku* 'you let me go/ you release me' to *kau lepas clanaku* 'you take off my pants'. *Lepas* which has multiple

meanings ‘to set free, to be rid of, to undone, detached, release, after, past, last, etc.’ enables LC05 to play with the word and make it amusing.

There are many occasions where LCs introduces other humorous topic to become more entertaining by teasing the clients, as the following example shows:

Example 4.10 LC starting a humour topic to the MCs

Turn	Speakers	Source (Javanese and Indonesian)	Language	English
Karaoke Session 4 Time of occurrence 2:15:24 Context Participants were talking about various topics, included teasing on MC10's physical appearance.				
1	LC05 MC10	→ sesuk po:so lho::		* tomorrow fa:st lho:: tomorrow we have to fast
2	MC10 LC05	→ poso o:po?!		what kind of fa:st?!
3	MC09 LC05	→ lha- besok	(kan-)	i know it's tomorrow right?
4	LC05 MC10	→ po:so lho:	(sesuk)	*lha- tomorrow (is- tomorrow) fa:st lho: tomorrow ((we)) have to fast
5	MC09 LC05	→ ya- pas-		well- at-
6	LC05 ALL	→ >nek iki ngono< ra ngerti poso:		* > but this person < does not know fa:sting but this person ((MC10)) certainly doesn't know anything about fasting/ doesn't fast/ never fast
7	MC10 LC05	→ <u>WE:S</u>		*DI:D I DID
8	LC05 MC10	→ ha yo se:	(suk po:so:)	yeah but tomorrow ((we still)) have to fast *yeah to: morrow is fa:sti:ng
9	MC09 All	→ tetep	(ki ra mu:dheng)	*this person doesn't understand still this person (MC10) still doesn't understand
10	LC05 MC09	→ ha yo	(ra mu:dheng iki)	yeah he (doesn't u:nderstand)
11	MC09 MC10	→	(ra mudheng!)	(doesn't u:nderstand!)
12	LC05 ALL	→ sesuk- e:h ngerti ne sesuk di beleh hehehe		tomorrow- e:h suddenly he will be slaughtered tomorrow ((laughs))
13	MC09 MC10	→ dibeleh! hehe		slaughtered! ((laughs))

Example 4.10 (Continued)

14	MC10 LC05	→ <malah dibeleh>	<why slaughtered>
15	LC05 MC10	→ [>dinggo K↑O:RBAN< hehe]	[>for Q↑U:RBAN< ((laughs))]
16	MC09 ALL	→ [jenggot e:- jenggot e ono ko ngono kok]	[hi:s beard- he has beard]
17	MC10 LC05	→ [e:h ge korban]	[e:h make him as qurban]
18	LC05	haha	Laugh
19	MC09 ALL	→ jenggot e [koyo nggon-]	because his beard [is like-]
20	MC10 ALL	→ [lha wes tak] ngenek ke og ben ra di beleh mala:h-	[*lha i] already make it like this ((braided)) so people won't slaughter me bu:t-
21	ALL	hahaha	Laugh
22	MC10 ALL	→ jenggot e [koyo jenggot nganu-]	his beard is [like the beard of-]
23	LC05 MC10	→ [nyoh iki maem] sing okeh ngombe sing	[here eat] more drink
24	MC09 ALL	→ [okeh nek- nek- iki mikire sesuk-]	[more if- if- he thinks tomorrow-]
25	LC05 ALL	→ nek kurang lemu sesuk di glonggong yo hehe	if you're not fat enough you should be glonggong
26	MC09 LC05	→ sesuk ge korban yo mbak	tomorrow he will be a qurban right mbak?
27	LC05 ALL	→ sesuk di glonggong nek kurang lemu hehe	tomorrow you have to be glonggong if you're not fat enough laugh
25	MC10	glonggo:ng hehe	glonggo:ng ((giggle))
26	MC09 ALL	→ ki gek tak kon ngombe iki kok	see I'm asking him to drink this
27	R → ALL	lha ki kan wes diglonggong	well he's already been glonggong
28	ALL	hahaha	Laughs
29	LC05 MC10	→ ayo: glonggong meneh	*come on glonggong again let's force him to drink again

The topic of the jokes in the example above is mostly revolved around the *qurban* and fasting. As a result, there are several terms used in their communication related to it. Eid al-Adha is one of Islamic holy days in which well-to-do Muslims are recommended to perform a *qurban*. *Qurban* refers to the action of donating cattle such as cows, goats, or buffalos to be slaughtered on Eid al-Adha and distributing their meat to the poor. *Glonggong* refers to the action of forcing cattle to drink huge volume of water before selling or slaughtering them. Sellers will get more profits as their cattle become heavier and bigger. However, such action is considered as criminal. Muslims are not allowed to

donate cattle which have gone through *glonggong* process or consume their meat as they become *haram* (forbidden by Islamic law). This is because *glonggong* is considered mistreatment and torture towards the cattle and it is not acceptable in Islamic law.

Most Muslims do non-compulsory (*Sunnah*) fasting for two days before Eid al-Adha. Karaoke Session 4 began at 9:14:01 p.m. when Muslims finished their fasting (fasting begins at around 4.30 a.m. and ends at around 6 p.m.) and they are therefore allowed to eat and drink. LC05 who claimed that she was fasting during the day, drinks liquors during the Karaoke Session after being coerced by MC09 and MC10 to do so. In the above excerpt, MC10 does not believe that LC05 has done her *Sunnah* fasting because she drank liquor with him. LC05 replies to MC10 by jokingly insulting him, saying that he does not know anything about fasting (Turn 4). In addition, she also made several humorous comments about MC10's physical appearance and related them to Eid al-Adha.

MC10's physical appearance often triggers laughter from his friends and LCs because he has a long-double-braided beard which are often compared to a goat's beard. He also has a thin body for which he is often labelled *kepek* (Javanese 'thin'). LC05 compared him to a goat which will be slaughtered on Eid al-Adha and jokingly made him drink liquors (*glonggong*) because he is slim (Turns 20, 22, 24). Even though the jokes were delivered in the form of teasing, mockery and insult, all participants give positive reactions. The positive responses are shown not only by the interlocutors' laughter but also by their feedback (Turn 13 onwards).

Another example from a different Karaoke Session which was triggered by MC10's physical appearance is shown in the following example:

Example 4.11 Introduce humorous topic about MC10's physical appearance

Karaoke Session		6		
Time of occurrence		29:42		
Context		LC01 made humorous comment on MC10's double braided beard		
Turn	Speakers	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English	
1	LC01 → MC10	mas aku pengen ini mu e mas HAHAHA	mas i want yours mas ((LAUGH)) ((referring to MC10 beard))	
2	[...]	[...]	[...]	
3	LC01 → MC10	MAS TAK PEK E ENTUK PO RA MAS?	MAS CAN I HAVE THIS MAS?	
4	MC16 → LC01	iki opo jal? iki copo:tan kok haha	do you know what it is? it is actually fake ((laugh))	
5	LC01 →	mas mas iki to, mas-	mas mas this is actually, mas-	
6	MC16 → LC01	hehe koyo copo:tan kok	hehe because it looks fake	
7	LC01 → ALL	HE TAK KANDANI, IKI TAK GUNTINGE TAK GAWE BULU MATA HAHAHA	HEY I WANNA TELL YOU SOMETHING, I WILL CUT THIS AND MAKE THIS INTO FAKE EYE LASHES ((LAUGH))	
8	[...]	[...]	[...]	
9	LC01 → MC10	MAS, TAPI TO MAS IKI MU MBOK CUKUR CAKEP LHO KOWE MAS NEK NGENE KI KETOK KOYO BAPAK BAPAK	MAS, BUT MAS IF YOU SHAVE THIS YOU WILL LOOK HANDSOME BUT IF YOU KEEP IT LIKE THIS YOU LOOK LIKE AN OLD MAN	
10	MC15 → all	koyo bapak bapak haha koyo bapak bapak	like an old man ((laughs)) like and old man	
11	MC10 → LC01	koyo bapak bapak? hehe	looks like an old man? ((giggle))	
12	LC01 → MC10	HO O HAHA	YES ((LAUGH))	
13	[...]	[...]	[...]	
14	LC01 → R	MTAK ANIS INI KALAU DICUKUR CAKEP YO? NEK IKI KOYO BAPAK BAPAK AHAHAHA.	MTAK ANIS IF HE SHAVES THIS HE WILL LOOK HANDSOME RIGHT? BUT IF HE KEEP IT LIKE THIS HE LOOKS LIKE AN OLD MAN ((LAUGH))	

LC01 teases MC10's beard and creates an absurd scenario based on his look. MC15 supports LC01 by saying that MC10's beard is actually a fake and it can be *copot* 'detached' at any time. The examples show how humour functions as a type of accommodative strategy that allows LCs to perform her job successfully.

It is perhaps not so surprising when the data show that jokes with crude forms, swear words, and other taboo words often found within the interactions among MCs. They have already known each other for a long time (most of them are childhood friends) and often interact in their daily life outside the research site. Accordingly, they

tend to be direct and threaten each other's faces without offending each other. However calling others by sobriquet names and jokingly insult each other using crude forms rarely occur between MCs and LCs. These features are not expected to occur in their interaction. It is probably because no matter how informal their interactions are, LCs need to serve them in somewhat respectful way. Moreover, all LCs do not belong to the 'inner circle' of the MCs as they never known each other before the data collection. LC05, MC09, and MC10 are the only research participants who met twice during the data collection, i.e. in Karaoke Session 4 and 7. They seem to have gotten closer to each other in Karaoke Session 7.

Interestingly, the crude Javanese form and *njangkar* used by the service provider were found in Session 1 which was relatively the shortest Karaoke Session compared to the rest. Recorded data of this session comprises of one hour Karaoke Session and approximately 20 minutes conversation in the gazebo whereas other sessions comprise of 2 to 3 hours of Karaoke Session. It seems that the relationship of both interlocutors and the length of Karaoke Sessions do not give significant effects to the use crude form and *njangkar* in this context. The following example shows how crude form and *njangkar* are used by LC02:

Example 4.12 Crude *cocote* and *njangkar* form functions as humour²

Karaoke Session 1			
Time of occurrence 1:17:11			
Context participant tease each other			
Turn	Participants	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	MC01 → Manager & LC02	wah biasane kui tergantung perbua:tan kok men	wah it usually depends on our charity and good <u>dee:d</u> men

² Cocote: crude form of mouth in Javanese

Mario Teguh: famous Indonesian motivator

Njangkar: call someone's (MC01) name without any title and address term

R: me as the Researcher

Example 4.12 (Continued)

2	Manager → MC01	iyo ki paling amal perbuatan	yeah it depends on our charity and good deed
3	MC01 → Manager	↑ki perbuatan (pause) baik yo nyatane=	*↑ <u>this</u> ((showing his phone)) good deeds (pause) indeed= I do good deeds and you can see the fact that mine is indeed =
4	MC02 → MC01	= lancar? haha	= smooth? ((laugh))
5	MC01 → Manager	stabel stabel wae	always stable ((pronounce stable using Javanese pronunciation))
6	All	hahaha	((laugh))
7	Manager → MC01	↑ <u>STABEL STABEL</u>	↑ <u>STABLE STABLE</u> ((MC01 emphasize MC02's mistake and imitate him exaggeratedly))
8	MC02 → Manager	artine cok opo: yo mas, kan ra mudheng artine opo jal hehe	* <u>meaning</u> cok wha:t right mas, kan no <u>understand</u> meaning <u>what</u> jal ((laugh)) what does he mean by that mas, he doesn't even understand the meaning ((laugh))
9	LC02 → MC01	heh	hey
10	all	hahaha	((laugh))
11	Manager → MC01	seneni karo guru bahasa inggris kowe-	you'll be scolded by your English teacher you- by who's mouth is that? ((she doesn't remember MC01's name))
12	LC02 → R	by cocote siapa ini namanya ini?	
13	MC01	hahah	((laugh))
14	R → LC02	hah?	what?
15	LC02 → R	siap-	wha-
16	Manager → LC02	>by cocote Mario teguh<	>by mario <u>teguh's</u> mouth? ((LAUGH))
17	all	HAHA	
18	LC02 → R	by cocote- hahaha	by who's mouth?- ((asking MC01's name to R)) hahaha
19	LC02 → R	by cocote?	by whose mouth?
20	R → LC02	by cocote ke sing ndi?	whom do you refer to?
21	Manager → LC02	by cocote MC01?	by MC01's mouth?
22	LC02 → R	jenenge ki sopo ki? mbak?	what's his name? mbak?
23	R → LC02	MC01	MC01
24	LC02 → MC01	by cocote <u>MC01</u> hahaa tergantung amal perbuatan to? by cocote MC01	by <u>MC01's</u> mouth ((laugh)) you said it depends on our charity and good deeds, didn't you? by MC01's mouth
25	MC01	hahaha	((laughs))

The excerpt above took place outside of the karaoke room. The MCs asked LC02 to accompany them at the gazebo for less than thirty minutes before they left the research site. The data were recorded in the evening during fasting month when Muslims who prayed in every mosque, attended Islamic sermons, and read the Quran. The participants could hear an Islamic sermon from a mosque near the research site. MC01 and MC02 are not so familiar with LC02, but they are quite close with the manager (M). However, MCs and LC02 often tell jokes and tease each other in the karaoke room and gazebo.

When LC02 and the manager complained that they could not access Internet for the whole day, MC02 and MC01 made humorous comments which were triggered by *imam*'s sermons. It can be seen in Turn 1 when MC02 initiated the joke by indirectly saying that their phones are troubled because they have not done good deeds and charity like him. He adopts the phrase *amal perbuatan manusia* 'human's charity and deeds' which is very common in Quran or religious sermons. Realising this, LC02 made some humorous comments and used the crude form, *cocote* 'your mouth' (Turns 12, 18, 24) which is normally considered impolite when it is used to unfamiliar people or when the speakers are in rage. Her comments "*cocote* MC01" were also triggered by the Islamic sermons in which the phrases *Allah berfirman* "God spoke" and *Nabi bersabda* "The Prophet said" were said. LC02 used 'by *cocote*' (by the mouth of) to humiliate MC01 as he is of a lower status than God and The Prophet.

4.4.2. Non-Accommodative Discourse Management Strategies

Even though non-accommodative styles are mostly related and explained in relation to interpersonal control strategies, some of them can be explained in relation to discourse management strategies. The evidence of non-accommodative discourse management can be seen in Example 4.13.

Example 4.13 LC02 asked sensitive questions to MC06

Field note			
Karaoke Session		3	
Time of occurrence		Approximately 30 minutes after karaoke opening	
Context		MC07 indirectly asked for sexual service	
Turn	Speakers	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	MC06 → LC02	mbak aku mau tanya boleh nggak? tapi jangan tersinggung ya	Mbak may I ask you something? But please don't be offended.
2	LC02 → MC06	iya mau tanya apa?	Okay, what do you want to ask?
3	MC06 → LC02	tapi jangan marah ya?	But please don't be angry, okay?
4	LC02 → MC06	nggak, nggak mas	No, I won't mas
5	MC06 → LC02	mbak kalau disini bisa diajak check in nggak?	Mbak can I ask ((any one)) here to check in ((in a hotel, usually for short-time sex))
6	LC02 → MC06	maksudnya mas?	What do you mean, mas?
7	MC06 → LC02	ya bisa booking gitu	Well, I mean can I book, something like that
8	LC02 → MC06	oh kalau aku nggak bisa mas karena aku di mess. Kalau yang lain aku nggak tau. Emang mas suka nyari yang begitu begitu ya?	Oh, I can't mas because I stay in the hostel. I don't know about the others ((other LCS who do not stay in the hostel)). So, do you often seek for something like that mas? ((sexual service))
9	MC06 → LC02	ya nggak sih	Well, not really

The example shows that LC02 did not answer MC06's question immediately but asked him back in Turn 6 even though she in fact understood that MC06 was indirectly asking for sexual service. After MC06 explained, she expressed her negative ability "Oh, I can't mas" followed by an excuse in Turn 8. Furthermore, she also asked him whether he often seek sexual service. MC06's awkward reaction in Turn 9 indicates that he felt irritated and displeased since LC02's response and question threatened his face.

MC06 stated his negative evaluation of LC02 during the post-interview. According to him, LC02 was arrogant, unfriendly, and not aggressive because she always refused to drink alcohol and rarely danced with him and his friends. He also expressed his disappointment toward her refusals. His main purpose of coming to KC

was actually to look for sexual services from the LCs. He had already rented a villa near the KC together with his friends and wanted companionship from the LCs. In this context, he felt that the communicative goals were not achieved and that LC02 failed to perform her obligations as a service provider.

4.5. Interpersonal Control Strategies

Interpersonal control is the most prominent communication strategy found in the data. The majority of the data can be categorised under interpersonal control. This is probably because the roles, power, dominance, and control of participants toward each others are saliently different. This strategy can be analysed based on the use of address terms (Shepard *et al.*, 2001) as well as various aspects related to roles, self-disclosure and power relations of the interactants (Jones *et al.*, 1999). Analyses of interpersonal control strategies in this section focuses on the following aspects:

- The use of address terms by the participants
- Self-disclosure
- Speech acts
- Rapport management

All of these aspects are examined in term of their connection to the participants' roles and relative power relations. Data examinations suggest that all non-accommodative communication strategies found in this study can be categorised under interpersonal control. Consequently, this section provides analysis of both accommodative and under-accommodative (non-accommodative) strategies.

4.5.1. Accommodative Interpersonal Control Strategies

In this research, the roles played by each participant are relatively distinct even though their interpersonal relation may sometimes change in certain occasion. MCs generally have more power than LCs and could dominate or control the interaction more often. LCs are required to attune to this power relation during their interaction. This section provides some examples and analyses on some of appropriately adjusted interpersonal strategies (accommodative interpersonal control strategies).

Address terms and language used by participants reflect the relative power relations of the participants. The following lists shows several address terms found in the data:

- Vocatives (some are interrelated with avoidance pattern)
 - *Mas* ‘elder brother’, *mbak* ‘elder sister’, *mas/mbak* + proper name, proper name
- Terms of ‘you’
 - Ngoko Javanese *kowe*
 - Honorific Javanese *njenengan*
 - Indonesian *kamu*
- Avoidance pattern
 - Omitting the word ‘you’
 - *Mas/mbak* + article ‘*e*’ to substitute ‘you’
- Endearment
 - *Yang*, *sayang*

Address terms used in different speech levels reflects the degree of intimacy, respect, politeness and power people have toward their interlocutors. Consequently, each of the

analysis of address forms in the following sections also covers the analysis of politeness and rapport building, self-disclosure, as well as dominance and control (power relation).

i. Vocatives

Vocatives also include *njangkar* or Javanese terms which refer to the act of addressing someone using his/her name without any title. *Njangkar* usually occurs in *Ngoko* Javanese level and it implies two different things. First, it can imply familiarity and intimacy (high level of self-disclosure), particularly when it is used among close friends. On the other hand, it implies one's disrespect behaviour or authority towards the interlocutors.

The data shows that both MCs and LCs frequently used *mas*, *mbak*, and *mas/mbak* + (proper names) to address each other, whereas *njangkar* mostly found during conversations among MCs. In contrast, *njangkar* almost never found during the conversations among LCs and MCs. There is only one case where LC02 used *njangkar* to MC01, when the participants engage in humorous conversation and tease each other. This special occurrence of *njangkar* is an example of under-accommodative behaviour. Since most of address terms in Javanese are originally adopted from extended use of kinship term, the address terms found in the data are not translated into English due to the limited use and meaning of kinship term in English context. The extracts below show how the participants address each other:

Example 4.14 The use of *mas* to address unfamiliar clients

Karaoke Session	1		
Time of occurrence	starts at 0:00		
Context	LC02 and MCs introducing themselves		
No	Speakers	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	LC02 → MC01	((smiling, giving her hand to MC01))	((smiling, giving her hand to MC01))
2	MC01 → LC02	amet	excuse me ((reaching LC02's hand and do handshake))
3	LC02 → MC02	LC02↑	LC02↑
4	MC01 → LC02	MC01↓	MC01↓
5	LC02 → MC02	ma:s	ma:s ((shake hands))
6	MC02 → LC02	[trimbil]	[trimbil]
7	LC02 > MC02	[LC02] trimbil? hehehe	[LC02] trimbil? ((laugh))

Example 4.15 The use of *mas/mbak* + proper name

Karaoke Session	1		
Time of occurrence	11:45		
Context	LC02 asked MC02 to sing		
Turn	Participants	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	LC02 → MC02	mas trimbil nyanyi nih	*mas trimbil sing here ((come on)) mas trimbil sing, here ((is the mic, gave the microphone to MC02))
2	MC01 → MC02	aku sek aku sek ya	Let me ((sing)) first, let me first, okay?
3	LC02 → R	mbak e juga mbak	*mbak the too mbak ((come on)) you too mbak
4	R → LC02	nggak ah mbak	No mbak

However, to be able to find out whether the interlocutors are younger or older might be difficult especially if the interlocutors are not familiar with each other. In this case, *mas* and *mbak* are commonly used to show respect (also see Kuntjara, 2001: 210-211).

As shown in Examples 4.14 and 4.15, the LCs greet their clients using *mas* in the beginning of their interaction. In this context, they are not familiar with each other

and do not have enough hints to determine whether their communication partner is younger or older. It is a common occurrence among Javanese wherein people used kinship terms to address strangers in their first encounter to be more polite. LCs also frequently used *mas/mbak* + proper name to avoid *njangkar* as shown in Example 4.15 where LC02 addresses MC02 using *mas Trimbil* instead of just *Trimbil*.

ii. *Second person pronouns references*

There are three different forms of pronoun ‘you’ found in the data:

- ngoko Javanese *kowe*
- honorific Javanese *njenengan*
- Indonesian *kamu*
- Avoidance pattern
 - Omitting direct ‘you’
 - *Mas/mbak* + article definite article ‘e’
 - *Mas/mbak* + proper name

The following examples in this section show different terms of ‘you’ used by the participants in different contexts of interactions.

Example 4.16 Ngoko Javanese *kowe* as direct ‘you’ to express friendliness and familiarity

Karaoke Session 1			
Time of occurrence 0:46			
Context participants are discussing what song to sing			
Turn	Participants	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	MC01 → LC02	>mbak a nyanyi opo?<	mbak what do you want to sing?
2	LC02 → MC01	ha ke dinyanyike opo:?	*well you sing what:? well what do you want me to sing ((for you))?

Example 4.16 (Continued)

3	MC01 → LC02	aku ra iso dangdut tapi	but i can't sing dangdut ((smiling, giving her hand to MC02))
4	LC02 → MC01	>lha ya aku juga nggak bi- nggak suka dangdut sama: ((tertawa))	*>lha yes I also can't-< don't like dangdut same- ((laughs)) well, me neither i can't- don't like dangdut ((we are)) same ((laugh))
5	MC02 → LC02	((tertawa)) aku yo mbak (.) sama	((laugh)) neither do i mbak (.) same

Example 4.17 Honorific *Njenengan* as direct 'you' to show respect to researcher (R)

Karaoke Session 1			
Time of occurrence 0:59			
Context all the participants were discussing what song to sing.			
Turns	Participants	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	LC02 → R	njenengan a nyanyi opo? rekues ke	what do you want to sing? [i will request it for you]
2	R → LC02	[opo yo: opo dhe:k? kowe dhe:k?]	[what uh: what de:k? what do you want to sing de:k?]
3	MC01 → R	po kowe seneng lagu opo mba:k? rekues opo?	what song do you like mba:k? what do you want to sing?
4	R → MC01	aku [reku e::s] =	i want to [reque::st =]
5	LC02 → R	[malesia?]	[malaysian song?]
6	R → LC02	=opo yo? iki ono kabeh kabeh lagu?	=what uh? does this place has various kinds of song?
7	LC02 → R	a:pa aja ada	yes va:rious kinds of song
8	MC01 → R	ada ba:nd lho ada band ono to:?	ada ba:nd see ada band they have ri:ght?
9	LC02 → MC01	ada band bole:h	ada band is oka:y

The two examples above illustrate noticeable differences in relation to power and politeness, as realised through the use of different address terms in LC02's utterances. Example 4.16, Turn 2 shows the LC using *ke* (short form of *kowe* 'you') when addressing the clients and the honorific term *njenengan* (short form of *panjenengan* 'you') in Example 4.17, Turn 1 when addressing me (R). *Kowe* 'you' occurs in *Ngoko* style and used to express familiarity, friendliness or superiority towards the fellow interactants. On the other hand, *njenengan* is an honorific and more refined form of 'you' which is usually followed by *Krama Andhap* and *Krama Inggil*. Yet, the

examples clearly show LC02 switching from *Ngoko* to Indonesian back and forth throughout the entire interaction instead of switching to *Krama* even though she used honorific *njenengan*.

Interview with the participants suggest that L02 used different terms of ‘you’ with R and MCs because she was aware of their social status differences. She realises that R has a higher status than her and therefore *njenengan* was chosen to show respect. LC02 did not use *njenengan* along with *Krama* because she wanted to show respect but did not want to be over-polite, which perhaps would accentuate the distance between them and made their communication awkward. Other than that, she admits that her *Krama* Javanese proficiency is very limited. As for the use of *ke* (*kowe*) with the clients, she notices that all MCs are younger than her and belong to more or less the same social status as her. Hence, she considers *ke* or *kowe* to be more appropriate. Moreover, she wanted to be friendlier with the MCs and make their communication less awkward. The occurrence of *kowe* is in fact very rare in the data because *kowe* can be considered as very intimate and rude in certain contexts. LCs who try to be more friendly and intimate to the clients by using *kowe* might be perceived as disrespectful, especially if it is used with non-regular clients.

LCs often modify their utterances in such a way to avoid the use of direct address. However, both speaker and hearer normally understand whom they are talking about or talking to. It is unfortunate that Wolf and Poedjosoedarmo (1982) did not provide enough elaboration or any taxonomy of avoidance patterns. However, examination of the data of this study suggests that vocatives can also be used as avoidance patterns to substitute the direct ‘you’. The following examples show some occurrences of avoidance pattern found in the data.

Example 4.18 Using avoidance pattern by omitting the word for ‘you’ and ‘your’

Turn	Speakers	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
Karaoke Session 5 Time of occurrences 2:57 Context small talk among LC04 and mc during the beginning of the session			
1	LC04 → MC15	asli sini mas?	*from here mas? are you from around here mas?
2	MC15 → LC04	opo?	what?
3	LC04 → MC15	asli sini?	*from here? are you from around here?
4	MC15 → LC04	asli sini mbak	*from here mbak yes I am from around here mbak
5	[...]	[...]	[...]
7	LC04 → MC15	temen semuanya?	*all friends? all of them are your friends?
8	MC15 → LC04	temen semuanya	all friends all of them are my friends
9	LC04 → MC15	temen main?	*friends play? your playmates?
10	MC15 → LC04	temen main. mbak e orang mana?	*playmates. mbak the people where? play mates. where do you come from mbak?
11	LC04 → MC15	aku magelang	I am from magelang
12	MC15 → LC04	magelang	magelang
13	LC04 → MC15	tau?	*know? do you know where it is?
14	MC15 → LC04	walah yo tau to yo	*walah yes know to yes oh of course I know
15	LC04 → MC15	((giggle)) ku kira nggak tau ((pause)) pernah kesini sebelumnya?	*((giggle)) I thought don't know ((pause)) been here before? ((giggle)) i thought you didn't know ((pause)) have you ever been here before?
16	MC15 → LC04	belum pernah	never
17	LC04 → MC15	pernah?	ever?
18	MC15 → LC04	belum pernah	never
19	LC04 → MC15	oh belum pernah hehe	oh never ((giggle))

Javanese often feel reluctant to use the direct ‘you’ when interacting with other people. In the above example, LC04 does not use *kamu* (Indonesian ‘you’) even though she speaks Indonesian. The star signs in Turns 1, 3, 7, 9, 13, and 15 which indicate the word for word translation reveals how LC02 eliminates or substitutes the word *kamu* ‘you/your’ and *mu* ‘yours’ in her utterances. For example, LC04 says *temen semuanya?* instead of saying *temen kamu semuanya?* in Turn 9.

Other than the avoidance patterns shown above, some vocatives also enable the speakers to avoid the direct ‘you’ or *njangkar* (calling the addressee’s name without any title). Among others, the title *mas/mbak*, phrases ‘*mas-e/mbak-e*’, and *mas/mbak* + proper name are the most common strategies used by the participants to substitute the word ‘you’ *kowe*, *njenengan* and *kamu*. In this context, the particle, ‘*e*’ in *mas-e* and *mbak-e* functions as a determiner for the title *mbak* and *mas*. The ‘*e*’ particle in Javanese functions as both possessive marker, such as in the sentence ‘*Kucing-e Atin*’ which means ‘Atin’s cat’ and definite element in ‘*Kucing-e nyolong iwak*’ ‘The cat stole (some) fish(es)’ (Davies & Dresser, 2005, pp. 60-61). The following extracts show different strategies performed by the speakers to avoid or to substitute the word ‘you’:

Example 4.19 Determiner phrase to substitute direct ‘you’

Karaoke Session 1			
Time of occurrence 15:08			
Context LC02 asked MC02 to sing.			
Turn	Speakers	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	LC02 → MC02	mas trimbil nyanyi, mas mas nyoh	come on mas trimbil sing, mas mas here ((gives the microphone to MC02))
2	MC01 → MC02	>aku sek aku sek ya<	>Let me ((sing)) first, let me first, okay? <
3	LC02 → R	mbak e juga mbak	*sister the also sister you too mbak
4	R → LC02	nggak ah mbak	no mbak

Example 4.20 Determiner phrases and titles + proper name to substitute direct ‘you’

Transcript	7.1		
Time of occurrence	10:15		
Context	beginning of the Karaoke Session, participants started to engage in relational talk		
Turn	Speakers	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1		[...]	[...]
2	OP MC10	→ dikasih apa mas kepe::k?	what ((song)) do you want us to play mas kepe::k?
3	LC05 MC10	→ mas kae apa? apa?	mas there ((the operator asked you)) what? what?
4	MC10 LC05	→ mbak e dulu mbak nyanyik no aku sek	*mbak e first mbak sing for me first after you mbak sing for me first
5	LC05 MC10	→ opo yo mas e nyanyi sek to:!	* what yes mas e sing first to: what uh come o:n you sing first!

Example 4.21 Determiner phrases, titles, and title + proper name to substitute direct ‘you’

Karaoke Session	4		
Time of occurrence	1:04		
Context	participants were discussing what song to sing.LC05 invited other participants to sing and offered them to select a song		
Turn	Participants	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	MC09 LC05	→ mbak e nyanyi apa:?	*mbak e sing what:? what do you want to sing?
2	LC05	apa lagi ha- hargai aku?	what else ha- hargai aku? ((hargai aku: song tittle))
3	MC09 OP	→ oiya ini: ada permintaan dari armada hargai aku khusus buat mbak nya	*oh yes thi:s a request from armada hargai aku special for mbak nya okay this is: a special, hargai aku by armada special for the lady ((armada: group band name))
4	MC10 MC09	→ buat mbak dia:n	for mbak dia:n
5	MC09	mbak dian	mbak dian
6	LC05 MC11	→ ayo mas nyanyi, tu:h	come on mas sing, see there: ((pointing at the video))
7	MC11 LC05	→ ra iso og mbak	i can't mbak
8	LC05	hargai a-	hargai a-
9	MC09 LC05	→ mbak langsung duet ki langsung duet mbak	mbak let's sing it together let's directly sing it together mbak ((duet in this context means to sing a song together))

Example 4.21 (Continued)

10	LC05 → R	mbak anis mau nyanyi apa?	* mbak anis want to sing what? ((mbak anis what do you want to sing?))
11	R → LC05	nggak ah mbak	no mbak

All of the above examples evidently illustrate that the direct ‘you’ terms are rarely used in the interactions. Instead they use the titles *mas/mbak* or *mbak/mas* + determiner ‘*e*’. *Mas/mbak* + ‘*e*’ (which literally means ‘the sister/brother’). This gives the impression that the speakers are talking in a 3rd person perspective. However, the hearers usually understand that this determiner refers to them instead of someone else. For instance, In Example 4.14 Turn 1, MC09 says ‘*mbak e nyanyi apa?*’ which literally means ‘The sister/mbak sing what?’. The MC was referring to LC05 when he asked her that.

The title + proper name format is found in Turn 10 of Example 4.14 is also found in Example 4.20 Turn 2, 7, and 11 when the operator addressed the male clients as *mas Kepek* and *mas Hoho*. This pattern was also used by the MCs when addressing the LCs. For example, in Example 4.22 Turn 3, 4, and 5 where MC09 and MC10 address LC05 as *mbak nya* and *mbak dian* instead of *njangkar*. Other than that, a title without particle and proper name can also function to substitute ‘you’, as shown in the following example:

Example 4.22 Title used to substitute direct ‘you’

Karaoke Session	4		
Time of occurrence	3:08		
Context	MC09 and LC05 introduced themselves to each other		
Turn	Speakers	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	MC09 → LC05	mbak siapa mbak?	*mbak who mbak? what’s your name mbak?
2	LC05 → MC09	mbak dian	mbak dian
3	MC09 → LC05	dian? andi dian ni andi	dian? andi you’re dian and i’m andi
4	LC05 → MC09	hehe	((giggle))

Instead of using *siapa nama mu mbak?* (what's your name, mbak?) or *siapa nama mu?* (what's your name?), the speaker eliminates the word *mu* or *kamu* ('your' and 'you' in Indonesian) and replace it with title *mbak*.

Performing politeness strategies by using certain address terms and avoidance patterns are not exclusively done by the LCs but also by the operators and MCs. Thus, we can conclude that politeness is performed not only by the service providers but also by the clients. Several motivations lead the participants to use such codes and strategies. First, they want to build rapport and to show respect to the clients regardless of their age by using *mbak* and *mas* as they are more respectful than *dhek* (particularly in this context). *Dhek* usually marks subordinate relationship since it is originally used to address younger kin. In Javanese culture, age is one of determining factors of politeness and code choice, hence younger kin are expected to be more respectful to their elders. By addressing the interlocutors using *mas* and *mbak*, all participants (particularly the LCs who are older) do not intend to regard themselves as superordinate.

Second, *njenengan* is used to show greater respect. For example, LC02 used *njenengan* to address R (researcher) as she believes that R has the highest educational level among all of the participants. Third, avoidance patterns and other strategies to show respect include avoiding the word 'you' and *njangkar*, as well as minimising the distance among the participants. *Njangkar* and the direct 'you' such as *kowe*, *njenengan*, and *kamu* are somewhat dilemmatic for the speakers. *Njenengan* represents greater respect of the speakers towards the hearers but creates distance among the participants. On the contrary, *kowe* and *njangkar* do not show respect to the hearers but signal intimacy and familiarity among the interactants. As a result, speakers modify their utterance by using avoidance patterns, titles, noun phrases (*mas/mbak* + proper name) and determiner phrases (*mbak/mas* + e), followed by *Ngoko* and Indonesian to make themselves closer with the interlocutors without neglecting the politeness aspects. The

Indonesian direct ‘you/your’ *kamu* and *mu* are also considered slightly impolite by the participants. Perhaps this is due to the Javanese norms that influencing the speakers’ attitude even though they understand and can converse in Indonesian. Consequently, they often use Javanese avoidance patterns and address terms when speaking in Indonesian.

Alternatively, some speakers use endearment terms to show intimacy or to acknowledge their addressees’ positive faces. Because Javanese norms expect people to restrain their emotional feeling in public places, terms of endearment are hardly found among adults in Javanese society (Suseno 1984 as cited in Kuntjara, 2001, p. 214). The only term of endearment found in the data is *sayang* ‘dear’, which is used by LC01, to address her clients during Karaoke Session 2 and 5. The following excerpts show how she used endearment terms:

Example 4.23 Endearment terms ‘yang’ and ‘sayang’

Karaoke Session	1		
Time of occurrence	30:56		
Context	LC01 and LC02 asked the clients to sing together.		
Turn	Speakers	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	LC02 → MC03	ayo mas nyanyi mas	Come on mas sing mas
2	LC01 → MC05	ayo yang nyanyi yang	Come on dear sing dear
3	MC04 → LCs	isin kui mbak	He’s shy mbak
4	LC01 >MC05	halah ayo to::: suaramu kan apik. kowe kan anak band.	Oh come on I know your voice is good. You’re a band member.

Example 4.24 Endearment terms

Karaoke Session	5		
Time of occurrence	29:42		
Context	LC01 used endearment term to address the clients		
Turn	Speakers	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	LC01 → all MCs	[...] AYO YANG, AYO YANG, AYO SAYANG. BERDIRI! AYO EHEHE. aku nek ndangdut nggak terlalu suka e mas, nggak papa yo?	[...] COME ON DEAR, COME ON DEAR, COME ON DEAR. STAND UP! COME ON ((laugh)) i don’t really like dangdut mas, you don’t mind right?

Example 4.24 (Continued)

2	MC10 → LC01	nggak pa pa	it's okay
3	LC01 → MC10	ndangdut nggak terlalu suka aku [...] ayo joget	I don't really like dangdut [...] come on, dance

Sayang (dear, sweetie, darling) and *yang* (shortened form of *sayang*) are Indonesian terms of endearment that are common among Javanese. In specific contexts, *yang* is used to refer 'girlfriend or boyfriend'. Sentences such as '*Yang mu sopo?*' can be interpreted as 'Who's your boyfriend/girlfriend?'. LC05 uses this endearment term particularly to show more intimacy rather than respect in order to believe that her clients will feel more liked and comfortable and reduce distances between them.

It is important to highlight that in performing politeness strategies, speakers not only pay attention to styles and address terms to demonstrate respect and polite attitude but also to acknowledge the hearer's face wants. *Krama* or *Njenengan* indeed show the speakers' polite attitude but this might also contrast with the hearers' positive face wants as it can create a distance among the interactants. In this case, all the participants of this research seem to consider both language aspects and others' face wants. Using *Ngoko* with someone unfamiliar in the first encounter seems impolite but on the other hand it confirms the hearers' positive face wants, i.e. to be accepted in the group. The languages used by all the participants in all the seven Karaoke Sessions were mostly *Ngoko* Javanese and Indonesian. The exchanges of *Ngoko* Javanese style were symmetrical in all of the interactions regardless of the age and social status of the interactants. Even though honorific *njenengan* is used; conversation was still conducted in *Ngoko* or Indonesian instead of *Krama*. None of the conversations were conducted in *Krama*.

It is also important to note that *njangkar* was almost never found in the interactions between LCs and MCs. *Njangkar* was mostly found in the interactions

among the MCs in which they address each other by using their sobriquet names. *Njangkar* and crude forms spoken by the LC to the MC are found only in one utterance, and they were used in a joking context.

The results show that all of the participants used *mbak* and *mas* as well as *mas-e*, *mbak-e*, *mas/mbak* + (proper name) to address each other. Conversely, direct 'you' such as *kowe*, *njenengan* and *panjenengan* were rarely used. In addition, none of the LC used the address term *Pak* (Sir or Mister) which literally means 'father' during the data collection because it connotes that their clients are old. LCs use *Pak* only to address certain older clients.

Javanese address terms are frequently found when the speakers use Bahasa Indonesia. It resembles Kuntjara's (2001, p.212) statement that there is a general preference for Javanese terms over Indonesian terms among Indonesian speakers with Javanese ethnic background. This is because most of them feel more comfortable with Javanese address terms. Javanese terms of address can strengthen the hierarchical relationship of the interlocutors and show the degree of respect even though they use Indonesian, which is more egalitarian.

4.5.2. Non-accommodative Interpersonal Control Strategies

LCs as service providers are compelled to fulfil their clients' needs. Nevertheless, as free individuals they may also have their own needs and wants which may contradict their clients'. Non-accommodative strategies often occur when there are conflicts between the LCs' and MCs' needs. When LCs maintain their own needs over the MCs', they will use non-accommodative style. Disagreements and other problematic communications among participants usually occur when the MCs infiltrate the LCs' intimate space or ask for sexual service. The data suggest that LCs often directly and indirectly refuse the clients request and invitation.

Evidence of LCs refusals and disagreements of sexual service and physical contacts can be seen in Example 4.26.

Example 4.25 Refusal of intimate physical contacts

Karaoke Session 7		Time of occurrence 2:28:187		Context MC10 is trying to kiss LC05 while they are singing together	
Turn	Speakers	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English		
1	MC10 LC05	→ eh! sun sek kok	*eh! (pause) > kiss fist< kok		hey! kiss me
2	LC05 MC10	→ ono <u>MBAK ANI:S!</u>	*present <u>MBAK ↑ANI:S!</u>		mbak anis is here!
3	MC10 LC05	→ ho o yo:↓	yeah you're ri:ght↓		
4	MC10 LC05	→ [...] kok rampu:ng?	[..] *kok fini:sh?		why does this song finished so fast?
5	LC05 → R	((laugh)) E::Y AYO MBA::K! JOGET MBA::K!	((laugh)) E::Y COME ON MBA::K! DANCE MBA::K!		
6	MC10 LC05	→ [...] ((singing)) kamu katakan padaku aku sangat mencinta berarti ra <u>mencita?</u>	[...] ((singing)) you said that you really love me so does this mean you don't <u>love me?</u>		
7	LC05 MC10	→ >nggak perlu<	>i don't need to<		
8	MC10 LC05	→ berarti ra mencinta::, kamu?	*means not love::, you? it means you don't love me, you ((don't love me))?		
9	LC05 MC10	→ HO::O!	HO::!		

The example shows that MC10 trying to hug and kiss LC05 (Turn 5). LC05 dodged him and said that there are other observers in the room. MC10 did not seem perturbed and continuously tried to kiss her again while they sang (Turn 6 to 9). While singing the lyrics, *kamu katakan padaku aku sangat mencinta* 'you said that you really love me', he playfully asked LC02 whether she loves him or not. LC02 answered 'I don't need to' and dodged him again (Turn 7 and 9). Her statement in Turn 2 'mbak Anis is here'

apparently functioned as indirect refusal by which she expected MC10 to feel shy and stop coercing her.

Other than sexual services and physical contacts, negotiations in relation to alcohol beverages also can cause disagreement and other problematic communications among the participants as shown in Example 4.27 and 4.28.

Example 4.26 Showing disagreement towards the clients

Karaoke Session	5		
Time of occurrence	5:10		
Context	LC01 asks all of the MCs what do they want to order		
Turn	Participants	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	LC01 → MC09	udah pesen minum ↑mas?	have you ordered some drinks ↑mas?
2	MC09 → LC01	hm?	what?
3	LC01 → MC09	udah pesen minum? mau (pesen minum) apa?	have you ordered some drinks? *want (order beverages) what? ((what drinks would you like to order?))
4	MC09 → LC01	apa mbak?	what mbak?
5	LC01 → MC09	mau pesen minum apa?	what drinks would you like to order?
6	MC09 → LC01	apa mbak?	what mbak?
7	MC10 → MC09	anggur we?	*wine just? just order wine
8	OP → LC01	apa lagi mbak?	what else mbak?
9	LC01 → MC10	anggur merah?	red wine?
10	MC10 → OP	anggur merah	red wine:
11	MC10 → MC09	campuri opo: ho:↑?	*mix what ho:↑? what do you want to mix it with ho?
12	LC01 → MC10 & MC09	jangan °anggur merah tak kasih tau°	don't °order red wine i suggest you°

Example 4.26 (Continued)

13	MC09 → LC01	lha ↑nopo:?	but ↑why:?
14	LC01 → MC09	nggak bagus:	it's not goo:d
15	MC10	((giggle)) nggak bagus?	((giggle)) not good?
16	LC01 → MC09 & MC10	tenan, ↑enggak. °anggur merahnya di sini nggak bagus mbak anis sing njaluk°	*serious, ↑no. °red wine here not good mbak anis asked it° i'm serious, no. the quality of red wine here is not good, mbak anis asked us not to drink it ()
17	MC09 → LC01	OPO?	WHAT?
18	LC01 → MC09 & MC10	[°bene:r°]	[°seriou:s°]
19	MC10 → LC01	[mbak anis] senenge minum opo?	[what does mbak anis] usually like to drink?
20	LC01 → MC10	°yo terserah mas, jangan tak kasih tahu jangan anggur merah°	°well up to you mas, i suggest you not to drink red wine°
21	MC10 → MC09	lha opo:?	but why:?
22	MC09 → MC10	ora abidin wae?	why don't we just order abidin?
23	LC01 → MC09	abidin ki opo to?	what is abidin?
24	MC09 → LC01	anggur merah <u>bir</u> dingin	red wine and cold <u>beer</u>
25	LC01	((laughed very loud))	((laughed very loud))
26	R → MC10	opo?	what?
27	MC10 → R	anggur merah bir dingin hehe	red wine and cold beer
28	R → MC10	abidin hehe	abidin ((laugh))
29	LC01 → MC09 & MC10	abidin ((giggle)) ha mbok- sing rodo nganu sithik mas ((laugh))	abidin ((giggle)) why don't you make it a bit more ((laugh))
30	OP → MC10	opo pek?	what pek?
31	MC09 → MC10	yo terserah mbak e wae	well up to LC01
32	LC01 → R	↑opo? mbak- mbak anis mau minum apa ini	what? mbak- mbak anis what do you want to drink
33	R → LC01	aku akua aja	mineral water please
34	LC01 → MC09 & MC10	MAS VODKA AJA YO?	MAS HOW ABOUT VODKA?
35	MC09 → LC01	apa?	what?
36	LC01 → MC09 & MC10	vodka aja ya?	what about vodka?
37	MC10 → LC01	yo:-	we:ll-
38	MC09	((not clear))	((mumbling not clear))

Example 4.26 (Continued)

39	LC01 MC09 MC10	→ †tapi nggak usah pake & kratingdaeng.	↑but no need to mix it with redbull.
40	MC09 LC01	→ terserah aja	up to you
41	MC10 LC01	→ ya: pake-	well: with-
42	LC01 MC09 MC10	→ vodka greensand gitu aja ya? & mau?	vodka and greendsan okay? do you like it?
43	MC09 LC01	→ terserah aja:	*up to you aja: up to you
44	LC01 MC09 MC10	→ tak(.) gawekke sing enak &	i'll(.) make the delicious one for you
45	MC10 LC01	→ tenane:?	really:?
46	MC09 LC01	→ kopus (mumbling, not clear audio)	liar ((mumbling, not clear audio))
47	LC01 MC09 MC10	→ †oh opo anu ma:s, vodka=	↑oh how about this ma:s, vodka=
48	MC10 LC01	→ =vodka:?	=vodka:?
49	LC01 MC09 MC10	→ tru::s apa namanya,	and the::n what is it called,
50	MC09 LC01	& sama you c? wah malah, mbak e nggak nggak usah pake <u>sprite</u>	[sprite and you C wah why should, mbak <u>don't</u> mix it with <u>sprite</u>
51	LC01 MC09 MC10	→ lha apa? GREENSAND AJA & YA?	then what? HOW ABOUT GREENSAND?
52	MC09 LC01	→ ra enak nek kei greendsand	it won't be delicious if it is mixed with greensand
53	LC01	→ trus: pake apa? kratingdaeng? (3 sec) apa?	the:n what do you want to mix it with? red bull? (3 sec) what?
54	MC10 MC09	→ opo yo (2 sec)	what uh (2 sec)
55	MC09 LC01	→ wes terserah we	whatever just up to you
56	MC10 LC01	→ vodka kratingdaeng- eh opo greensand wae	*vodka red bull- eh what greend sand just vodka with red bull- eh no i mean greensand
57	LC01 MC10	→ †ho o: VODKA GREENSAND <u>ENAK</u> kalau pake kratingdaeng bikin serak e	↑ye:s vodka and greensand is delicious but if we mix it with red bull it will make sore throat

Example 4.26 (Continued)

58	MC09 LC01	→	pake ndak? kalau ndak <u>tuak</u> wae rapopo	*with or not? if not then just order <u>tuak</u> so do you want to mix it or not? or just order <u>tuak</u>
59	LC01 MC09	→	hehe OPO CIU MAS? TAK GOLEKKE CIU? HAHAHA	*((giggle)) OR CIU MAS? I WILL FIND CIU? ((LAUGH VERY LOUD)) ((giggle)) what about ciu mas? I'll find ciu for you? ((laugh very loud))
60	MC09 LC01	→	<u>LHA:</u> WONG ANGEL ANGEL KOK	* <u>LHA:</u> WONG DIFFICULT KOK well because you make things so difficult
61	MC10 LC01	→	lha: wong ita <u>itu</u> og	lha: wong this and <u>that</u> og well: you keep saying this and that
62	LC01 MC09 MC10	→ &	OH TAK BAWAIN KALAU AKU PULANG SOLO TAK BAWAIN BERAPA LITER YO MBAK? ((LAUGH)) [...]	OH I WILL BRING IT FOR YOU IF I GO BACK FROM SOLO I WILL BRING IT FOR YOU HOW MANY LITRE RIGHT MBAK? ((LAUGH)) [...]
63	LC01 MC09 MC10	→ &	MAS E NGGUYA NGGUYU TAK JIPUK ANTING ANTING MU LHO ((LAUGH))	MAS IF YOU KEEP LAUGHING I'LL TAKE YOUR EARRINGS ((LAUGH))

The data above demonstrate that LC01 did not want the MCs to order red wine. Even though it might appear as a suggestion, it was actually a manipulative way of directing the clients to follow the LC's preference. She instigated them by saying that local red wines provided in the KC have lousy quality. In addition, she also said that she asked them not to drink wine in Turn 16. Based on Beebe & Takahashi's (1990) taxonomy of refusal strategies, it can be said that she performed an indirect refusal strategies when she tried dissuading the interlocutor. She also gave statement of alternative by offering them to order Vodka instead of local red wine (Turn 34 to 57).

Many of the MCs' utterances indicate that they seemed displeased by her disagreement. For example, in Turn 22, MC09 said 'why don't we just order red wine?' to indicate that he still wants the red wine. MC09 keeps repeating *terserah* 'up to you' half-heartedly whenever LC01 suggested other kinds of beverage to drink (Turn 31, 40, 43, and 55). His utterance in Turn 58 clearly expressed his displeasure as he

sarcastically suggested LC01 to order *tuak* (traditional alcohol beverage made from fermented rice) instead of Vodka. Moreover, the MCs also criticised LC01 in Turn 60 and 61. LC01 jokingly said that she wanted to give them *ciu*, another kind of traditional alcohol (Turn 59 and 62) and took MC10's earring. The MCs only smiled half-heartedly and none of them laughed because they seemed to be annoyed.

Example 4.27 below shows further negotiations among LC05, MC09, and MC10.

Example 4.27 Direct refusals against the clients

Karaoke Session	5		
Time of occurrence	36:13		
Context	the participants had already finished the liquor. LC01 asked them whether they wanted to order more or not.		
Turn	Speakers	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	LC01 MC10	> mau tambah lagi nggak?	do you want to order more?
2	MC10 LC01	> anggur wae to mbak	let's just order wine mbak
3	LC01 MC10	> ha?	hah?
4	MC10 LC01	> anggur wae	let's just ((order)) wine
5	LC01 MC10	> () MOH AKU LHO	() I don't want ((wine))
6	MC10 LC01	> enak anggur karo bir langsung mabuk ya?	wine mixed with beer is more delicious ((we can be)) drunk immediately okay?
7	LC01 MC10	> kowe ngombe anggur aku ngombe iki. KOWE NGOMBE ANGGUR AKU NGOMBE IKI	you can drink wine and I will just drink this ((isotonic water)). YOU DRINK WINE AND I WILL JUST DRINK THIS
8	MC10 LC01	> †YO MELU MINUM TO YO	no way you have to drink with us
9	LC01 MC10	> HAHHAHA YA?	((LAUGH)) PLEASE?
10	LC01 MC10	> [...] rasane koyo opo e? aku rung tau	[...] how does it taste? I never drink that before
11	LC01 > OP	[...] MAS TAMBAH ANGGUR MERAH SAMA BIR ITEM	[...] MAS WE ORDER RED WINE AND BLACK BEER
12	MC10 LC01	> bir putih	white beer
13	LC01 MC10	> hah?	hah?
14	MC10 LC01	> bir putih	white beer

Example 4.27 (Continued)

15	LC01 MC10	>	↑AH MOH NGKO MABUK E <u>LORO:</u>	AH NO I DON'T WANT IT WHAT IF IT MAKES ME DIZZY WHEN I DRINK?
16	MC10 LC01	>	ora bir bintang	no it's okay it's bir bintang ((a beer product))
17	LC01 > OP		BIR BINTANG MAS	BIR BINTANG MAS

In the above example, LC05 directly refused the clients' request to order red wine in Turn 5 and 15 by stating her negative willingness *moh* 'I don't want'. In Turn 7, LC05 said that she would order wine and beer for the clients and let them drink that. However, she would not drink that with the clients. Thus, she used indirect refusal by giving alternative to the clients.

LCs often tried to find an excuse to avoid drinking alcohol as shown in Example 4.28.

Example 4.28 Direct refusal and excuse as non-accommodative strategies

Karaoke Session 3				
Field note 3.1				
Context MC06 asked LC02 to drink beer but she refused				
Turn	Speakers		Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	MC06 LC02	→	nih mbak minum	Here mbak drink it
2	LC02 MC06	→	maaf mas, aku nggak minum	Sorry mas, I don't drink (alcohol/liquor)
3	MC06 LC02	→	halah mbak dikit aja, ini kan cuma bir	Come on mbak just a little, it's just beer
4	LC02 MC06	→	duh mas maaf, aku abis operasi jadi memang nggak boleh minum	I'm sorry mas, I've just had surgery so I really can't drink

The above example shows that LC02 refused to drink alcohol by using expression of regret followed by explicit refusals and explanation in Turn 2 and 4. She apologised before refusing MC06 to mitigate the face-threatening act. In addition, she also explained that she could not drink alcohol because of medical reasons. She expected MC06's empathy by saying that she had just undergone surgery. She stated that this strategy is very effective to stop the clients from coercing her to drink alcohol.

Another evidence of similar strategy can be seen in Example 4.29.

Example 4.29 Direct refusals and excuse as non-accommodative strategies

Karaoke Session		4	
Time of occurrence			
Context		MC09 persuade LC05 (and slightly forced her) to drink the liquor	
Turn	Speakers	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	MC09 → LC05	((mc menyodorkan sloki ke bibir LC05))	((MC09 put a shot into LC05's mouth))
2	LC05 → MC09	aku nggak <u>minu:m</u>	I don't drink
3	MC09 → LC05	ya harus minum, kalo nggak minum ya apa adanya mbak	Well you have to drink, if you don't then it's not fun
4	LC05 → MC09	sesok poso e	But tomorrow I have to fast
5	MC09 → LC05	<u>ya</u> sa:ma	Me too:
6	LC05 → MC09	ha trus piye, ndadak kramas ngko mbengi	Then what should I do, I have to wash my hair tonight ((if I drink))
7	MC09 → LC05	yo bedok- besok juga saya puasa kok, ra popo	Well tomorrow I will also fast, it's alright ((to drink))
8	LC05 → MC09	((menghiraukan dan langsung lanjut menyanyi))	((Ignoring the MCs and continue singing))

This example shows LC05 refusing the clients directly by exhibiting unwillingness in Turn 2. She also gave an excuse by stating that she wanted to do her *Sunnah* (fast) the following day and she would have to take a shower and wash her hair if she drank liquors. This is a reasonable excuse since the data was recorded before Eid al-Adha. However, it somewhat contradicts the actual Islamic law because alcohol is considered as *haram*. Taking a shower and washing hair after drinking cannot instantly 'legalize' alcohol.

Other than giving reasons, LC also refused the clients invitation to drink together by criticising them as shown in Example 4.30.

Example 4.30 Criticising the client

Turn	Participants	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
Karaoke session 4 Time of occurrence 2:40:51 Context LC criticise the clients			
1	MC09 OP	→ tipe x, sakit hati:	sakit hati: by tipe x
2	LC05 MC09	→ standby ne apa?	*standby what? what's next?
3	MC09 ALL	→ standby ne apa? sak sak e	*standby what? up to you what's next? up to you
4	MC10 OP	→ standby nya:: dikasi:h	standby:: give
5		kisah, eh kisah opo kasih? oh kasih, diantara kita	kisah, eh is it kisah or kasih? oh kasih, diantara kita ((recalling the song tittle))
6	MC11 LC05	→ boomerang?	by boomerang?
7	LC05 MC11	→ opo yo? kasih? oh ka::si::h diantara: kita::	what is it? kasih? ((recalling song tittle and singing parts of the lyrics))
8	MC11 LC05	→ oh powerslave	what is it? kisah? ((recalling song tittle))
9	LC05 MC11	→ oh ho o power slave	oh yes by powerslave
10	MC09 LC05	→ standby nya minum	* standby drink next is drinking
11	LC05 MC09	→ †KOWE ki:: >ngomBA ngombe sak okeh okeh e ngongokon ngomba ngombe::< †SAWER! a:hh	*you ki drink drink as much as you can order me to drink sawer you:: >drINK so much and order me to drink several times too::< †SAWER! a:h
12	MC09 LC05	→ °nggak punya duit° ((not clear audio))	°I don't have money° ((not clear audio))
13	LC05 MC09	→ hu:h >lha kok ngonkon ngomba ngombe!< nek aku mabuk piye?	hu:h >then why do you always force me to drink!< what if I drunk?
14	MC09 LC05	→ <galak ik>	<you're ferocious>
15	LC05 MC09	→ makane kerjo:	that's why you need to work

'Standby' is used when the participants asked the operator to prepare the next song. When other participants discussed what song to sing next, MC10 gave a shot of liquor to LC05 and said that the next thing to do is to drink (Turn 10). This conversation occurred at more than two and a half hours of the Karaoke Session when the participants had their fourth bottle of liquor. Being coerced by the MCs from the

beginning of the Karaoke Session, LC05 finally had to drink so much liquor with them. She could no longer endure her aggravation when MC09 gave her another shot. Thus, she raised her intonation and volume to criticise MC09 and said that he had to *sawer* her in Turn 11. *Sawer* means to “direct monetary transfer from audience to singer-dancer on stage” (Bader, 2011, p. 339). In Turn 15, she sarcastically said that MC09 need to work as he said he has no money to *sawer*.

All these examples indisputably threatened the rapport between the participants because LCs’ refusals and criticism threatened the MCs’ face and disappointed them. Interactional goals could not be achieved easily when LCs put her own needs above the clients’ and neglected their obligations as service provider. Nevertheless, MCs’ evaluations of the LCs are varied depending on whether or not the LCs finally show agreement and fulfilled their needs. MCs’ general evaluations of LCs are presented in Section 5.3.

4.6. Summary

The data analysis in this chapter was carried out with a clear intent to establish the different communication styles of the LCs. It shows that accommodative communication styles are found in all of the four categories of adjustment strategies whereas non-accommodative styles are mostly occurred within discourse management and interpersonal control categories. As explained in Chapter 2, there are two sub-types of non-accommodation, i.e. over-accommodation and under-accommodation. Under-accommodation is the only non-accommodative style that occurred in the data. It occurs when LCs insufficiently (or not at all) adjusted their communication styles to the level needed by the MCs. On the other hand, over-accommodative styles are not found in the data. It is because the participants never adjusted their communication styles by exceeding the level needed by the MCs during their interactions. Moreover,

misunderstandings mostly occur when the participants cannot hear each other clearly because to the loud music.

LCs implemented accommodative communication styles in various ways such as: use high variety of language to show respect, adopt the participants' communication styles (converging), continue the topic chosen by the MCs, choose entertaining or humorous topics, response to the clients' queries and give extra information when needed. They also clarify misunderstanding which occurred during their encounter with the MCs by using simpler sentences to facilitate comprehension or by adjusting her volume, speech pace.

Non-accommodative strategies are used by the LCs when they want to show disagreement with the clients and refuse their requests and invitations. There are several evidences of direct and indirect refusals that occur in the data. Direct refusals are mostly delivered in the form of unwillingness such as *moh* 'I don't want to' and inability such as *aku nggak bisa* 'I can't'. On the other hand, indirect refusals occur when LCs give the MCs alternative, excuses, and reasons, in order to dissuade them or avoid their requests or invitations. LCs also use apologetic expressions such as *maaf* 'sorry' as indirect refusal. As such, non-accommodation strategies are interrelated to interpersonal control and discourse management strategies.

In brief, accommodative communication styles enhanced the rapport between the participants whereas non-accommodative styles often threatened the three elements of rapport management.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

5.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses the second and third research questions of this study and discuss the findings presented in Chapter 4. The answers to the research questions are provided in three sections. Section 5.2 provides a general illustration of typical sequences of the participants' interactions and their general linguistic behaviours, while Sections 5.3 and 5.4 discuss the tension of needs between the stakeholders and 'doing gender' with particular reference to participants' communication styles.

5.2. Communication Routines and Linguistic Awareness among Participants

One of the main factors that cause the female employees to use accommodation and non-accommodation strategies is due to the communication routines in the workplace. Their roles require them to practice certain specific communication styles in order to achieve their institutional goals, i.e. to do business with their clients. This section discusses certain patterns of communication routines of the participants which resembles most of adjustment strategies in CAT.

Even though the participants' communication styles are highly varied in each Karaoke Sessions, further examination of the data suggests that there is a typical pattern of communication routines as summarised in the following table:

Table 5.1 General pattern of participants' interactions

General Interaction Phases		Common Language Used
Phase	Continuum	
<i>Opening</i>	Greetings (phatic exchanges)	Bahasa Indonesia
	General relational talk e.g. discussion about work	Bahasa Indonesia
<i>Task Performance</i>	Transactional talk	Varied (BI, NJ, or mix). Can be changed depending on participants' familiarity with each other. They can switch from BI to NJ once they become more familiar.
	More intimate relational talks during task performance (wider topics of mutual interest)	
³ <i>Turning Points</i>	Problematic communications/ interactions e.g. MCs misbehaviours & disagreements	Varied (BI, NJ, or mix)
	Resolutions	
<i>Closing</i>	Termination of Karaoke Session	Mostly in BI
	Expression of gratitude	
⁴ <i>Continuations</i>	relational talk after the termination of Karaoke Session	Mostly in NJ

The table shows that communication styles are usually different in each phase of Karaoke Session.

The most important thing in being an LC is to be able to entertain the clients and build rapport with them. Not surprisingly then, LCs often use accommodative communication styles because they want to be liked by their clients. The data suggest that LCs often begin communication with their clients by using BI in the *opening* phase of all the Karaoke Sessions. They use this because it is the safest strategy of interaction. LCs explained in the interviews that using BI to the clients, especially to those whom they meet for the first time, is considered polite and respectful. MCs also evaluated this positively as they know that BI is used to show respect to them. This finding supports Giles and Gasiorek's (2012a & 2012b) claim that different communicative styles which may be interpreted as non-accommodative by third party observers can be in fact be perceived as accommodative by the interactants depending on the context and their subjective evaluation of the speakers and their motives.

³ This phase does not always exist.

⁴ This phase only occurs in Karaoke Session 1

LCs usually initiate relational talks and small talks at the *opening* and beginning of *task performance* phase by asking several basic questions to the MCs such as: where do they come from, where do they work, whether they had visited the KC before, etc. BI is often used during these initial interactions. These questions often lead to discussions about several daily life topics and increase the level of self-disclosure among the participants. As a result, the participants become more familiar with each other. This routine represents accommodative discourse management strategies as it shows that LCs successfully ‘break the ice’ by initiating discussions about appropriate topics. It confirms Jones *et al.*’s (1999) study which stated that participants were labelled as accommodating when they successfully manage the topics.

Even though BI is used to show respect and evaluated positively by both parties, it is rarely used throughout the whole phases of Karaoke Sessions. Interpersonal talks during the sessions often increase the participants’ familiarity and interpersonal relationship. Once they become more familiar, LCs gradually converge to MCs’ communication code (NJ), talk in more informal ways, tell jokes, tease the clients, and discuss various topics of interest. MCs generally regard this positively as they feel more comfortable using NJ and informal communication styles.

However, it is important to note that downward convergence to NJ should occur at the appropriate time. Examination throughout the data suggests that none of the LCs ever converge to NJ directly at the *opening* phase to show friendliness or intimacy. For example, LC05 still used BI to initiate conversations with MC09 and MC10 in Karaoke Session 7. Despite the fact that they had already built a good relationship during Karaoke Session 4, she used NJ after approximately 8 minutes of interaction in BI. Asymmetrical exchange of BI and NJ is the preferred communication styles during the initial stage of Karaoke Session. LCs usually converge to NJ approximately around 30 to 60 minutes of interactions. In other words, they adopt low variety and informal

communication styles after the interactants feel comfortable with each other. This is most probably because they are not familiar with the MCs as none of the MCs are their regular clients.

LCs switch back to BI at the *closing* phase of the Karaoke Sessions where LCs express their gratitude to the MCs. This pattern suggests that BI is the LCs' default language to greet, initiate talks, and express gratitude to the customers. It seems to be a subconscious behaviour since most of the LCs could not clearly explain as to why they often code-switch back and forth and use BI more frequently during the opening and closing of Karaoke Session.

It should be noted that Krama Javanese is never used at all. In certain local domains such as government administration offices in sub-district or village, Madya and Krama are still used in the interactions among service providers and the clients. However, since the domain of this research is clearly distinct from that formal service workplace, Krama is clearly avoided by the participants, especially the LCs.

Post-interview reveals the participants' attitude towards their language choice. BI is more preferable than Krama even though both varieties can be used to show respect and politeness. Participants believe that Krama would show excessive politeness and make their communication awkward as it would accentuate the gap between interactants. Furthermore, they state that it would restrict them from expressing their ideas because their knowledge and proficiency of Krama is very limited. These findings seem to confirm Goebel's (2005 & 2010) studies which show that NJ is often used regardless the age of interactants to signal familiarity and solidarity as LCs and MCs communicate in symmetrical exchange of NJ even though they have distinct age gap. Moreover, the findings also support Subroto *et al.*'s (2008) study which indicates that the use of Krama among Javanese young generations has been decreased.

Wolf and Poedjosoedarmo (1982, p. 52) assert that BI can be considered as the ‘speech level of avoidance’ as it is used to avoid the use of Javanese speech level, particularly when the relationship among interactants is unclear. Their statement seems to reflect the data of this study since LCs are required to show respect and friendliness to their clients at the same time. Thus, deciding which Javanese speech level to use during the *opening* phase of interactions with unfamiliar clients can be somewhat dilemmatic. Using NJ can be perceived as impolite whereas Krama can create wider gap between the interactants. The following continuum represents the general code choice during the participants’ interaction:

Table 5.2 Languages and level of intimacy

Bahasa Indonesia (BI)	Mix (Dominant BI)	Mix (Dominant NJ)	Ngoko Javanese (NJ)
Less intimate		More intimate	

Interpersonal talks among participants usually increase during *task performance* phase. Conversational topics during this phase are highly varied and developed quite rapidly. LCs often continue the topics chosen by the clients or initiate humorous topics to entertain them and make them feel ‘well-received’. The characteristics of sexualised and gender-based workplace encourage the participants to talk about sex-related topics. In this study, all of the participants seem to enjoy sex-related topics. Most of the sex-related topics, *njangkar*, and crude forms are delivered in humorous styles and the participants evaluated them positively as accommodative communication styles instead of insult or harassment. Self-disclosures among participants usually increase during this phase as they often share personal topics such as family and work. In other words, most of the LCs successfully practise accommodative discourse management and interpersonal control strategies. During the interview, both parties (LCs and MCs) generally agree that LCs should be ‘enak diajak bicara’ (easy to talk to). In short, LCs

practice accommodative discourse management and interpersonal control strategies because they are required to be a good talker and listener.

Nevertheless, some problematic communications may occur during *task performance* especially when the needs of stakeholders do not meet. In this phase, non-accommodative communication styles are inevitable. Problematic interactions can be the turning point of participant's relationship as they can influence participants evaluation of each other which, in turn, affect their desire to engage in future interaction (Gasiorek & Giles, 2012, p. 340). Most LCs are evaluated positively by the MCs because they can deal with these problems and sacrifice their needs. On the contrary, LC02 who insists in protecting her own needs is evaluated negatively.

MCs satisfaction towards LCs' service may lead to *continuations* phase as seen in Karaoke Session 1 in which participants continue their interaction in the gazebo after the *closing*. In this phase, the nature of interactions is slightly changed and the participants use NJ more freely as they no longer perform transactional talks. Crude form *cocote* and *njangkar* which are perceived as accommodative behaviour also occur in this phase. Participants also exchange their contacts and continue their communications via telephone or social network accounts. As mentioned in Chapter I, the institution strictly prohibits LCs from going out with the clients and providing sexual services. However, the institution permits exchanging phone numbers or social network accounts because it may also benefit them economically.

Other than code choice and topics, this study also analyse the use of appropriate address terms as part of interpersonal control strategies. *Mbak* and *mas* are the most acceptable address terms in the context of this study. MCs prefer to be addressed by *mas* rather than *dhek* even though they are younger than the LCs. They stated that *dhek* is '*wagu*' (inappropriate) and '*lucu*' (funny). The following response given by MC09 illustrates his attitude towards *dhek*:

‘Lucu, malah ra semaur aku mengko. Brondong po piye?’

“That would be funny; I wouldn’t respond if she called me like that. Am I a *brondong* or what?”

The word *brondong* (literally means popcorn) refers to young males who have a relationship with older female and often, but not always, financially dependent to their female partners. Some LCs do have relationship with *brondong* and often give financial support to them. This phenomenon is very common in this research area. Accordingly, all the MCs perceived *mas* as more preferable than *dhek* because it is more respectful. None of the LCs address the MCs by their names without address terms (*njangkar*) during Karaoke Session. *Njangkar* together with crude form *cocote* occur only once during humorous conversations among LC02 and MC01 after the Karaoke Session 1.

5.3. Tension between the Needs of LCs, MCs, and KC

In addition to communication routines, the way in which participants manage each other’s needs may reflect and affect their communication styles as well as their perception towards each other. Thus, a discussion of stakeholder’s needs provides significant contributions to address the second research question of this study. The simple illustration of stakeholder needs is presented in the following figure:

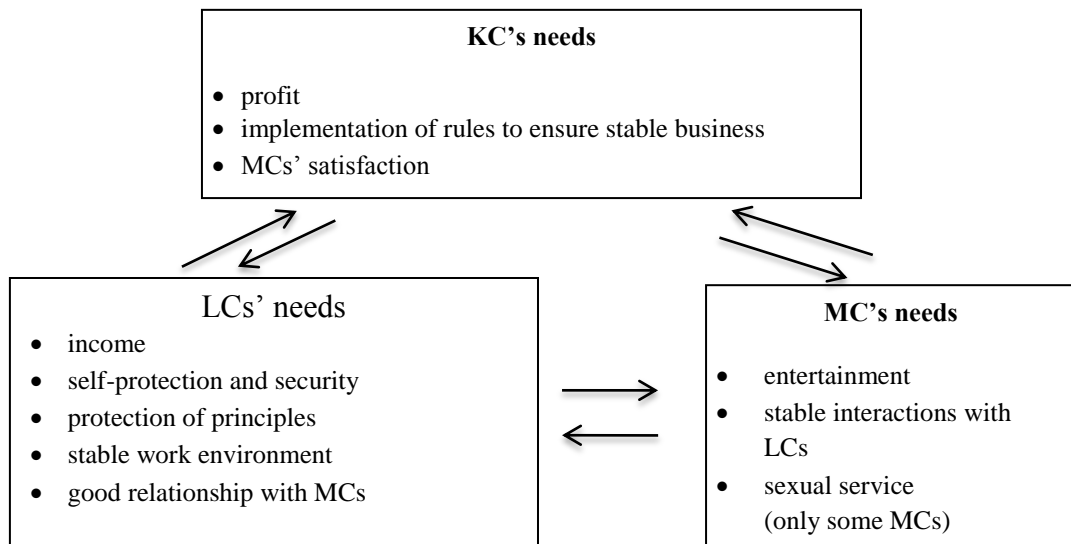


Figure 5.1 Needs of the Stakeholder

The figure shows the general needs of the stakeholder which are mostly interconnected but not necessarily met all of the time. As a commercial organisation, KC and LCs surely need to get revenue from their clients. The main purpose of the business itself is to satisfy the entertainment needs of the MCs and get profit from them. Thus, satisfying the MCs' needs is the most obvious priority in this business. MCs are arguably the central figures because they are the main source of revenue for both KC and LCs. MCs are more likely to do business with an organisation (KC) when the affective bonds of liking, trust, and respect have been established through LCs' behaviour (see Wharton & Erickson, 1993 in Morris & Feldman, 1996, p. 989).

LCs as the service providers are required to satisfy the MCs' needs. Nevertheless, participants engage in an interaction may have different purposes and tensions often occur when their needs do not meet. These clashes of needs often lead to problematic communications. Thus, LCs have a tough role to balance the needs of the stakeholder which can affect their communication styles in general. As shown in Chapter 4, LCs often practise accommodative communication styles while fulfilling the

client's needs and non-accommodative communication styles when dealing with clashes between stakeholder's needs.

Arguably, non-accommodative communication styles are often evaluated negatively because they may show relational dissatisfaction, disaffection, disrespect and other negative traits. However, Gasiorek and Giles (2012) proposed that the recipients' perceptions of speakers' motives (not the speaker's motive per se) are the most essential elements to determine recipients' reactions and responses to non-accommodation (pp. 325-326). Thus, non-accommodative styles which are perceived as unintentional and positively motivated may be evaluated less negatively by the recipients (see Figure 2.2).

Even though this study gives less attention to the MCs' reactions toward the LCs' communication styles, it is worth noting that the MCs' evaluation towards the LCs' non-accommodative styles in this study are also influenced by the LCs' follow-up regarding the problem. This is because participants often engage in some negotiations when dealing with problematic communications (i.e. under-accommodations). Thus, agreements and disagreements among the participants often change over time throughout their interactions. Chronological examinations show that some LCs who refused their clients' request and invitation in the beginning may gradually approve them. It eventually affects the MCs' reaction and evaluation towards the LCs' non-accommodative behaviour. In short, the MCs' evaluation and perception towards the LCs' non-accommodative behaviour are not merely based on perceived motives and intentionality but also influenced by whether or not the LCs put the MCs' needs as the main priority.

This can be seen when LCs refused to drink alcohol. For example, LC05 in Examples 4.27 and 4.28 (Section 4.5.2) refused the clients' request to order red wine and beer. However, she finally agreed to order the liquor and to drink with the MCs. To get a better interpretation of this data, the participants were asked in the post-interview

about their motives and perception toward the refusals. LC05 states that she does not like local liquors because she believes that they are low quality. She also explained that she preferred imported liquor such as Vodka, Jack Daniels, or Chivas. She successfully persuades the clients to order Vodka (Example 4.27) but sacrifices her needs to satisfy and to accommodate the MCs. MCs evaluated her less negatively because she fulfilled their request to drink local liquor with them. On the other hand, LC02 in Example 4.29 who practised non-accommodative strategies is evaluated negatively by the MCs. MC06 stated in the interview that he is not satisfied with LC02's service because she is arrogant and not brave. This is because LC02 did not want to drink alcohol during Karaoke Session 3. As a result, MC06 and his friends terminated the Karaoke Session after one and a half hour.

In a nutshell, the LCs' communication strategies are influenced by her management of the stakeholders' needs. The data show that the LCs tend to sacrifice their own personal needs in order to accommodate their clients. LC02 who maintained her own principle (i.e. not to drink alcohol) and neglected the MCs' needs is evaluated more negatively.

5.4. Doing Gender and Sexual Objectification in Relation to Employment

As a gendered-organisation, KC applies traditional gender roles as the base of employment, allows male clients to dominate the environment, draws a high degree of attention to the LCs' sexual/physical attributes, and approves or acknowledges the MCs' gaze/touch towards the LCs. Thus, the KC have the criteria of a sexually objectifying environment (SOE) as stated in Marvin's and Grandy's work (2011, pp. 20-21). In other words, KC capitalises femininity and sexuality of the LCs in running the business.

LCs are required to show exaggerate expressions of doing gender (which is conceptualised as “doing gender well or appropriately in congruence with one’s sex category” by Mavin & Grandy, 2011, p. 1) by accentuating their attractiveness as female to entice the clients. They are also compelled to be good conversationalist, non-argumentative, attentive, and sexual. As a result, LCs often accentuate their sexuality, put on full make up, wear revealing clothes, and show submissiveness to attract their clients. Furthermore, LCs also ‘sell their affection’ to the clients and create a pseudo-intimacy relationship⁵.

Despite encouraging the LCs to do so, the KC also sets a strict rule which forbid the LCs to give sexual service. This rules put the LCs in a dilemmatic position as they have to sell their sexuality and affection but are forbidden from having actual sexual relationship with their clients. In relation to CAT, LCs often use non-accommodative communication styles when refusing their clients’ request of sexual service (intercourse outside the KC) but at the same time, have to accommodate their needs of physical contacts.

In the Indonesian context, being a GRO (or LC) is often considered as doing dirty work. Dirty work itself is defined as the kind of works which are considered as “degrading or disgusting in some way and physically, morally or socially tainted” (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Hughes, 1958 as cited in Mavin & Grandy, 2011, p. 1). LCs are also very prone to stigmatisation, especially by those who live around the research site of this study. However, the viewpoint of this community contradicts with the belief of some feminists who view such work as a form of empowerment (e.g. Pilcher, 2009; Frank, 2002).

Exaggerate expression of doing gender in dirty work occupations may change the stigma of some dirty work into more honourable or better work. For example,

⁵ There are some data which shows how participants flirt to each other. However, considering the words limit of the current study, those data are not presented.

butchers who can deal with extremely cold working environment and use dangerous equipment may construct their positive self-identities as being tougher as and braver than other men who have other job. This exaggeration of the work aspects associated with masculinity can make them become more (at least more than usual) honourable, clean, and good as it involves constructing positive self-identities (Marvin & Grandy, 2011, p. 1)

Nevertheless, doing gender well has different consequences in different workplace. In the context of this study, doing gender well in a sexually objectifying environment like KC may in fact increase the possibility of sexual objectification (SO) of women, i.e. when woman's body or body parts are viewed as physical object of male sexual desire (Bartky, 1990 in Mavin & Grandy, 2011, p. 8). Thus, doing gender well is not enough to reposition LCs and her work into a better or more honourable position.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, spatial settings and the nature of KC itself encourage the participants to interact within their personal and intimate space. Incidences of physical contacts were often found during the participants' interactions. Study of proxemics introduced by Hall (1968) shows that spatial use can affect and reflect relationships between and among individuals. Proxemics is defined as "the study of our perception and structuring interpersonal and environmental space" (as cited in Harrigan, 2008, p. 137). The following figure shows the illustration of proxemics:

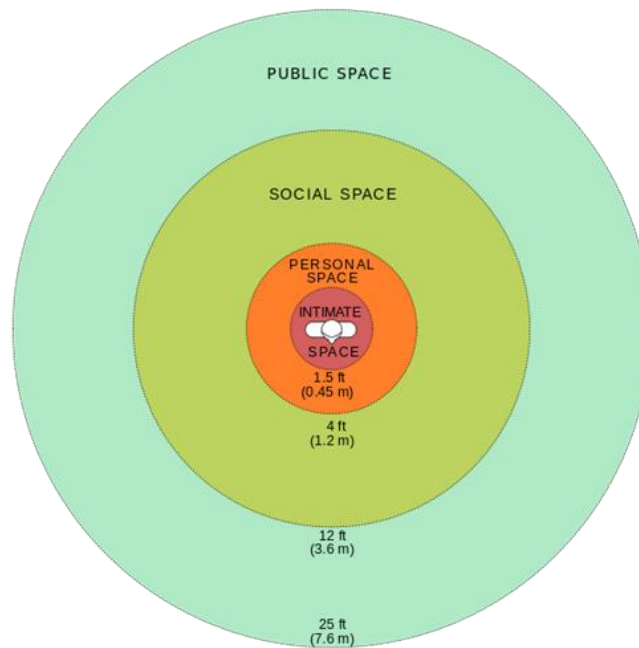


Figure 5. 2 Proxemics Based on Hall et al. (1986)

MCs' requests or coercions to enter LCs intimate space often lead to problematic communications. In relation to CAT, LCs used specific communication styles negotiate their needs with the clients. For instance, LCs often give several excuses to refuse their clients request indirectly (non-accommodative interpersonal control). In most cases, LCs often have to sacrifice their own needs in order to satisfy the clients'. They gradually allow their clients to enter into their intimate space to touch, hug, or kiss them.

The requirements of doing gender and accentuating LCs sexuality often increase the MCs' 'misbehaviour'. Yagil's (2008) research explicates several antecedents of customer aggression and sexual harassment in service encounter. Most of them occur in the KC as explained in the following list (pp. 144-146):

- i. Structuring service roles. KC structuring the service method in such a way that gives MCs the illusion that they have the control over the relationship with LCs. It clearly creates power gap between the participants (Handy, 2006 in Yagil, 2008, p. 144). In relation to CAT, LCs always have to respect the clients, particularly by accommodating the interpersonal control.

- ii. Dependence on the customers. As mentioned in the previous section, MCs are the source of income for KC and LCs. Thus, KC and LCs values of resources are controlled by the MCs. In this case, MCs has both reward power and coercive power towards the LCs (Walker, Churchill, & Ford, 1972 in Yagil, 2008, p. 145).
- iii. Norm of informality. In the context of this study, participants' interactions are generally informal. The boundary between work and social interactions are sometimes blurred and can cause the customer to misbehave.
- iv. An ideology of accommodation. KC encourages LCs to make the MCs feel welcome. In addition, LCs themselves are motivated to be liked by the MCs while performing their job. An extreme ideology of accommodation may increase the possibility of MCs' misbehaviour as they are encouraged to behave freely. Thus, LCs often sacrifice their needs while doing her job and expecting the MCs to like her.
- v. Alcohol consumption by customers. During the Karaoke Sessions, most MCs ordered alcohol drinks and often coerce the LCs to drink with them. It often leads to problematic communication and MCs' misbehaviours towards the LCs such as infiltrating their intimate space, touching them, and forcing them to kiss.

The discussions above clearly describe the connection between 'doing gender', proxemics and customers' misbehaviour. The following examples are provided to further illustrate this connection.

Example 5.1. Showing concerns of physical appearance

Karaoke session	7		
Time of occurrence	1:27		
Context	small talk in the beginning of the karaoke session		
Turn	Speakers	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	MC10→LC05	bangun tidur to mbak?	did you just wake up mbak?
2	LC05 → MC10	↑hm::! yo nggak no::!	↑hmm! ofcourse no::t!
3	MC10 → LC05	tak kiro nek bangun ti:dur haha	I thought that you just woke: up ((laugh))
4	LC05 → →MC10	hm:: ayu ne koyo ngene kok bangun tidu:r. >tapi [nek-<]	hm:: i look beautiful like this ((how can you say that)) i just woke <u>u:p</u> . >but [if-<]
5	MC10 → LC05	[()] kenapa:?	[()] wha:t?
6	LC05 → MC10	tapi nek ayu pas bangun tidur yo? hehe	but i look more beautiful when i just woke up, is that what you're trying to say? ((giggle))
7	MC10 → LC05	yo: nek ayu ne yo pas koyo ngene	we:ll you are beautiful right now

The excerpt above was recorded during the opening phase of Karaoke Session 7. Before the session started, MCs had to wait for LC05 in the waiting room for about 20 minutes because she went back to her hostel room to fix her make up after finishing one karaoke session with another client. MC10 assumes that LC05 fell asleep in her room (Turn 1) and LC05 responds to that in a pampered and cheeky tone with some lengthened syllables in Turn 2 and 4. This excerpt shows that both participants are concern about LC's physical appearance. Post interviews conducted with both parties suggest that both communication skills and physical appearance such as beauty and body shape are equally important. Generally, MCs tend to choose beautiful LCs from the 'aquarium' (LCs' waiting room). Therefore, it has become a requirement for the LCs to always appear beautiful and sexy by putting on heavy make up and wearing sexy clothes.

Another example below shows that the MC tries to enter the intimate space of the LC:

Example 5.2 MC10 enters the intimate space of LC05

Karaoke Session	4		
Time of occurrence	1:37:16		
Context	MC10 tries to touch and hug LC05		
Turn	Speakers	Source Language (Javanese and Indonesian)	English
1	MC10 → LC05	nyrempet sitik yo	I'll touch you a bit okay?
2	LC05 → MC10	ha?	what?
3	MC10 → LC05	nyrempet sitik neh yo? ben risi rapopo	I'll touch again a little bit more okay? (I'll make you) tickle a little bit it's all right
4	LC05 → MC10	((menyanyi, giggle)) ah moh moh ((lanjut nyanyi))	((singing and giggling)) a:h I don't want I don't want ((continue singing))
5	LC05 → MC10	ah risih yo jenggot e ki lho nyoh (menyerahkan mic ke mc)	aa:h your beard is tickle::: take it ((giving the microphone to MC10))
6	MC10 → LC05	((tertawa))	((giggling))

The excerpt above shows that MC10 hugs LC05 and touches her shoulder with his beard. Instead of giving violent reactions, LC05 shows sexually playful behaviour which makes MC10 feel more 'entertained'. Similar incidences can be found in Example 4.26 where LC05 finally allowed MC10 to kiss her even though she initially refused it.

The observations have shown that all of the LCs always allowed their clients to enter their intimate space even though they felt uncomfortable doing so. These are some examples of exaggerated expressions of doing gender and accommodations in which the LCs are being flirtatious and sexually playful in front of their clients. However, these forms of doing gender can increase the possibility of harassment towards the LCs and may not give them better image in the society. In conclusion, doing gender well and extremely accommodate the clients may sometimes give harmful effect for the LCs as they work in a sexually objectifying environment.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

The data analysis provided in the previous chapters clearly shows that the LCs practice both accommodative and non-accommodative strategies in various ways and are motivated by several aspects. This chapter aims to provide the conclusion of the findings and the implications of the study. It also puts forth a few recommendations for future research. This chapter is divided into three sub-sections: Section 6.2 provides a summary of the research and its results; Section 6.3 discusses the implications of the study; Section 6.4 discusses the study's limitations and recommendations for future research, and Section 6.5 provides the concluding remarks of the study.

6.2. Summary

This study focuses only on the communication styles of the LCs whereas the MCs utterances were analysed only in terms of their reactions toward LCs' communication styles. Particularly, this study aims to provide explanations of how and why LCs adjust their communication styles, how the MCs perceived their adjustment strategies, and how the notion of doing gender is interrelated with their communication styles.

The Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) proposed by Giles and Gasiorek (2012) was used as the main framework to analyse the data and to provide answers for the first and second research questions of this study. This conceptual framework was built around the notion that interactants often adjusted their communication styles in relation to their interlocutors' styles and needs. It also emphasises that the way interactants communicated would affect the results of their interactions and their evaluations toward each other. The results presented in Chapter 4

clearly indicate that the LCs accommodate to their clients by appropriately attuning their communication styles based on four adjustment strategies of CAT as summarised in the following list:

- i. Accommodative approximation strategies: under this category, LCs practice accommodative maintenance by using BI to show respect. In addition, they also converge to NJ to increase intimacy with the clients.
- ii. Accommodative interpretability strategies: LCs adjust their volume and pace to clarify misunderstanding occurs in the interactions. Moreover, they also repeat and rephrase their utterances by using simpler lexicon.
- iii. Accommodative discourse management strategies: LCs initiate relational talks, give MCs the opportunity to take the floor by asking some questions, and introduce humorous topics (which often related to sex).
- iv. Accommodative interpersonal control strategies: LCs acknowledge the MCs' power and dominance by using appropriate address term such *mas* instead of *dhek* or *njangkar* to show respect and *sayang* to show affection. They also avoid the direct 'you' by using avoidance pattern and rarely use *kowe*. Furthermore, they choose appropriate code to use in appropriate time, i.e. using BI in the beginning of karaoke session and converge to NJ when they become closer with the MCs.

The analyses show that all of the four adjustment strategies are highly interconnected, especially in relation to interpersonal control strategies.

While accommodative strategies occur in all of the adjustment categories, non-accommodative strategies occur mainly within discourse management and interpersonal control strategies. They occur mostly when LCs and MCs encounter some problematic communications such as disagreements toward certain things.

In general, accommodative communication styles enhance the rapport and they are evaluated positively by the MCs whereas non-accommodative communication styles normally threaten rapport and they are evaluated negatively. Interestingly, MCs perceived the act of teasing the participants' physical appearance, addressing the clients by their names without any title or honorific (*njangkar*), and using impolite forms of NJ such as *cocote* (literally means 'your mouth' and often used as swear words) as accommodative behaviour instead of offends because they were delivered in a joking tone. As a result, these behaviours successfully increased the rapport among participants.

The second research questions of this study aims to reveal the reasons that lead the LCs into performing certain strategies as well as their clients' perceptions and reactions toward such communication strategies. The discussions in Chapter 5 indicate that communication routines which generally occur in the KC often cause the LCs to perform specific communication styles. For instance, they often use BI in the *closing* phase of karaoke session as they want to politely express their gratitude to the MCs. Furthermore, LCs communication styles and MCs' evaluations toward them can be determine by the way in which LCs balance the needs of the stakeholder also affect their communication styles and MCs' evaluation of them. Thus, discussions of communication routines and stakeholders' needs provide significant contributions to elucidate the second research questions. The findings show that LCs who are more accommodative and always consider their clients' needs as their main priority received more positive evaluation from the clients.

Other than communication styles, gender is one of the most important elements of this business which often affect the communication styles among the research participants. This is mainly because the LCs are required to do their gender well to attract the clients. Gender stereotyping and non-equal distribution of power and control

practiced in the KC often encouraged MCs' misbehaviour and caused misunderstanding among the participants. LCs often have to 'sacrifice' their own needs, principles, and dignity while doing their work. Non-accommodative behaviours perceived by the MCs often occur when the LCs try to defend their own needs, principles, and dignity over the clients'.

6.3. Limitations of the Study

This study focuses on audio data whereas non-verbal features which were documented through field notes such as gestures, smile, postures, and gaze are used only as supplementary information. Prosodic features such as length, tone, pause, vocal intensity, in the audio data were examined only based on conversational analysis method and not measured by using sophisticated software such as PRAAT. This makes the possibility of missing some important metadata. Future researchers may consider using video recording to capture more data and more sophisticated software to help the transcription process.

As this study was conducted during the fasting month (Ramadan) and Eid al-Adha, the working hours of KC were limited and most of the clients could not spend a lot of their time to stay in the KC. Considering the constrains of this research, only seven Karaoke Sessions in which two of them were recorded. Moreover, there were no regular clients involved in this study. LC01's regular client, who is also having an affair with her, withdrew from this study. He was initially very helpful during the data collection. However, he believed that his identity as a married policeman would get him into trouble. This is because policemen often come to adult entertainment sites during Ramadan to make sure that the sites possess the permit to open their business during fasting month and that they did not disturb the surrounding neighbourhood.

LC05 was the only service provider who served the same clients (MC09 and MC10) twice during the 4th and 7th Karaoke Sessions, whereas other participants only interacted in one Karaoke Session. The data clearly show that the participants who were already familiar with each other (LC05, MC09, and MC10) used different communication styles as they communicated in a more relaxed way. Thus, future researchers may involve regular customers or observe the development of participants' communication styles by making them familiar to each other through several encounters. The researchers may ask LCs to serve same participants in different karaoke sections. Since this study was conducted in a KC which forbids the LCs to give sexual service, conducting comparative studies by collecting data from different KCs which allow the employee to provide sexual service may also provide interesting data.

6.4. Implications of the Study

It can be assumed that employees working in a service or hospitality industry would use respectful forms of communication and tend to limit their interactions by avoiding private topics. Since service and hospitality industry covers various kinds of businesses, the communication styles of employees are undoubtedly varied. As such, this study gives an insight of the communication styles and cultural practices in more private domains of service and hospitality. It focuses on the participants' communications in an adult male entertainment site and provides the analysis of actual data that occurs 'behind the closed door' which usually cannot be easily accessed.

To some extent, this study may also contribute to feminism studies as the data also show how the LCs dealt with dilemmatic problems while doing their job. Some of the LCs had to cater to the MCs' needs while maintaining or negotiating their own identities as Muslims who are prohibited from drinking alcohol and having limited

physical contact with males. Moreover, this study was conducted in Indonesian setting where such jobs are viewed as degrading instead of empowering females. It is hoped that this study can provide an insight to the working environment of female karaoke workers, as they are engaged in a career that is not stable and stigmatised by conservative traditionalists.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A SIMPLE MAP OF THE RESEARCH SITE AND PICTURES OF PARTICIPANTS' INTERACTIONS

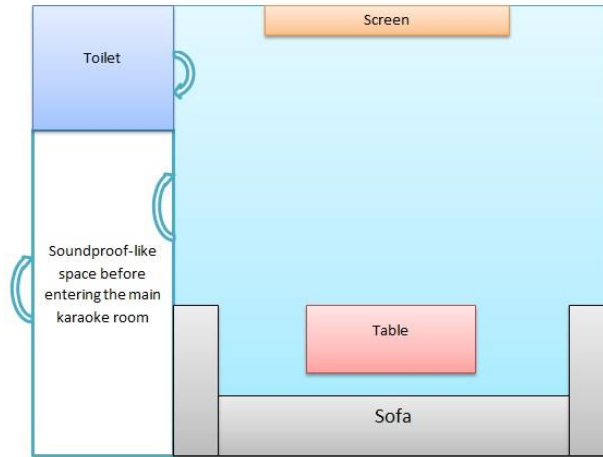


Figure 1. Interior of the karaoke room

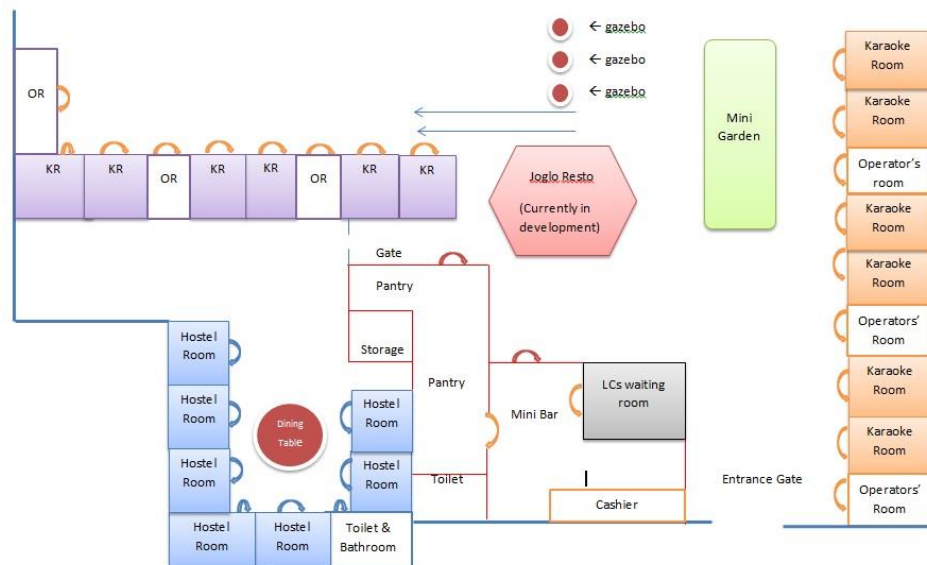


Figure 2. Simple map of the research site



Figure 3. Entrance Gate



Figure 4. Karaoke and operator's room, South Part



Figure 5. LC's waiting room (LC's show room), mini bar, and pantry



Figure 6. Karaoke room and operator's room, North part



Figure 7. Inside the room: MC06, MC07, MC08, and LC02



Figure 8. Interactions between MC10 and LC05

APPENDIX B
SPEECH ACTS CATEGORIES

B.1 BACH AND HARNISH (1979, pp. 41-53)

Constatives	Directives
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Assertives</i> (affirm, allege, assert, aver, avow, claim, declare, deny (assert ...not), indicate, maintain, propound, say, state, submit) - <i>Predictives</i> (forecast, predict, prophesy) - <i>Retrodictives</i> (recount, report) - <i>Descriptives</i> (appraise, assess, call, categorise, characterize, classify, date, describe, diagnose, evaluate, grade, identify, rank) - <i>Ascriptives</i> (ascribe, attribute, predicate) - <i>Informatives</i> (advise, announce, apprise, disclose, inform, insist, notify, point out, report, reveal, tell, testify) - <i>Conformatives</i> (appraise, assess, bear, witness, certify, conclude, confirm, corroborate, diagnose, find, judge, substantiate, testify, validate, verify, vouch for) - <i>Concessive</i> (acknowledge, admit, agree, allow, assent, concede, concur, confess, grant, own) - <i>Retractivess</i> (abjure, correct, deny, disavow, disclaim, disown, recant, renounce, repudiate, retract, take back, withdraw) - <i>Assentives</i> (accept, agree, assent, concur) - <i>Dissentives</i> differ, disagree, dissent, reject - <i>Disputatives</i> (demur, dispute, object, protest, question) - <i>Responsives</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Requestives</i> (ask, beg, beseech, implore, insist, invite, petition, plead, pray, request, solicit, summon, supplicate, tell, urge) - <i>Questions</i> (ask, inquire, interrogate, query, question, quiz) - <i>Requirements</i> (bid, charge, command, demand, dictate, direct, enjoin, instructorder, prescribe, require) - <i>Prohibitives</i> (enjoin, forbid, prohibit, proscribe, restrict) - <i>Permissive</i> (afree to, allow, authorize, bless, consent to, dismiss, excuse, exempt, forgive, grant, license, pardon, release, sanction) - <i>Advisories</i> (admonish, advise, caution, counsel, propose, recommend, suggest, urge, warn)
	Commissives
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Promises</i> (promise, swear, vow) - <i>Offers</i> (offer, propose)
	Acknowledgements
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Apologise</i> - <i>Condole</i> (commiserate, condole) - <i>Congratulate</i> (compliment, congratulate, felicitate) - <i>Greet</i> - <i>Thank</i> - <i>Bid</i> (bid, wish) - <i>Accept</i> - <i>Reject</i> (refuse, reject, spurn)

(answer, reply, respond, resort) - <i>Suggestives</i> (conjecture, guess, hypothesise, speculate, suggest) - <i>Supportives</i> (assume, hypothesise, postulate, stipulate, suppose, theorise)	
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B.2 Semantic Components of Five Common Speech Acts (Spencer-Oatey, 2008)

Requests (Based on Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; list is non-exhaustive)

1. Head act, which can be modified
2. Alerter. e.g. *Excuse me...*; Mary...
3. Mitigating supportive move
 - 3.1. Preparator, e.g. *I'd like to ask you something..*
 - 3.2. Getting a precommitment, e.g. *Could you do me a favour?*
 - 3.3. Grounder, e.g. *Judith, I missed class yesterday. Could I borrow your notes?*
 - 3.4. Disarmer, e.g. I know you don't like to lend out your notes, but could...
 - 3.5. Promise of reward, e.g. *Could you give me a lift home? I'll give you something for the petrol.*
 - 3.6. Imposition downgrader, e.g. *Could you lend me that book, if you're not using it at present?*
4. Aggravating supportive move
 - 4.1. Insult, e.g. *You're always been a dirty pig, so clear up!*
 - 4.2. Threat, e.g. Move that car if don't want a ticket!
 - 4.3. Moralizing, e.g. if one shares a flat one should be prepared to pull one's weight in cleaning it, so get on with the washing up!

Refusals of Invitations (based on Kinjo, 1987)

1. Explicit refusal, e.g. I can't make it.
2. Expressions of appreciation, e.g. Thanks for the invitation.
3. Excuse or explanation, e.g. I'm busy.
4. Expression of regret, e.g. I'm sorry
5. Expression of positive feelings or wishes, e.g. it sounds like fun/I wish I could make it.
6. A conditional, e.g. if you had told me earlier, I could have gone with you.
7. Offer of an alternative, e.g. How about Sunday?
8. Request for further information, e.g. Who'll be there?
9. Repetition, e.g. Dinner on Sunday. Well, thanks very much, but...

Apologies (based on Blum-Kulka et al. 1989)

1. Illocutionary Force Indicating Device *(IFID), e.g. I'm sorry.

2. Taking on responsibility, e.g. I'm sorry, my mistake!
3. Explanation or account, e.g. I'm sorry I missed the meeting. I was off sick.
4. Offer of repair, e.g. I'm very sorry. I'll buy you another one.
5. Promise of forbearance, e.g. I'm so sorry. I promise you it won't happen again.

Gratitude (based on Einstein and Bodman 1986)

1. IFID, * e.g. thank you
2. Complimenting of other person, action or object, e.g. thanks a lot. That was great.
3. Expression of surprise or delight, e.g. Oh wow. Thank you so much.
4. Expression of appreciation, e.g. Thanks, I'll give it back to you on Monday.
5. Promise of repayment or reciprocation, e.g. Thanks, I'll give it back to you on Monday.
6. Expression of lack of necessity or obligation, e.g. It's lovely, but you didn't have to get me anything.

Disagreement (based on Beebe and Takahashi 1989a)

1. Explicit disagreement, e.g. I'm afraid I don't agree.
2. Criticism or negative evaluation, e.g. that's not practical.
3. Question, e.g. Do you think that would work smoothly?
4. Alternative suggestion, e.g. How about trying...?
5. Gratitude, e.g. Thanks very much for your suggestion..
6. Positive remark, e.g. You've obviously put a lot of work into this,..
7. Token agreement, e.g. I agree with you, but...

B.3 Taxonomy of Refusals

COMPLETE TAXONOMY OF REFUSALS (Beebe & Takahashi, 1989)	
DIRECT REFUSAL	
A. Performative	"I refuse"
B. Non-performative	1. "No"
	2. Negative willingness/ability "I can't." "I won't." "I don't think so."
INDIRECT REFUSAL	
A. Statement of regret	"I'm sorry, I feel terrible."
B. Wish	"I wish I could help you."
C. Excuse, reason, explanation	"My child will be home that night." "I have headache."
D. Statement of alternative	
1. I can do X instead of Y	"I'd rather..." "I'd prefer..."
2. Why don't you do X instead of Y	Why don't you ask someone else?
E. Set condition for future or past acceptance	"If u asked me earlier, I would have.."
F. Promise of future acceptance	"I'll do it next time."

	“I promise I’ll..” or “Next time I’ll..” using ‘will’ of promise or ‘promise’
G. Statement of principle	“I never do business with friends.”
H. Statement of philosophy	“One cant be too careful”
I. Attempt to dissuade interlocutor	
1. Threat or statement of negative consequences to the requester .	“I wont be any fun tonight.” To refuse an invitation
2. Guilt trip	Waitress to customers who want to sit a while “I cant make a living off people wo just order coffee.”
3. Criticize the request/requester, etc.	Statement of negative feeling or opinion; insult/attack: “Who do you think you are?” “That’s a terrible idea”
4. Request for help, empathy, and assistance by dropping or holding the request	
5. Let interlocutor off the hook	“Don’t worry about it.” “That’s okay.” “You don’t have to.”
6. Self-defense	“I’m trying my best.” “I’m doing all I can do.” “ I do nothing wrong.”
J. Acceptance that functions as refusal	
1. Unspecific or indefinite reply	
2. Lack of enthusiasm	
K. Avoidance	
1. Nonverbal	
	a. Silence
	b. Hesitation
	c. Do nothing
	d. Physical departure
2. Verbal	
	a. Topic switch
	b. Joke
	c. Repetition of part of request (Monday?)
	d. postponement “I’ll think about it.”
	e. hedging “Gee, I don’t know.” “ I’m not sure.”
ADJUNCTS TO REFUSAL	
1. Statement of positive opinion/feeling or agreement	“That’s a good idea..” “I’d love to..”
2. Statement of empathy	“I realize you are in a difficult situation.”
3. Pause fillers	“Uhh” “Well” “Uhm”
4. Gratitude/appreciation	

APPENDIX C
LIST OF VERBAL AND NON-VERBAL BEHAVIOUR CATEGORIES
USED IN THE RESEARCH

(Jones *et. al.* 1999: 133 - 138)

<p>Table 1 Definitions of Nonverbal Behaviours</p>
<p><i>Smiling.</i> A relaxation of the facial features, with lips parted or closed, and with the corners of the lips turned upward.</p>
<p><i>Laughing.</i> Vocalization, smiling, and movements of face and body that expressed amusement, exultation, or scorn.</p>
<p><i>Nodding.</i> A continuous up and down movement of the head in the sagittal plane.</p>
<p><i>Gesturing.</i> Movements of the forearm and hand, where a continuous movement was counted as one movement.</p>

<p>Table 2 Definition of Categories for How New Topics Were Introduced</p>
<p><i>Made a statement on a new topic.</i> For example, Speaker A says, “Just happens that all the parking spots are marked restricted areas,” and Speaker B changes the topic by saying “Yes, basically adjusting from school mainly is the harders.”</p>
<p><i>Question about new topic.</i> For example, “So, is your workload a problem?”</p>
<p><i>Question inviting other person to choose the topics in which the introduction of the topic was shared, with one person inviting the other person to choose the topic.</i> For example: “what else do you see as problems?”</p>

<p>Table 3 Description of Responses to Topic Changes</p>
<p><i>Continue.</i> Both people continue to discuss the topic. Discussion of the topic continued for a number of turns, with both people providing input into the discussion; that is, the management of the discourse was shared.</p>
<p><i>Introduce and back-channel.</i> Once a person had introduced a new topic, that person only back-channelled. This response could occur when the person changing the topic used a question to change the topic. Thus, the person changing the topic determined what the topic was, but provided no input into how the topic was discussed.</p>
<p><i>Partner back-channel.</i> A person’s partner only responded by back-channelling and did not develop the topic, in contrast continue, in which both people provided input. Back-channelling was defined as brief vocal responses (“uh-huh”, “yeah”, “I see”, etc.), which do not constitute an attempt by the listener to take the floor.</p>
<p><i>Person change.</i> The person who introduced the topic changed the topic immediately</p>

after the partner responded, so that the topic was only discussed for two turns.

Deflect. A person’s partner deflected the change of topic by giving a brief response, usually a phrase, and then changing the topic. as a result, the person who introduced the topic had no opportunity to discuss the topic further.

Ignore. A person’s partner ignored the change of topic by either continuing to discuss the previous topic or introducing another topic. In both *partner deflect* and *partner ignore*, the partner controlled the discourse.

Table 4
Description of Categories for Shared Viewpoint

Shared a viewpoint. A person’s partner responded by saying “I know what you mean” or by telling the partner’s own story of a similar experience.

Viewpoint not shared. Participants did not obviously seem to share the viewpoint of their partner, but at the same time, there was no obvious disagreement. For example, the interactants may have talked about the same topic, but they did not link their experience to their partner’s.

Disagreement. There was obvious disagreement.

Not known. In many instances, particularly where the topic changed rapidly, it was not possible to determine whether the interactants shared a viewpoint or not, or whether they disagreed. This final category was where a decision could not be made.

Table 5
Description of Types of Questions Used and How They Were Responded

Closed questions. Questions that can be answered with a yes, no, or one-word answer.

Open-ended questions. Questions that cannot normally be answered with a simple yes or no.

Rhetorical questions. Questions not requiring and answer from a person’s partner.

Inviting questions. Questions that asked a person’s partner to talk or to choose the topic.

Checking questions. Questions that check a person’s understanding of what a previous speaker has said.

Answers questions. The listener provides only information directly related to the question.

Answer questions and gives free information. The listener responds with additional information that was not requested in the question.

Does not answer question. the listener dos not answer the question and instead continues to discuss what the listener was previously talking about or change to a new topic.

APPENDIX D

PERMISSION LETTER

SURAT KETERANGAN IZIN PENELITIAN

LAS VEGAS KARAOKE & CAFÉ

1. Saya, _____ selaku pemilik Las Vegas Karaoke & Café, dengan ini memberikan Izin Penelitian kepada:

Nama : Anisa Larassati

NIM : TGC 100045

Jurusan/Program Studi : Bahasa dan Linguistik/ Linguistik Umum

Semester : 4 (empat)

Fakultas : Bahasa dan Linguistik

Universitas : University of Malaya, Malaysia

2. Untuk melakukan penelitian / pengumpulan data dalam rangka penyusunan thesis, berlokasi di Las Vegas Karaoke & Café.
3. Dengan judul thesis “Entertaining Male Clients in an Indonesian Karaoke & Café: A study of Accommodation Strategies”.
4. Demikian Surat Keterangan Izin Penelitian ini kami berikan kepada yang bersangkutan untuk dipergunakan seperlunya.

Kopeng, _____2012

(_____)

APPENDIX E

SEMI-STRUCTURED PRE-INTERVIEW GUIDELINES

AND POST-INTERVIEW QUESTIONS LISTS

E.1 Pre-Interview untuk Karyawati **Pre-Interview for the Female Service Providers**

Informasi Umum (Basic Information)

1. Berapakah usia anda sekarang?
How old are you now?

2. Apakah status anda? Single / Menikah / Janda
What is your marital status? Single/ Married/ Widow

3. Sekiranya ada suami: Apakah suami anda mendukung anda menjadi seorang pemandu karaoke?
If you have a husband: does he support your job as a GRO?

4. Berapakah anak yang anda miliki?
How many children do you have?

5. Apabila ada: Apakah anak anda tau anda bekerja sebagai operator karaoke?
If you have children: Do they know that you work as a GRO?

6. Apakah pendidikan terakhir anda?
What is your highest educational level?

7. Bagaimanakah anda mendapatkan pekerjaan di kafe ini?
How did you get the job in this karaoke café?

8. Apakah pekerjaan serta tugas anda di Kafe ini?
What is your main job in this karaoke café?

9. Sudah berapa lama kah anda bekerja di kafe ini?
How long have you been working here?

10. Apakah pekerjaan di kafe ini merupakan sumber penghasilan utama anda?

Is this (job) your main source of income?

11. Apakah jenis kelamin pengunjung yang pada umumnya anda layani?

What is the gender of your clients in general?

12. Berapakah perkiraan jumlah penghasilan yang anda dapat perbulan?

How much is your income in a month?

Penggunaan Bahasa dan Interaksi dengan Pengunjung

Language Used and Interactions with the Clients

13. Apakah bahasa utama yang anda gunakan sehari-hari?

What is the main language that you used in your daily communication?

14. Bahasa apa sajakah yang anda kuasai selain dari yang anda gunakan sehari-hari?

Are there any other languages that you can speak other than your main language?

15. Bahasa apakah yang anda gunakan kepada pengunjung pada umumnya? boleh lebih dari satu

Which language(s) do you used for your clients in general? can be more than one

16. Jika anda menggunakan Bahasa Jawa, tingkatan manakah yang sering anda gunakan kepada pengunjung? boleh lebih dari satu, misal: ngoko, madya, dan krama

If you use Javanese, which level do you used the most? can be more than one, for example: ngoko, madya, and krama

17. Topik apakah yang biasa anda bicarakan dengan pengunjung pada umumnya?

What kind of topics do you usually talk with your clients?

18. Apakah anda selalu menjaga hubungan baik dengan pengunjung? Terangkan alasannya.

Do you always maintain good relationships with your clients? Explain your reasons.

19. Apakah sapaan yang anda gunakan kepada pengunjung? Misalnya 'Mas' atau 'Pak'. Terangkan alasannya.

What kind of address terms do you usually use to address your clients? for example, Mas, or Pak. Explain your reason.

20. Apakah anda juga berinteraksi dengan pengunjung yang anda kenal diluar jam kerja kafe?

Do you also interact with your clients outside the working hour of the karaoke café?

22. Apakah anda selalu berusaha memenuhi permintaan pengunjung? Terangkan alasannya.

Do you always try to fulfil your clients requests? Explain your reason.

23. Pernahkah anda menolak permintaan pengunjung? Terangkan alasannya dan bagaimana anda menolak mereka.

Have you ever refused your clients' request? Explain your reason and how you refuse them.

24. Secara keseluruhan apakah anda menyukai pekerjaan anda? Terangkan alasannya.

In general, do you like your job? Explain your reason.

Pengalaman Saat Bekerja

Experiences during Working Time

25. Apakah anda pernah mengalami kejadian yang tidak menyenangkan selama anda bekerja?

Have you ever experienced any displeasing incidents when you work?

26. Apakah anda pernah mengalami kejadian yang menyenangkan selama anda bekerja? Jika ada, bagaimana anda mengatasinya?

Have you ever experienced any pleasing incidents when you work? If you have, how do you handle it?

27. Bagaimanakah anda menjaga hubungan baik dengan sesama karyawan, pengunjung, serta pemilik kafe?

How do you maintain good relationship with the workers, clients and the owner of this karaoke café?

28. Apakah keluarga mendukung pekerjaan anda sekarang? Terangkan alasannya.
Are your family members support you to do your current job? Explain your reason.

Kontak

Contact

Semua data akan dirahasiakan dan hanya akan digunakan hanya untuk keperluan penelitian

All the data will be kept confidential and be used solely for research purposes

Alamat tempat tinggal

Address

Alamat E-mail

E-mail address

Nomor handphone

Hand phone number

Apakah anda bersedia mengikuti wawancara lanjutan setelah sesi karaoke anda selesai?

Do you wish to participate in a post-interview after finishing your karaoke session(s)?

Ya Tidak

Yes No

Terimakasih atas partisipasi anda 😊

Thank you for your participation

E.2 Pre-Interview Untuk Pengunjung Pria Pre-Interview For The Male Clients

Informasi Umum *Basic Information*

1. Apakah jenis kelamin anda?
What is your gender?

2. Berapakah usia anda?
How old are you?

3. Apakah status anda?
What is your marriage status?

4. Apakah pendidikan terakhir anda?
What is your highest educational level?

5. Apakah pekerjaan anda?
What is your job?

Kualitas Produk dan Pelayanan *The Quality of Products and Services*

6. Seberapa sering kah anda datang ke kafé ini?
How often do you come to this karaoke café?

7. Secara umum, berapa lama kah waktu yang anda gunakan dalam sekali sesi karaoke?
In general, how long do you usually spend your time for one karaoke session?

8. Apakah yang biasa anda beli di kafe ini? (boleh lebih dari satu)
What do you usually buy in this karaoke café? (can be more than one, e.g. wine, cigarrete, coffee)

9. Bagaimana anda menilai kualitas makanan dan minuman di kafe ini? Terangkan.
How do you rate the quality of foods and beverages in this karaoke café? Explain

10. Bagaimana anda menilai fasilitas (misal: ruangan, sound systems, lagu) yang disediakan di kafe ini? Terangkan.
How do you rate the facilities (e.g.: room , sound system, songs?) provided in this karaoke café? Explain.

11. Apakah jenis kelamin dan penampilan karyawan sangat penting bagi anda? Terangkan alasannya.
Are gender and appearance of the service providers important for you? Explain your reasons.

12. Apakah menurut anda penggunaan bahasa dan cara berkomunikasi karyawan sangat penting bagi anda? Terangkan alasannya.
Do you think that language used by the service providers and the way they communicate are important for you?. Explain your reason.

13. Manakah yang lebih penting bagi anda, jenis kelamin dan penampilan karyawan atau bahasa dan cara berkomunikasi karyawan? Terangkan alasannya.
Which one is more important for you, gender and appearance of the service providers or their language and way of communications? Explain your reason.

14. Bagaimana anda menilai pelayananan para karyawan di kafe ini? Terangkan alasannya.
How do you rate the services given by the service providers in this karaoke café? Explain your reason.

15. Secara umum, bagaimanakah anda menilai Kafe dan Karaoke ini? Terangkan alasannya.
In general, how do you rate this Karaoke Café? Explain your reason

16. Penjelasan tambahan (jika ada)
Additional explanations (if there is any)

Kontak

Contact

Semua data akan dirahasiakan dan hanya akan digunakan hanya untuk keperluan penelitian

All of the data will be kept confidential and be used solely for research purposes

Alamat tempat tinggal

Address

Alamat E-mail

E-mail address

Nomor handphone

Hand phone number

Apakah anda bersedia mengikuti wawancara lanjutan setelah sesi karaoke anda selesai?

Do you wish to participate in a post-interview after finishing your karaoke session(s)?

Ya Tidak

Yes No

Terimakasih atas partisipasi anda 😊

Thank you for your participation

E.3 Post-Interview Questions Lists

Not all of the questions which were asked during the post-interviews are listed here. Due to the overwhelming amount of questions asked, only significant questions which contribute to the analysis are provided in this section. In addition these interviews are very casual and more like discussions with the participants. There are no guidelines prepared and all of the questions are based on the data of different Karaoke Sessions. The complete audio recording data of the post-interview are provided in the CD whereas this section only provides some questions from three Karaoke Sessions.

E.3.1 Karaoke Session 1

Participants : LC02, MC01 and MC02

Interviewees : LC02, MC01 and MC02

List of questions for LC02

1. Setelah melayani MC01 dan MC02, apakah pendapat umum anda tentang mereka?

After serving MC01 and MC02, what is your general opinion about them?

2. Adakah kesulitan atau ketidaknyamanan saat melayani mereka?

Were there any difficulties or displeasures while serving them?

3. Mengapa anda menggunakan panggilan 'mas' kepada mereka meskipun mereka lebih muda?

Why did you use 'mas' to address them even though they are younger?

4. Saat anda merubah lirik lagu menjadi 'jangan ada anak diantara kita', MC01 dan MC02 bereaksi dengan membuat lelucon yang berhubungan dengan sex. Bagaimana pendapat anda menurut ini?

When you changed the lyrics into 'let there be no children between us', MC01 and MC02 reacted by creating sex-related jokes. What do you think about this?

5. Mengapa anda hampir selalu menggunakan Bahasa Indonesia saat melayani mereka di room?

Why did you use Bahasa Indonesia most of the time while serving them in the karaoke room?

6. Mengapa anda lebih sering menggunakan Bahasa Jawa saat anda menemani mereka di gazebo?

Why did you use Javanese more often when accompanying them in the gazebo?

7. Mengapa anda merubah bahasa dan cara berkomunikasi anda?

Why did you change your language and communication styles?

8. Mengapa anda mengatakan 'cocote MC01'? Apakah anda tidak takut akan menyinggung perasaan MC01?

Why did you say 'cocote MC01'? Don't you feel afraid that it might offend him?

9. Bahasa apakah yang menurut anda paling pantas digunakan untuk berbicara dengan tamu?

Which language is the most appropriate to use when talking with the clients?

10. Bahasa apakah yang anda rasa paling nyaman digunakan saat berinteraksi dengan tamu?

Which language is the most comfortable to use when talking with the clients?

11. Apakah anda merasa bahwa penggunaan Bahasa Jawa membuat anda lebih rileks dan akrab dengan tamu?

Do you think that the use of Javanese makes you feel more relax and closer with the clients?

List of questions for MC01 and MC02

1. Apakah pendapat umum anda mengenai LC02?

What is your general opinion about LC02?

2. Apakah anda merasa puas dengan pelayanannya?

Do you feel satisfied with her services?

3. LC02 memanggil anda dengan sebutan ‘mas’. Bagaimana pendapat anda tentang hal ini?

LC02 called you by using address term ‘mas’. What do you think about this?

4. Anda berdua selalu berbicara dalam Bahasa Jawa antara satu sama lain di hadapan LC02. Tetapi mengapa anda sering berbicara dengan LC02 dalam Bahasa Indonesia saat berada di dalam room, meskipun anda juga telah mengetahui bahwa LC02 adalah orang Jawa seperti anda?

Both of you always talk to each other in Javanese in front of LC02. But why did you often talk with LC02 in Bahasa Indonesia when you were in the karaoke room, even though you are aware that she is also a Javanese?.

5. LC02 lebih sering menggunakan Bahasa Jawa saat di gazebo dibandingkan saat di karaoke room. Bagaimana pendapat anda tentang hal ini?

LC02 used Javanese more frequently in the gazebo than in the karaoke room. What do you think about this?

6. Bahasa yang mana kah yang anda pilih untuk berinteraksi dengan LC?

Which language do you prefer to interact with the LC?

E.3.2 Karaoke Session 2

Participants : LC01, LC02, MC03, MC04, MC05

Interviewees : LC01, LC02, MC03, MC04, MC05

List of Questions for LCs

1. Setelah melayani MC03, MC04 dan MC05, apakah pendapat umum anda tentang mereka?

After serving MC01 and MC02, what is your general opinion about them?

2. Adakah kesulitan atau ketidaknyamanan saat melayani mereka?

Were there any difficulties or displeasures when you served them?

3. Mengapa anda menggunakan panggilan ‘mas’ kepada mereka meskipun mereka lebih muda?

Why did you use ‘mas’ to address them even though they are younger?

4. (Pertanyaan untuk LC02) mengapa anda menolak untuk minum alkohol dengan tamu?

(Question for LC02) why did you refuse to drink liquor with your clients?

5. (Pertanyaan untuk LC02) anda mengatakan kepada tamu bahwa anda tidak boleh minum alkohol karena telah menjalani operasi kista. Apakah hal ini benar?

(Question for LC02) you told your clients that you may not drink liquor since you had cyst surgery. Is this true?

6. (Question for LC01) Mengapa anda minum minuman keras dengan MC05 sedangkan tak ada pengunjung lain yang mau minum bersamanya?

Why did you drink with the liquor with MC05 when others did not want to drink with him?

Daftar Pertanyaan untuk MC

List of Questions for MCs

1. Apakah pendapat umum anda mengenai LC01 dan LC02?

What is your general opinion about LC02?

2. Apakah anda merasa puas dengan pelayanan mereka?

Do you feel satisfied with their services?

3. Pelayanan siapakah yang menurut anda paling baik? Mengapa demikian?

Whose service is the best? Why?

4. LC02 menolak ajakan anda untuk minum bersama anda. Apa pendapat anda tentang hal ini?

LC02 refused to drink with you. what do you think about this?

E.3.2 Karaoke Session 3

Participants : LC02, MC06, MC07, MC08

Interviewees : LC02 and MC06

Daftar Pertanyaan untuk LC02

List of Questions for LC02

1. Mengapa anda selalu menolak ajakan MC untuk minum minuman keras bersama?

Why did you refuse MCs invitation to drink liquor together?

2. Mengapa anda membiarkan MC menyentuh dan memeluk anda?

Why did you allow the MCs to touch and hug you?

3. MC06 meminta anda untuk menemaninya di vila. Apa yang anda katakan kepadanya saat itu dan bagaimana pendapat anda tentang hal ini?

MC06 asked you for companionship in the villa. What did you say to him and what do you think about this?

Daftar Pertanyaan untuk MC06

1. Bagaimana penilaian umum anda terhadap LC02?

How is your general evaluation of LC02?

2. Mengapa anda memutuskan untuk berhenti setelah dia menolak permintaan anda untuk menemani anda di villa?

Why did you decide to terminate the karaoke session after she refused your request for companionship?

APPENDIX F TRANSCRIPTION SOFTWARE

The image displays two screenshots of transcription software. The top screenshot shows a waveform editor with a time axis from 0:00 to 1:22:02. The bottom screenshot shows the main interface with a list of recording folders and a Notepad window.

Top Screenshot: Waveform Editor

- Menu: File Edit View Play Tools Help
- Quick Operation Guide
- Buttons: Track Mark, Divide, Combine
- Volume: High, Low
- Time: 2:07 / 1:22:02
- File Name: 120805_001 interaction MC02, MC04, LC02
- Scale: 50.00, 40.00, 30.00, 20.00, 10.00
- Speed: DPC Speed x1.0

Bottom Screenshot: Main Interface

- IC Recorder
- IC Recorder (Embedded memory) (H:)
- Device Settings
- User: User
- Record date/time: Time F
- File Name: 120805_001 - Notepad
- Buttons: File Edit Format View Help
- Buttons: Select All, Delete, New Group
- Free: 493.1 MB

Recording Folders List:

Title	User	Record Folder	Record date	Clear
120636_001_2_2	My Recording	FOUNDER01	28/6/2012 13:14	
120636_001_3_wodak	My Recording	FOUNDER01	28/6/2012 13:14	
120706_001_introduction BM, R, ...	My Recording	FOUNDER01	6/7/2012 6:26	
120707_001	My Recording	FOUNDER01	7/7/2012 3:34	
120707_002_interview R, LC01, L...	My Recording	FOUNDER01	7/7/2012 3:34	
120707_003_interview R, LC01	My Recording	FOUNDER01	7/7/2012 4:24	
120709_001	My Recording	FOUNDER01	9/7/2012 12:27	
120711_001_interview R, LC03	My Recording	FOUNDER01	14/7/2012 1:01	
120711_002_interview R, LC01	My Recording	FOUNDER01	14/7/2012 1:20	
120716_001_interview R, LC02	My Recording	FOUNDER01	16/7/2012 10:17	
120716_002_interview R, LC02	My Recording	FOUNDER01	16/7/2012 11:57	
120805_001 interaction MC02, M...	My Recording	FOUNDER01	5/8/2012 10:29	
120805_002 interaction R, MC02, ...	My Recording	FOUNDER01	5/8/2012 11:51	
120806_003 int in interaction LC0...	My Recording	FOUNDER01	6/8/2012 10:14	
120807_001_interview MCH-06	My Recording	FOUNDER01	7/8/2012 12:30	
120901_001	My Recording	FOUNDER01	1/9/2012 9:17	
120901_002	My Recording	FOUNDER01	1/9/2012 9:18	
120901_003	My Recording	FOUNDER01	1/9/2012 9:39	
120901_004	My Recording	FOUNDER01	1/9/2012 11:46	

Notepad Window:

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Title : 120805_001
Record date : 5/8/2012 10:29:02 PM
Record time : 1:22:02
Recording file name : 120805_001
-----
((tersenyum, mengulurkan tangan untuk
jabat tangan))
alvi
dinar
mas ((tersenyum, mengulurkan tangan
untuk jabat tangan ke MC02)) alvi
tr-inbil ((tertawa))
tr-inbil laugh celukane mbak
cek cek
  
```