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TECHNOLOGICAL
UNIVERSITY**

**FLIRTATIOUS SEQUENCE IN INDONESIAN:
A CONVERSATION ANALYTIC AND
MEMBERSHIP CATEGORIZATION ANALYTIC APPROACH**

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SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
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FLIRTATIOUS SEQUENCE IN INDONESIAN

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Abstract

This thesis reports on an investigation into the activity of ‘flirting’ as it unfolds in the course of an interaction. Flirting, defined in the OED as “behave[ing] as though sexually attracted to someone, but playfully rather than with serious intentions”, is a social activity that is highly intriguing in that it is readily discernible, at least to members of the same community, and yet not easy to pin down. In spite of its obvious interest (at least to students of human interaction), relatively little research has been done on the phenomenon.

This thesis offers for the first time a close analysis of a collection of conversational sequences in which the co-participants may be seen to be flirting. The data on which the investigation is based is in the form of a set of video recordings of naturally occurring interactions obtained from the island of Bali in Indonesia. Specifically, one particular two-party conversation about 50 minutes in length was focused upon for close, line-by-line analysis for the many flirting sequences that it contains.

This study employs an Ethnomethodological approach. In particular, the methods of Conversation Analysis (CA) and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA), both pioneered by Harvey Sacks, are used to carry out the investigation. This choice is strategically motivated. CA provides a platform to approach flirting from a sequential perspective, instead of single actions, or a simple action-reaction standpoint. MCA provides a means of explicating co-participants’ use of categories and categorization devices to construct veiled displays of sexual interest or attraction. In this thesis, an attempt is made to integrate CA and MCA in the service of unpacking the verbal and embodied resources that go into the making of turns that form the flirting sequences in the data.

Our analysis of the data shows that flirting can be characterized as an affiliative joint

activity which is achieved through a combination of overt displays of humour and playfulness and embedded displays of sexual interest or attraction. Displays of sexual interest or attraction are ‘embedded’ in the sense that flirting-relevant elements are usually ‘buried’ in actions which are otherwise ‘natural’ and ‘unremarkable’ in an ongoing sequence, e.g., as normal next to a prior. Turn by turn the participants reciprocate displays of sexual interest, while topicalising materials that have a distinct (non-sexual) orientation.

An examination of the flirting sequences in the data reveals that flirting-relevant elements may be attended to and developed into flirting sequences in one of two main ways. The first is one in which one of the participants issues, what may be called, a ‘flirting invitation’. In the following turn, the interlocutor may respond in a variety of ways, from providing a clear uptake or a non-verbal appreciative token (e.g., a smile) to disattention or reprimand. When the two latter options occur, this may lead to a termination of the flirting. In the other method, an apparently innocuous element in a prior turn is ‘picked up’ and turned retrospectively into a flirting-relevant component which is then used to ‘grow’ a flirtatious sequence. When this happens, we may speak of sexual or romantic innuendo ‘creeping into’ an interaction, or flirtatiousness entered in stepwise manner in an interaction.

Attending to membership categorization allows us to appreciate the many ways in which ‘gender’ is used as a category device in the data. A close analysis of the use of gender (as a categorization device) in the data reveals an interesting asymmetry between the two participants, in their perception and treatment of each other. While there is a preponderance of ‘gender’ in the male participant’s turns (where flirting is a relevant activity), the female participant hardly if at all uses ‘gender’ in her flirting. When she does assign categories to her male interlocutor, categorization devices other than gender will be used, e.g., occupation. The data shows that while flirting can be ‘fun’, it may on occasion also carry with it a dubious or unpleasant undertone, where the female participant is treated by her interlocutor in a potentially derogatory way.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis reports on an investigation into the activity of ‘flirting’ as it unfolds in the course of an interaction. In 2012, when I was collecting data for my PhD research in the form of video recordings of conversations between friends and classmates in a variety of everyday life settings, I was struck by one particular recording in which two conversational partners were seen engaged in a series of (what could be described as) ‘flirting’ interaction.

An initial examination of the many instances of ‘flirting’ in this data revealed a number of features of turn and sequence design that gave the turns-at-talk a particular character. The participants appeared to be highly engaged in these activities and enjoying their interaction in a special sort of way. They shared smiles and laughter and appeared to be displaying their joy and happiness to each other. As an onlooker, I also equally enjoyed watching the interaction and felt fascinated by it. I was determined to take a closer look into the detail of how these flirtatious episodes came off and what makes the interaction recognizable as ‘flirting’.

I soon realised that while there was already a body of work on flirting, little research had been done using spontaneous flirting interactions, like the ones that I was poring over in that recording. Since it is clearly not easy to capture naturally occurring instances of flirting, I soon decided to focus my attention exclusively on this one video. The approach adopted in the current thesis, namely Ethnomethodology, Conversation Analysis

(CA) and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA), allowed me to perform a close, moment-by-moment analysis of the interaction, while not divorcing it from its sequential and socio-cultural contexts. The method also enabled a detailed analysis of the participants' own perspectives, which seemed to me to be essential to a real understanding of the activity in question.

1.1 Defining Flirting

In Oxford English Dictionary (*Oxford English dictionary. [electronic resource], 2017*) flirting is defined as “The action of flirt v. in various senses; esp. trifling or coquetting with the opposite sex, flirtation”; while flirt is defined as “[T]o play at courtship; to practice coquetry; to make love without serious intentions. Often, to flirt with (a person); also in indirect pass”. More or less according to OED's definition, flirting is an indirect, playful or non-serious activity which is done between the opposite sexes to show love, or sexual interest.

Besides the above OED definition, flirting has also been conceptualized as playful (Bateson, 1955, 1987), ambiguous (Stokoe, 2012; Rommetveit, 1974) affiliative (Abrahams, 1994; Egland, Spitzberg, & Zormeier, 1996) and interactional in nature (Bredow et al., 2008; O'Farrell, Rosenthal, & O'Neal, 2003; Wiedmaier, 2014; Coffelt & Hess, 2015). Based on the above definitions, we may have some rough senses of what flirting is. At the same time, there are some fundamental discrepancies in terms of how the existing studies have defined flirting. Some of them are even in contradiction with the others. Below are three of the most fundamental differences of definitions of flirting in the existing studies.

The first difference is whether the interaction termed as flirting is “serious”. Though flirting and courtship both involve display of love (or sexual attraction of some kind), flirting is often seen as less serious than courtship. Courtship by definition is concluded, or containing the marker than it is intended to be concluded, in romantic or sexual relationship; while flirting does have to be concluded in some kind of romantic or sexual relationship. Study such as by Schefflen (1965) refers to flirting as quasi-courtship. Other studies

(Givens, 1978; McCormick & Jones, 1989; Konecki, 1990; Egland et al., 1996; Anolli & Ciceri, 2002; O'Farrell et al., 2003; Whitty, 2003; Henningsen, 2004) take the assumption that flirting is different than courtship. On the other hand, some studies (Rowland, Crisler, & Cox, 1982; Abrahams, 1994; Henningsen, Braz, & Davies, 2008; Perper, 2009; Frisby, Dillow, Gaughan, & Nordlund, 2010; Levesque, 2011; VanderMolen, 2014) take flirting as synonymous to courtship.

The second difference lies in the time dimension, especially on the assumption of when flirting should take place. Some studies (Whitty, 2003; Downey & Vitulli, 1987; Clark, Shaver, & Abrahams, 1999; Henningsen, 2004; Weber, Goodboy, & Cayanus, 2010; Kaspar & Krull, 2013) take flirting as the initial stage of encounter between two individuals, who are assumed to have a prospect for some kind of sexual relationship. Flirting is taken to be synonymous with the attention-getting effort, which occurs at the initial stage of encounter. Within the same "camp", some studies equate pick up line (Saint-Dizier de Almeida & Agnoletti, 2010; Wolfe, 2014) and non-verbal attention-getting effort between strangers (Moore, 1985; Moore & Butler, 1989; D. N. Guéguen, 2007; N. Guéguen, 2008) with flirting. On the other hand, some other studies take that flirting does not have to include attention-getting effort. Those studies (Downey & Vitulli, 1987; Coffelt & Hess, 2015; Konecki, 1990) explicate flirting interaction between familiar individual, hence taking the assumption that flirting does happen between familiar individuals.

The third difference lies in the romance dimension, especially on the issue of whether romance, love or sexual interest or attraction is present. Most of the studies and literature on flirting (Egland et al., 1996; O'Farrell et al., 2003; Henningsen, 2004; Abrahams, 1994) see the presence of romance, love or sexual interest or attraction as essential to flirting. Studies such as Gersick & Kurzban, 2014 takes for granted that romance, love or sexual interest or attraction is present in flirting, though presented in covert way.

In contradiction, some other studies and literature (Konecki, 1990; Givens, 1978; Schefflen, 1965) argue on the very point of whether flirting contains romance, love or sexual interest or attraction. Those studies and literature mainly assume that flirting have a high resemblance to courtship, however does not necessarily involve communication of genuine romance,

love or sexual interest or attraction. Flirting is only the play, the imitation, or the non-serious form of courtship. Hence, romance, love or sexual interest or attraction may not actually present.

The middle ground is possibly what is proposed by Henningsen, Braz, & Davies, 2008. In that study, the authors appear to willing to take the presence of romance, love or sexual interest or attraction as a possibility. According to them, flirting is “ambiguous goal-motivated behaviors that can be, but are not restricted to being, interpreted as sexually motivated” (p. 484). Romance, love or sexual interest or attraction may be present in flirting. This perspective is in line with other definitions that see flirting as ambiguous (Stokoe, 2012), inherently paradoxical (Rommetveit, 1974) and containing invitation to “unknown future” (Perper, 2009). Romance, love or sexual interest or attraction is ambiguously presence in flirting.

Based on the above discussion, this study takes the working definition of flirting as “playful and ambiguous kind of interaction, in which romance, love or sexual undertone is potentially present”. This definition incorporates the possibility that flirting is done “seriously” as an initiation to a real subsequent courtship between two unfamiliar individual, as well as flirting is done “non-seriously” as an immediacy tool in interaction between two familiar individuals. What is no less important is that flirting is done playfully.

Guided by the above definitions, this study takes two trajectories in determining whether one spate of interaction is flirting. The first one is whether romance, love or sexual interest or attraction is potentially present in the interaction, from the analyst perspective. This trajectory can be done through identification of behaviours, which have been previously found to be in close association to display of romance, love or sexual interest or attraction. The second one, which can be said to be more important than the first, is whether the participants themselves acknowledge or orient to their actions or behaviours as potentially containing romance, love or sexual interest or attraction. In order to determine whether one spate of interaction is flirting, attention will be focused on the participants’ actions on the subsequent talk which reveal their acknowledgement or orientation to the previous actions as containing romance, love or sexual interest or attraction.

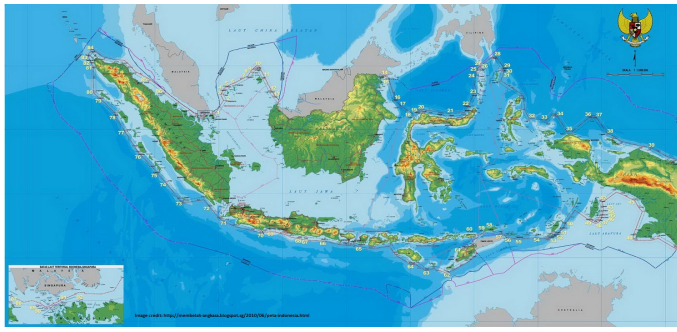


Figure 1.1: *Map of Indonesian Archipelago*

1.2 Language and Socio-cultural Background

The data of this study is a conversation between two participants. Though the main language in the data is Indonesian, the participants of the study are ethnically Balinese and the data was collected in Bali Island. Much of the participants socio-cultural and geographical location background come in the interaction as an assumed shared knowledge. At times, the shared knowledge are present as an unstated assumption, an infrastructure to understand the participants' interaction. Before getting into the analysis, I would like to give a quick overview about the language used in the data, as well as the socio-cultural and geographical location background of the participants and data collection. This overview is aimed at providing background information to understand the data, by no means it is a comprehensive presentation on either the language (conversational Indonesia spoken in Bali), the geographical location (Bali), and the culture (Balinese).

1.2.1 Language

The conversational in the data is mainly Indonesian. However, from time to time, the participants also employ Balinese and a very small portion of English. The discussion on language background in this subsection will present some background information those three languages: Indonesian, Balinese, and English. The purpose of this subsection is to give a general background in order to understand the context of languages in use in the data.

1.2.1.1 Indonesian

Indonesian is the official language of the Republic of Indonesia. This language is developed from the Austronesian language of Malay. The Republic of Indonesia was established in mid-20th century in the archipelago (Figure 1.1). But long before Indonesia was established, Malay has existed in the archipelago. Driven by the Malay Kingdoms' success in the strait of Malacca, the Malay traders expanded their reach to the present day Indonesian archipelago. Those traders employed Malay to communicate with the indigenous inhabitants who are speaking various indigenous languages. By the 16th Century there were already some pockets of different Malay varieties around the archipelago. These Malay varieties were a combination of Malay and the local indigenous languages (J. Sneddon, 2003).

The present day Indonesian to a greater extent is comprehensible for Malay speakers from the neighboring countries of Singapore and Malaysia, and vice versa. Some grammar books (Mintz, 1994, 2002) even combine the two language systems, Malay and Indonesian, presumably because of their high similarities.

Standard versus Vernacular During the Dutch occupation around 17th century to mid-20th century, Malay gained greater status in Indonesian archipelago. It is promoted as the lingua franca of the Dutch colony. At the same time, Malay also grew further into two distinct varieties: the high, Riau Malay, or the literary Malay; and the low, informal, or vernacular Malay.

When the country was established in mid-20th century, came language planning. The High Malay was adopted and given a new name: Indonesian. It then became the language of the literary, education, and state of the newly built nation of Indonesia. As the nation prepared itself for modern era, attention was given more to Indonesian Language. It was promoted, studied and also documented. This variety of language is later, and currently, referred as the standard Indonesian (J. Sneddon, 2003).

On the other hand, the people in the archipelago still speak different varieties of Malay,

which are different from the standard one (Ewing, 2005). These varieties receive less or even no attention from the authority (J. N. Sneddon, 2003; J. Sneddon, 2003). Since studies on the vernacular varieties of Indonesian are almost nonexistent, not much have been known about these vastly spoken varieties of Indonesian. How different they are from one another is unknown. There are only a handful of studies (Gil, 2007, 2004; Fields & Fields, 2010; Stoel, 2000) has documented the local and vernacular Indonesian varieties, though there are many of them. And there is no study yet, which compare the different varieties of Indonesian.

What is known at this point is that, there is a growing convergence of different vernacular varieties of Indonesian. More and more Indonesian speakers adopt the colloquial Jakartan Indonesian, the prestige dialect of the educated Jakartan (J. N. Sneddon, 2006; Moeliono, 1994; Moeliono & Grimes, 1995).

The language in the data: Conversational Indonesian spoken in Bali The participants in the current study were told to speak Indonesian. However, though Indonesian speakers from other region may still identify that the participants as speaking Indonesian, speakers from other region may not be able to fully comprehend the conversation. This is at least what happen to this piece of data. I showed the data to two native Indonesian speakers. One is from Malang - East Java -, and the other is from Kupang - East Nusa Tenggara. They said, though they know that the participants are speaking Indonesian, they cannot not fully follow the conversation and comprehend it.

For them, the speech was highly “accented”. They could easily identify that the speech of the participants has “Bali accent”. At many junctures, it is not easy to comprehend the conversation because of the accent. The rapid switch between Indonesian and Balinese also presents more challenge to comprehend the conversation. Furthermore, it is uncertain whether the participants are actually switching to Balinese or only speaking Indonesian with Balinese accent.

The differences between the Indonesian employ in the data and other unexplored varieties of Indonesian do not seem to stop at the Balinese accent and code switching. The difference

may also extend to its structure. One construction occurs several times in the data. That construction is the *tak* 'I-do' + V-(suffix-*in*) construction. *Tak* is a pronoun (or particle) of Javanese origin (Widhyasmaramurti, 2008; Moeljadi, 2013). While, the suffix -*in* has been reported to appear the Colloquial Jakartan Indonesia - the prestige dialect of colloquial Indonesian (J. N. Sneddon, 2006). According to Sneddon (2006) the suffix is actually Balinese in origin. Based on the current data, this construction appears to be the "doing favor" construction. It is used to indicate the addressee is the beneficiary of the action that the speaker's do.

The Indonesian speakers - whom the data was showed - stated that they either do not have this *tak* 'I-do' + V-(suffix-*in*) construction in their colloquial Indonesian varieties, or merely use a similar construction. At this point, for the lack of study exploring this construction and similar constructions in other conversational Indonesian varieties, to what extent this construction is similar to the similar construction in other varieties of conversational Indonesian is much unknown.

At this point, it is probably safe to give a provisional label: "conversational Indonesian spoken in Bali", for the variety of language in the data. A full description of this variety would be outside of the scope of this thesis. This label - conversational Indonesian spoken in Bali - is provisional. It is an indicative of potential differences between this variety and other regional varieties of conversational Indonesian. Any discussions or findings which touch upon or related to language structure should be treated with care, since different varieties of Indonesian may work differently.

In spite of the possible (unexplored) differences between other regional colloquial Indonesians with the one in the data, there are at least three structural similarities between the variety in the data and the ones previously studied (Wouk, 1998, 2001, 2005; Englebretson, 2003, 2007).

The first similarity, on the turn level, the word order is generally SVO. Moreover, also similar to what has been previously reported, the inconsistencies of word order are fairly high. It is common to see a conversational turn to be initiated by an Adjective or a Verb and it is also common to see Noun (Subject and Object) being omitted in conversational

turn. When the Subject and Object are derivable from the context, they are commonly omitted in the conversation. In addition, the polar questions in the data are prosodically marked through rising intonation, similar with what has been documented by Effendy (2009) . This is different than standard Indonesian which employs question word such as *apakah* to construct question word. This is also different than English where polar question is marked through inversion.

As previously mentioned, the colloquial Jakarta Indonesia has strong influences on other vernacular varieties of Indonesian. Conversational Indonesian spoken in Bali is no exception. The most salient influences are the employments of Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian discourse particles. The data of the current study is sprinkled with many discourse particles such as *toh*, *ni*, *dong*, *ya* and *kan*, as well as *(be)gini* 'like this' and *(be)gitu* 'like that'. Those particles have been documented to belong to colloquial Jakartan Indonesian (J. N. Sneddon, 2006). In addition, the analysis shows that in most cases those particles functioned and employed in similar ways as what has been documented in Sneddon (2006).

1.2.1.2 Balinese

Balinese is the regional language of the people in the island of Bali. Similar to Indonesian, Balinese also belongs to the Austronesian language family (Lewis, 2009; Bali, n.d.). It is not surprising then that Balinese and Indonesian share many cognates. However, though the word may have related meanings in two languages, their exact meanings are often different. As we may later see in the data, the participants exploit this to build ambiguity into their interaction.

Being a part of the Republic of Indonesia, most of the people in Bali are at least bilingual in Indonesian and Balinese. Indonesian is being used as the language of education and the language for formal matters. While for most Balinese, the Balinese language is their mother tongue and the language that they used for their daily life and other social-cultural activities.

1.2.1.3 English

As a famous tourism hub, exposure to English is especially high in Bali. Though the English being used may not be standard, mixing one's speech with English is not surprising in Bali context (*Bali*, 2017; *Bali travel guide - Wikitravel*, n.d.). As we may observe in the data, one of the participants, Eva, employs English in her conversation. John on the other hand, appears to fully comprehend Eva's speech, yet continuously responds in Indonesian (see Transcript in Appendix 7.3, for example Segment 6, Line 6 and 9).

1.2.2 Living in Bali

The participants, Eva and John, are both living in Bali. More or less their life and their interaction are affected by their geographical location. The island of Bali is located near the equator and it is surrounded by the sea. The sun shines and the weather is humid all year long. This condition influences the way people dress in the island. Wearing light clothing such as short skirts and cotton tops are common, possibly because they fit to the island's weather.

When the data was taken, Eva was wearing a white camisole under and a knitted short-sleeve see-through cardigan, with mini denim skirt (Figure 1.2). This kind of apparel is common and comfortable for Bali's hot and humid weather. Eva's current outfit becomes relevant in Segment 8 (See Transcript in Appendix 7.3). It appears that John regards Eva's short skirt as "sexy". It should be noted that for many, her outfit can be considered as common casual outfit, one which is suitable for the island's weather.



Figure 1.2: *Eva and John on the data collection day*

As a famous holiday destination, Bali is equipped with some modern infrastructures. When the data of the current study is recorded, cell-phone and non-cable-based internet network are two of the available infrastructures in the island. At that time, communicating through cell-phone; be it through the traditional voice call or internet application was already fairly common for people living in Bali.

In one part of the conversation (Segment¹ 8), John tries to get his phone out of his pocket, while announcing that he is getting (Eva) a ticket to Bangkok (Picture a and b, Extract 1.1) (See Appendix 7.3 for extended transcript and Subsection 5.1.2 for extended discussion on this particular part of conversation). Considering the presence of cell-phone and non-cable-based internet network in Bali, John's hand movements can be understood to indicate that he try to order the ticket by calling someone or accessing the internet.

Though Bali has been equipped with many modern infrastructures, public transportation is extremely poor. This situation causes the people who live in the island to provide their own means of transportation. Driving a motorbike is a skill that all adult, male and female alike, should master.

In Segment 2 (Extract 1.2, See Appendix 7.3 for extended transcript), John guesses that Eva must not wear a helmet to travel to the data collection venue. This utterance can

¹ Segment refers to the Segment of Flirtatious Conversation taken from the whole Eva and John's Conversation

Extract 1.1 Segment 6, Line 15-19

15 John : O gitu,
Owh like-that
Oh I see,
16 ni tak pesenin tiket ke Bangkok dulu a
this I(do) order-IN ticket to first DP



here let me order (you) a ticket to Bangkok okay
17 Eva : <Heh heh heh heh heh heh heh heh>=



18 John : =Mau eAirasia tapi
want but
Interested? Ehm but (with) Airasia
19 : mau?=
interested?

Extract 1.2 Segment 2, Line 22-24

22 John : °nyen jak kamu mai?°
Who with you here
Who are you coming here with?
23 Eva : Eh, mbak
|((pointing))
Ehm, (the) nanny
24 John : Pasti sing maelem- /e
Certainly NEG with-helmet TAG
(I) bet (you guys) (do)n't wear helmet, right?
25 Eva : A: /ING, nak pa[ek]
NEG DP close
(Of course) no, its near
26 John : [di-]janan?
Where (is it)?

be understood to be founded on at least two assumptions. Firstly, John assumes that Eva travels to the data collection venue by using a motorbike. At least when the data of the current study was collected, it was so common in Bali for people to drive motorbike. Unless one said otherwise, it was assumed that one is travelling by motorbike.

Secondly, John guesses that Eva travels from nearby location. According to Indonesian law (*Lalu Lintas dan Angkutan Jalan*, 2009)², one must wear a helmet to be on a moving motorcycle. Both driver and passengers have to wear helmet. But people usually forego helmet if they travel for a short distance. So guessing that one should not wear a helmet is similar to guessing that one must have traveled for a short distance. Evidently, Eva points out that her mother's house, from where she travels to the data collection venue from, is nearby.

1.2.3 Balinese Life

The two participants are ethnically Balinese. The term Balinese generally refers to the Hindu population of Bali (Pringle, 2004). The population adheres to Balinese Hindu tradition, which is a "highly revised version of Hinduism" (Geertz & Geertz, 1975). It is a mix between the "imported" Hinduism teaching from India and the native ritual and way of life. Interesting enough, in this modern era the Balinese tradition is still well preserved, especially in terms of ceremonies. A comparison between Covarrubias presentation about Balinese ceremonies (Covarrubias, 1937) and how the Balinese practice their ceremonies at present, reveals that to a greater extent Balinese ceremonies are still performed the way they were in the 30s.

Eva, the female participant, is married with a child. She is a married woman, a wife and a mother. Not only that, most of Eva and John's conversation revolves around Eva's transportable identity³ as a married woman, a wife, and a mother. Hence, in order to

² "Setiap orang yang mengemudikan Sepeda Motor dan Penumpang Sepeda Motor wajib mengenakan helm yang memenuhi standar nasional Indonesia." English Translation: "Any person driving Motorcycles and Motorcycle passenger must wear a helmet that meets national standards of Indonesia." (Undang-Undang No. 22 Tahun 2009, Pasal 106, ayat 88)

³ "...transportable identities travel with individuals across situations and are potentially relevant in and for any situation and in and for any space of interaction". (Zimmerman, 1998, p. 90)

understand much parts of their conversation, some relevant knowledge about how it is like to be a married Balinese, especially a married Balinese female as what Eva is, must be given.

1.2.3.1 Male Dominance

The Balinese are traditionally patrilocal and patrilineal⁴ (Covarrubias, 1937; Geertz & Geertz, 1975). Patrilocal means that a married couple resides in the male's family property. While patrilineal means that a married couple (husband and wife) continues the male's family lineage. Inheritance is also commonly passed down to the male offspring(s).

As a result of the above normative arrangements – patrilocal and patrilineal – married Balinese female faces three consequences. The first one is the female lives in the male's family property. The second one is that the female renounces⁵ her maiden family membership so that she can become a member of her husband's family. The third consequence is that the child or children born in a marriage will continue the male's family lineage. In the above sense, the male can be said to be dominant in Balinese culture.

1.2.3.2 Unequal Division of Labor or Female's "Emancipation"

Getting married is a big step in the life of the Balinese. When a Balinese get married, he or she is considered as a full member of the traditional village. The Balinese are still strongly bonded to the custom and traditional village system. Even in this modern era, membership to the traditional village is still considered as vital. One may lose the sense of identity as a Balinese, even the sense of self, when one loses traditional village

⁴ There are some exceptions, for example the *nyentana* arrangement, where the male is married to the female's family; and *pada gelahang* arrangement where the marriage is recognized by the two families: the female's maiden family and the male's maiden family. In *pada gelahang* the married couple has two familial membership statuses and they also have the right of inheritance in the two families. Some say that *pada gelahang* is a solution for the modern era, where families have limited number of offsprings; however considering the high traditional responsibilities that come with double familial statuses, some still see this arrangement as tough for the couple.

⁵ There are some exceptions. In the *nyentana* arrangement, it is the male who renounces his maiden family membership status. In the *pada gelahang* arrangement neither the male nor the female renounce their maiden family membership statuses, and both the male and female acquire familial membership from their spouse's family.

membership. He or she is then seen to be outcast, someone who is outside of the Balinese societal system. The role and responsibilities of a married Balinese are very different than the unmarried ones.

Being a full member of the traditional village means one acquires a responsibility to do (unpaid) services or *ngayah*. One may have to perform a myriad of rituals in the village's temples⁶, assisting ceremonies in other village members' houses, or social works such as cleaning public places within the area of the village, etc. Depending on the size of the village, a village member may perform *ngayah* from three times up to fifteen times a month, or even more. Failure to participate in *ngayah* may incur a penalty of differing degrees, from simply being gossiped by other village members to being formally expelled from the village. Some village still owns the land where the villagers dwell. Hence, being expelled from the village may also mean losing one's house.

The female of the family often carries a heavier workload than the male. First of all, the female performs rituals and social works more often, for a longer period of time in comparison to the male (Nakatani, 2003)⁷. Secondly, it is common for Balinese female to work outside of the house. For the rural Balinese, the female works alongside her husband on the land which belongs to her husband's family. For the urban Balinese, the female works both in formal and informal sectors alongside their male peers. According to 2014 census (Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali, n.d.), 66% of female in Bali in their productive age are working. Only 21% of them stays at home. But even if a female stays at home, she can still earn money for her family, for example through the common take-home garment or souvenir making works (Nakatani, 2003).

Thirdly, Balinese still commonly thinks that rituals and social works are female's responsibilities (Nakatani, 2003). For example, the temple's offerings, daily offerings, gifts for neighbors' ceremonies, etc are often procured and even fully funded by the female. The male often does not even know the cost of the family's rituals and social works. Fourthly, most

⁶ Temple rituals are held in different cycles from three times a day to once in a year, while assisting ceremonies of other village members is more incidental.

⁷ In her study, she compared the frequency and length of involvement between the female and male members of the community in her fieldwork area for eleven-month period in 1991-1992.

Balinese still thinks that raising children and running the house (cooking, cleaning, etc.) are female's responsibilities. Though there are surely exceptions, it is not an exaggeration to say that (married) Balinese female are the one doing everything in the house. On one hand the above arrangement can be seen as unequal division of labor. On the other hand, perhaps on the more optimistic side, it can also be seen as a female "emancipation".

1.2.3.3 Divorce

The divorce between Balinese couple is hard, especially for the female. Among the many consequences, there are at least two of the hardest: the female may end up losing her children, and have nowhere to go. According to the tradition, children follows the male (father)'s family lineage. This tradition can be used as a ground to argue that the children should stay and being raised in the father's family in the event of divorce (Parker, 2003). From that perspective, the female (mother) has a weaker ground to fight for her children's custody. Many female choose to stay in unhappy marriage for the fear of losing her children (Parker, 2003).

Then, for Balinese female's, her right to live in her husband's family property comes as a package to her marriage. In the event of divorce, the female is no longer a wife to her former husband. Consequently, she is also no longer a member of the former husband's family, which also means that she no longer has the right to live in her former husband family's property. A divorce female is often the one who has to leave the house(Putra & Creese, 2016).

In some unfortunate cases, returning to her maiden family is not a straightforward option either. A married Balinese female is no longer a member to her maiden family. She renounced her membership to her maiden family when she got married. Regaining a "maiden" status and return to her maiden house is a possibility, but it will take a substantial amount of cooperation in so many levels from her maiden family. Often this will also involve her extended maiden family as well as her maiden village members. For example, her married male sibling family may reject her return for the prospect of sharing resources with the divorce female.

A female may choose to not to return to her maiden family and live by her own after a divorce. However, this choice means that she will be outside of the Balinese societal system. Membership to the traditional village comes as a package to family membership. By not being a member of any family means that she is also not a member of any traditional village. For example in the case of her death, it will be unclear where her cremation will be held and who are supposed to perform it. Cremation for Balinese is a family and village business. It involves not only family member of the deceased but also people from village and many elements, such as holy water, which reflect one's ties to a traditional village.

1.2.3.4 Sex and Inequality in Extramarital Affair

The Balinese sees sex in a fairly casual way. They do not see pre-marital sex as a sin. According to Covarrubias (1937, p. 115), "the average Balinese does not attach great importance to virginity..." More recently, pre-marital sex or "trial marriage" practice is fairly common. One familiar contemporary term is "MBA". It stands for Married by Accident. MBA means that the couple gets married as a result of pregnancy. The Balinese are obsessed with fecundity and offspring (Covarrubias, 1937; Parker, 2003). For many, unable to conceive right after getting married is shameful. For some couple, in avoiding pressure from the family (and village members) to have a child right after the wedding, they try to conceive before getting married. Wedding is only discussed and prepared after the female is pregnant. The pregnancy is then celebrated as a trophy, an evidence of the newly-wed's fecundity.

Similarly, the Balinese are rather casual on extramarital affair in terms of re-marriage. Covarrubias (1937) observed it is not difficult to re-marry even for a female who got divorced after having extramarital affair.

But that only happen if the female was not harmed by her husband when she got caught having affair. Male dominance and inequality apparently present in extramarital affair. Covarrubias noted that in the bygone era (before his fieldwork in Bali in the 1930s), a female who got caught having an extramarital affair may end up being killed by her

husband. This appalling consequence sources from, not the husband's jealousy, but wounded dignity.

In a more recent year, Parker (2003) observed how the female extramarital affair is despised by the society; while the male's extramarital affair is celebrated as a symbol of masculinity. A female caught doing extramarital affair may end up being divorced by her husband; while a male caught doing extramarital affair may end up taking that other female - to whom he has affair with - as his next wife. However, considering the conflict and resource sharing issue, there are not many polygamous families in Bali. Often the one who are able to have more than wife are only the gentility. Furthermore, as a result of modernity, polygamous family becomes even more rare nowadays.

1.2.4 Indonesian Media, Flirting, and Female

Celebrity gossip show is a very popular in Indonesia. Most of the national TV channel has some kind of celebrity gossip show. There are even some channels that broadcast live gossip show for more than once a day. One live broadcast can last for one hour. The show can appear as an interview. But the guest is interviewed not because of his or her achievement, but because of his or her sensational story. Humour is then added to the equation and the guest freely shared his or her sensational, yet usually personal, stories. The host commonly presents the sensational guest through sensational person reference (in humorous way), such as a female who just dump her husband, a candidate divorcee, etc.

Indonesian media basically depicts flirting, in relation to female, in two ways. The first one is that female is the responsible party in flirtatiousness (Arvina, 2013). According to the report (Arvina, 2013), the government of Indonesia, through the media, depicts sexuality as synonymous to display of female body. Hence, there are many regulations in place about how female should act and dress in national television, instead of how the other parties perceive the female. The second way of how media depicts flirting and gender is that the female enjoys to be flirted (Thaniago & Arief, 2014). TV shows depicts

character based on stereotypes. One of the stereotypes for female is enjoying to be flirting. The other stereotypes include being jealous and love to gossip.

1.3 Previous Studies

There is a considerably body of work on flirting. However, to the best of my knowledge there is no dedicated observational study on flirting in Balinese society or on Indonesian Language. This section provides an overview on the existing relevant studies. It is aimed at providing a context of what has been discovered and what has not been known about flirting, especially in non-western culture such as Bali.

1.3.1 (General) Flirting and Courtship Studies

There has been a sizeable body of works on flirting. One of the most dated, yet highly relevant to the present thesis is an observational study by Schefflen (1965). In that study Schefflen described some behaviour, which exhibit similarities to the ones observed in “American courtship”. Schefflen collected his data in psychotherapy consultation context. The participants who perform the flirting behaviour are the therapists and the patients.

Schefflen termed these behaviours as quasi-courtship behaviours. Based on how flirting has been defined (see Section 1.1 for denifition), it appears that quasi-courtship and flirting are two terms used for a more or less similar phenomenon: behaviours which appear to be similar to courtship – containing romance, love, or sexual interest or attraction -, yet they are not yet or not (real) courtship.

Schefflen documented the similarities and differences between the (real) courtship behaviours and quasi-courtship behaviours. The similarity lies in that both (real) courtship and quasi-courtship contains the basic elements of: (1) Courtship readiness, (2) Positioning for courtship, and (3) Actions of appeal or invitation. Courtship readiness refers to some observable physical states which indicates sexual arousal, such as high muscle tonus. Positioning for courtship refers to physical body positions of the two individuals, involved

in courtship, where they orient to one another. While actions of appeal or invitation occur in the form more observable flirtatious behaviours such as: flirtatious glances, gaze-holding, demure gestures, head-cocking, etc.

The difference between (real) courtship behaviours and quasi-courtship behaviours lies in what termed as “Qualifiers of Courting Behaviours”. Individuals in quasi-courtship context may perform units or stages of behaviour identical to courtship context, yet indicating the non-true nature of those units of stages behaviour. They are (1) References to the inappropriate context, (2) Incomplete postural-kinesic involvement, (3) Omission or incompleteness of key courting behaviours, (4) Disclaimers, and (5) Bizarreness of performance of the courtship elements. Those five qualifiers basically indicate that their courtship-like behaviours are inappropriate, incomplete, or different than courtship.

In relation to the current thesis, Schefflen’s study provided at least three contributions. The first one is that his study has established quasi-courtship – courtship-like behaviours - as a phenomenon on its own. Secondly, the study has also provided a framework to identify quasi-courtship, especially the five qualifiers of quasi-courtship. Thirdly, Schefflen’s study has taken non-verbal bodily conduct into consideration, thus specifically providing a verbal and non-verbal framework to identify flirting behaviour.

Schefflen’s study had provided a framework to identify flirting behaviour. Subsequent study provided a more detailed catalogue of courtship behaviour. In 1985 Moore published a study, in which she catalogued 52 female courtship behaviours. These behaviours were gathered through covert observations in single’s bar. Moore’s catalogue and explanation are very valuable because it presents 52 female courtship behaviours and described them in a considerable detail.

At this point, a framework to identify flirting behaviours is available and more is known about female non-verbal courtship behaviours. But, there is still a huge gap in flirting studies. Though Schefflen had mentioned some verbal flirting behaviours, how flirting is verbally done is still less known. Schefflen only mentioned several verbal flirting behaviours as a means to illustrate his points on the basic elements of courtship and qualifiers of courting behaviour. Then, Moore catalogue only concerned with the courtship

behaviour of the female. I did not include the similar to courtship, flirting, behaviour. It did not take account the male courtship behaviour either. Consequently, less is known about the male's courtship behaviours, and both male and female flirting behaviours.

Later studies have attempted to address the above gaps – on male's courtship behaviours, and both male and female flirting behaviours – through different means. Those studies are Henningsen on 6 motives of flirting (2004, 2008), Hall on 5 flirting styles (2010, 2014), Saint Dizier and Agnoletti (2010) on flirting script (first encounter), and Konecki (1990) on flirting on workplace situation.

Henningsen (2004) and Henningsen et.al (2008) attend the question of why people from different population (male vs female, workers vs students) flirt. The two studies provided evidence that people of different population may have different motivations to flirt. This study marginally addressed the paucity of studies on flirting behaviour of different population. These two studies – Henningsen (2004) and Henningsen et.al (2008) – brought about the idea of differences in terms of flirting among different population. However, those studies do not answer the question of how those different populations actually flirt.

There are studies (Hall, Carter, Cody, & Albright, 2010; Hall & Xing, 2014; VanderMolen, 2014) which attempted to address that question. Those studies basically revolved around the idea of different flirting styles, five different flirting styles to be exact. Hall, Carter, Cody, & Albright (2010) study proposed the five flirting styles: traditional, physical, sincere, playful, and polite flirting styles and explores those flirting styles correlation with the participants' gender and personality.

Hall & Xing (2014) explored how these five flirting styles were actually translated in initial courtship potential encounters. Then VaderMolen (2014) explored the correlation between these five flirting styles and sexual orientation. These three studies contributed to our understanding of people flirt differently and that those differences correlate to the participants' background (gender, sexual orientation, etc).

On the more verbal perspective, there is a study by Saint-Dizier de Almeida and Agnoletti study (2010). This study attempted to develop an interlocutory (or conversational) script

on flirting through a quasi-experimental method. They produced an utterance, which presumably represent a first (conversational) turn. Then, the participants of the study produce the next two (conversational) turns in response to that first turn.

Saint-Dizier de Almeida & Agnoletti study slightly addressed the paucity of knowledge in verbal flirting behaviours. However, since their approach was quasi-experimental; different than observational study, their findings may be quite distance from what actually happen in real life. Saint-Dizier de Almeida & Agnoletti study portrayed how people flirt through the lenses of the participants' perception, memory and imagination. They did not make direct observation of people's behaviours in flirting interaction. People report of how they would do some actions does not necessarily represent how they would actually do those actions in real life (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Jeong-Yeon Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003; Kunstman & Maner, 2011; Maner et al., 2005; Gray & Ford, 2013). Hence, though Saint-Dizier de Almeida and Agnoletti study (2010) improved our understanding on flirting, they do not fully address the gap of our knowledge in terms of verbal flirting behaviours.

The perspective taken by Konecki (1990) on workplace flirting is greatly different that the above studies. Similar to Schefflen (1965) and Moore (1985), Konecki study was an observational study. It observed and documented how people actually flirt in real life instead of how people report their flirting behaviours. The study also took both verbal and non-verbal flirting behaviours from male and female participants into consideration. It also incorporated elements of context such the participants' role (or position) within the workplace context, such as mentioning how press operators, fitters, quality inspectors, etc behave; and whether those role affect their flirting interaction. This study gave a comprehensive picture about how people flirt with each other, by taking account on their gender and workplace roles.

Konecki study showed how flirting interaction is a phenomenon on its own, which is different than (real) courtship, and how much can it be influenced by its context. Comparing between Schefflen 1965 quasi-courtship behaviours and flirting behaviours in Konecki 1990, influence from context can be observed. In Schefflen 1965, the flirting behaviours were covert in nature and the qualifiers were done through indicating the inappropriateness

of their flirting behaviours, making their flirting behaviours incomplete or markedly different than (real) courtship. In Konecki's data, the flirting behaviours were done publicly. And in fact that was one of the most observable qualifier. What Konecki observed was flirting behaviour which were done outside of the public eyes were then considered to be real courtship and it could even lead to some kind of sanction.

Study such as Konecki (1990) can be seen as an attempt towards addressing the huge gap in our knowledge on flirting. It documented the verbal and non-verbal flirting behaviours among male and female participants. However, since the main interest of the study was not flirting per se, it was lacking of detail. For example, unlike Schefflen (1965) which included accurate depiction of the bodily position of the parties in flirting interaction, Konecki merely made a cursory mention of the bodily positions. Additionally, though the study mentioned about the topic of the verbal flirting behaviours, the actual utterances were not being reproduced in the work. In that sense, a more detailed study on both verbal and non-verbal flirting behaviours, which reproduced the verbal interaction and depict the non-verbal interaction more accurately, will critically advance our knowledge on flirting.

There is one more gap which has not been mentioned above. As we have noticed in Section 1.1, flirting has been defined in myriad of different ways. Whether one is actually flirting, serious, intending to be serious (i.e. initiating courtship), is arguable (Gray & Ford, 2013; Ferrer-Pérez & Bosch-Fiol, 2014). Hence, most studies identify flirting based on the analyst criterion instead of the participants' themselves. Flirting is essentially ambiguous (Stokoe, 2012), and even paradoxical (Rommetveit, 1974). An interaction which appears to be flirting from the analyst perspective may not be taken to be flirting by the participants themselves. The field is still lacking of an observational study which takes the participants own perspective.

This thesis is an attempt to advance our knowledge by addressing the aforementioned gaps. This study takes flirting as its main interest. It observes and documents both verbal and non-verbal flirting behaviours. It also reproduces the verbal interaction in great detail and depict non-verbal flirting behaviours as accurate as possible. In addition, it also attempts to bring about context into consideration, overseeing how the construction

of flirting behaviours is influenced by the context. As it employs the ethnomethodology approach of Conversation Analysis (CA), it takes emic, or the participants' perspective⁸ into account.

1.3.2 Studies on Flirting in Non-Western Cultures

There is a paucity of studies and literature on flirting from non-western cultural contexts. The majority of studies and literature on flirting, as discussed above (in Section 1.1 and Subsection 1.3.1), come from the western culture. At this point how culture plays in flirting is still vastly unexplored. Amidst the paucity of studies and literature on flirting in non-western culture, there are two works (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1972 and Mead, 1930) relevant to flirting. Though the two works are dated, they are relevant in our discussion to illustrate the potential similarities and differences of romantic or sexual encounter in different cultural contexts. The main aim of the discussion in this section is to point out the gap in our understanding of flirting if we take cultural background into consideration.

In the previous discussion on flirting literature from western culture (subsection 1.3.1), I have compared between two observational studies of differing context. One is in psychotherapy (Schefflen, 1965) and the other is in workplace setting (Konecki, 1990). In both contexts, the presence of third-party(s) plays important role in marking the interaction as real or unreal courtship. The third party's presence marks that their interaction is not a serious courtship interaction.

However, how this constrain manifest in those two contexts are different. Whereas in the psychotherapy context (Schefflen, 1965) the flirting individuals reminding each other that other party(s) is present. In other word, the presence of other is used as a reminder of the inappropriacy of their (flirting) interaction. While, in workplace context, flirting should be done in public, or else it is considered as real courtship (Konecki, 1990). People who are caught to flirt without the presence of the third party can be sanction. Hence, based on the above difference, it is not an exaggeration to predict that context does play role in flirting.

⁸ More discussion on CA's emic perspective can be found in section 2.1.1

This prediction potentially can be extended to cultural context.

Eibl-Eibesfeldt book (1972) talked about different facets of human social interaction. He gathered human behaviour data (and photo) from various cultures, ranging from several tribes in Africa, Bali, Papua, America, as well as western culture such as Germany. The book section entitled “The Origin of Releasing Rituals” is relevant to romantic encounter, hence flirting. At the initial part of that book section, Eibl-Eibesfeldt started with a discussion on animal’s courtship behaviours and then extended the discussion into human’s courtship and courtship initiation.

The thesis of Eibl-Eibesfeldt’s book section is that some of the courtship behaviours in both animal and human are developed from signals of excitement or extended from other behaviours with established functioned. In doing so, Eibl-Eibesfeldt documented sexual related signals of interest, therefore courtship and flirting, from different cultures. Accompanied with some photos, he described the facial expressions of Turkana female and Samburu girl.

Eibl-Eibesfeldt also described the coy or embarrassed bodily position and facial expression of a little girl in Germany, as well as Samoan female, Balinese female, and Waika (male) warrior. For the Samoan female, Balinese female, and Waika (male) warrior, the embarrassment being displayed was resulted teases which are sexual or romance related. Eibl-Eibesfeldt then went on to say how humans from culture to culture have innate facial expressions. Nonetheless the specific usages of those facial expressions are often shaped by the cultural context.

Mead (1930) dedicated a Chapter in her work (“Formal Sex Relationship”) to present her observation about sex relationship in Samoa. The assumption was that the culture of Samoa, back then, was still “primitive”. Primitive means that it had not been highly penetrated by modern value. Mead noted how the adolescent do not mix with the different sexes. They may have limited interaction. According to her, this apathy to the other sexes was acquired by the Samoan early in their life. It was something that they learnt from the society.

Among the limited opposite sex interaction, some of the sexual relevant one would involve absurd tease, such as jocular accusation that one girl is in love with older male, etc. The other kind of sexual relevant tease would be third party flirtation. In that situation, the flirtation was done by other boy or boys in the group, on behalf of one boy who was actually attracted to the girl.

Mead also noted that there are two kinds of formally acknowledged relationship besides formal marriage. They are love affairs between two unmarried individuals and adultery. Between the unmarried individuals, she noted three kinds of relationship. They are the clandestine encounter, published elopement, and ceremonious courtship. In all three love affairs, a confidant (*soa*) is needed. Mead then went on to elaborate the kind of interaction that the *soa* has with the prospective lover of the boy he assist and the traditional ceremonies involved in those love relationship. Mead also touched upon sexual practice, which is considered to be somewhat morally wrong rape kind of sexual encounter, called *moetotolo*.

Eibl-Eibesfeldt showed how some basic human behaviors adapted into different purposes, which are shaped by cultural context. Though Mead did not document the flirtatious interaction among the Samoans, in her explication, it is clear that the interaction that the adolescent boy and girl have in Samoa was highly influenced by their cultural background. Most of the sexual encounters, except the sexual intercourse, are mediated by other individual in the Samoan context.

Human from different geographical location and culture may display similar behaviors, but at the same time it also appears that context, in this case culture, plays important role in love and sexual relation. However, considering the paucity of study on flirting from non-western culture, not much has been known. Hence, a study from a non-western culture, especially the one which takes cultural background into consideration, will add to our knowledge about human flirting behaviors or flirtatious interaction.

1.3.3 Previous Findings on Balinese Flirting

To the best of my knowledge, so far there no existing work dedicated on flirting in Balinese setting. The most relevant existing works merely cursorily mentioned flirting or discussed phenomenon slightly relevant to flirting.

There are two works on Balinese culture, which cursorily mentioned flirting. Both indicated that flirting or verbal banter between opposite sexes is common in Balinese setting. The first work is Covarrubias (1937) and the second work is Parker (2003). Covarrubias (1937) mentioned how girls can respond to the male advances and verbal banter, while Parker wrote “both sexes flirt outrageously at times” (p. 160). Flirting was only cursorily mentioned in those two works. Whether and how girls responded to the male advances and verbal banter, or what was considered as “flirting” in Parker (2003) was unclear.

There are also two more works on Balinese culture, which are relevant to flirting. The first one is Bateson, Mead and Carleton (1942) book on photographic analysis and the second one is Sherzer (1993) paper on speech-play in Bali. Bateson, Mead and Carleton work (1942), employed the specific word “flirting” in their work. They employed flirting to specifically refer to a seduction-like interaction between a mother and her son. The naked son sat on the bare-breasted mother’s lap, while suckling her nipple and holding her other nipple. The mother rubbed her cheek over her son’s cheek and patted him on the back (p. 148 & 149).

It appears that the interaction described above can be seen as seduction-like physical contact because it involved parts of bodies, which are commonly considered as sexual, at least to the western culture in that time. For the Balinese themselves, nipples were probably not that sexual. The Balinese female were commonly bare-breasted in that era. In addition, it was common to see a child clinging to his or her mother and then casually playing and suckling from time to time. The interaction above might be sexual for the observers, who are coming from western culture. However, considering how potentially non sexual nipples were at that time in Bali; how sexual the interaction was for the participants (the mother and the son) was is arguable.

The flirtatious interaction in the current study is definitely different than the one in Bateson, Mead and Carleton (1942). The one in the current study involves two adults. Additionally, the flirting interaction in the current data does not involve intimate physical contact involving intimate body parts such as nipples. Most of the interaction is done verbally. Hence, the intimacy and playfulness are mostly communicated through verbal means (speech).

The other relevant work is by Sherzer (1993). His paper is on speech play in Balinese community. He detailed some speech play, which he observed to occur among the Balinese. On his paper, he noted that the Balinese love to exchange verbal banter. He detailed different types of verbal plays. He also noted how the Balinese exploited their multilingualism through cross-language verbal play, as well as how common these kind of cross-language verbal plays. He noted that it was common to produce verbal come-back, while according to him it would be considered as aggressive in different culture. Sherzer then even asserted that the Balinese consider verbal playfulness as a part of their identity.

Though Sherzer did not attend or even mention about the verbal flirtatiousness among the Balinese, he noted that the Balinese has this affinity for verbal bantering. He also detailed how the Balinese perform their speech play and verbal bantering. The two information above relevant to flirting, since flirting can be seen as a kind of speech play, and if it is reciprocated, flirting can also be seen as a kind of verbal bantering.

1.4 Gaps in Previous Studies and Research Question

Referring to our discussion on the previous Section (1.3) on Relevant Studies, it is clear that there is a vast gap in our knowledge on flirting. First of all, much less is known about male flirting behaviors compared to the female. Then secondly, much less is also known about actual verbal flirting behaviors. There is paucity in studies reporting and analyzing the participant's verbal flirting behavior. Thirdly, there is a very limited knowledge how context is at play in flirting. Fourthly, there is also paucity in study in flirting in non-western cultural context. Lastly, though there is a sizeable body of works on Balinese culture, so far there is no work which is dedicated at documenting and analyzing flirting

in Balinese.

This thesis is an attempt to advance our knowledge by addressing the aforementioned gaps. This study takes flirting as its main interest. It observes and documents both verbal and non-verbal flirting behaviors. It also reproduces the verbal interaction in great detail and depicts non-verbal flirting behaviors as accurate as possible. In addition, it also attempts to bring about context into consideration, overseeing how context is at play in flirting.

The generic research question attended by this thesis is how flirting is actually done in spontaneous, naturally occurring, interaction. In addressing that generic research question, this thesis attends to three more specific research questions. The first one is how flirting is “different” from non-flirting interaction. The second one is how flirting is initiated, sustained, and then terminated in interaction. And the third one is how the participants utilizes categories, such as gender or other things relevant to gender, to construe flirting.

Chapter 2

Methodology

In the first section (Section 2.1), this chapter details the analytic framework employed in approaching and analysis the data of the current study. In the second section (Section 2.2) it presents the necessary details of the data of the current study: the participants, the data collection, the “collection”, and a discussion on issues related to the employment of small data size for analysis. This thesis is based on observational data, which involves participants. Though their involvement in this study is on voluntary basis, some steps have been taken in order to minimize, if there is any, negative consequences to their involvement in this study. Those steps are presented in Section 2.3. Since, this thesis employs video recording, which involves video and audio data, some steps were taken to render those image and sound data into writing. The last section (Section 2.4) presents some notes on the transcription and representation of the (image and sound) data into the writing.

2.1 Analytic Framework

This study employs an Ethnomethodological approach. They are in particular, Conversation Analysis (CA) and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA). The two methodological traditions are pioneered by Harvey Sacks. This choice of pairing CA and MCA is strategically motivated. CA provides a framework to approach flirting from a sequential perspective,

instead of single actions, or a simple action-reaction standpoint. MCA then, firstly compatible with the CA sequential analysis, also efficacious in systematically investigating and explicating category relevant inference making in communication.

2.1.1 Conversation Analysis (CA) as an Approach to Study Naturally Occurring Interaction

This section is aimed at giving the necessary background on what Conversation Analysis (CA) is and how it fits to the study of spontaneous flirting interaction. By no means has this section provided a comprehensive review on the field of CA. Works such as ten Have (2007), Liddicoat (2007) and Sidnell (2010) provide overview on the CA as a method. Atkinson and Heritage (1984) provides a collection of some of the CA earliest works. While the Handbook (Sidnell & Stivers, 2013), provides the most recent development in CA, at least at the time when the volume was produced.

The discussion in this section starts with a short “history” of how naturally occurring conversation was to be studied by using this method (CA). It then continues with some of the fundamental assumption and initial observations in CA. This section then closes with some basic terms in CA. These terms will be in use throughout this thesis.

Conversation Analysis (CA) as an analytic tradition was initiated through the works of the late Harvey Sacks, in collaboration with Emmanuel Schegloff and the late Gail Jefferson (Have, 2007). Throughout his live, Harvey Sacks received various theoretical exposures. The most influential one was from ethnomethodology. Ethnomethodology is “... an organizational study of a member’s knowledge of his ordinary affairs, of his own organized enterprises, where that knowledge is treated by us as part of the same setting that it also makes orderable.” (Garfinkel, 1974, p. 18)

CA was “born” out of Sacks concern of the tendency of “averaging” and “idealization” of the phenomenon (Heritage, 1984b, p. 234). He then proposed the “raw” material as data. In terms of social interaction, that means naturally occurring interaction. With the widely accessibility of audio recording of conversation at that time (in 1970s), Sacks started to study the orderliness of recorded conversation. The influence of ethnomethodology

could be seen, for instance from the assumption that naturally occurring conversation is an orderly phenomenon.

In 1975, Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson produced a piece of work, which can even be said, as the most important piece of work in the field of Conversation Analysis. The paper proposed what Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson referred as a “model” of turn taking system. The model was based on the observation of how people take turn in conversation. The model included what constitutes to be a turn, how turn is allocated, and how speaker-change occurs. The paper also discussed how the model takes account on some basic observable facts of conversational data and some implications to the model. This paper provided a framework to systematically study naturally occurring conversation.

Flirting is highly deniable (Stokoe, 2012). A person may always deny that he or she has just been flirtatious. There is one systematic consequence of turn-taking system that is advantageous to the present study, especially in relation to the ambiguity of flirting. That consequence is the “proof procedure”. A method for the participant to display their understanding of the previous turn, as well as to examine other participant understanding to one’s turn is the subsequent turn. This method can be used to examine the participants’ understanding whether the previous turn is understood as doing flirting. Hence, the analysis is then informed by the participants’ own perspective of whether the other participant, or even him or herself, is doing flirting. Even if the flirtatiousness is then denied, the negotiation process can be captured and incorporated into the analysis as an evidence of the potential flirtatiousness in the interaction.

There is also another consequence of this turn-taking system which is advantageous to the current study on flirting. That is what is termed as conditional relevance. Conditional relevance refers to “upon the production of a first action a second is due” (Heritage, 1984b, p. 249). For example, upon the completion of a Summon, an Answer is due. When there is no further talk present, its absence is noticeable (Schegloff, 1988). A flirtatious first action may make some kind of flirtatious-relevant action to be relevant as its response. Hence, whether an action is identified to be flirtatious by the participants’ themselves can be observed from their subsequent response, whether they display any orientation to the

first action as flirtatious.

In natural conversation, things can be more complicated. A single turn may be identifiably doing more than one action. For example, a question can be employed to perform multitude of other actions. It can be employed as complaints, pre to offers and invitations; or even as repair initiators and pre to disagreements (Levinson, 2013). Hence a single turn may make more than a single type of turn relevant in the next turn. In flirting context then, first flirting action may make flirtatious response as a relevant next action, among other relevant responses.

As mentioned above, a turn may be seen as the main action itself or a pre to a prospectively subsequent main action. This conception touches upon a useful notion as proposed by Levinson (2013). That notion is “project” or “course of action”. Though the projected prospectively subsequent main action has not actually been produced in the interaction, a turn may be identified to project a specific course of action. When an action, which prospectively a pre to some kind of subsequent main action, is produce; the other participant therefore may identify it as such, instead of seeing it as a main action. From this perspective, the production of a specific turn can also be seen as an invitation to the other participant to respond in a specific way as to co-construct the “project”, or the course of action before the prospective main action gets to be produced by the original speaker.

There are two consequences of this conception of project. The first one is related to the multiple possible actions being done through a single turn and the second one is related to a single turn as an invitation to co-construct a specific course of action. For flirting, the first pair part in flirting sequence has the possibility to be identified as doing flirting, among other possibilities. The interlocutor may or may not orient to the flirting relevant elements of the first action. Though from the analyst perspective, the first turn is doing flirting or relevant to flirting, the interlocutor may attend to different aspects of the turn. Hence, the status of the first turn as doing flirting or inviting to flirt together is determined by not only its intrinsic – flirtatious - features, but also its response.

The second one is, though an action appears to be innocuous, and merely remotely related to flirting; the interlocutor may still regard it as some kind of a pre to a prospective flirting

action. Consequently, the interlocutor may respond in such way as to usher the interaction into that prospective flirtatious direction, or produces the necessary alleged prospective flirting action. In that sense, the participants in that interaction can be seen as co-orienting to the flirting project and cooperatively constructing flirting.

Below are some of the Conversation Analysis terms and their explanation. Most of these terms are employed or relevant throughout the current thesis.

2.1.1.1 Action

From CA perspective, action refers to what is being done by a particular unit (TCU, turn, or even a sequence). Some of those actions are greeting, question, answer, offer, assessment, etc. It should be noted that, as Schegloff (2007) emphasized, CA starts from the data. Hence, firstly the action label of a particular turn is less important than that turn's interactional import. The interest lies more in how the production of a particular turn affects the interaction at that point in time, than merely putting a certain action label to a particular turn. As an illustration, what appears to be a greeting "good day" for analyst may actually be taken as an announcement - that it is a good day - for the other participants. Instead of responding with another "good day", the second participant may ask what is good about the day. The first action - the greeting "good day" - then starts a conversation about the day that participants are having, instead of merely inviting a reciprocal greeting.

The second consequence of CA's emphasis on observation is that it is possible to examine action which has no vernacular term made for it before. Absence of vernacular term is not an issue, since in most cases the import of that particular turn is observable from the context, and not the term given by previous analyst. By context here, it means sequential context of what happen before or after the turn and other relevant background knowledge that the participants would be assumed to have.

The third consequence is action may be realized through verbal, non-verbal, and even combination of both verbal and non-verbal means. Observation shows that verbal and

non-verbal means of interaction are often produced and understood concurrently in conversation. They can be produced as a unit and they affect one another. For example, a speaker may adjust their verbal turn based on the direction of their gaze (C. Goodwin, 1979), participant in conversation orients to non-verbal means such as smile and incorporates their orientation in their verbal conduct (Haakana, 2010) etc.

2.1.1.2 Adjacency Pair Organization

As the first turn occurs, certain types of response are relevant for the second turn (next immediate turn) (Have, 2007; Schegloff, 2007b). Some of these turn pairs are greeting-greeting, question-answer, offer-acceptance/declination and assessment-agreement/disagreement. This relationship between the first and second turn (the immediate turn after the first), is termed as Adjacency Pair. The first turn in the pair is referred as First Pair Part (FPP) and the second one is referred as Second Pair Part (SPP).

2.1.1.3 Sequential Organization (Sequence)

Actions or turn are organized into sequence. At its shortest form, a single adjacency pair can make up a whole sequence. In some other cases, the adjacency pair can be expanded into more than two turns (Schegloff, 1988) and those turns can make up a sequence on its own.

The participants of interaction may produce an action before the first action, a pre to first action. The objective of producing this pre to first action is to pave the way for the production of the first action. After the first action is produced, a second action may not readily be produced. The second participant may need some more clarification of the first action. This clarification is then referred as post first. The second participant may also need to produce some actions before he or she can actually produce the response. For example, in the case of disagreement, the second participant may produce hesitation, justification of the disagreement before actually producing the disagreement. This action which precedes the production of the (type-fitting) second action is termed as pre-second.

This whole first turn, second turn, and their expansions can make up a sequence.

Other than expansion, as above, a single course of action may be performed through different stages, from when it is started to when it is terminated. For example in trouble telling (Jefferson, 1988; Jefferson, Drew, Heritage, Lerner, & Pomerantz, 2015), after one of the speakers tells a trouble in the conversation, the conversation then observably goes through several stages before the conversation exits the trouble-telling. Those stages are such as Work-Up, Close Implicature, and Exit. Surely, as what Jefferson notes, the stages she documented in her paper are not the stages that must be followed in every single trouble telling conversation. It is the pattern that have been observed to occur in the corpus of the trouble-telling. Jefferson's finding suggests that sequence can also be organized in stages, other than adjacency pairs and their expansions.

2.1.2 Interactional Studies on Intimacy

To the best of my knowledge, so far there is no existing detailed study on flirting, especially the one which actually employs video data of spontaneous flirtatious interaction. The most relevant studies are the ones on intimacy and affiliation in interaction. What happens between the participants in the current data set fits to be explained within the framework of "intimacy" as what employed in those studies. Furthermore, their framework on the mechanism to construct the intimacy also fits to what actually happen in the current data set (see Chapter 4 for the discussion on the mechanism to do flirting).

There is a considerable body of works (Coupland & Jaworski, 2003; W. A. Beach, 2000; W. Beach & Glenn, 2011; Korobov & Laplante, 2013) on intimacy and affiliation. Those works are founded on the highly cited 1987 book chapter by the three pioneers of Conversation Analysis: Jefferson, Sacks, and Schegloff. The notion of intimacy and mechanism to construct intimacy in subsequent works appears to be based on Jefferson, Sacks, and Schegloff 1987 book chapter. As book chapter title "Notes on laughter in the pursuit of intimacy" suggests, the focus of that chapter is actually on laughter and intimacy.

However, the chapter takes a certain assumption on the notion of “intimacy” and also detailed the mechanism for constructing intimacy in interaction. These assumption and mechanism are then adopted in the subsequent works. In Jefferson, Sacks, and Schegloff (1987) work, the notion of intimacy appear to be to a great extent equivalent to “joking relationship”. Joking relationship “...is a relation between two persons in which one is by custom permitted, and in some instances required, to tease or make fun of the other, who in turn is required to take no offence.” (Radcliffe-Brown, 1940, p. 195). Similarly, Jefferson, Sacks, and Schegloff (1987) appear to take the fundamental of joking and taking no offense as a sign or intimacy.

In their book chapter, Jefferson, Sacks, and Schegloff (1987) focus on one way to joke and take no offense. They focus specifically on one kind of “improper talk”: rudeness and obscenity. According to them, a speaker may produce rudeness and obscenity in interaction. The production of the rudeness and obscenity indicates the speaker’s orientation to the existing “intimacy”, or affordance to produce such talk without being sanction, between the participants. In other word, one participant may produce a rudeness and obscenity, while the other takes it as a joke and not taking it as offensive.

What is referred as intimacy in Jefferson, Sacks, and Schegloff (1987) also encapsulates firstly the affordance to produce “improper talk” or “... something which breaches conventional standards of courtesy, propriety, tact, ethics, commonality, etc...” (p. 160). And then secondly, instead of being sanctioned, the production invites the other participant to produce laughter or reciprocate the first improper talk in humorous situation. After the production of the first rudeness or obscenity in conversation, it is then relevant for the next speaker to display affiliation to that rudeness or obscenity. The next speaker may produce laughter to indicate his or her orientation to the rudeness or obscenity as something humorous instead of an offense. The next speaker may also produce similar rudeness or obscenity, in a gay and humorous manner.

Conversely, the next speaker may simply disattend the rudeness or obscenity in the previous turn and produces a response which is not relevant to the rudeness or obscenity in the previous turn. In doing so, the production of rudeness or obscenity in the first turn is then

failed to take their interaction to intimacy.

The above notion of intimacy and mechanism to co-construct intimacy in talk is then adopted by several later studies. Coupland and Jaworski (2003) studied food and animal related revolting topic such as defiling of food, vomiting, and watching animal having sex as an improper talk, or the means to achieve and to manifest intimacy between friends in interaction. Beach (2000) studied talking derisively about non-present females as a means to achieve and manifest intimacy or closeness between male friends. While, Beach and Glenn (2011) studied talking derisively about a non-present family member, i.e. mother, as a means to achieve and manifest intimacy and humour between a father and a son.

The more recent study by Korobov and Laplante (2013) studied the mechanism of achieving intimacy through negative category attributions of non-present others and insults to the present conversational partner. Though the above works studied different kind of improper talks, the assumption and mechanism to achieve intimacy is more or less the same as what recorded in JSS. The production of the improper talk indicates the presence of existing intimacy, while at the same time an invitation to manifest the intimacy in the current talk. The next participant then can display, or not display, they orientation to the intimacy by orienting, or not orienting, to the improper talk as a joke.

2.1.3 Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA)

In flirting, sexual interest or attraction is displayed in covert manner (Gersick & Kurzban, 2014). The proof procedure 2.1.1 provides a means for examining whether the next participant has taken the previous turn as doing flirting. However, the means to investigate and explicate how the second action (response) connects to the previous one is not available yet. A framework which is able to handle indirectness or inferences, and compatible with Conversation Analysis (CA), is in need.

This study employs Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) to investigate and explicate how the second action (response) connects to the previous one. Similar to Conversation Analysis (CA), MCA also has ethnomethodology underpinning. Some recent studies

(Stokoe, 2012, 2010a; Kitzinger, 2007, 2005) have displayed the compatibility and efficacy of combining MCA with Conversation Analysis. The combination of the two methods able to uncover more nuances in interaction, such as gender, based on empirical, naturally occurring conversation. And the combination of the two methods able to track how gender is oriented in the talk in a seemingly non-gendered talk on the surface level.

Similar to CA, MCA is another legacy from the late Harvey Sacks, one of the originators of Conversation Analysis (CA) together with Emmanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. MCA is a framework which enables category related inferences to be investigated and explicated. Category is “inference rich”. Within the category “a great deal of the knowledge that members of a society have about the society is stored” (sacks1992lectures, Fall 1964-Spring 1965, p. 41). A mere mention of category can make relevant myriad of other related conceptions. MCA provides a framework to systematically investigate and explicate how those myriad of related conceptions connect to category.

The relationship between the category and the other relevant conceptions is encapsulated through the notion of Membership Categorization Device (MCD). “[C]ategorization device we mean that collection of membership categories, containing at least a category, that may be applied to some population, containing at least a Member, so as to provide, by the use of some rules of application, for the pairing of at least a population Member and a categorization device member. A device is then a collection plus rules of application.” (Sacks, 1972, p. 332).

There are different consequences of the conceptualization of MCD. The mention of one category or operationalization of one category in some population will make relevant other categories in the same MCD. Hearer Maxim 1: "If two or more categories are used to categorize two or more members of some population, and those categories can be heard as categories from the same collection, then: Hear them that way." (Sacks, 1972, p. 333).

Hearer Maxim 2: “If some population has been categorized by use of categories from some device whose collection has the duplicative organization property, and a member is presented with a categorized population which can be heard as coincumbents of a case of that device unit, then: Hear it that way.” (Sacks, 1972, p. 334). Duplicative

Organization refers to “[C]ategories that work in a unit or ‘teamlike’ way, having specific obligations to each other, ...” (Stokoe, 2012, p. 281). The one being made relevant by the mention of one category or operationalization of one category in some population, is not only the category, but also the relationship (i.e. norms, obligation, etc) between the original category the category being made relevant.

Each category has some predicate and activities relevant to it. The concepts are encapsulated within the term Category-bound Activity and Category-tied Predicate. Category-bound Activity is “[A] category’s characteristics” (Stokoe, 2012, p. 281). While, category-tied Predicate is “Activities that are, in situ, linked to categories” (Stokoe, 2012, p. 281).

Conventionally, some categories may have more salient membership to particular device, as well as more salient ties to some activities or predicates compared to others. However, the membership of a category to a particular device or ties to some activities or predicates is not predetermined. It is the participant themselves, in the conversation that makes the connection among those categories, activities, and predicates (Lepper, 2000; Jayyusi, 2014; Kitzinger, 2007). MCA framework enables those connections to be identified, discussed and then explicated.

For example, it is the participant who connects age, maturity and dating in Schegloff (2007, p. 444-445), and not the analyst. In a conversation between Virginia and her Mom, Mom reminds Virginia about her age gap with her sister. Virginia then goes on to indicate that people at her age are immature and then further she consider herself not as immature as long as she dates one of the people at her sister’s age. It is Virginia and her Mom who make the tie between age category with their predicate of maturity (and immaturity), as well as the activity of dating. It is also the participants themselves who produce younger and older, which can be conceptualized as categories which are belong to the same MCD of relative age.

Often enough, the mention of category or categories in a conversation creates a context where the interaction in the subsequent conversation is then understandably relevant to the category(s) and its or their MCD’s. The context where the category or categories or their MCD’s relevant is termed as “Category-relevant environment” (Stokoe, 2010a), some

other works (Ohara & Saft, 2003; Lepper, 2000) employed the term “Relevant category environment”.

Such as in the example above, the Mom is the first one who produces the category younger and older, then as Virginia mentions about maturity (and immaturity) and dating, in the subsequent talk. Virginia’s talk is then understood as relevant to the categories produced by Mom earlier, which is the younger and older relative age MCD.

Similarly, the production of categories, as well as predicate and activities in the current data, will be investigated and examined within the framework of Membership Categorization Analysis. The interest is then to track the production of categories in the current data set, the categories in the surrounding turns, as well as predicates, and activities. How they - categories, as well as predicate and activities - contribute to the action being formed through the turn and understanding of the turn is also investigated. The main interest is then to investigate and explicate the connections between actions in the interaction.

2.2 Data

In 2012, I perform the initial data collection for my Ph.D. project. Through that initial data collection, 6 hours of video recorded conversation was gathered. That conversation came from 6 different data collection occasions involving 25 participants. The number of participants for each occasion was varied from 2, 3 4, 5 to 6.

Some phenomena, practices, and structures emerged from the data. From the phenomena, practices, and structures that emerged, one stood out. That phenomenon is flirting. Flirting occurs in one specific conversation: Eva and John’s dyadic (2-party) conversation. As the literature review suggested, detailed study of naturally occurring spontaneous flirting is rare, the focused was then given to flirting. Hence, this thesis eventually only employed Eva and John’s conversation. The rest of the ± 6 hour of conversational data - containing various phenomena, practices, and structures - were then reserved for future studies.

2.2.1 Participants

The data of this study is a video (and audio) recorded of naturally occurring conversation. There were actually four people in the conversation: Beth, Ron, Eva and John. Beth and Ron were the ones who set up the camera and voice recorder. They were minimally involved in the conversation. They talked to Eva and John at the beginning of the recording and then they left the premise. The main participants are then Eva and John. The analysis of this thesis is focused on the part where Eva and John conversed alone.

When the conversation was recorded, Eva and John had known each other for more than 10 years. Eva was married (she still is, at least when this thesis is completed). Her husband worked overseas and at that moment she had a toddler son (around 2 years old). Her husband was away (overseas), on the day of the data collection. Her son and the sitter came with her to the data collection venue. Her son played in the garden while Eva converses with John. From time to time Eva would try to find her son or pay attention to her son. According to Eva and John, John was engaged. His fiancée was living in his house. This situation meant that John and his fiancée was about to get marry.

2.2.2 Data Collection Location and Venue

2.2.2.1 Location: Bali

Bali has been chosen to be the place for data collection for three reasons. First of all, since I am from the island it is not challenging for me to get some contacts and then recruit local participants in Bali. Secondly, I am a native speaker of Indonesian and Balinese, the two languages spoken in the area. Hence, I do not struggle or needing any support from “native speaker” of the languages during the transcription and analysis stage; even in the situation where the participants rapidly switch between the two languages.

Thirdly, as a Balinese myself I also have some access to the interpretive and inferential resources that the participants are relying on. “... the vast majority of available CA work, rely fundamentally on the analyst’s ability to understand, and to come to some informed

interpretation of, what it is that the participants in the data are doing. Of course, as we have emphasized, the aim is actually to come to an understanding of what the participants themselves take it they are doing; but in order to do that, we need to have some access to the interpretive and inferential resources which the participants are relying on. In other words, it is absolutely necessary that conversation analysts are either members of, or have a sound understanding of, the culture from which their data have been drawn.” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 112-113)

Time and time my Balinese “commonsensical knowledge” informs my analysis. For example, as a Balinese, I am well aware that the word *plaibang* ‘taken-away’ (Segment 8, Line 61) is romance related. In Balinese term, elopement wedding is called *melaib* ‘run-away’. The female is said to be *plaibang* ‘taken-away’ in this kind of marriage arrangement. Generally, the female is physically abducted by the male or his “accomplices”. The female may stage resistance, though she may have consented to get married. In that sense, *plaibang* ‘taken-away’ contains this romantic idea of coyness and masculinity, as well as a mutual attraction; besides the more literal meaning of ‘(be) taken away’.

Consequently, when John employs *plaibang* for his plan to take Eva away, the participants may also obtain the romantic meaning – of coyness and masculinity, as well as a mutual attraction -; besides the more literal Balinese meaning of the word. My Balinese knowledge inform understanding of the conversation then guides me in examining the subsequent turn to specifically see whether Eva captures, and consequently orients, to the potential romantic meaning of this word (See Subsubsection 4.3.3.1 for a discussion on this *plaibang* ‘taken-away’ and Appendix 7.3 for transcript of the flirting sequence).

2.2.2.2 Venue: The park

The participants requested to have the conversation within the area of a temple (See Figure 2.1). This temple has a front and back garden. Some kind of water body or moat (Point (d) in 2.1) separates this temple area, including its front and back garden, from the residential areas which surrounds the temple. There are some huts or gazebos at back garden of the temple. On the day of data collection, the participants – Eva and John – sat on one of

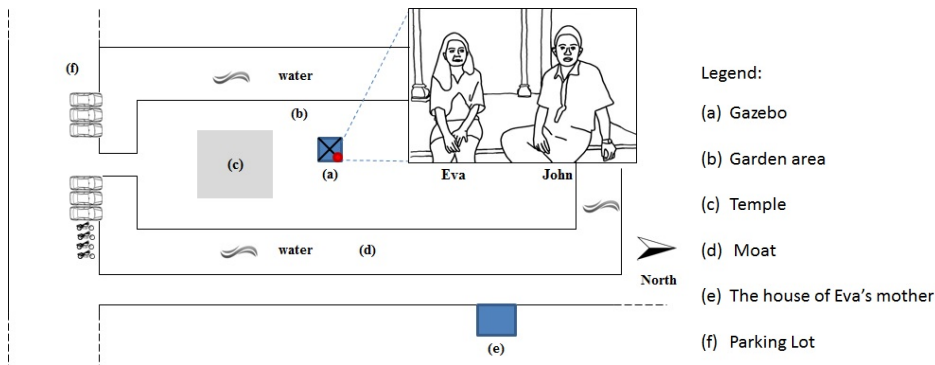


Figure 2.1: *Map of the temple area*

these huts or gazebos at the back garden of the temple (Point a in Figure 2.1). This garden temple happened to be in the vicinity of the house of Eva's mother (Point e, Figure 2.1). Eva was living in her mother's house at that time because her house (the house of her husband's family) was being renovated.

2.2.3 Data Collection Procedure

Prior to the planned data collection period, I got in touch with 10 prospective participants. I asked them whether they were willing to be involved in a study on conversational Indonesian. They were only going to be asked to converse for approximately 30 minutes in front of the camera and be recorded. They were given the freedom to talk about anything and they were also given the freedom to select their interlocutors as well as the venue of the data collection.

From the prospective participants I got in touch with, I could finally arrange 6 data collections. On each of the data collection day, I and a help came to the agreed venues. We brought and installed a camera and a voice recorder. We provided the participants with drinks and snacks to consume while they were conversing. For Eva and John's conversation, they were given some candies. They refused to be provided with food while conversing. Figure 2.2 shows how Eva held the candy (Mentos) bigger casing on her right hand and share the content of the candy's small package with John.

The camera may start recording while the participants fill some forms (see Section 2.3 for information on the forms). I would converse with the participants while they were

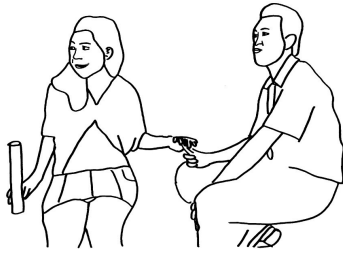


Figure 2.2: *Eva and John sharing the candy*

filling the forms. This was done to prepare them to speak at ease in front of the camera. After filling the required forms, I and the help left the participants to converse while the camera and voice recorder were on and record their conversation. We then returned after more or less 30 minutes. In most cases, we did not stop the conversation if the participants appeared to be engaged in conversation. We then only came to the set after the participants showed that they were finished talking to each other. Hence most of the conversations lasted for more than 30 minutes.

2.2.4 Collection: nine data segments containing spontaneous flirting interaction

9 Flirting Sequences (FS)

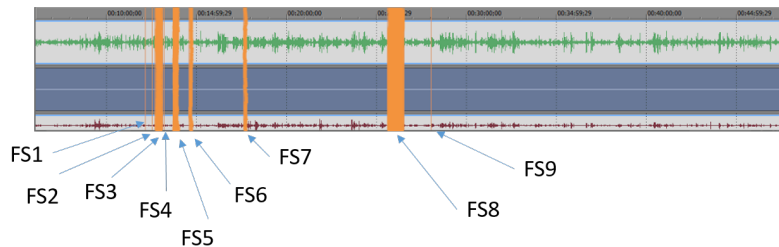


Figure 2.3: *9 Flirting Sequences*

Collection here refers to the instances of flirting interaction identified in the data. As I identified flirting in Eva and John conversation, I then went through the rest of their conversation very carefully. “The classic conversation analytic procedure begins with the noticing of some distinctive bit of behavior in social interaction. The analyst then works

to locate other instances, and, in the process, begins to identify the boundaries of the phenomenon of interest. ”(Sidnell, 2013, p. 78). As a result, I isolated nine data segments (parts of Eva and John’s conversation), each may contain at least one flirting exchange. Those nine data segments make up the collection of this study.

The whole conversation, including the part where Eva and John talk to other people in the setting (Beth, Ron, Eva’s son, and the nanny) is roughly 2 hours and 20 minutes. Beth and Ron are the two individuals who set up the data collection. The whole conversation was initiated with four-party conversation, where Beth and Ron talk to Eva and John. Then at some point, Eva’s son and his nanny came to the gazebo, where Eva and John sat. Soon after Beth and Ron joined in.

The dyadic conversation between Eva and John roughly lasted for 50 minutes. While, the nine Segments (the collection) are roughly 5 minutes (212 lines). The above Figure 2.3, depicts where the nine Segments occur with regards to the whole (2 hours and 20 minutes) conversation.

2.2.5 “Issues” related to analyzing small size data

It would be ideal if this study can obtain more data and not only the aforementioned 9 Segments. However, considering the difficulty of getting this type of data – spontaneous flirting interaction – and its rarity, the 9 segments have the merit to be studied on their own. In addition, no study has yet done similar treatment and analysis of this kind of data. As long as the analysis is done properly, the result of this study will still be able to make a scientific contribution.

It is quite common for studies in the field of Conversation Analysis (CA) and Membership Conversation Analysis (MCA) to employ a small number of data. For example, Sacks (1979) and Goodwin (1979) . Sacks (1979) employed several lines, while Goodwin (1979) employed a single line of naturally occurring conversation in their studies. Such studies are able to make a scientific contribution. Evidently, Sacks 1979 is one of the classic and highly cited paper in Conversation Analysis (CA) and Membership Categorization

Analysis (MCA), while Goodwin 1979 is an influential paper which has presented a strong evidence on the interaction between verbal speech and non-verbal conduct in interaction.

What this thesis can contribute is to show, in a great detail, how some conversational and linguistic structures, as well as non-verbal behaviors, are employed together in constructing flirting actions. The contribution can be defined more specifically in three points. The first one is to show the existence of some conversational and linguistic structures, as well as non-verbal behaviors in flirting context. The second one is to show how those conversational and linguistic structures, as well as non-verbal behaviors, are combined or structured in the construction of flirting actions. The third one is to show, how those combinations work as such that they can be identified as flirting.

The generalizability of the result of this study lies in showing the existence, combination and mechanism of the identified conversational and linguistic structures as well as non-verbal behaviors in flirting context¹. This study is not a comprehensive survey on human flirting behavior and should not be treated that way. By no means, any given flirting interaction will employ conversational and linguistic structures as well as non-verbal behaviors identical to the ones identified here, or employed in identical combination and mechanism identified in this study. However, the participants in other flirting interaction CAN employ the conversational and linguistic structures as well as non-verbal behaviors identified in the current study. Furthermore, if they employ those conversational and linguistic structures as well as non-verbal behaviors explicated in the current study, those verbal and non-verbal structures and conducts CAN be employed through the similar combination and mechanism as identified in the current study.

¹ Similar point has been brought by Perakyla (2011)

2.3 Ethical Considerations

2.3.1 Documents and Forms

On the data collection day, Eva and John (as well as other participants in the initial data collection) were given three documents. The documents are information statement, consent form, and information form. The information statement basically contains information about the nature of the project that the participants are potentially participated in. The information includes what the project is about, the procedure for data collection, and how their identities will be protected.

If the prospective participants agree to participate, the participants would sign the second document, the consent form. Based on the wording in the consent form², by putting their signature on the consent form, the participants agreed to firstly participate in a conversation, secondly have that conversation recorded, and thirdly allow the recording to be employed as data for my (PhD) project. Each of the documents have both English and Indonesian version. Though the participants may be able to understand English, but as Indonesian is their main language, it would be better to supplement the Indonesian versions of the documents as well³.

Besides being showed the information statement and requested to filling-in the consent form, the participants were also requested to fill-in, the third documents the information form. There were two kinds of information recorded through the information form. The first kind of information concerns with how to get in touch with the participants, i.e. their names, phone numbers and email addresses. The second kind of information concerns with the participants' language background, i.e. how many languages they can speak and how they get to learn those languages.

From the content of their information form, I learnt that Eva regarded both Indonesian and Balinese as her mother tongue while John regarded Balinese as his mother tongue

² All of the participants were above 18 years old so they were legally able to produce consent

³ Though in all likelihood the participants understand English because English is taught in school in Indonesia, giving Indonesian versions of the documents is done to ensure the participant's understanding.

and learn Indonesian since he started his schooling year. Both Eva and John indicated that they speak English. Additionally, they have also learnt other languages such as Japanese and French.

2.3.2 Preserving the participants' anonymity

Four measures were put in place to protect the participants' identities. Firstly, their real names are withheld. The participants were given pseudonyms - Eva and John⁴ - to preserve their anonymity. The analysis in this thesis inevitably draws on some of the participants' ethnographic background. However, as much as it can, personal information, especially the ones which can reveal the participants' identities, will not be presented in the thesis. Retaining the participants' personal information is the second measure put in place to protect their identities.

Since this study also takes the participants non-verbal conducts (facial expressions and other bodily movements) into consideration, verbal transcription interaction is not sufficient for the analysis. Hence, making screen-grabs from the recorded video is inevitable. For this thesis, the screen-grabs were rendered into line drawing. This is the third measure in place to protect the participants' identities. By rendering the screen-grabs into line drawing, the participants' non-verbal conducts and facial expressions are preserved, hence clearly observable throughout the thesis, while the participants' faces are unrecognizable.

The fourth measure is, for any video presentation, the video was and will be presented in negative (false color). Similar to rendering the screen-grabs into line drawing, by rendering the video into negative (false color) the participants' non-verbal conducts are preserved, hence clearly observable when the video is displayed, while they can remain unrecognizable.

⁴ The English pseudonyms have existed long before I started to write this thesis. Those pseudonyms were initially selected for the purpose of presentation for NTU Conversation Analysis Group weekly meeting. The two names were chosen because they are simple and easy to pronounce for speakers of different language backgrounds in the CA group.

2.4 Notes on Transcription and Representation

2.4.1 Segment, Extract, and Figure

This thesis employs the terms Segment, Extract and Figure. The label Segments refers to the collection (see Subsection 2.2.4 for the discussion on the current study's collection). There are 9 Segment in the collection. They are numbered in chronological order. There are: Segment 1 to 9. Segment 1 is the first flirtatious Segment of conversation in the data, while Segment 9 is the last. Complete transcript of all of the 9 Segments can be accessed in Appendix 7.3.

Extract is a label given to the particular part of the conversation being discussed in the analysis. The labeling rule: Extract (Chapter.Extract Number) [space] Segment number, Line number. The Segment and Line numbers correspond to the one in the complete transcript (Appendix B). For example: **Extract 4.1** Segment 8, Line 24 means that it is Extract number 1 in Chapter 4, and it is taken from Segment 8, specifically Line 24.

Figure is a label given to picture. There are two kinds of labelling rule for Figure. The first one is more or less similar to Extract: Figure (Chapter.Figure Number) [space] *Segment number, Line number*. The difference is the Segment number and Line number for figure is printed in italic. For example: **Figure 4.1:** *Segment 8, Line 31-32* means that it is Figure number 1 in Chapter 4, and it is taken from Segment 8, specifically Line 31-32. The second labelling rule for Figure gives the information of what is going on in the picture, it is: (Chapter.Figure Number) [space] picture name. For example: **Figure 2.1:** *Map of the temple area* means that it is Figure number 1 in Chapter 2, and the figure is the map of the temple area (where the data was collected).

2.4.2 Transcription (Extract)

The transcription convention employed in this thesis is mainly based on Gail Jefferson's transcription convention (Jefferson, 2004). The full list of transcript symbols employed in the current thesis can be accessed in 7.3.

Extract 2.1 Segment 8, Line 1-4

1	Eva	:	<i>Trus kenken ne, payu kundangan?</i> So how this going to-reception <i>So how is it, (are we) still going to (the) reception?</i>
2	John	:	<i>Ya ntar tak kabarin lagi</i> Yes later I-do news-IN further <i>Yes I will keep (you) updated.</i>
3	John	:	<i>Aku mau ke kantor dulu</i> I want to office first <i>I want to go to (the) office first.</i>
4			<i>Tak cek kondisi terakhir</i> I-do check condition latest <i>I'm checking the latest condition.</i>

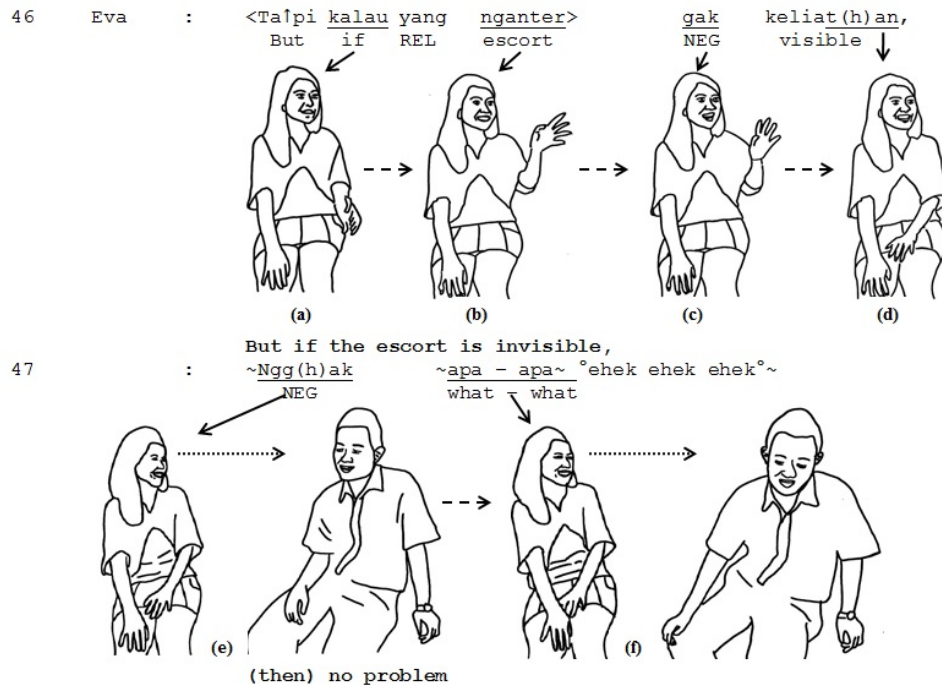
There are two kinds of adjustments being made, which were not in Jefferson's original transcription convention. The first kind of adjustment concerns with multiple languages representation. The participants employ more than one language in the data. They mainly employ Indonesian, but they also switch or mix their speech with Balinese and English. There is a need to differentiate whenever the participants use these different languages. All Balinese speech is written in italic to differentiate between Indonesian and Balinese.

The two languages employed by the participants are not English, while this thesis is written in English. Consequently, two more lines of transcription is added. The first line is their original speech (with the necessary Jeffersonian transcription symbols). The second line is word for word glossing. And the third line is the idiomatic translation.

The second kind of adjustment for transcription system in this thesis concerns with representing the participants' non-verbal conduct. In giving more accurate representation, I employ line drawings which are rendered from screen-grabs from the video. There are different methods to represent the participants' non-verbal conduct. Nowadays, it is common for Conversation Analysis work to combine verbal transcription and screengrabs from the video (C. Goodwin, 2015; M. H. Goodwin, 2015, etc.) . The screen-grabs, or the line-drawings, are placed together with the verbal transcription so the reader may know the non-verbal conduct which occurs together with the speech.

In giving more accuracy on the timing of each non-verbal conduct, I employ underscore and arrow. The underscore is used to mark the part of speech produced when the specific screengrab is taken (See Extract 2.2). Since there can be more than one line drawing for each line, arrow is employed to connect between that particular word or part of speech to

Extract 2.2 Segment 8, Line 46-47



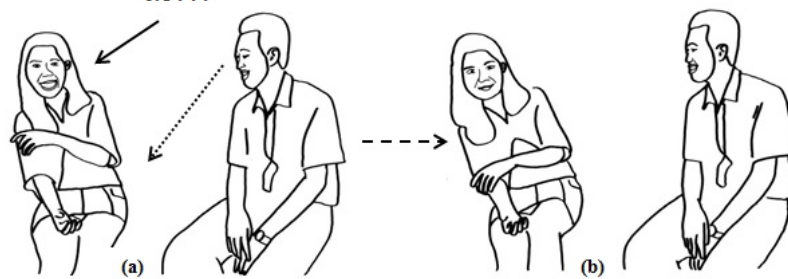
the line drawing. For example, the word, *kalau* 'if' in line 46 is underlined, and there is an arrow pointing at Picture (a). This means that Picture (a) is taken when the speaker - in this case Eva - says the word *kalau* 'if'. The same principle applies to Picture (b) to (f).

Besides plain arrow, the current thesis also employs two other kinds of arrow. The first one is the dashed arrow and the second one is the square-dot-dashed arrow. The dashed arrow is placed between two line drawings in a succession, within the same turn. This kind of arrow is employed to mark the temporal successive connection between one picture to another. For example between Picture (a) and (b), there is one dashed arrow (Extract 2.2). There are also one dashed arrow between Picture (a) and (b), Picture (c) and (d), as well as Picture (e) and (f) (Extract 2.2).

The square-dot-dashed arrow is used to put emphasis on the participants' gaze direction. For example in Picture (e) and (f) (Extract 2.2), there are square-dot-dashed arrow from near Eva's eyes towards John. These two arrows are employed here to put the emphasis that Eva is looking at John at that particular point in time. In Extract 2.3, there is a square-dot-dashed arrow from near John's eyes towards Eva's thighs. This arrow is employed in this extract to put the emphasis that John is looking at Eva's thighs at that

Extract 2.3 Segment 8, Line 20-21

20 John : °<Gimana dong>°
 How DP
 What should (I) do
21 Eva : æ:::rgh
 No:::



particular point in time.

Chapter 3

Features of Flirting

This chapter discusses features of flirting, especially how those features manifest in naturally occurring flirting interaction, based on the present data set. There is a considerable body of studies and literature on flirting. Thus, different features of flirting have been identified before. However, there is a paucity of interactional study on flirting. This chapter reports the features which are identified to be shared among the flirting interaction in the current data set. This chapter also explicates, in a great detail, how those features are actually manifested in the current data set. The aim of this chapter is to address the gap in terms of the identification and explication of features of flirting in based on naturally occurring interaction.

The data suggests that there are three features of flirting. Two of the features are consistent with the working definition of this thesis. The working definition of this thesis is “ambiguous kind of interaction in which romance, love or sexual undertone is present” (See Section 1.1). Based on that definition, there are two features of flirting. The first one is romance, love or sexual undertone. And the second one is ambiguity.

The third group of features are consistent with “courtship qualifiers” as identified in Schefflen (1965) . In his paper, Schefflen reported that quasi-courtship, or flirting, is different than “real” courtship. In essence, participants in quasi-courtship perform behaviors similar to the ones found in “real” courtship, but they are done in such way as to mark that they are not “real” courtship behaviors. Following Schefflen, the third group of features

are then termed as “courtship qualifiers”. This chapter explicates how those features – romance, love or sexual undertone; ambiguity; and courtship qualifiers – are manifested in the current data set.

3.1 Romance, Love, or Sexual Undertone

Romance, love or sexual undertone are manifested in interaction in two ways: non-verbal and verbal. This section present and explicates how romance, love or sexual undertone manifest through the participants non-verbal (behaviors) and verbal (talk).

3.1.1 Non-verbal

The data suggests that the participants display nonverbal flirting behaviors. Eva, the female participants displays non-verbal flirting behaviors more often than her male counterpart, John. Smile and shyness are the two most prominent components of Eva’s flirting behaviors.

Previous literatures have documented female smile and shyness combination behaviors in flirting situation. Those behaviors are referred as “coy smile” (Moore, 1985), “ritualized avoidance” or “ritualized flight” (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1972). Coy smile refers to the combination of smile with downward gaze or brief glance. Ritualized avoidance or ritualized flight refers to a broad behaviors consisting of the combination of smile and hiding or eye-contact avoidance. The hiding gesture can be manifested as the palm and fingers covering most part of the face, some parts of the face (e.g. the side, the eyes, etc.), or even on small part of the face (e.g. fidgeting one’s nostril). The eye-contact avoidance gesture manifested through directing gaze away from the interlocutor.

Other than the above smile and shyness two-component combination behaviors, the participants also perform other flirtatious behavior. Eva also performs giggle, head tilt and head toss, and “ritualized indignation”. John also performs light tactile contact, i.e. two soft pats, on the back of Eva’s upper left arm. While both Eva and John perform “ritualized pursuit and avoidance” in collaboration. Previous literature (Moore, 1985) has documented giggle,

head tilt and head toss as female flirting behaviors. Similarly, previous literature (D. N. Guéguen, 2007) has documented the effect of male to female light tactile contact. According to Gueguen (2007), produced at the initial stage of courtship, light tactile contact increased the female courtship compliance.

Ritualized indignation, and ritualized pursuit and avoidance are terms which I employ to refer to the “play” (Bateson, 1955, 1987) version of behaviors similar to indignation, and pursuit and avoidance. The play quality is marked through smile and lack of posture and bodily movement that are expected to be present in real indignation, pursuit and avoidance. For ritualized indignation, the indignation is manifested through frown and vocalization. For ritualized pursuit (for John) and avoidance (for Eva), the pursuit and avoidance manifest through upper body movement: leaning (for John) and reclining (for Eva).

3.1.1.1 Coy Smile

Extract 3.1 Segment 5, Line 96-97

96	John	:	ma	bapaknya?	
			with	father-DET	
			With	the father?	
97	Eva	:	~9	biasa aja he he he he he~	
			plain	just	

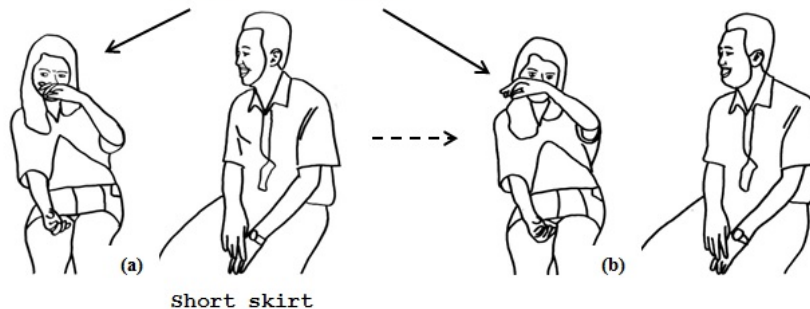
Hmmm just plain

Eva displays other coy behaviors in responding to John’s question about her feeling to her husband (Line 96). Eva sustains her smile throughout the production of her response *biasa aja* ‘just plain’ (Line 97, Extract 3.1). She also looks at John and then averts her gaze. She looks away when she produces the initial word of her turn *biasa* ‘plain’ (Picture a, Extract 3.1). She looks at John when she produces the second word of her turn *aja* ‘just’ and the first three beats of her laughter (Picture b, Extract 3.1). She turns her head again and looks away shortly afterward (Line 97, Picture c, Extract 3.1).

3.1.1.2 Ritualized Avoidance (nose rub)

Extract 3.2 Segment 8, Line 16-19

16 John : Yah begini yah
 Yes like-this yes
 Okay, like this okay
 17 (0.4)
 18 John : |[fya]
 yes
 |((eyebrows flashing))
 okay?
 19 Eva : [Rok] pendek
 skirt short



Eva also displays a nose rub kind of ritualized avoidance. When John persuades her to go to the reception *begini* ‘like this’, Eva looks down (line 17-18). John is currently looking at her. Her direction of gaze can be taken as another, flirting relevant, ritualized avoidance. Then as she says *rok pendek* ‘short skirt’ (line 19), she rubs her nose (Picture a and b, Extract 3.2). Her nose may be genuinely itchy, therefore requiring her to rub it. However, it is also possible that her nose rubbing is another kind of ritualized avoidance. By rubbing her nose, she limits John’s visual access to her lips, therefore her smile.

3.1.1.3 Giggle and Ritualized Avoidance

Extract 3.3 Segment 3, Line 46-49

46 Eva : <Ta!pi kalau yang nganter> gak keliat(h)an,
 But if REL escort NEG visible
 But if the escort is invisible, (then) no problem,
 47 : ~Ngg(h)ak ~apa - apa~ °ehek ehek ehek°~
 NEG what - what



(then) no problem

48 : (0.6)
 49 Eva : heh ↑heh heh [heh heh]

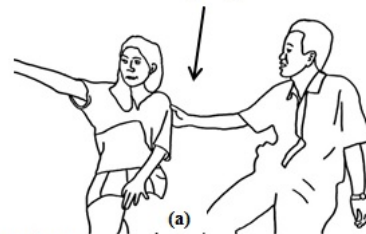


Eva giggles and performs ritualized avoidance after she produces a possible flirtatious turn in Segment 3. She says *tapi kalau yang nganter gak keliatan, nggak apa – apa* (line 46-47). This turn can be understood as a flirtatious response to John's previous turn. She smiles throughout her turn. Not only that, her smile gradually morphs into soft laughter at the end her turn (Picture a, Extract 3.3). Then after a slight pause (0.6 seconds), her soft laughter turns into giggle and she covers her mouth while giggling (Picture b, Extract 3.3).

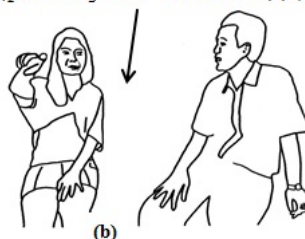
3.1.1.5 Male to Female Light Tactile Contact (soft pats) & Ritualized Avoidance (eye-contact avoidance)

Extract 3.5 Segment 2, Line 29-31

29 Eva : Jal[an ini]
 Street this
 This road
 30 John : [°<pake>° bahasa Indo]nesia, bahasa Indonesia
 Use language language



31 Eva : Use Indonesian, Indonesian
 ((pausing her movement))



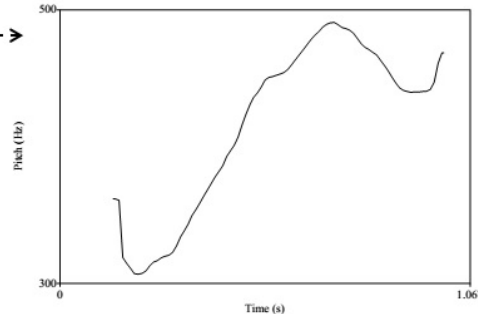
While giving a suggestion that Eva should switch to Indonesian (from Balinese), John pats the back of Eva's left arm twice (Picture a, Extract 3.5). It is possible that this light tactile contact is merely an "attention-getting device" (Schegloff, 1968). The pat is employed to obtain Eva's attention, since at that moment she is looking away from John and in the middle of a different frame of activity, i.e. demonstrating the location of her mother's house. However, the present of smile on John's face while performing the pat, suggests that this light tactile contact is a "play" in Bateson (Bateson, 1955, 1987) sense.

Evidently, Eva, who so far has been orienting to the "serious" activity of location demonstration responses by performing coy smile and ritualistic avoidance. Immediately after John's pat, Eva smiles. She smiles without displaying her teeth, which is parallel to coy smile (Picture b, Extract 3.5). Then, instead of looking at John, who has just patted her on her back, she maintains her gaze away from John. Though, at the same time her body posture, head position, as well as the precise position of her iris actually suggests that she may be able to see that John is looking at her (Picture b, Extract 3.5).

3.1.1.6 Ritualized Indignation

Extract 3.6 Segment 8, line 13-15

13	Eva	:	[°(h)əə°]	
14	John	:	[Begi]ni tapi ya	
			Like-this but yes	
			But this way okay?	
15	Eva	:	əɑ::	
			No::	

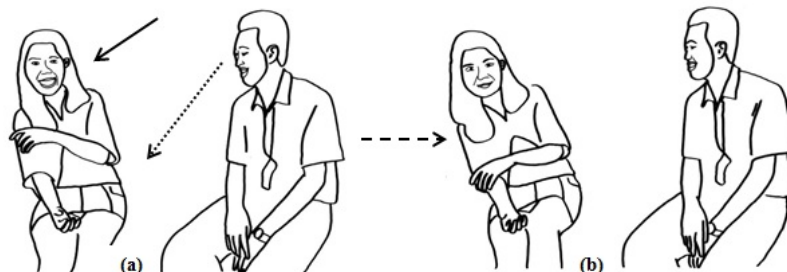



Eva displays ritualized indignation in response to John's comment that she should go to the reception *begini* 'like this' (line 14, Extract 3.6). She produces a rising-falling-slightly rising /əɑ:/ vocalization while frowning and looking down with a hint of a smile (Picture in Extract 3.6). The frown and vocalization indicate negative emotion, indignation. While the eye-gaze direction – looking down – and the hint of smile indicate that it is the “play”, non-serious, indignation.

3.1.1.7 Ritualized Pursuit and Avoidance

Extract 3.7 Segment 8, Line 20-21

20	John	:	°<Gimana dong>°
			How DP
			What should (I) do
21	Eva	:	æ::rgh
			No::



Eva and John also ritualized pursuit and avoidance. John slightly leans his upper body slightly forward, towards Eva, while directing his gaze at Eva's thighs and says *gimana*

dong ‘Tell me what should (I) do (then)?’ (line 20, Extract 3.7). As John completes his verbal turn, Eva responds with a vocalization /æ:::rgh/. The vocalization is produced along with her moving her upper body slight away from John (Picture a to b, Extract 3.7). Both John and Eva are smiling while these bodily movements take place.

3.1.2 Verbal

The data suggests that romance, love or sexual undertone can manifest through different levels of explicitness. Some can be highly vague and ambiguous, while some can be considerably explicit. The data also suggests that romance, love or sexual undertone can manifest through four verbal means. They are: reference to potentially romantic joint activity, sexual relevant evaluation, personal or intimate information sharing and display of previously shared personal or intimate detail. This section details each of the above mentioned means.

3.1.2.1 Reference to Potentially Romantic Joint Activity

Extract 3.8 Segment 1, Line 9-11

9 →	John	:	°em°, enak lagi begini (.) pleasant even like this °ehm, (It's) even pleasant like this
10 →		:	nyerep istri o[rang] Spare wife person Being (a) spare for someone else's wife
11	Ron	:	°<[bawa]-in bubur?>° Bring+IN porridge °Bring (you) (some) porridge°

In line 9-10 (Extract 3.8) John says *em, enak lagi begini* (.) *nyerep istri orang* ‘em, this is even pleasant, being (a) spare (husband) for someone’ else’s wife’. This turn, especially the phrase *nyerep istri orang* ‘being (a) spare (husband) for someone’ else’s wife’, has the potential to be understood as making reference to a romantic (or even sexual) kind of joint activity, where John and Eva are the involved parties.

Begini ‘like this’ (Line 9, Extract 3.8) refers to their present situation. It may specifically refer to their current dyadic conversational arrangement, or their physical – seating -

arrangement. Either way, *begini* ‘like this’ refers to an arrangement involving John and Eva. Then the verb *nyerep* denotes (unspecified) activity(s) in the role of a spare. It is derived from the noun *serep* ‘spare’. *Serep* often appears as a modifier to the noun *ban* ‘tire’ (KBBI): *ban serep* ‘spare tyre’. *Ban serep* is the tyre that one brings on their car and installs when the main one is out of use.

Following the word *nyerep*, John says *istri orang* ‘someone else’s wife’. The import of this phrase in this context is two folds. The first one is it simply refers to Eva. It is one way to associate Eva to John. For John, Eva is indeed someone else’s wife. The second import of this phrase is that it creates a load, which in combination with *nyerep* ‘being (a) spare’, suggests that Eva and John’s present arrangement is possibly romantic (or even sexual) in nature.

Istri ‘wife’, as a category, belong the Membership Categorization Device (MCD) of married couple. This MCD commonly consists of two categories: husband and wife. The two categories are commonly understood to be related in romantic, loving, or even sexual dimension to one another.

By John saying *nyerep istri orang* ‘being (a) spare (husband) for someone’ else’s wife’ (Line 10, Extract 3.8), he can be understood as suggesting their present arrangement - *begini* ‘like this’ - to be similar to what married couple would do. Eva’s real husband is absent and at this point John is doing an activity of being a *serep* ‘spare’, presumably in his place. Provided by the above commonsensical understanding that *istri* ‘wife’ and its counterpart *suami* ‘husband’ is related in romantic, loving, or even sexual dimension; *nyerep* ‘being (a) spare’ and *istri orang* ‘someone else’s wife’ suggests romantic, loving, or even sexual activity. Hence, Line 10 potentially refers to romantic (or even sexual) joint activity, where John and Eva are the parties involved.

Extract 3.9 Segment 3, Line 46-53

46 → Eva : <Ta!pi kalau yang nganter> gak keliat(h)an,
But if REL escort NEG visible
47 → : ~Ngg(h)ak ~apa - apa~ °ehék ehék ehék°~
NEG what - what
But if the escort is invisible, (then) no problem
48 (0.6)
49 Eva : héh ↑héh héh [héh héh]
50 → John : [Sau]dara - saudara
Viewers,
°<Heh heh>°
51 Eva :
52 → : inilah [seorang istri] yang jablai,=
this a wife REL
this is (/let me present) a jablai wife
53 Eva : [eh tid(h)ak]
hey NEG
Hey no

The participants also make reference to potentially romantic joint activity in most of the flirting interactions of the current data set. In Segment 3, it is done by Eva through *tapi kalau yang nganter gak keliatan, gak apa – apa* ‘But if the escort is invisible, (then) no problem’ (line 46-47, Extract 3.9). In response to this turn, John refers to Eva as *istri yang jablai* ‘a wife who (is) rarely caressed’ (line 52, Extract 3.9).

John’s response reveals his analysis and understanding of Eva’s line 46-47. It suggests that the invisibility of the escort (line 46-47, Extract 3.9) is relevant to Eva’s status as a wife who is rarely caressed (line 52, Extract 3.9). Since Eva is a wife who needs to be caressed, she may need the escort to, not only escort her home, but also to caress her. In other word, the escort may have to be involved with Eva in romantic (or even sexual) joint activity. The escort then should be invisible because that activity – caressing Eva – is transgressive for her, therefore should not be known to other people.

Line 46-47 is produced in response to John suggesting that the house of Eva’s mother is scary. Then it is also produced in John’s presence. Potentially, the escort in line 46-47 is John himself. In that sense, line 46-47 is a reference to potentially romantic joint activity, where the parties are John and Eva.

Extract 3.10 Segment 4, Line 73-75

73 → Eva : Dulu tempat pacaran °ni°
before place dating this
This used to be a dating place
74 John : ((looking to the left and right))---
75 → John : Dulu apa sekarang, sekarang masih kayaknya
Before what now now still seems-NYA
Are you sure, seems like (it’s) still is

Extract 3.11 Segment 5, Line 15-16

15 John : O gitu,
 Owh like-that
 Oh I see,
16 → ni tak pesenin tiket ke Bangkok dulu a
 this I (do) order-IN ticket to first DP
 here let me order (you) a ticket to Bangkok okay

Extract 3.12 Segment 7, Line 8-14

8 John : Jangan diajak pa[pah]nya.=
 Don't take-PASSIVE father-DET
 Don't take the father (along) ,
9 Eva : [•h]
10 John : =nga[pain diajak-]
 why take-PASSIVE
 Why (are you) taking (him anyway) -
11 Eva : Berdua ↑j|a-]
 a group of two only
 |head-turning
 Just (the) two-
12 John : ha he]
 ((head-nod))
13 Eva : [<cari ya> °sana°]=
 find DP there
 Find (me) there okay
14 John : =EH!

In Segment 4 reference to potentially romantic joint activity is manifested as a possibility that John and Eva is a couple having a date in the park (Line 73-75, Extract 3.10). In Segment 6 it is manifested through the possibility of Eva joining John's upcoming trip to Bangkok (Line 15-16, Extract 3.11). In Segment 7 reference to potentially romantic joint activity manifest as possible clandestine holiday together (Line 8-13, Extract 3.12).

Extract 3.13 Segment 8, Line 24

24 John : <Tak kawinin mau?>
 I-do marry/sexual intercourse-IN want
 I "marry" (you) , interested?

Extract 3.14 Segment 9, Line 11-14

11 John : °ngapain bawa anak°,
 Why take child
 Why (do you need to) take (your) child? ,
12 tinggal di rumah aja,
 leave at home just
 just leave (the child) at home,
13 → dirimu sama siapa::[<gitu ke situ>]
 self-2SG with who like-that to there
 you (go) with someone to that place
14 Eva : [SUAMIKU]:::
 Husband-2SG

In Segment 8 it is manifested through John's probing question of whether Eva is interested

in him marrying or having sex to her (Line 24, Extract 3.13). Then in Segment 9, it is manifested through John's vague suggestion that Eva should go to the resort island of *Lembongan* with "someone" (Line 11-13, Extract 3.14). This "someone" may actually refer to himself.

3.1.2.2 Sexual Relevant Evaluation

Extract 3.15 Segment 8, Line 22-23

22 →	John	:	Seksi seka[li	dirimu]
			Sexy very	you
			Your're so sexy	
23	Eva	:	[°eh	ehm]hem hem°

There is one instance in the data where John produces sexual relevant evaluation towards Eva. He says *seksi sekali dirimu* 'you('re) very sexy' (Segment 8, Line 22, Extract 3.15). This evaluation is sexual in nature. It indicates that John orients to Eva's sexuality. In that sense, the evaluation has sexual undertone.

3.1.2.3 Personal or Intimate Information Sharing

Extract 3.16 Segment 5, Line 93-97

93	John	:	A::::::::::::: eheui	eheu[i]			
94 →	Eva	:		[i]h cinta	ma	anakku=	
				love	with	child-2SG-POSS	
95		:	= ehe he he he he he he				
			Uwh, (I)love my child,	ehehehehehe			
96 →	John	:	ma bapaknya?				
			with father-DET				
			With the father?				
97 →	Eva	:	~ə biasa aja he he he he he~=				
			plain just				
			Hehehe just plain				

The sharing of intimate detail of participants' life in interaction can be said to be what constitute as display of friendship and intimacy in interaction (Chasin & Radtke, 2012). At the same time, depends of the type of personal information being shared and how the participants perform the information sharing, sharing of intimate detail can also carries romance, love or sexual undertone.

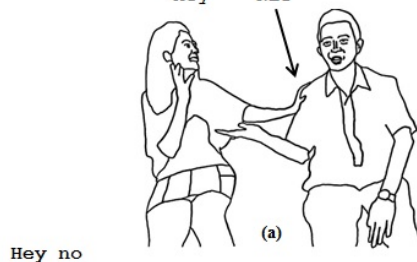
In line 94 Eva admits that she loves her son. Hence, when John asks *ma bapaknya* ‘with the father’ (line 96, Extract 3.16), his question can be understood as asking whether Eva loves her husband too. Consequently, Eva’s line 97 (Extract 3.16) *biasa aja* ‘just plain’ can be understood as admitting that she only has plain to her husband. Friends (who do not have any romantic or sexual attraction) may share similar information to one another. However, in this specific case, the sharing potentially carries romance, love or sexual load. Two observations suggest so. The first one is that this information sharing occurs within a conversation and between two people who has just joked about being spare husband (Segment 1) and possibly doing some kind of clandestine activities with (an) “invisible escort (Segment 3). Hence, the participants themselves may analyse this information sharing – in line 97 (Extract 3.16) – as to be related to those (just) conveyed romance or sexual innuendo. They may understand the personal information sharing to occur between two people who are not merely friends.

The second observation is that the information being shared is relevant to Eva’s potential to have a romantic relationship outside of her marriage. Indifference in marriage has been linked to higher chance of having extramarital affair (Treas & Giesen, 2000). Admitting that she has indifference feeling to her husband has the potential to be understood as revealing that she has the potential to have extramarital affair. The personal information being shared here is potentially to be understood to occur between two individual who may be romantically or sexually attraction and the specific information being shared is relevant to one’s potential to have a romantic or sexual relationship outside of her present relationship (marriage). In that sense, the sharing of intimate detail of participants’ life in this particular case has romance, love or sexual undertone.

3.1.2.4 Display of Previously Shared Intimate Detail

Extract 3.17 Segment 3, Line 49-57

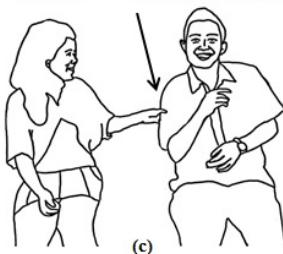
49 Eva : həh ↑həh həh [həh həh]
 50 → John : [Sau]dara – saudara
 viewers,
 51 Eva : °<Həh həh>°
 52 → : inilah [seorang istri] yang jablai,=
 this a wife REL
 this is (/let me present) a jablai wife
 53 → Eva : [eh tid(h)ak]
 hey NEG



54 → : = >°eeh°< =



55 John : Hey
 °=ada yang mau?°
 Exist REL want
 Anybody want?
 56 → Eva : ~Jan'gan, dire[k(h)am °hoh hoh huh huh°~]
 Don't record-PASSIVE



57 John : Don't (do that), (we're being) recorded
 [eh ↑eh eh]=

Romance, love, or sexual undertone can also manifest through display of previously shared intimate detail. In Segment 3, Line 50 and 52 (Extract 3.17), John jokingly says *saudara – saudara inilah seorang istri yang jablai* ‘viewers, this is a wife who (is) rarely caressed’. In response to this joking reference, Eva says *jangan direkam* ‘Don’t (do that), (we’re being) recorded’ (Line 56, Extract 3.17). What potentially being oriented by John here is shared information. That information related to “the fact that” Eva is

rarely caressed, presumably by her husband. Knowing that they are being recorded for a study, Eva is afraid that if she does not stop John, he will spill more intimate information regarding her status as “a wife who (is) rarely caressed”.

Similar to sharing of intimate detail, displays of intimate detail can also be done simply between friends (who do not have romantic or sexual attraction). However in this case, again, there are two observations suggest otherwise. The first one is that the specific intimate detail being shared. The intimate detail being shared means that John knows about Eva romantic live with her husband. This intimate detail is closely related to Eva’s potential of having romantic affair outside of her marriage. If she is rarely caressed by her husband, than she may need someone to caress her. In that sense, this information is relevant to her potential to have extramarital romantic affair.

The second observation is that, John’s Line 52 (Extract 3.17) is responded with upgraded displays of intimacy. Eva starts to perform some playful light tactile contacts towards John’s body even before line 52 is completed. In overlap with the tail end of John’s turn, Eva firstly softly pushes John’s right shoulder (Line 53, Extract 3.17). She then she softly pushes John’s outreaching arm (Line 54, Extract 3.17) and then playfully pinches John’s shoulder (Line 56, Extract 3.17).

One way to understand the correlation between line 52 and the subsequent light tactile contacts (Line 53, 54, and 56, Extract 3.17), is to see that Eva takes John’s line 52 as an upgrade of intimacy in their interaction, in romantic (or even sexual) sense. As an upgrade of intimacy, line 52 then can be seen as an invitation for another upgrade. Consequently, Eva displays those playful light tactile contacts towards John’s body (Line 53, 54, and 56, Extract 3.17). In that sense, display of shared intimate details intimate detail in this occasion carries romance or sexual undertone.

3.2 Ambiguity

The data suggests that ambiguity can be constructed in flirting interaction through three means: humor and playfulness, inexplicit address terms, and parallel sequences; as well as

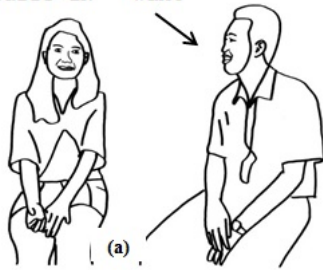
“inadvertently” resulted from the participants’ multilingual awareness. Ambiguity is then sustained through absence of repair after ambiguous turn or turns. This section details the above means of constructing and sustaining ambiguity.

3.2.1 Humor and Playfulness

In all flirting interaction, but Segment 4, humor and playfulness are present. It is often the case that humor and playfulness come hand in hand with flirtatious (romance, love and sexual) conveyance. Humor compromises the seriousness of the interaction (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992; Holt, 2013). The presence of humor in flirting interaction gives that spate of interaction the capacity to be understood as non-serious.

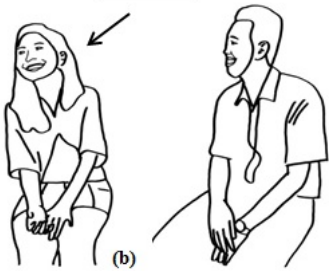
Extract 3.18 Segment 8, Line 24-25

24	John	:	<Tak I-do kawinin marry/sexual intercourse-IN <u>mau?</u>> want
----	------	---	---



(a)

25	Eva	:	I “marry” (you), interested? °heh heh°=
----	-----	---	---



(b)

In this instance, John’s smile compromises the boldness and seriousness of his sexual conveyance. In line 24 he smiles while saying *tak kawinin mau* ‘I “marry” (you) interested?’ (Line 24, Extract 3.18). The Indonesian word *kawin* (line 24) means ‘get marry’ or ‘have sex’. Undoubtedly, asking an opposite sex whether she in to be married or to have sex is a bold verbal action. Not to mention that it is highly sexual. The presence of smile then compromises boldness and seriousness of this highly sexual verbal action. As a result,

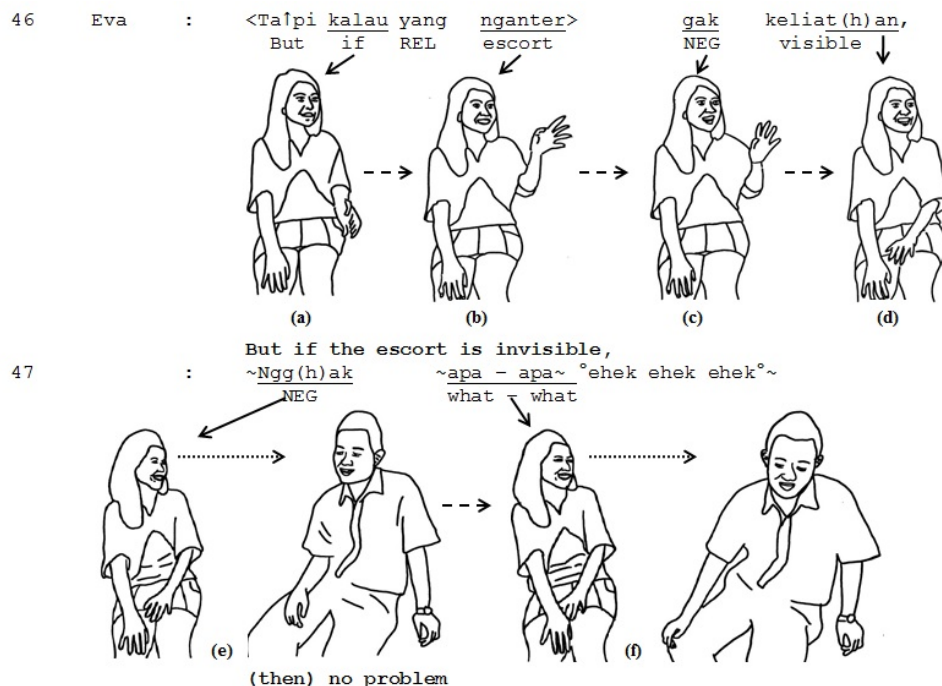
instead of simply a genuine question, or even request, line 24 then has the capacity to be seen as non-serious joke as well.

Evidently, Eva does not take John's bold verbal action (line 24, Extract 3.18) seriously. If she takes the question, or request, seriously she probably produces an answer of whether she is interested in marrying or having sex with John, or indicates that she at least consider think about it. Instead, she laughs in response. She produces two *heh heh* vocalization, while smiling (Line 25, Extract 3.18). Though gesture indicates her orientation to the sexual undertone of John's previous turn (line 24, Extract 3.18), as she performs ritualized avoidance. Still, does not indicate that she takes John's line 24 seriously.

3.2.1.1 Marking One's Orientation to Humor through Smile, Laughter, and alike

The participants marked their orientation to humor through smile, interpolated laughter, laugh, giggle, and alike. In some cases, smile, laugh particle interpolated into speech, and then laugh appear as different phases of a continuous display of orientation to humor.

Extract 3.19 Segment 3, Line 46-47



The most observable of this kind of phenomenon is what happen in Segment 3, line 46-47.

Eva's smile transforms into laughter during her potentially flirtatious turn. Eva has started to smile at the beginning of her turn, though faintly (Picture a, Extract 3.19). Then as she progresses with her turn, the smile becomes more evident (Picture b and c, Extract 3.19). It gradually transforms into laugh particles interpolated into her speech when she says *keliat(h)an* 'visible' (Picture d, Extract 3.19) and when she says *ngg(h)ak* 'no' (Picture e, Extract 3.19). Her two last words of her turn *apa - apa* 'what - what' are produced with some perturbations. At the same time, her smile is highly visible. Then as she follows her verbal turn with laughter (line 47, Extract 3.19). The continuous placement of each non-verbal display of orientation to humor (smile, laughter, and alike) suggests that they are actually different phases of the same continuous display of orientation to humor, which get amplified as Eva progresses with her verbal turn.

3.2.1.2 Marking One's Orientation to Playfulness through "Marked" Person Reference

Besides smile, laughter, and alike; the participants also mark humor through verbal means. In three occasions within the identified flirting interaction in the current data set, John employs an address term which is uncommon to be employed in casual conversation. The address term is the performative *dirimu* 'you'.

Extract 3.20 Segment 8, Line 22-23

22 →	John	:	Seksi seka[li	dirimu]
			Sexy very	you
			Your're so sexy	
23	Eva	:	[°eh	ehm]hem hem°

Extract 3.21 Segment 9, Line 11-19

11 John : °ngapain bawa anak°,
Why take child
Why (do you need to) take (your) child? ,
12 tinggal di rumah aja,
leave at home just
just leave (the child) at home,
13 → dirimu sama siapa:: [<gitu ke situ>]
self-2SG with who like-that to there
you (go) with someone to that place
14 Eva : [SUAMIKU]:::
Husband-2SG
My husband!
16 John : Suami,
Husband,
17 lupa udah punya suami ibu yang satu ini
forget already have husband mother REL one this
This lady forgets (that she) has got a husband
18 Eva : Heh hakh hakh hakh hakh h h
19 → John : Ternyata dirimu sudah punya suami ↑ya
Turn-out you already have husband yes
(It) turns out that you already have a husband, right?

There are myriad of different pronouns in Indonesian language. They index different degrees of intimacy between the participants as well as context of their production in conversation (Djenar, 2006). *Dirimu* 'you' is formal and slightly poetic. It appears more often in performances such as Indonesian opera and song. Produced in flirting situation, *dirimu* creates some layer of non-seriousness. *Dirimu* conjures the context of performance into the specific talk where it is employed. Consequently, the employment of *dirimu* 'you' (in Line 22, Extract 3.20 as well as Line 13 and 19, Extract 3.21) opens up to the possibility that John's actions in those lines may be a performance or play of some kind.

3.2.1.3 Achieving Humor and Playfulness through (Cooperative) Activity

There are different means to achieve humor and playfulness. As mentioned above, the participants may mark their orientation to humor and playfulness "simply" through smile, laughter, and alike, as well as employ "marked" address term. In addition, the participants may also perform playfulness through an activity. They may perform cooperative imagination making; performs wordplay, produces canned joke, etc. alongside conveying flirtatious intent. To avoid redundancy, I will only present the cooperative imagination making in this section. The two later means - performing wordplay and canned joke - can be accessed in Subsection 5.2.2 (5.2.2).

The activity performs by the participant here, cooperative imagination making, is very

Extract 3.22 Segment 7, Line 1-14

1	Eva	:	Eropa kan mau ke London t[uh] Europe DP already to that For Europe (as you know) (I've) already got that arrangement to London
2	John	:	[O::H][iya , °gitu°] yes like-that Ah, yes, (I remember) that
3	Eva	:	[ə::=<Jadi ting]gal> So remain
4	Eva	:	mikirin tiketnya papahnya aja, think-IN ticket-DET father-DET only So the only thing now (is)ticket for the father,
5	Eva	:	pulanganya gak usah dia ikut pul(h)ang Home-NYA NEG need 3SG join go-home (for) the return trip, he doesn't need to return home
6			~Heh heh heh~ diusir ~khuuh[huuh]~ Evict-PASSIVE I He he he I (can be) kicked out
7	John	:	[(jerodj-)]= ((unclear))
8	John	:	Jangan diajak pa[pah]nya.= Don't take-PASSIVE father-DET Don't take the father (along),
9	Eva	:	[•h]
10	John	:	=nga[pain diajak-] why take-PASSIVE Why (are you) taking (him anyway)-
11	Eva	:	[Berdua ↑j a-] a group of two only head-turning Just (the) two-
12	John	:	[ha he] ((head-nod))
13	Eva	:	[<cari ya> °sana°]= find DP there Find (me) there okay
14	John	:	=EH!

similar to the one describes as “comical hypothetical” (Winchitz & Kozin, 2008). The participants cooperatively contribute to the process of impromptu imagination making in interaction. Here, in Segment 7, Line 5-13, the participants cooperatively contribute to Eva’s family holiday plan. Eva’s laugh particle interpolated into the word *pulang* ‘go home’ (line 5, Extract 3.22) and her subsequent laughter – *heh heh heh* - (line 6, Extract 3.22) signal that her plan of not taking her husband home is possibly non serious. At the same time, the laugh particle and laughter signal an invitation to cooperative humorous imagination making.

In response, John cooperatively adds up with a suggestion *jangan diajak papahnya* ‘don’t take the father along’ (line 8, Extract 3.22). And then a challenge to the idea of taking her husband in the first place *ngapain diajak* ‘why (do you) take (him) (anyway)’ (line 10, Extract 3.22). At this point, the two participants are smiling, laughing, giggling, or alike. Eva then produces a contribution to this cooperative imagination in the subsequent turn.

She will not take her husband home and possibly even leaving him home in the first place following John's suggestion (line 8, Extract 3.22), but also ask John to join her (line 13, Extract 3.22). From line 5 to 13, we can observe the participants playfully add up their imagination to Eva's family holiday plan. What was possibly started off as a serious family holiday plan (line 1-4, Extract 3.22), then slowly turns into non-serious, playful, imagination (line 5-13, Extract 3.22).

Besides contributes to the ambiguity of the interaction, laughter, therefore humor, also creates affiliation between the participants (Jefferson, Sacks, & Schegloff, 1987). Hence, it is not surprising that relational and fun, are two common motivations flirting motivations (Henningsen, 2004; Henningsen et al., 2008).

3.2.2 Vague Reference

It has been observed previously that subject and object is frequently omitted in Indonesian conversation (Wouk, 2005). The present data suggests similar pattern. The participants often omit subject and object in their turn. It is often the case that the subject and object can be retrieved from the context. For example when John says *tak kawinin mau* 'I "marry" (you), interested' (line 24, Extract 3.23), the addressee here is considerably transparent. Since John is looking at Eva (Extract 3.23) when he produces this turn, it is considerably transparent that the addressee is Eva. Though John does not verbally address Eva, his turn can be understood as asking whether Eva is interested in being married to, or having sex with, John.

Extract 3.23 Segment 8, Line 24

24	John	:	<Tak I-do	marry/sexual	kawinin intercourse-IN	<u>mau?</u> > want
----	------	---	--------------	--------------	---------------------------	-----------------------



I "marry" (you), interested?

Extract 3.24 Segment 9, Line 7-14

7	John	:	[°sekitar, setengah jam°] about a half an hour
8	Eva	:	[tapi gak berani, resiko] bawa anak, °takut° But NEG dare risk take child afraid But (I) wont dare, risky taking child, afraid
9	John	:	↑ke to?
10	Eva	:	Ke Lemboŋga:n to To Lembongan
11	John	:	°ngapain bawa anak°, Why take child Why (do you need to) take (your) child? ,
12			tinggal di rumah aja, leave at home just just leave (the child) at home,
13 →			dirimu sama siapa::[<gitu ke situ>] self-2SG with who like-that to there you (go) with someone to that place
14	Eva	:	[SUAMIKU]::: Husband-2SG My husband!

3.2.2.1 Indefinite Pronoun

Since omission of subject and object is common in Indonesian, that practice cannot be said as the “marked” practice. Though at times, subject and object omission may still add a layer of ambiguity to the interaction. There is another practice resulted in vague reference to people, on top of subject and object omission. That practice is the employment of indefinite pronoun *siapa* ‘someone’. The employment of indefinite pronoun creates the appearance that one deliberately tries to obscure the person being referred.

This spate of interaction occurs within a discussion about a holiday resort island of *Lembongan*. Eva says that it is risky to take her child there (Line 8, Extract 3.24). In response, John challenges her idea of taking her child to the island (Line 11, Extract 3.24). He then continues with a suggestion that her child should just be left at home (Line 12, Extract 3.24), and Eva should go with *siapa* ‘someone’ (Line 13, Extract 3.24). This “vague” reference *siapa* ‘someone’ in Line 13 can refer to just about anyone. However, here Eva understands it as romance, love, or sexual relevant. Evidently, Eva negates that vague reference and produces a repair, indicating that she is going there with her husband (Line 14).

Extract 3.25 Segment 3, Line 41-47

41 → John : =<tapi kalau malam>, horor
But when night scary
=But when night (comes, its) scary
0.6)
42
43 John : |[<fe >]|
|((head-up movement))|
Right?
44 Eva : |[°ho]|ror°
|((head-up movement))|
Scary
45 (.)
46 Eva : <Ta!pi kalau yang nganter> gak keliat(h)an,
But if REL escort NEG visible
47 : ~Ngg(h)ak ~apa - apa~ °ehék ehék ehék°~
NEG what - what
But if the one who escorts is invisible,(then) no problem

3.2.2.2 Omission of Place Reference

In addition obscured person reference, place reference can also be obscured. The ambiguity provides a room for the other participant to take the it as romance, love, or even sexual relevant.

In line 41 (Extract 3.25) John says *kalau malam horror* ‘but at night (its) scary’. Since they are talking about the location of Eva’s mother house, John can be understood as making reference to either the house or the location of the house. Since he does not specify his reference, one only can guess what John actually refers to. Evidently, it takes Eva a while to finally produce a response. Then when she finally produces a response, she exploits the ambiguity and produces a potentially flirtatious turn (line 46 – 47, Extract 3.25).

3.2.3 Parallel Sequences

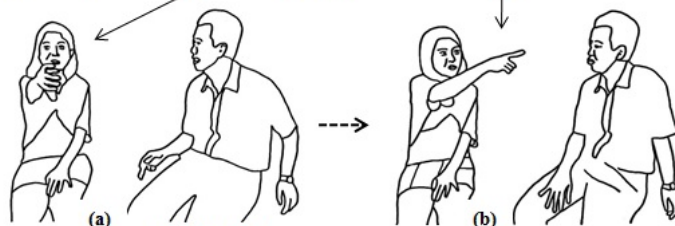
The data suggests that flirting is done alongside other ongoing activity or activities. To exemplify here I would like to present the flirting interaction occurs in Segment 2. That flirting interaction is done alongside three ongoing courses of actions. Those activities are location demonstration, repair, and suggestion-giving. The repair occurs as a part of a location demonstration activity. Then the suggestion-giving occurs while the repair is underway. The flirting interaction then occurs alongside the suggestion-giving.

Extract 3.26 Segment 2, Line 26-31

26 Eva : A: /ING, nak pa[ek]
 NEG DP close
 (Of course) no, its close

26 John : [di-]janaan?
 Where (is it)?

27 Eva : e:↑ (1.7)



(a) This way

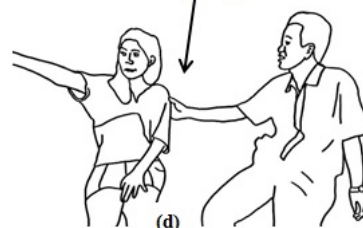
28 John : e↑ jalane e↑ne
 Road-DET this



(c) This street?

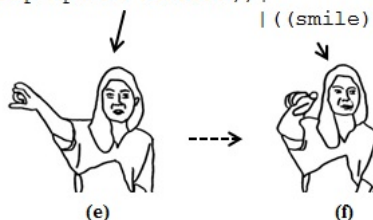
29 Eva : Jal[an ini]
 Street this
 This road

30 → John : [°<pake>° bahasa Indo]nesia, bahasa Indonesia
 Use language language



(d)

31 Eva : Use Indonesian, Indonesian
 =| ((sharp upward startle)) |
 | ((smile))



(e)

(f)

In line 26 (Extract 3.26) John asks Eva about the location of her mother’s house, the place where she currently lives. This question then triggers a location demonstration sequence (line 26 - 40). John’s display of understanding is then relevant after Eva completes one round of location demonstration gesticulations (line 27, Picture a and b, Extract 3.26). When Eva’s line is completed, John promptly produces the response by raising his right hand and says *jalane ene* ‘this road’ (line 28, Picture c, Extract 3.26) in Balinese. It

appears that Eva takes that John does not get the location correctly. She selectively repeats her location demonstration from the point where she thinks John has taken it wrongly. She says *jalan ini* ‘this road’, while pointing at the direction of the road leading to her mother’s house (line 29, Picture d, Extract 3.26).

If we take a location demonstration sequence consist of: a first pair part of location demonstration and a second pair part recipient’s understanding display (see the parallel in direction-giving sequence (Psathas, 1986, 1990)), line 29 can be seen an expansion of the location demonstration sequence. Line 29 is a pre-second expansion. It is repair. As a pre-second, this repair occurs before the second pair part: recipient’s understanding display.

However, instead of attending to Eva’s repair compliantly, John produces another turn in overlap with the tail end of Eva’s repair (line 30, Extract 3.26). He says *pake bahasa Indonesia, bahasa Indonesia* ‘Use Indonesian language, Indonesian language. In doing so, he can be understood as suggesting Eva to switch to Indonesian., because prior to line 29, Eva and John are conversing in Balinese. In terms sequential structure, John’s suggestion can be seen as being overlaid onto the repair activity (line 29, Extract 3.26). This suggestion may end up initiating a topic shift, or a simple one turn insertion where the participants simply return to attend to the repair after the completion of the suggestion.

While producing the suggestion, John pats Eva (Picture d, Extract 3.26). He performs the pat twice, and both of them are being directed towards the back of Eva’s upper left arm (Picture d, Extract 3.26). Within the frame of suggestion-giving (line 30), the pats can be seen as an attention-getting device (Schegloff, 1968). Eva is looking away as she demonstrates the repair, therefore attending to a different frame of activity, i.e. location-demonstration. Hence, an attention-getting device may be required to gain Eva’s attention so that she can attend to John’s suggestion.

At the same time, John smiles while performing the pat (Picture d, Extract 3.26). The smile, which indicates his orientation to humor and playfulness, does not appear to be fitting to neither the suggestion-giving nor the bigger location-demonstration context. The smile indicates that his pat is potentially playful. Though Eva does not appear to have

access to John's smile, she seemingly treats the pats equally "playful". Immediately after the pats land on her arm, she halts her hand movements, perform what appear to be a startle reaction, and then smile.

Eva's reaction is slightly "too playful" if the pats would be seen as simply an attention-getting device. The most sensible explanation is to see that John and Eva orient to the pat as a flirting relevant light tactile contact (see Subsegment 3.1.1.5). To acknowledge the extra – flirtatious – load Eva produces a subtle, yet distinct response, the ones which do not fit to the other ongoing courses of actions. The pats and their responses potentially conveys flirtatious load. In that sense, the flirting interaction – the pats and their responses – occur alongside other ongoing activity or activities.

Similarly, other flirting interactions in the present data set are also done alongside other ongoing sequence or sequences. The flirting action in Segment 1 is done as a part of response to Beth leave-taking message. The flirting interaction in Segment 3 is done as a post expansion to the location-demonstration sequence discussed in this section. Halfway, that flirting interaction in Segment 3 is also "overlaid" with another action, which is a pretend-play.

The potentially flirting interaction in Segment 4 is done alongside an evaluation sequence. Flirting interaction in Segment 5 is done alongside a teasing sequence. Flirting sequence in Segment 6 is done alongside a trouble-telling. The flirting interaction in Segment 7 is done together with a cooperative imagination making. Then the flirting interaction in Segment 8 is done alongside succession of different activities such as future joint activity planning, compliment, wordplay, and so on. Lastly, flirting interaction in Segment 9 is done alongside a discussion about a holiday resort.

3.2.4 Participants' Multilingual Awareness

In some cases, the participants' turn can have multiple meanings. The two languages in the participants' language repertoire – Balinese and Indonesian – are related. Both of them are Austronesian Language. As a result, they have numerous cognates. Though the

Extract 3.27 Segment 3, Line 60-66

60	John	:	Jadi, (.) So,
61		:	sense of (.) Interviewer-[<i>nya</i> (.) <i>mun-°cul°</i>] DET emerge (my) "sense of interviewer" emerges
62	Eva	:	[° <hm hm hm hm>°] hm hm hm hm (giggle)
63	John	:	((head-shake)) (<i>ajak</i> sekali) ask once 
64	Eva	:	(I'll) take (you) once [emang] cocok kamu jadi wartawan indeed suitable you become journalist Indeed you are suitable to be (a) journalist
65	John	:	Kok gitu? PART like-that Why is that?
66	Eva	:	Cerewet °soalnya° Because (you are) talkative

basic meanings in the two languages are similar, word may have significantly different connotative meanings in the two languages. Considering the high frequency of code mixing, it is often unclear whether the participant is saying a particular word in Balinese or Indonesian at the given time. Consequently, this situation introduce an ambiguity: the specific meaning of the particular turn is ambiguous.

In line 63 above (Extract 3.27), John produces *ajak sekali* 'ask once' quietly, as a side comment. He looks away while he produces this turn (Picture in Extract 3.27) and this turn is neither a response nor a continuation of the previous turn. *Ajak* 'ask' may be Indonesian or Balinese in this case. The higher possibility is that *ajak* is Indonesia because the second word – *sekali* 'once' - is Indonesian. However, considering how the participants do intra turn code-mixing in some other occasions , it is not completely impossible that *ajak* here is actually Balinese.

If *ajak* here is Indonesian, it may mean that John indicates that he is intended to ask, challenge, or awaken Eva to participate in some kind of unspecified activity, to go to unspecified place, or to concern about unspecified issue. According to Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language), there are three meanings

of *ajak*: (1) ask, challenge, or awaken; (2) similar; and (3) jackal (*cuon javanicus*). The most suitable meaning in this context would be meaning number 1 (ask, challenge, or awaken). Whether the specific meaning being oriented here is ask, challenge, or awaken, the activity place or the entity implicated is not being made explicit. In that sense, if *ajak* in line 63 is Indonesian, then the turn can be understood as John indicates that he may ambiguously ask, challenge or awaken Eva.

If *ajak* here is Indonesian, it may mean that John indicates that he is intended to ask Eva to go for a date or even to have sex. The colloquial Balinese *ajak* is euphemistic term for sexual engagement. It may ambiguously refer to a date with some kind of sexual engagement, or have sex. For example the question of *suba sai ajak?* ‘have (you) often *ajak* (him or her)’ to a person in the context of talking about his or her date, actually means whether they have already often be intimate or had sex . If John orients to the colloquial Balinese meaning of the word *ajak* here – in line 63 – he may indicate that he is intended to ask Eva to be intimate.

However, since the participants do not attend to this turn in the subsequent turn, the specific meaning of this particular turn – line 63 (Extract 3.27) – remains ambiguous. Additionally, Eva may or may not have heard the turn because it was produced softly and John is not looking at her. Nonetheless, since this turn has been produced, it is possible that Eva has heard it and understood its possible sexual conveyance.

3.2.5 Absence of Repair

The data suggests that ambiguity is not only constructed, but also sustained in flirting interaction. The ambiguity is sustained through absence of repair. The result is a succession of ambiguous turns. Together, those turns have the potential to be understood as containing that romance, love, or sexual undertone. For example in Segment 3, line 41-47 (Extract 3.28).

Extract 3.28 Segment 3, Line 41-53

41 → John : =<tapi kalau malam>, horor
But when night scary
=But when night (comes, its) scary
0.6)
42
43 John : |[<fə >]|
|((head-up movement))|
Right?
44 Eva : |[°ho]|ror°
|((head-up movement))|
Scary
45 (.)
46 → Eva : <Ta!pi kalau yang nganter> gak keliat(h)an,
But if REL escort NEG visible
47 → : ~Ngg(h)ak ~apa - apa~ °ehék ehék ehék°~
NEG what - what
But if the one who escorts is invisible,(then) no problem
48 (0.6)
49 Eva : héh ↑héh héh [héh héh]
50 → John : [Sau]dara - saudara
Viewers,
51 Eva : °<Heh héh>°
52 → : inilah [seorang istri] yang jablai,=
this a wife REL
this is (/let me present) a jablai wife
53 Eva : [eh tid(h)ak]
hey NEG
Hey no

In line 41 John says *tapi kalau malam horor* ‘but at night (it’s) scary’ (Extract 3.28). What John is specifically referring to and why John says this at this particular moment are unclear. Evidently Eva has trouble with that turn. It takes her a while to produce a response. She does not produce any response immediately. There is a 0.6 seconds of pause (Line 42, Extract 3.28) at the completion of John’s line 41. Then after the pause she softly repeats one word from John’s line 41 *horor* ‘horror’ or ‘scary’ (Line 44, Extract 3.28). Subsequently, instead of initiating a repair and seek for a clarification, Eva produces another ambiguous turn. She says *tapi kalau yang nganter gak keliatan gak apa – apa* ‘but if the escort is invisible, (then) no problem’ (Line 46-47, Extract 3.28).

How Eva’s turn (Line 46-47, Extract 3.28) – escort, and trouble – connects to John’s (Line 41, Extract 3.28) – scary and night – is not transparent. And the connection is not being said here. Though one may imagine and infer how the two connects, still the connection is not transparent. In that sense, Eva’s response (Line 46-47, Extract 3.28) is equally ambiguous to what it responds to (Line 41, Extract 3.28).

Again, in the next position, instead of initiating a repair, John produces another ambiguous turn. He says *saudara –saudara inilah istri ya jablai* ‘viewers, this is a wife who (is)

rarely caressed’ (line 50 and 52, Extract 3.28). The connection between invisible escort and trouble, with a wife who (is) rarely caressed is not transparent. This turn then can be seen as another ambiguous turn in sequence. In this instance, we can observe how both Eva and John contribute to the construction and preservation of ambiguity in their interaction. The similar procedure - of not producing repair in response to ambiguous turn - commonly occurs across the flirting interaction in the current data set.

3.3 Courtship Qualifiers

Schefflen (1965) documents the similarities and differences between (real) courtship and quasi-courtship. The similarity lies in that both (real) courtship and quasi-courtship contains the basic elements of: (1) Courtship readiness, (2) Positioning for courtship, and (3) Actions of appeal or invitation. While they are different since quasi-courtship contains “Qualifiers of Courting Behaviours”. According to Schefflen, those qualifiers are: (1) References to the inappropriate context, (2) Incomplete postural-kinesic involvement, (3) Omission or incompleteness of key courting behaviours, (4) Disclaimers, and (5) Bizarreness of performance.

The identified flirting of the current dataset also exhibits three of the qualifiers identified by Schefflen. They are references to the inappropriate context, Omission or Incompleteness, and disclaimers. Below are explications of the above three qualifiers observe in the data. All instances below are taken from Segment 8.

3.3.1 References to the inappropriate context

Participant of the present study also makes reference that their current context as inappropriate for courtship or flirtatious interaction, similar to Schefflen’s observation. In line 24 (Extract 3.29) John says *tak kawinin mau* ‘I “marry” (you), interested? Asking someone whether she wants to or interested in doing something together can be seen as an offer, or request. Offer and request invite response in the form of acceptance or rejection (Davidson, 1984).

If Eva (and John) orients to John's line 24 as an offer, then the most relevant response would be either an acceptance or rejection. However, instead of producing acceptance or rejection, Eva just smiles and turns her head away from John (line 25, Extract 3.29).

Then in the next turn Eva reminds John that they are being recorded. She says *direkam lo, direkam* 'recorded (you know) recorded' (Line 27, Extract 3.29). *Lo* is a colloquial Indonesian particle (it is enlisted as a discourse particle in Sneddon's Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian (J. N. Sneddon, 2006)). If *lo* occurs after a word, it puts emphasis on that word and asserts that as true. Since *lo* is produced after the initial *direkam* 'recorded', it gives an emphasis to the fact that (they are) being recorded. The after *lo*, Eva produces another *direkam* 'recorded'. This time, it is produced in a different intonational contour. As a repetition of the initial word, the second *direkam* puts emphasis that it is the main message of Eva's turn.

This reminder (Line 27, Extract 3.29) is a reference to the inappropriate context. "Partners in a quasi-courtship may make references to the inappropriateness of the situation for sexuality by reminding each other that other people are present or by reminders of taboos or ethical considerations." (Schefflen, 1965, p. 249). Line 27 can be understood as referring that what John has said (Line 24) as well as Eva's possible response to that line is inappropriate because they are being recorded, because other people are present through the possibility of their recording to be later viewed by other people.

3.3.2 Omission or Incompleteness: Forestalling a potential arrangement for joint future activity

"The behaviors may be modified so as to leave out characteristic courting elements. This is done by failing to complete typical courting actions..." (Schefflen, 1965, p. 249)

In line 24 John produces an offer or request to get married or have sex with Eva. Not only that, John also seemingly requests Eva to subsequently indicate whether she accepts or rejects that sexually relevant idea (Line 26, Extract 3.29). Here Eva can be said to forestall that progresses towards the resolution. When one produces an arrangement involving the

other participant, one can be seen as indirectly inviting the other to make an arrangement for a joint activity (Ekberg, 2011). The absence of Eva's acceptance, or rejection, in the subsequent turns (Line 25 and 27, Extract 3.29) forestalls the possible development of John's line 24 to become a real arrangement for romantic or sexual joint activity (*kawin* 'get marry' or 'have sex').

The similar practice of forestalling a potential arrangement for joint future (romantic or sexual) activity also occurs in other flirting interaction of the current data set. In Segment 3, John does not respond whether he is willing to become Eva's escort. In Segment 6, Eva does not respond whether she wants John to order a ticket to Bangkok for her. In Segment 7, John does not respond whether he wants to 'look for Eva' in London. Then later in Segment 8, Eva does not indicate whether she is keen of John's idea of spending time together in Jakarta. In Segment 9, Eva does not indicate that she is interested in spending her time in the resort island of *Lembongan* with 'someone'.

3.3.3 Disclaimers

"Participants in quasi-courting may try to reduce ambiguity and indicate noncourtship by lexical disclaimers. They may reassure the partners and others that they interest is not sexual" (Schefflen, 1965, p. 250).

We can imagine that it would be utterly challenging to produce a disclaimer after the production of line 24. But John does that anyway. In line 24 (Extract 3.29) John says *tak* 'I (do)' *kawinin* 'mary/ have sex - and then *mau* 'want'. In the subsequent turn, he calms Eva down (Line 30, Extract 3.29) and then exploits his previous sexual (Line 24, Extract 3.29) as a platform to launch a joke (Line 30-31, Extract 3.29). As a result, though line 30 and the joke compromises the exigency of attending to the boldness of line 24. Instead of attending to the boldness of line 24, the participants then have the option to attend to the subsequent joke.

In overlap with the second part of Eva's reminder, the second *direkam* 'recorded' (line 29, Extract 3.29), John says *gak apa apa* 'no problem' (line 28, Extract 3.29). *Gak apa – apa*

is commonly employed to calm someone down after that particular person indicates or displays that there is some kind of issue at hand. By saying *gak apa apa* ‘no problem’ in this particular position, John can be understood as addressing Eva’s indication of concern in line 27 (Extract 3.29). Without specifying how, John indicates that (at least for him) the situation is not as problematic as what Eva may have indicated through her reminder (Line 27, Extract 3.29).

Then, latching to line 28, John produces a joke. While smiling he says *kan (0.9) tak kawinin, tak nikahin itu urusan belakangan* ‘(as we know) I have sex (with you), (whether) I marry (you) is a different business/ something to deal with later’ (Line 30-31, Extract 3.29). These two turns can be seen as jokes in two respects. First of all the turn is produced while he is smiling. The smile can be taken to indicate John’s orientation to his ongoing turn as a humor. Secondly the turn is built on a canned joke¹. By producing the actual word for ‘getting married’ – *nikah* – John disambiguates his previous polysemous word *kawin* in line 24 (Extract 3.29). The retrospective disambiguation is a common practice, or common joke, in Indonesian discourse. The joke comes from the realization that they may have been unknowingly talking about something transgressive, i.e. have sex. This humor in line 30-31 (Extract 3.29) only able to be produced as a result of the ambiguity provided in line 24. In that sense, it retrospectively adds the context of humor into the existing possible flirtatious and transgressive context in line 24. Consequently, line 24 cannot only be seen as a flirtatious move, but also an initiation of a joke.

The joke (Line 30-31, Extract 3.29) also arguably explains how Eva should have not taken his previous turn (line 24) seriously. John did not mean to ask Eva whether she is interested in John marrying her (line 24, Extract 3.29) because under the (culture-based) common sense, which they presumably shared, there is no urgency to think about the serious business of getting married at this point in time. For some who are not familiar with the Balinese culture, the above explanation may be outlandish. Hence, I will first explicate the cultural background.

¹ Canned joke is a joke which has been employed before the event at hand and has less dependability to the context of its present production (Attardo, 1994).

In contemporary Balinese setting, there is this practice, called MBA (Married by Accident). This term means couple gets married as a result of pregnancy (“accident”). Though it is referred as an accident, for some the pregnancy is not actually an accident. The Balinese are obsessed with fecundity (Parker, 2003). The common view is that the main aim of marriage is to produce off springs. The shortcut is then to have pre-marital sex, and then get married only after the female gets pregnant. The wedding is then planned after the female is confirmed to be pregnant. As long as the female does not get pregnant, there is no urgency to talk about getting married.

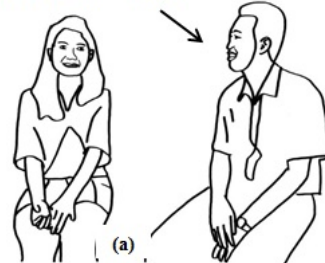
In the beginning of line 32 John produces the discourse marker *kan*. *Kan* generally marks shared knowledge (Wouk, 1998). It is possible that this *kan* (line 32) marks the above culture based commonsense. The shared knowledge is unstated, it is subtly indexed through this ‘as we know’ discourse marker *kan*.

After *kan*, John says *tak kawinin, tak nikahin itu urusan belakangan* ‘I have sex (with you), (whether) I marry (you) is a different business/ something to deal with later’ (Line 30-31, Extract 3.29). The turn can be understood as firstly ascertaining that his intention in line 24 was to have sex. Then, secondly it can be understood as putting getting married as an option, but not a priority. Under the presumably shared knowledge about the “MBA” practice, there is no urgency to discuss about getting married at this point in time. To put it transparently: at their present state of relationship, the interest is still in having sex. Once and if Eva gets pregnant, then they may talk about getting married.

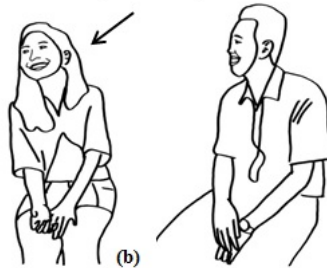
Based on the above cultural background, John’s line 30-31 (Extract 3.29) can be understood as an attempt to ascertain that his interest was non-serious or non-courtship: he is not interested in getting married with Eva. As a result of the introduction of the joke in line 30-31 (Extract 3.29), along with the associated cultural background, John indicates that his intention in line 24 (Extract 3.29) is non-serious. At the same time, as line 24 is then retrospectively re-framed as an initiation of a joke, Eva and John then have the option to attend to joke instead of the boldness and flirtatiousness of line 24 (Extract 3.29).

Extract 3.29 Segment 8, Line 24-32

24 John : <Tak kawinin mau?>
I-do marry/sexual intercourse-IN want



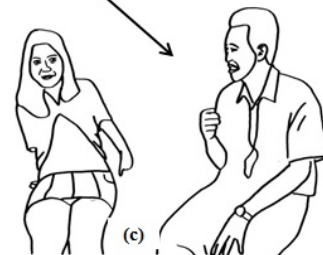
25 Eva : I "marry" (you), interested?
°heh heh°=



26 John : =heh
((eyebrow flashing))
27 Eva : Direkam lo, [~°direkam°~]
Recorded DP recorded
(We're being) recorded (I remind you), (We're being) recorded
28 John : [gak apa - apa]
NEG what what

No problem

29 Eva : [°e hek ehek ehek ehek°]
30 John : [=<!Kan> (0.9)] tak kawinin,
DP I-do (sexual) intercourse
(as we know) I have sex with you,
31 John : Tak nikahin itu urusan belakangan|
I-do marry that business later



(whether) I'm marrying (you) is a different business/
something to deal with later

32 °he he ha ha ha ha ha° •h •h=

Chapter 4

Doing Flirting

This chapter discusses how flirting interaction is done. This chapter specifically discusses the procedure to do flirting. The current data suggests that flirting occurs in sequence of verbal and non-verbal actions. It is often the case that the flirtatious understanding is derived through the interaction between a particular turn, with the sequential context where the turn is produced. The sequence of action – where the participants can be understood as flirting with each other or flirtatiousness occurs – is referred as “flirting sequence” or “flirtatious sequence”.

The term flirting sequence refers to a sequence of actions where the participants flirt or perform their flirtatious actions; and, the name flirtatious sequence refers to the nature of the particular sequence where it is flirtatious. Considering how flirting is always done along with other action(s) (See Subsection 3.2.3) the sequence of action containing flirting or flirtatiousness may be seen as doing flirting as well as imbued with flirtatiousness. Hence, the terms flirting sequence and flirtatiousness sequence are henceforth employed together (sometimes interchangeably), to refer to the sequence of action where flirting occurs.

At its shortest form, flirting sequence consists of a pair of turns in adjacent position. Their relationship is similar to the ones in Adjacency Pair. They are adjacency placed and pair-type related: “not every second pair part can properly follow any first pair part” (Schegloff, 2007b, p. 13). Hence, in its shortest form, flirting sequence occurs as a flirting

(or flirtatious) “adjacency pair”. This unit of flirting adjacency pair consists of two turns: First Pair Part (FPP) and the Second Pair Part (SPP).

4.1 Procedure

The data suggests that procedure for initiating flirting is essentially similar to the procedure for constructing intimacy in interaction (Jefferson et al., 1987; W. A. Beach, 2000; Coupland & Jaworski, 2003; W. Beach & Glenn, 2011, , etc). When a speaker produces a transgression, then the next speaker may affiliate or disaffiliate to the transgression (Jefferson et al., 1987). Affiliation can be displayed non-verbally through appreciative laughter and verbally through subsequent transgression. Disaffiliation can be verbally conveyed or displayed through disattention.

In flirting or flirtatious sequence, instead of transgression, the first turn – the invitational turn – in flirting Adjacency Pair (or sequence) contains romance, love, or sexual undertone. At times, those romance, love, or sexual undertone can also be considered as transgression because Eva, one of the participants, is married. Hence, any display of attraction which is romantic or sexual in nature, can be also understood as transgression. Similar to Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson study (1982), this romance, love, or sexual undertone as a transgression may also invites affiliation in the form of orientation to humor (smile, laugh particle, laughter, and alike).

The procedure for initiating flirting sequence is then one of the participants produces a turn, which contains romance, love, or sexual undertone, within a talk which so far has not been flirtatious. The production of this turn indicates that that particular participant considers that a move into flirtatiousness is one, of the many, plausible next courses of action. If the next participant produces a subsequent turn, which is affiliative in nature, then a flirting or flirtatious sequence is constructed.

On the other hand, if the next participant does not produce affiliative response, then flirting or flirtatious sequence is not constructed. In this case, considering the ambiguity of flirting interaction, the first turn may only contain a potential to initiate a flirting sequence, but it

is not an initiation of a flirting sequence by itself without a fitting – affiliative – response. Flirting or flirtatious sequence is then terminated or ended when the next participant stops producing affiliative turn.

4.2 Potential Flirting Sequence Initiating Turn

As previously mentioned (Section 4.1), a turn may initiate a flirting sequence. However, its status as a flirting sequence initiating turn is retrospectively established. If the second turn displays orientation to the flirtatiousness of that turn, then that (first) turn is a flirting sequence initiating turn. On the other hand, if the second turn does not display orientation to the flirtatiousness, then its status as a flirting sequence initiating turn cannot be established. Hence, at the moment of its production, a turn may only be potential flirting initiating turn. In acknowledging that nature, “potential flirting sequence initiating turn” will be used as the term to refer to a turn which potentially initiates a flirting sequence.

The data suggests that potential flirting sequence initiating turn is essentially ambiguous. A closer look on the data reveals that it can appear in varying degrees of ambiguity. Some are more transparently flirtatious than others. The data also suggests that potential flirting sequence initiating turn regularly provokes, instead of mobilizes, response as it hardly constructed as high response relevance action. The instances in this segment are presented according to the degree of their ambiguity: from the most transparent to the least one.

4.2.1 *Tak kawinin mau* ‘I “marry” (you), interested?’

Extract 4.1 Segment 8, Line 24

24	John	:	<Tak kawinin mau?> I-do marry/sexual intercourse-IN want I “marry” (you), interested?
----	------	---	---

In line 24 (Extract 4.1) John says *tak kawinin mau* ‘I “marry” (you), interested?’ It is clear that this turn is flirtatious. The only thing is that Indonesian *kawin* is polysemous. It may

refers to the act of getting married or having sexual intercourse. Though the word *kawin* is ambiguous; compared to the other flirting sequence initiating turns in the data, this turn is the most transparent. Additionally, line 24 (Extract 4.1) is also a high response relevance action. It mobilizes response through its interrogative form, the rising intonation *mau* ‘interested?’.

4.2.2 *Nyerep istri orang* ‘being (a) spare for someone else’s wife’

Extract 4.2 Segment 1, Line 1-11

1	John	:	Ya, silahkan silahkan, Bu Yes please please madam Yes, please Madam
2	Beth	:	[Ya, pergi dulu ya, ntar] (.) Yes go first yes later Okay, (we’re) leaving okay, later (.)
3	John	:	[Waduh, maaf saya-] EXCL sorry I Ups, sorry I-
4	Beth	:	kembali bentar lagi return a while again returning in a while
5	John	:	Ya, ndak apa, lama juga nggak apa - apa Yes NEG what long-time also NEG what what Yes, no problem, It’ll gonna be alright even if (it) takes a long time
6	Beth	:	[°waduh°] °Oh my°
7	Ron	:	[°ah°]
8			(0.4)
9 →	John	:	°em°, enak lagi begini (.) pleasant even like this °ehrm, (It’s) even pleasant like this
10		:	nyerep istri o[rang] Spare wife person Being (a) spare for someone else’s wife
11	Ron	:	°<[bawa]-in bubur?>° Bring+IN porridge °Bring (you) (some) porridge°

The potential Flirting Sequence initiation turn in question is line 9-10. These two lines occur within a leave-taking sequence, where Beth and Ron are about to leave Eva and John. While moving away, Beth assures Eva and John that they – Ron and Beth – will return soon (line 2 and 4, Extract 4.2). To respond to that assurance, John indicates that it is okay even if they take their time to return there (line 5, Extract 4.2). Then adding to that response (line 5), John produces line 9-10 (Extract 4.2). He says *em enak lagi begini*, *nyerep istri orang* ‘erm this is even pleasant, being (a) spare (husband) for someone’ else’s wife’.

Line 9-10 is, as a potential Flirting Sequence initiation turn, is constructed as an announcement without additional response mobilizing feature. This kind of turn design has low response relevance (Stivers & Rossano, 2010a, 2010b). It does not put pressure on the other participant to response. In line 9-10 (Extract 4.2) John only announces that the present situation is pleasant and subsequently says being a spare for someone else's wife. In addition, John's line 10 can be seen as an expression of how he perceives the situation. He also looks away from Eva while producing this turn. In that sense, John's line 10-11 (Extract 4.2) does not directly prompt response from her. As an announcement without response mobilizing feature, its response relevance is low.

The romantic and sexual conveyance of this turn is mildly transparent. The hearer may sense that there is something flirtatious (romance or sexual attraction relevant) in the turn, but may not be able to straightforwardly pinpoint the specific part of the turn which conveys that possible romance and sexual attraction.

As mentioned above, the unspecified possibly romantic and sexual activity implicates John and Eva. Though the turn takes a low response relevant action (Stivers & Rossano, 2010b, 2010a) of announcement, it may still provoke a response from Eva. As what has been documented before (Ekberg, 2011), low response relevant action, such as informing (or announcement) can be used to provoke acceptance or rejection from the other participant if it the issue being informed implicates him or her. In Ekberg home care interaction data, the care-giver produces an informing of an arrangement which implicate the client. The care-giver does not employ high response relevance actions such as request, offer or information request or add other response mobilizing features. Yet, the client still response with acceptance or rejection of the arrangement. Similarly, though John's line 10 takes a low response relevant action, it may still provokes Eva's response since she is implicated in the *nyerep istri orang* 'being (a) spare for someone else's wife' activity.

4.2.3 Pat on the shoulder

This instance is taken from Segment 2. The flirtatious load of the possible flirting sequence initiating turn in this instance is highly ambiguous.

Extract 4.3 Segment 2, Line 26-31

26	Eva	:	A: /ING, nak pa[ek] NEG DP close (Of course) no, its close
26	John	:	[di-]janaan? Where (is it)?
27	Eva	:	e:↑ (1.7) e: This way
28	John	:	əf jalane e↑ne Road-DET this This street?
29	Eva	:	Jal[an ini] Street this This road
30 →	John	:	[°<pake>° bahasa Indonesia, bahasa Indonesia Use language language
			
31	Eva	:	Use Indonesian, Indonesian = ((sharp upward startle)) ((smile))

The potential flirting sequence initiating turn is John's non-verbal action – patting Eva's arm – which is done in concurrent with his verbal turn (line 30, 4.3) of suggesting Eva to employ Indonesian language. This verbal and non-verbal conducts of line 30 are done within a location-demonstration sequence. Eva demonstrates the location of the house of her mother, where she currently stays (See Subsection 3.2.3). During that sequence John interjects with a suggestion that she employs Indonesian. Eva has just switches to Indonesian in line 29, which is happen to be in overlap with John's suggestion.

Since, prior to John's pat, Eva was looking away; it is possible that pats are mere attention-getting device. At the same time, male touch has been linked to flirtatiousness (See Subsubsection 3.1.1.5). While patting Eva's arm, John also smiles (4.3). The smile does not seem to be fitting to the verbal conveyance of the turn. Smile may indicate some kind of amusement or humor in the ongoing interaction (Haakana & Sorjonen, 2011). There

seem to be nothing amusing or humorous about switching to Indonesian. By taking the incompatibility between the context of giving suggestion to the smile, the possibility of something else amusing or humorous in the context can be proposed. Humor is a part and parcel of flirtatiousness. Hence, it is possible that flirtatious is being conveyed through the pat. Nonetheless, whether the pats are flirtatious is highly ambiguous.

4.3 Response to Flirting Sequence Initiation

The data suggests that there are three kinds of possible response to Potential Flirting Sequence Initiating Turn. Since a potential flirting sequence initiating turn contains invitation to co-construct flirting sequence, the response can be an acceptance, rejection, or disattention.

4.3.1 Acceptance

The next turn can be seen as an acceptance if it is affiliative to the first turn. Jefferson, Sacks & Schegloff (1982) reports that there are two kinds of affiliative response to a turn that contains transgression. The first one is a laughter and the second one is affiliative verbal response. The present data suggests that Jefferson, Sacks & Schegloff (1982) findings can be extended. Other than full-pledged laughter, non-verbal affiliative response can also occur in the form of smile and laugh particle, or some other forms within the continuum of smile, smiley voice, laugh particle and full-pledged laughter. To encompass the wide spectrum of the non-verbal response, in the place of laughter I employ the term appreciative signal, following Sacks (1974) and Winchitz and Kozin (2008).

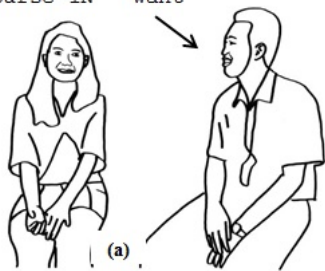
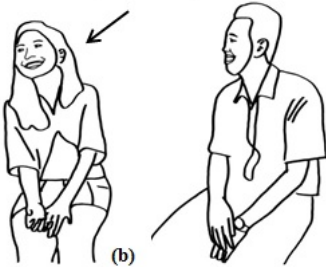
4.3.1.1 Appreciation Signal

In the data, smile, smiley voice, laugh particle and full-pledged laughter are seen as “go-ahead” signal. Though they do not by themselves continue the progression of flirting sequence, they may invite further flirting relevant response from the speaker of the first

turn or indicate that further verbal affiliative response is imminent. In that sense, smile, smiley voice, laugh particle and full-pledged laughter contributes to the progression of the then incipient flirting sequence.

Smile and Seemingly Appreciative Non-verbal Response The potential flirting sequence initiation action in this instance has been previously discussed (See Subsubsection 3.1.2.1 and 3.2.1.1 as well as Subsection 3.2.2 and 4.2.1).

Extract 4.4 Segment 8, Line 24-26

24	John	:	$\langle$ Tak I-do marry/sexual kawinin intercourse-IN mau?> want	 (a)
25	Eva	:	I "marry" (you), interested? °heh heh°=	 (b)
26	John	:	=heh ((eyebrow flashing))	

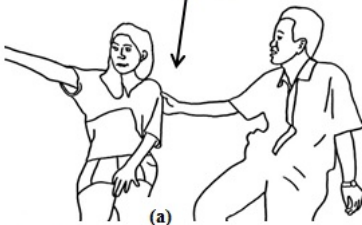
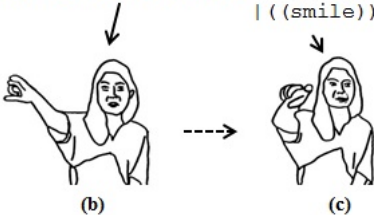
When John produces line 24 (Picture a, Extract 4.4), Eva is already smiling. She maintains her smile throughout the production of line 24. Then after the completion of line 24, she turns her head away from John (Picture b, Extract 4.4). At this point her lips are spread more widely compared to during the production of line 24, and she also produces two faint exhalations. Those exhalations are represented as *heh heh* in the transcript (line 25, Extract 4.4).

Though line 25 is taken to be inadequate response, it does not block John's potential flirting sequence initiating action. Evidently, firstly John charges forward by prompting

a response from Eva (Line 26, Extract 4.4). Then secondly, there is not changes in their non-verbal conduct. John still maintains his smile as before Eva produces line 25. His smile is even more evident in line 25 (Extract 4.4).

Smile and Appreciative Non-verbal Response The potential flirting sequence initiation action in this instance has been previously discussed (Subsubsection 3.1.1.5, Subsection 3.2.3, and Subsection 4.2.3).

Extract 4.5 Segment 2, Line 29-32

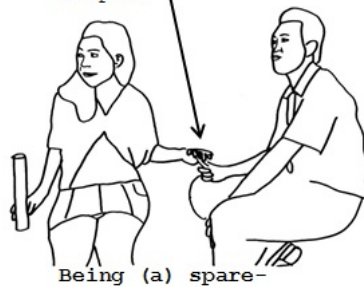
29	Eva	:	Jal[an	ini	]
			Street	this	
			This road		
30	John	:	[°<pake>°	bahasa Indo]nesia,	bahasa Indonesia
			Use	language	language
 (a)					
31 →	Eva	:	Use Indonesian, Indonesian		
			= ((sharp upward startle))	((smile))	
 (b) (c)					
32	Eva	:	Jalan	ini	ini
			Street	this	DP
			This road,	this	(one)

After the pat land on her back, Eva performs a slight “startle” reaction (Picture b, Extract 4.5), at which she starts to smile (Picture b, Extract 4.5). Her smile lasts for approximately 1 second. It then slowly dissipates as she progresses with her next talk (line 32). Noting that Eva is not looking at John when the pat lands on her back (see), so she cannot be smiling in response to John’s smile. The startle and smile seems to be her appreciation to the flirting-relevant property of John’s pat. Additionally, by smiling she indicates that for her, the pat is something pleasant.

Laugh Particle embedded into Keyword Repetition The potential flirting sequence initiation action in this instance has been previously discussed (Subsubsection 3.1.2.1 and Subsection 4.2.2).

Extract 4.6 Segment 1, Line 9-12

9	John	:	°em°, enak lagi begini (.) pleasant even like this °ehm, (It's) even pleasant like this
10		:	nyerep istri o[rang] Spare wife person Being (a) spare for someone else's wife
11	Ron	:	°<[bawa]-in bubur?>° Bring+IN porridge °Bring (you) (some) porridge°
12	Eva	:	<u>~nyerep?~</u> N+spare



In line 9-10 (Extract 4.6) John says *enak lagi begini, nyerep istri orang* ‘this is even pleasant, being (a) spare for someone else’s wife’. In response to this potentially flirtatious turn, Eva repeats *nyerep* ‘being (a) spare’ (line 12, Extract 4.6). There is a distortion on her speech in line 12. As she appears to smile while producing line 12 (Picture in Extract 4.6¹), the perturbation is in all likelihood laugh particles being embedded into her word. Additionally, by repeating the word *nyerep* ‘being (a) spare’, Eva indicates her understanding of the load of this particular word. Together, the smile and the repetition, indicates that Eva orients to the idea of *nyerep* ‘being (a) spare’ as amusing.

Laugh Particle The potential flirting sequence initiation action in this instance has been previously discussed (Subsubsection 3.1.1.7, 3.1.2.2, and 3.2.1.3).

¹ John and Eva are sharing Mentos from the tube when line 9-12 are produced

Extract 4.7 Segment 8, Line 22-24

22	John	:	Seksi seka[li dirimu] Sexy very you Your're so sexy
23	Eva	:	[°eh ehm]hem hem° 
24	John	:	<Tak kawinin mau?> I-do marry/sexual intercourse-IN want I "marry" (you), interested?

In line 22 (Extract 4.7) John says *seksi sekali dirimu* ‘you’re so sexy’. Before John completes his turn, Eva produces four soft laugh particles while smiling and looking away from John. In the transcripts they are represented as *eh ehm hem hem* (Line 23, Extract 4.7). Subsequent to line 23, John produces another flirting turn (Line 24, Extract 4.7). Hence, line 23 is affiliative in the sense that it does not block the progression of the flirtatiousness in the interaction.

4.3.1.2 Affiliative Verbal Response

Extract 4.8 Segment 3, Line 41-47

41	John	:	=<tapi kalau malam>, horor But when night scary =But when night (comes, its) scary 0.6)
42			
43	John	:	[<↑e >] ((head-up movement)) Right?
44	Eva	:	[°ho] ror° ((head-up movement)) Scary (.)
45			
46 →	Eva	:	<Ta!pi kalau yang nganter> gak keliat(h)an, But if REL escort NEG visible
47		:	~Ngg(h)ak ~apa - apa~ °ehék ehék ehék°~ NEG what - what But if the one who escorts is invisible,(then) no problem

In line 41, John says *tapi kalau malam horor* ‘but at night (its) scary’. This turn is ambiguous. The connection between this turn (line 41, Extract 4.8) and the subsequent turn is unclear. What John is specifically referring to and why John says this at this

particular moment are unclear (See Subsubsection 3.2.2.2 and Subsection 3.2.5 for a more detailed discussion). It takes Eva a while to actually produce a response (Line 42 and 44, 4.8).

Then after the pause (Line 42, 4.8) and the repetition (Line 44, 4.8), Eva produces a turn which can be understood as having flirtatious conveyance (Line 46 – 47, 4.8). She says *tapi kalau yang nganter gak keliatan nggak apa – apa* ‘but if the escort is invisible, (then) no problem. The possible connection between John’s line 41 and Eva’s line 46-47 is: because there it is scary at night in the area around her mother’s house, Eva needs an escort. Instead of ignoring or initiating a repair, Eva exploits John’s ambiguous turn (Line 41, 4.8) as a platform to launch a potentially flirtatious turn.

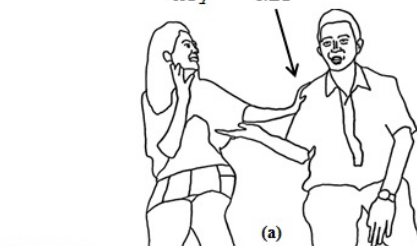
4.3.2 Declination

The next participant may display or indicate his or her understanding and orientation to the flirtatiousness of the previous turn through overt declination. In the current data set, the declination occurs in the form of reminder (Segment 3 Line 56 and Segment 8 Line 27) and reprimand (Segment 7 Line 14).

4.3.2.1 Reminder 1

Extract 4.9 Segment 3, Line 49-57

49 Eva : hēh ↑hēh hēh [hēh hēh]
 50 → John : [Sau]dara - saudara
 Viewers,
 51 Eva : °<Hēh hēh>°
 52 → : inilah [seorang istri] yang jablai,=
 this a wife REL
 this is (/let me present) a jablai wife
 53 → Eva : [eh tid(h)ak]
 hey NEG

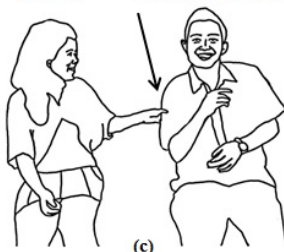


Hey no

54 → : = >°eeh°< =



55 John : Hey
 °=ada yang mau?°
 Exist REL want
 Anybody want?
 56 → Eva : ~Jan'gan, dire[k(h)am °hoh hoh huh huh°~]
 Don't record-PASSIVE



57 John : Don't (do that), (we're being) recorded
 [eh ↑eh eh]=

John and Eva exchange flirtatious turns (Line 41-47, See Subsubsection 3.2.2.2, 4.3.1.2 and Subsection 3.2.5 for more detailed discussion). In response to Eva's line 46-47, John performs a pretend-play (Line 50 and 52, Extract 4.9) presenting Eva as *istri yang jablai* 'a wife who is rarely caressed' to the camera. This pretend-play can also be understood as a tease to Eva's presumably actual condition of being rarely caressed by her husband. What ensues afterward are some light tactile bodily contacts along with some verbal indication

of objection (Line 53 and 54, Extract 4.9). However, those actions do not effectively stop John. He continues with a playful action of offering Eva to the camera (Line 55, Extract 4.9). Then in response to this playful action, Eva reminds John that they are being recorded (Line 56, Extract 4.9).

At this point, instead of responding with more flirtatiousness John reminds Eva that they are being recorded. This reminder reveals that their interaction is not suitable to be viewed by other people (See Subsection 3.3.1 for more detailed discussion). Hence, it acts as an indication that Eva declines to continue with flirtatiousness. In that sense, the reminder (Line 56, Extract 4.9) is a declination.

4.3.2.2 Reminder 2

Extract 4.10 Segment 8, Line 13-28

13	John	:	[Begi]ni tapi ya Like-this but yes But this way okay?
14	Eva	:	[°eh°]
15	Eva	:	əɑ:: No::
16	John	:	Yah begini yah Yes like-this yes Okay, like this okay (0.4)
17			
18	John	:	[!ya] yes ((eyebrows flashing)) Okay?
19	Eva	:	[Rok] pendek Skirt short Short skirt
20	John	:	°<Gimana dong>° How DP What should (I) do
21	Eva	:	æ::rgh No::
22	John	:	Seksi seka[li dirimu] Sexy very you Your're so sexy
23	Eva	:	[°eh ehm]hem hem°
24	John	:	<Tak kawinin mau?> I-do marry/sexual intercourse-IN want I marry/have sexual intercourse (to you), interested
25	Eva	:	°heh heh°=
26	John	:	=heh ((eyebrow flashing))
27 →	Eva	:	Direkam lo,[~°direkam°~] Recorded DP recorded (We're being) recorded (I remind you), (We're being) recorded
28	John	:	[gak apa - apa] NEG what what No problem

This reminder occurs in Segment 8. Eva and John have exchanged flirtatiousness for a

period of time (Line 14-23, Extract 4.10). Then in line 24 (Extract 4.10) John produces a bold flirting relevant offer or request. He says *tak kawinin mau* ‘I “marry” (you), interested?’ Instead of producing another flirtatious turn, Eva reminds John that they are being recorded (Line 27, Extract 4.10, See 3.3.1 for a more extended discussion of Line 27). Similar to Line 56 in Segment 3 (Subsubsection 4.3.2.1), this reminder reveals that their interaction is not suitable to be viewed by other people. It can be seen as a justification of Eva’s absence of fitting response to John’s line 24, as well as her unwillingness or declination to further contribute to the ongoing flirting interaction.

4.3.2.3 Reprimand

Extract 4.11 Segment 7, Line 1-14

1	Eva	:	Eropa kan mau ke London t[uh] Europe DP already to that For Europe (as you know) (I’ve) already got that arrangement to London
2	John	:	[O::H][iya , °gitu°] yes like-that Ah, yes, (I remember) that
3	Eva	:	[e::=<Jadi ting]gal> So remain
4	Eva	:	mikirin tiketnya papahnya aja, think-IN ticket-DET father-DET only So the only thing now (is)ticket for the father,
5	Eva	:	pulanganya gak usah dia ikut pul(h)ang Home-NYA NEG need 3SG join go-home (for) the return trip, he doesn’t need to return home
6			~Heh heh heh~ diusir ~khuuh[huuh]~ Evict-PASSIVE I He he he I (can be) kicked out
7	John	:	[(jerodj-)]= ((unclear))
8	John	:	Jangan diajak pa[pah]nya.= Don’t take-PASSIVE father-DET Don’t take the father (along) ,
9	Eva	:	[•h]
10	John	:	=nga[pain diajak-] why take-PASSIVE Why (are you) taking (him anyway)-
11	Eva	:	[Berdua ↑j a-] a group of two only head-turning Just (the) two-
12	John	:	[ha he] ((head-nod))
13	Eva	:	[<cari ya> °sana°]= find DP there Find (me) there okay
14 →	John	:	=EH!

The interaction in Segment 7 (Extract 4.11) culminates considerably quickly. Eva playfully reveals that she is not taking her husband to return home from their family holiday (Line 5, Extract 4.11). Then in response, John suggests her not to take her husband for the holiday

in the first place (Line 8, Extract 4.11). Subsequently, Eva then requests John to look for her (line 13, Extract 4.11). This request can be understood to be an invitation for John to join her for her holiday in the place of her husband, therefore potentially flirtatious. Then instead of responding with another flirtatious action, John produces a scold. He promptly produces a stern $\varepsilon H!$ vocalization (Line 14, Extract 4.11).

Extract 4.12 Segment 7, Line 12-14

12	John	:	[	ha	he	]
			((	head-nod	))	
13	Eva	:	[<cari	ya>	°sana°]=	
			find	DP	there	
14 →	John	:	=εH!			



(a)



(b)

The vocalization can be seen as a combination between a playfulness and declination. The playfulness comes from its histrionic quality. It was done very quickly and exaggeratedly. John's facial expression changes very promptly. The whole vocalization occurs within the period of 0.3 second. John was still smiling at the beginning of the vocalization (Picture a, Extract 4.12), but as he completes the vocalization there is no longer any traces of smile on his face (Picture b, Extract 4.12). Line 14 (Extract 4.11) also represents declination. John so far has been playing along with Eva's idea of abandoning her husband (Line 8 and Line 10, Extract 4.11). Here he produces a reprimand instead of other kinds of response, which indicates that he is playing along. In that sense, the reprimand itself is a declination.

4.3.3 Disattention

Other than overt declination, the next participant may also disregard the flirtatiousness of the previous turn or even shift to conversation to a new topic. That kind of response is termed as disattention, following the term employed in Jefferson, Sacks, & Schegloff (1987). The data suggests that there are two kinds disattention: overt and discreet disattention.

In overt disattention, the next participant overtly proffers a different topic. It is often the case, that the first speaker has understanding that an abrupt topical shift has occurred. In discreet disattention, the next participant simply attends to a different – non-flirtatious and non-humorous – dimension of the first turn (potential flirting sequence initiating turn). In this situation, the interaction moves smoothly towards the proposed – non-flirtatious and non-humorous – topic.

4.3.3.1 Overt Disattention

The three instances as follows occur in Segment 8 (Extract 4.13). The first instance occurs right after John's kawin-nikah disambiguation joke (See Section 3.2.1.2 for an extended discussion).

Extract 4.13 Segment 8, Line 29-40

29	Eva	:	[°e hek ehék ehék ehék°]	
30	John	:	[=<↑Kan> (0.9)] tak kawinin,	
			DP I-do (sexual) intercourse	
			(as we know) I have sex with you,	
31	John	:	Tak nikahin itu urusan belakangan	
			I-do marry that business later	
			(whether) I'm marrying (you) is a different business/	
			something to deal with later	
32			°he he ha ha ha ha ha ha° •h •h=	
33 →	Eva	:	=Pake iftu-	
			Use that	
			Wearing that-	
34	John	:	Kenapa?	
			Why	
			Pardon?	
35	Eva	:	(Full dress/baju resmi)	
			(full dress/formal attire)	
36		:	Lek ati ke puri kayak gini	
			Shameless to palace like this	
			(It is) shameless to go to (the) palace like this	
37	John	:	Pake kebaya gitu?	
			Wear like that	
			Wearing kebaya you mean?	
38	Eva	:	Enga::k	
			No	
			((headshake))	
			No	
38			(.)	
40	Eva	:	Baju yang lebih so~p(h)an~	
			Cloth REL more polite	
			(a) more decent attire	

In response to the joke, at least at their onset, Eva and John produce a synchronous response (Figure 4.1). As line 31 is completed, both Eva and John rock their bodies slightly forward, and move one of their hands toward their faces at the same time (Picture b, Figure 4.1). They both are smiling while performing these bodily reactions (Picture

a to c, Figure 4.1). However, the two bodily reactions transform into different things. Eva's bodily movement transforms into nose-rubbing action, in which her smile becomes less and less observable (Picture b to f, Figure 4.1). In contrast, John's bodily movement transforms into a laughter, where her rocks his body for several time, while laughing and covering his mouth (Picture b to f, Figure 4.1).

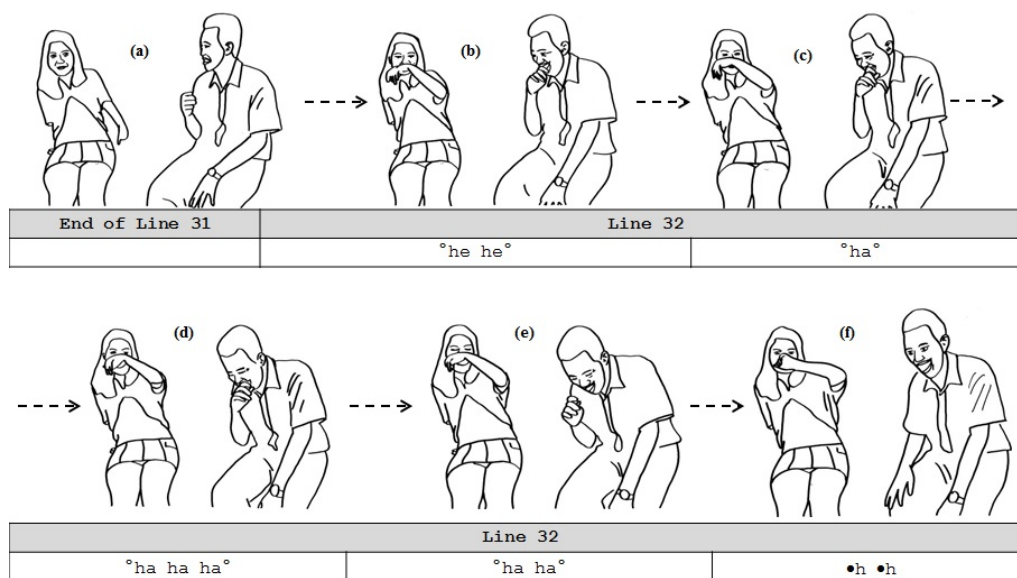


Figure 4.1: Segment 8, Line 31-32

Then after John completes his laughter (Line 32), Eva says *pake itu* ‘wear that (Line 33, Extract 4.13). The topic being attended in line 33 is disjunctive with regards to kawin-nikah disambiguation joke. John also sees it that way. Evidently, he produces an open-class repair initiator *kenapa* (Line 34, Extract 4.13). *Kenapa* is a question word, it is employed to ask for cause or reason ((Pusat Bahasa (Indonesia), 2008)). In this case (Line 34, Extract 4.13), it is being used to indicate that John has heard that Eva says something just now, but he does not fully comprehend it as to be able to produce a response. It is then taken a request to repeat, rephrase, reformulate the targeted turn (Line 34).

In line 35 (Extract 4.13) Eva produces an indistinct turn which can be heard as saying *full dress* or *baju resmi* ‘formal attire’. She then continues with an account that it is shameless to got to (the) palace like this, meaning her current look. At this point (Line 35, Extract 4.13) Eva and John are no longer attending to the flirtatious kawin get married/ have sex topic as previously, before Eva proffers the topic in line 33.

Extract 4.14 Segment 8, Line 41-59

41 John : Hmmm
42 Eva : Kan baju j(h)alan ~j(h)a(h)l(h)an~
DP cloth sightseeing
You see (this one is) (a) casual attire
43 John : O gitu
like-that
Oh like that
44 John : (0.4)
45 John : Gak apa - apa begini
NEG what what like-this
((looking at Eva's thighs))
(It's) okay like this.
46 Seru [dapet-]
Exciting get
Exciting (to) get-
47 Eva : [eeergh]
48 John : Biar pernah aja
So ever just
For once
49 aku ngajak sekali - sekali yang begini
I go-together once REL like-this
I go with (something) like this

50 : (1.3)
51 → Eva : Dah bilang tadi sama Ibu
Already tell earlier to mother
(I have) told mum
52 John : Apa °katanya°
What say-3SG-POSS
What (did) she say?
53 : (1.9)
54 Eva : Bisa kundangan nyanan bu keto
Can going to reception later Mom like-that
"(I) may go to a reception later Mom" like that
55 : (0.8)
56 Eva : Oh nah gitu
O okay like-that
"Oh alright", like that
57 : (0.3)
58 John : °Hm::°
59 : ((murmuring))

Shortly after (12 lines), again John produces a potentially flirtatious turn. He smiles and says *biar pernah aja aku ngajak sekali – sekali yang begini* ‘for once I take (/go out with) some(thing) like this’ (Line 48-49, Extract 4.14). Then after a pause (Line 50, 4.14), instead of attending to John’s turn, Eva announces that she has told her mother (Line 51, 4.14). This line is the beginning of an extended turns about how she has told her mother that she is going to a reception later that day (Line 54-56, 4.14). As line 50 disregard the previous turn (Line 48-49, 4.14), the disattention overtly appears.

Extract 4.15 Segment 8, Line 60-66

60	John	:	<i>Tawang</i>	<i>keto</i>	<i>kan</i>	
			Know	like-that	DP	
			If (I)	knew		
61			<i>Uli</i>	<i>ibi</i>	<i>plaibang</i>	<i>ke Jakarta malu jep</i>
			From yesterday	run-with	to earlier	for a while
			(I) would have taken	(you) to Jakarta	for a while	
			from yesterday			
62 →	Eva	:	<i>ee Joh ternyata</i>	<i>kata Meg</i>	<i>tuh</i>	
			Yes far	turn out	say	that
			Yes.	turn out that (it is)	far, Meg says	
63	John	:	Hah?			
			Pardon?			
64	Eva	:	<i>Dari tempatmu</i>	<i>itu</i>		
			From place-2SG-POSS	that		
			From the place	(that you've mentioned)		
65	John	:	[<i>Dia tinggal</i>	<i>dima</i>]na?		
			3SG live	where		
			Where does she live?			
66	Eva	:	[<i>Dari rumahnya</i>	<i>dia</i>]		
			From house-POSS	3SG		
			From her house			

Another overt disattention occur several lines after Line 50. In response to Eva's "story" about how she told her mother about her planning to go to the reception, John says *tawang keto kan uli ibi plaibang ke Jakarta malu jep* 'if (I) knew (it's) like that, (I) would have taken (you) to Jakarta for a while' (Line 60-61, Extract 4.15). This turn is potentially flirtatious. John has returned from Jakarta for a trip, on the night before. Hence, line 60-61 can be understood as John is making a reference to that particular trip. This would mean that John regrets that he did not take Eva along for his past trip. Additionally, the word *plaibang* is a romance-laden word. It refers to the specific practice of *melaib* 'elopement' in Balinese.

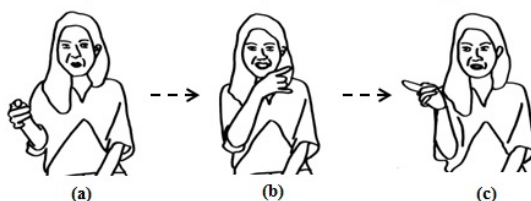
However, instead of attending to John's *plaibang* 'eloping' related regret, Eva proffers a different topic. She responds with *ee Joh ternyata kata Meg tuh* 'yes, turns out that (it's) far, Meg says' (Line 62, Extract 4.15). She does not in any way address the *plaibang* 'eloping' aspect of John's turn. She only attends to the place: *Jakarta*. John appears to also recognize the disjunctive nature of Eva's response, he produces an open class repair initiator, in the form of vocalization *hah* (Line 63, Extract 4.15). This vocalization carries more element of surprise compared to the previous open class repair initiator *kenapa* (Line 34, Extract 4.13).

In the next turn, Eva then talks about how her mutual friend's house (Meg) is far from the place where John stayed for his past trip to Jakarta (Line 60-66, Extract 4.15. Eva's

Extract 4.16 Segment 4, Line 72-80

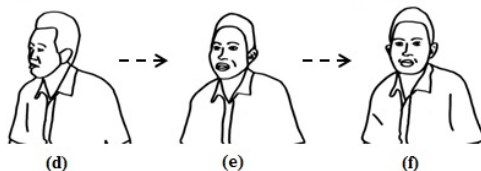
72 : (2.8)

73 Eva : Dulu tempat pacaran °nih°
 before place dating this



(a) (b) (c)
 This used to be a dating place

74 John : ((looking to the left and right))---



75 John : Dulu apa sekarang, sekarang masih kayaknya
 Before what now now still seems-NYA
 Are you sure, seems like (it's) still is

76 Eva : Tapi dulu rumputnya bagus,
 But before grass-DET good



77 But the grass used to be fine
 rumputnya [ger]sang=
 grass-DET dry
 the grass (is) dry

78 John : [ijo?]

Green?

79 Eva : =Emm, dah jelek sekarang
 Already bad now

Yup , (it) becomes terrible now

80 John : Cuaca:
 (the) weather

response (Line 62) marks a disjunctive topic shift, which overtly disattends John's potential flirtatiousness (Line 60-61).

4.3.3.2 Discreet Disattention

In this instance, the interaction moves smoothly towards the non-flirtatious and non-humorous aspect of the previous turn. As a result of the smooth transition, whether the previous turn contains flirtatiousness, and whether the participants actually see it that way is unclear.

After the flirtatious and humorous interaction in Segment 3, Eva and John display disengagement (C. Goodwin, 1981). The upper parts of the participants' bodies, especially their gaze,

are being directed away from one another. John looks away, and so does Eva. While looking away, Eva sweeps her gaze towards the park, and produces a comment *dulu tempat pacaran ni* ‘this (place) (is) used to be a dating place (Line 73, Picture a to c, Extract 4.16). It is clear that this comment is an attempt to proffer a topic. But what is unclear is that whether it is still flirting relevant. Eva and John have just completed a flirtatious and humorous interaction, and here Eva proffers a topic about the place is used to be for dating.

The specific topic, dating, can be considered as a rather fertile soil for another flirtatious exchange. It is common to see that dating is an activity done by a couple in romance or sexual relationship. In other word, dating can be seen as category relevant activity of the category of dating couple. The relevant predicate to this category is romance or sexual. As a result of the mention of *pacaran* ‘dating’, the category of dating couple and all its relevant concepts are possibly activated at the background. It can be noticed by the participant as a ground to develop another flirtatious exchange.

In response, John produces a “disagreement” (Line 75, Extract 4.16), which to some extent, can still understood as orienting to the potential flirtatious aspect of Eva’s line 73. He says *dulu apa sekarang, sekarang masih kayaknya* ‘used to be or currently, (it) seems like (It’s) still is’ (Line 75). On the surface, his turn (Line 75) can be understood as some kind of disagreement. As Eva announces that the place is used to be a dating place, it can also be taken that she implies that the place is no longer a dating place. By questioning whether the place is a dating place before or still is, John challenges or disagrees to what is being implied in Eva’s announcement (line 73, Extract 4.16).

However, the ground for John to produce the challenge or “disagreement” is not transparent. One possibility is that he can actually observe some dating couples on that very moment. John is looking at the park, while producing line 75. It is possible that he actually spots some couples dating on that very moment. Hence, he challenges Eva’s announcement on the basis of his current observation. Another possibility is that he challenges Eva’s announcement on the basis of seeing the two of them as dating couple. This possibility is not totally impossible. Not long ago (in Segment 1) John says that their activity is *nyerep*

istri orang ‘being (a) spare for someone else’s wife (Line 10). This reference reveals his potential romance related perspective of their dyadic interaction. Hence, it is still possible that John sees the two of them - Eva and he - as “ a dating couple”. The ones who make the park still a dating place.

At the point when John produces his reply (Line 75, Extract 4.16), the interaction is still potentially loaded with flirtatiousness. However, at the next turn Eva attends to the non-flirtatious and non-humorous aspect of John’s line 75. She says *tapi dulu rumputnya bagus* ‘but the grass used to be fine’ (Line 76, Extract 4.16). Instead of staying on the dating place topic, Eva moves toward a slightly different topic, which is how the grass used to be in the place. Knowing that Eva is a “local”, as the area is in the vicinity of her parents’ house, this information on how the park used to be, is typical. She has a stock of information regarding the park and from time to time she may want to share it to the presumably unknowing non-local, such as John.

At this point, Eva and John are no longer attending to the potential flirtatious topic of dating place. Since neither flirtatiousness nor humor is preserved at this point, it is unclear whether the previous turn contains flirtatiousness, and whether the participants actually see it. Eva may see the potential flirtatiousness in lines 73-75 and decides to talk more about the grass in line 76; or, she simply does not see it. Similarly, John may produce his response (line 75, Extract 4.16) not on the basis of seeing the two of them as a dating couple.

Chapter 5

Extended Flirting Sequence

The data shows that flirting can also be manifested as more than two-turn adjacency pair. The entry and exit into and from flirtatious sequence or flirtatiousness can occur gradually. The interaction may become gradually flirtatious and the interaction may as well gradually become less flirtatious throughout several turns. This chapter explicates the procedure of gradually entering and exiting flirtatious sequence or flirtatiousness in conversation.

5.1 Gradual Entry into Flirting Sequence

“It’s a general feature for topical organization in conversation that the best way to move from topic to topic is not by a topic close followed by a topic beginning, but by what we call a stepwise move. Such a move involves connecting what we’ve just been talking about to what we’re now talking about, though they are different” (Sacks, 1992, p. 566; Volume II, Lecture 5, Spring 1972).

The similar mechanism, as observed by Sacks in the above Lecture also occurs in the cases where gradual entry into flirtatious sequence or flirtatiousness occurs. The interaction moves in stepwise manner from one topic or activity to another until it becomes flirtatious. The movements toward flirtatiousness are done in turn by turn, in stepwise manner, cooperatively by the two participants.

There are three steps in order to get into flirtatious sequence or flirtatiousness. First, there should be a context that contains flirting potential. Then, one participant need to notice that particular flirting relevant potential form the context. By noticing, that participant can be said to proffer that potential element of the context into the topic of subsequent talk. The next participant then needs to take up and attend the proffered flirting relevant topic. Each of the above steps may be consist of more than a single. In some cases, it takes several turns to “ripen” context. In other cases, it takes several turns for the flirting relevant potential topic to be noticed and therefore proffered.

5.1.1 From Complimenting One's Son to Sensitive Question

Extract 5.1 Segment 5, Line 92-97

92	Eva	:	makin ganteng dia increasingly handsome 3SG He (is) getting more handsome
93	John	:	A:::::::::::::::::: eheui eheu[i]
94	Eva	:	[i]h cinta ma anakku= love with child-2SG-POSS Uwh, (I'm in) love with my son = ehe he he he he he he
95		:	
96 →	John	:	ma bapaknya? with father-DET With the father?
97 →	Eva	:	~ə biasa aja he he he he he~= plain just Hmmm just plain

In this instance, the interaction takes a smooth transition from a mother to her child compliment to the intimate, potentially flirtatious, pair of turns (Line 96-97, Extract 5.1). The pair of turns in question consists of a first turn from John asking about Eva's feeling to her husband (Line 96) and a second turn from Eva indicating that she has plain feeling towards her husband (Line 97, Extract 5.1). It is deniable whether the above pair of turns is intrinsically flirtatious. Close friends, who have no sexual attraction to one another, may discuss such intimate topic. Yet, considering Eva's non-verbal conduct and the sequential context of its production, the two turns (Line 96 and 97) are potentially seen as flirting relevant, if not flirtatious, by the participants.

92 Eva : makin ganteng dia
increasingly handsome 3SG

(a)

93 John : He (is) getting more hands.
A::::::::::::: eheui e: --->

(b)

500
Pitch (Hz)
0
Time (s) 2.819

It is possible that John's non-verbal response in line 93 targets at that the self-praise transgressive aspect of Eva's compliment (Line 92, Extract 5.2). In that sense, Line 93 is a tease (Cf. Drew, 1987). Then in response to that tease, Eva jocularly produces a category-activity puzzle (Line 93). This line can also be seen as a defense to her previous compliment (Line 92) as well as groundwork for subsequent flirtatiousness. She says *ih cinta ma anakku* 'Uwh, (I) love my child' (Line 94). This turn is a category puzzle. Within it, there is a combination of an activity (or predicate) and a category which does not commonly appear together. They are the category of mother and *cinta* '(romantic)

Extract 5.3 Segment 5, Line 93-95

Balinese are still “traditional”, in the sense that family is still to be seen of consists of a married couple and a child or children. At least for Balinese, the MCD of married couple is subsumed under the MCD of family. Hence, a mention of *anakku* ‘my child’ here does

not only activate the other member of the family MCD, but also activates the married couple MCD and the norms relevant to that MCD.

Beside through the verbal *anakku* ‘my child’, potential flirtatiousness may also be activated through Eva’s non-verbal conduct. Her non-verbal conduct during the production of the tease (Line 93) and then her own turn (Line 94) can be understood as flirting relevant. Besides possibly displaying embarrassment, her smile can also be seen as “coy” or flirtatious.

As John turn his head, looks at Eva and produces his vocalization (Line 93, Extract 5.2); Eva starts to smile (Figure b, Extract 5.2). Other than the observable the outward “pull” on her lips, there is also an upward pull of her cheek muscle towards the corner of her eyes and outward pull at the corner of her eyes which makes her eyes appear to be narrower. These kinds of muscle movements have been identified to be the features of “felt smile” (Ekman & Friesen, 1982). Felt smile is “all smiles in which the person actually experiences, and presumably would report, a positive emotion” (Ekman & Friesen, 1982, p. 424) or the genuine smile. At the same time, her smile is also being disguised through the ongoing, presumably tongue, movements inside of her mouth.

Eva’s smile can be seen as being disguised or controlled. This kind of smile can be seen as both display of embarrassment (Keltner & Buswell, 1997) and female courtship behavior (Moore, 1985), namely coy smile (See Subsubsection 3.1.1.1 for discussion on coy smile). Within the context of post-production of transgression, Eva can be seen as displaying embarrassment. He appeases John after her alleged transgression (line 92). At this point, there appears to be no existing ground for Eva to displays flirting behavior. To see it as a flirting behavior, it only fits if it is seen as an initial display of flirtatiousness within the immediate context. Putting it simply, Eva may have laid the ground for potential subsequent flirtatiousness through the potential gendered category at the background and her potentially understood as flirtatious smile.

Extract 5.4 Segment 5, Line 96-97

96 John : *ma bapaknya?*
 with father-DET
 With the father?

97 Eva : ~9 *biasa aja he he he he he~*
 plain just



Hummm just plain

In response to Eva's line 94 (Extract 5.2), John asks a question which can be seen as highly intimate. He asks about Eva's feeling to her husband. In a speeding quality John says *ma bapaknya* 'with the father' in a rising intonation (Line 96, Extract 5.4). Indonesian conversation marks question over statement through rising intonation (Effendy, Shinoda, Furui, & Jitapunkul, 2009). Provided by the context of Eva's prior turn about how she loves her son, John's question can be understood in connection to that turn as asking Eva's feeling to her husband. *Bapaknya* 'the father' in line 96 refers to the father of anakku 'my child' in line 94 (Extract 5.2).

John's question can be seen as a natural continuation of the previous turn (line 94). In line 94 Eva informs him that she is loves her child. In doing so, by referring to her son with *anakku* 'my child', Eva can also be seen as invoking the MCD of family. And it is not any family, it is her family. What relevant then in line 94 was Eva and her child as well as their relationship as parts of a family. There is another member of family, who has not been mentioned. That member of family is Eva's husband. Here (Line 96, Extract 5.4), that member of family is foregrounded. So after an informing that Eva loves her son, whether Eva equally loves her husband may become relevant. Hence, the question of Eva's feeling to her husband (Line 96, Extract 5.4) can be seen as a natural continuation of her previous "confession" (Line 94, Extract 5.2). In response to John's question, Eva admits that she only has plain feeling to her husband (Line 97, Extract 5.4).

Though the question (Line 96, Extract 5.4) can be seen as a natural continuation to the ongoing topic, the turn and its response (Line 97, Extract 5.4) can also be seen as a move

towards intimacy in two respects. The first one is mere friend-to-friend intimacy. Friends may share intimate details of their life to one another. The sharing of intimate detail of their life in interaction can be said to be what constitute as friendship and intimacy in interaction (Chasin & Radtke, 2012). A (non-romantic) friend may ask and share about their marriage situation. Here by asking about Eva's feeling (Line 96) and answering it (Line 97), John and Eva can be seen as asking and sharing Eva's marriage situation. This can be seen to constitute as display of friend-to-friend intimacy. Hence, line 96-97 is a move towards friend-to-friend intimacy.

Other than that, line 96-97 (Extract 5.4) can also be seen as a move towards romance related extramarital lover kind of intimacy. Four observations suggest so. The first one is Eva displays behavior which can be seen as displaying flirtatiousness (other than possibly embarrassment). Eva smiles throughout the production of her confession laden answer (line 97). The smile is gradually transformed into laugh particles and then full-fledged laughter at the end of her turn. Following her verbal response (line 97), turns her head away from John. The head turning can be seen as a means to disguise her smile and laughter. At one hand, this smile and laughter together with the head turning can be seen as display of embarrassment. She may be embarrassed because she has just shared an intimate detail. On the other hand, they can also be seen as a coy smile, therefore flirtatious.

The second observation is that the two turns containing that intimate detail (Line 96-97, 5.4) are produced subsequent to the two participants exchanging display of romantic or sexual attraction. One minute before, John characterized their present conversation as 'being spare for someone else's wife' (Segment 1, line 10, Subsection 4.2.2). Then soon after he patted of Eva's shoulder coquettishly (Segment 2, line 30, Subsection 4.2.3). Then in less than one minute, Eva produced an invitation to a clandestine activity of taking her home (Segment 3, line 46-47, Subsubsection 4.3.1.2). Subsequent to that invitation, John then casted Eva as a 'deprived wife' (line 50 and 52, Subsection 3.2.5). This action can be understood as indicating that John took Eva's line 46-47 as flirtatious. Line 96-97 occurs temporally after the above flirtatious interaction. As a consequence, the participants may

understand of what they are currently doing in line 96-97 as relevant to those previous turns.

The third observation is the intimate detail being shared here is romance extramarital affair relevant. It is Eva does not have strong feeling (i.e. love) to her husband. Considering that Eva's status as a married woman, this detail opens up the possibility for extramarital affair. Indifference in marriage has been linked to higher chance of having extramarital affair (Treas & Giesen, 2000). Here Eva displays that she has indifference feeling to her husband. In turn, if the participants, Eva and John, take Eva's confession (line 97) to indicate her availability to have extramarital affair, then the two turns (line 96-97, Extract 5.4) have the potential to be understood as flirting relevant.

The fourth observation is that the two turns containing that intimate detail (Line 96-97) are followed by a disclaimer. Disclaimer is one of the features of flirting interaction as previously identified in Schefflen (1965) (See Subsection 3.3.3 for discussion on disclaimer). Subsequent to this pair of turns (line 96-97), John abruptly shifts to the topic of Eva's husband's return (line 99 Extract 5.5). This abrupt shift can be seen as an overt disattention (See Subsection 4.3.3.1 for discussion on this kind of response to potentially flirtatious turn). Then, what follows is a disclaimer.

Extract 5.5 Segment 5, Line 98-116

98 Eva : =•hh [°he he°]
99 John : [Δf::] kapan dia dateng?
when 3SG come
Aaw, when (is) he coming?
100 Eva : Maju dia pulang tau=
Advance he come-home know
(He) returns early (you) know
101 John : =Kapan?
When (is it)?
102 Eva : Pasti gara - gara foto i!tu ya
Must because photo that PART
It must be because of that picture, right
103 John : em. [kapan dia dateng]
When 3SG come
Yep. When (is) he coming?
104 Eva : [maju dia]
advance 3SG
He (is) early
105 Tanggal lima
Date five
(on the) fifth
106 John : Lima apa? Januari
five what January
Five(of) what? January?
107 Eva : ((nods))
108 John : WOOO DAH DEKET YAH=
already close tag
WOHOOO VERY SOON ALREADY, RIGHT
109 John : Ah...siap siap. Huhm=
get ready
Aha, get ready. Huhm
110 Eva : =°hehehe°
111 John : Apa yang perlu saya siapkan
What REL need 1SG get-ready
What do I need to prepare?
112 : Sarang [walet?]
Bird's nest?
113 Eva : [Madu] jahe, [He he he he]
honey ginger
Honey ginger, he he he he
114 John : [°ehm°]
Alright
115 Eva : Eh, aku mau beli itu
1SG want buy that
HEY (you know what), I wanted to buy that
116 Eva : pas sebenarnya waktu di Thailand
Exactly actually when at
Actually when (I was) in Thailand

As a non-flirtatious response to potentially flirtatious turn (Line 97, Extract 5.4), which proffers a slightly different topic abruptly, Line 99 (Extract 5.5) can be seen as an overt disattention. It indicates John's unwillingness to further contribute to the flirtatious interaction. The shift in line 99 is then followed by an elaborate sequence displaying John's unspecified role as a friend who is supportive of his friends' relationship with her husband.

Extract 5.6 Segment 5, Line 109

109 John : Ah...siap siap. Huhm=
get ready



After a short topic competition (Line 99-105, Extract 5.4), John displays his excitement and supportive role in relation to the return of Eva's husband. After getting the exact date of Eva's husband return, John displays his empathic stance. He shows excitement in a way mimicking how Eva should be excited about her husband's return. celebratory behavior (line 108, Extract 5.4). He initiates his turn by saying *woo* energetically. This *woo* exclamation is then followed with *dah deket yah* 'very soon, right' (line 108) in equally energetic manner. Then latching to this energetic turn, John says *Ah... siap siap. Huhm* 'Ah, get ready. Huhm' (line 109, Extract 5.6). The final Huhm sound is produced while holding his arms to the side of his body, similar to how bodybuilder commonly exhibit their arm muscle (Picture in Extract 5.6).

He then also offers a supportive act. In response to John's flexing his hand, Eva produces a faint laughter (line 110 Extract 5.5). Subsequently, John says *apa yang perlu saya siapkan, sarang wallet* 'what do I need to prepare, bird nest?' (Line 111-112, Extract 5.5) by John. Eva is not the only wife who has a husband having this kind of job. His job is actually common in Balinese society. It is a common thing in Bali to tease the wife of a returning husband that they are going to have a high period of sexual activity. The idea is the husband may only be home for a short period and they must have been using it well in intimate way. John's question can be understood as making implicit reference to that background information.

Eva is going to enter a period of high sexual activity, so John offers her assistance in the form of preparing her some vitality drink, presumably to increase her sexual performance.

For many Indonesian, *sarang wallet* ‘bird’s nest’ can be seen as one sexual performance related drink. Eva appears to understand what is going on. In overlap with the final word of John’s turn Eva produces *madu jahe* ‘honey ginger’ and then laughs (line 113, Extract 5.5). For many Indonesian, *madu jahe* ‘honey ginger’ can be seen as one sexual performance related drink. At this point, John is a supportive friend, who is willing to prepare some vitality drink, presumably to increase Eva sexual performance for her husband’s return.

There is a potential shift of John’s role from Line 96-97 (Extract 5.1 and 5.4) to 108-113 (Extract 5.5). This shift can be seen as a disclaimer. The exchange in line 96-97 is potentially flirtatious. John’s question (Line 96 Extract 5.4) can be understood as being motivated by John’s interest of being the other man if Eva is available for extramarital affair. Within that arrangement, John is a competitor. Then here in line 108-113 (Extract 5.5) John positions himself as a non-competitor: a supportive friend, who is willing to prepare some vitality drink, presumably to increase Eva sexual performance for her husband’s return.

In Segment 5, the interaction takes a smooth transition from a mother to her child compliment to the intimate, potentially flirtatious, pair of turns (Line 96-97). The move is gradual and achieved as a result of the cooperative effort of the two participants.

5.1.2 From Trouble-telling to Possible Joint-holiday Announcement

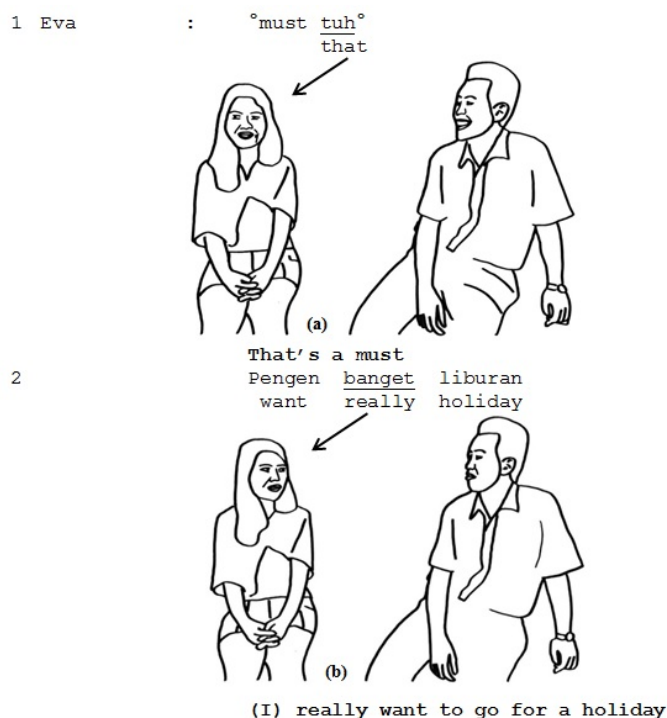
In this instance, the interaction moves from serious trouble-telling to potentially pre romantic activity arrangement making. The issue being told also personal or intimate: Eva’s desire to go for a holiday alone and free from her family. Turn by turn, the interaction then slowly becomes playful, flirtatious, and then seemingly moves to the direction of romantic activity arrangement making before forestalled through the absence of aligning response.

After an exchange about her addiction to the social media web platform Facebook, Eva quietly says *must tuh* ‘that’s (a) must’ (line 1, Extract 5.7). Then after a short gap,

Extract 5.7 Segment 6, Line 1-25

1	Eva	:	°must tuh° that That's a must
2	Eva	:	Pengen banget liburan want really holiday (I) really want to go for a holiday
3	John	:	Iya, nanti kan dia dateng, Yes later DP 3SG come Yes (as we know) he is coming soon
4		:	Sebulan lagi, [ajak liburan] one-month more take holiday In a month, take (him) (for a) a holiday
5	Eva	:	[°aduh°] Uwh
6	Eva	:	Kalau pergi sama dia kan, spend money, If go with 3SG DP
7			Hehehehe Going (for a holiday) with him, (means) spending money. Hehehehe.
8	John	:	Maksudnya? (what do you) mean?
9	Eva	:	Kalau bring family together, spend much money CONJ Bringing the whole family, (means) spending (too) much money
10	John	:	Terus, mau sendi,ri So want alone So, (you) want to go by yourself?
11	Eva	:	e:: hehehahahahaha=
15 →	John	:	O gitu, Owh like-that Oh I see,
16 →			ni tak pesenin tiket ke Bangkok dulu a this I(do) order-IN ticket to first DP here let me order (you) a ticket to Bangkok okay
17	Eva	:	<Heh heh heh heh heh heh heh heh>=
18	John	:	=Mau eAirasia tapi want but Interested? Ehm but (with) Airasia
19		:	mau?= interested?
20	Eva	:	=((inhalation)) Adu::h, °cap°- EXCL Uwh, ti- ((tired))
21			<kamu naik apa> you ride what what (are) you riding (on)?
22	John	:	Airasia ke sananya, To there-DET Airasia for the outbound (flight),
23			baliknya naik Garuda return-DET ride (for) the return (flight is) riding Garuda (Indonesia)
24	Eva	:	Aku naik Thai [besar] I ride I flew with Thai (Airways), big
25	John	:	[Thai Air ways] Thai Airways?

Extract 5.8 Segment 6, Line 1-2



in a seemingly gloomy facial expression (Picture b, Extract 5.8) and weak voice, Eva says *pengen banget liburan* '(I) really want to go for a holiday' (Line 2, Extract 5.8). This turn indicates a trouble. Eva employs *banget* 'really', which puts emphasis on the intensity of her desire to go for a holiday. However, non-verbally she displays gloomy facial expression and weak voice. Taking this contradiction into account, line 2 can be understood as indicating that Eva has an intense desire to go for a holiday, but there is some kind of issue with that desire.

John appears to have understood the trouble in line 2. He produces a response, which as can be seen as a package consisting of Affiliation and Close implicature. The above package of response - Affiliation and Close implicature - fits to the proposed model of trouble-telling sequence as suggested by Jefferson (1988). As Eva completes her turn, John's produces an affirmative *ya* 'yes'. The affirmative *ya* 'yes' here can be understood as affiliatively directed at Eva's non-verbal display of feeling. It empathically affirms Eva's right to possess that gloomy feeling.

Ensuing the affiliative *ya* 'yes', John says *kan nanti dia datang* '(as we know) he is coming later' (line 3, Extract 5.7). Here *dia* 3SG is understood to be referring to Eva's

husband. In around 2 minutes before this turn (line 3), Eva tells John when her husband will return (Segment 5, See Subsection 5.1.1 for a discussion on this line). That date is in a month time from when this conversation is recorded. John's response saying that her husband is coming can be understood as an attempt to make optimistic projection. The unstated projection is that Eva can go for a holiday when her husband returns. Optimistic projection is one kind of Close implicature. It is one way to get to a closing and then move to other topic after one participant in conversation tells a trouble in conversation (Jefferson, 1988). Based on his response, John can be understood as taking Eva's previous turn (line 2) as a trouble-telling.

John does not stop at giving an optimistic projection. He then also adds a suggestion. He says *sebulan lagi, ajak liburan* 'in a month, take (him) (for a) holiday' (line 4, Extract 5.7). Not only that Eva needs to be optimistic because her husband is returning soon; but also when her husband returns, she can take him for a holiday. John's response from line 3 to 4 indicates a solution to Eva's trouble (Line 2). From John's response, it can be seen that what is being assumed to be inferred through line 2 is possibly, Eva is in troubled because she has an intense desire to go for a holiday but she cannot because her husband is not around and she wants to have a holiday with him. Hence, the solution is to wait for his husband's return and then go for a holiday with him.

There two ways to understand line 2 and 3-4 (Extract 5.7). The first one is that it is a friendship kind of display of intimacy. In line 2 (Extract 5.7) Eva shares her desire of going for a holiday and the emotion that comes with that desire. Then in the next turn John affiliates the shared emotion and even proposes a solution, which is supportive in nature. This sharing of desire and emotion or venting and support is a type of activity, which is commonly occurred between dyadic friends (Bruess, 1997). In that sense, the two pair of turns (line 2 and 3-4) can be seen as an exchange of friendship kind of intimacy. However, it should be noted that also according Buess & Pearson (1997), romantic dyad and non-romantic dyad share some common elements of relationship, including this kind of exchanging intimacy. Thus, though the intimacy being shared here can commonly be identified as friendship kind of intimacy, there is still a possibility that the participants

3 John : Iya, nanti kan dia datang,
Yes later DP 3SG come

(a)

4 : Sebulan lagi, [ajak liburan]
one-month more take holiday

(b)

5 Eva : In a month, take (him) (for a) a holiday
[°aduh°]
Uwh

(c)

The second way to understand the above pair of turns (Line 2 and 3-4, Extract 5.7) is that Eva's "innocence" (Line 2) gives way to John's tease (Line 3-4). In line 2 Eva "innocently" shares her feeling. Right before this confession in line 2, Eva confessed how Facebook is "a must" for her, in a gloomy kind of expression (Picture a, Extract 5.8). The Facebook confession occurs just before the holiday desire confession (Line 2) occurs. The participants – Eva and John – may have ideas in their mind how the two turns (Line 1 and 2) are connected (Cf. "touched off" in Sacks, 1992, Volume II, Part II Winter 1969, Lecture 1). They may be connected as they both indicate how miserable or dreary Eva's life. The innocence sense is obtained through seeing how Eva has just admitted that her life is miserable or dreary. She has to rely on Facebook for her sole entertainment and she cannot go for a holiday.

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John's response (line 3-4) can be seen as a playful-tease response. Around 2 minutes prior to this pair of turns, Eva confessed that she has a plain feeling toward her husband (Segment 5, Line 97, See Subsubsection 3.1.2.3). Hence, it is quite likely that waiting for her husband returns, and then going for a holiday with him is not the solution to her trouble. Additionally, John also displays playful facial expression. There is a hint of smile throughout the production of this turn (Line 3-4, Picture a, Extract 5.9). The smile becomes even more apparent at the end of his turn. His smile marks the potential playfulness and non-genuineness in his suggestion (Line 3-4).

Eva does not seem to take John's suggestion (line 3-4) very well. Eva is looking at John when he produces the initial affirmative *ya* 'yes' (Picture b, Extract 5.9). Then as he produces more talk, Eva directs her gaze slightly away from John. Her eyes are also moving to the left and right while she directs her gaze slightly away from John. Before John completes his turn, in overlap with *ajak liburan* 'take (him) (for) (a) holiday' (line 4), Eva softly produces *aduh* 'ouch' (Line 5, Extract 5.9). This interjection is almost inaudible, but a careful observation of her lips movement shows that she actually says *aduh* 'ouch'. The interjection *aduh* carries negative emotion, since it is typically produced when one is hurt or encounter something negative (Pusat Bahasa (Indonesia), 2008).

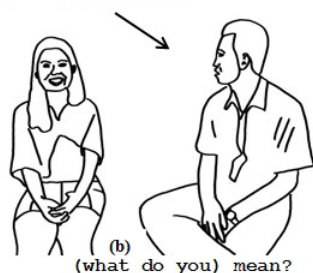
At the point when Eva produces the interjection, John has only said *kan nanti dia datang* '(as we know) he is coming later' (line 3, Extract 5.9) and *sebulan lagi* 'in a month' (line 4). Considering the timing of its production, this interjection is then understood as a reply to *kan nanti dia datang* '(as we know) he is coming later'. John has not suggested Eva to go for a holiday with her husband yet. There are two possibilities of what is actually being oriented to by the *aduh* 'ouch' here. The first one is that Eva may think that John thinks that her gloominess will subside when her husband is home. Hence, her desire to go for a holiday will be obsolete by the time her husband is home. The second possibility is that Eva takes that John is suggesting her to go for a holiday with her husband. In any way, the *aduh* 'ouch' indicates that Eva's husband return is not a solution to her holiday desire issue.

Extract 5.10 Segment 6, Line 6-8

6 Eva : *Kalau pergi sama dia kan, spend money,*
 If go with 3SG DP
7 *Hehehehe*



8 John : *Going (for a holiday) with him, (means) spending money. Hehehehe.*
 Maksudnya?



Eva then provides an account after the *aduh* ‘ouch’ interjection (line 5, Extract 5.10). When John completes his turn (line 4), Eva promptly produces *kalau pergi sama dia kan, spend money* ‘going (for a holiday) with him, (means) spending money’ (line 6, Extract 5.10). She then produces a low toned laughter following her account (Picture a, Extract 5.10). Firstly, the account indicates that she does not want to go for a holiday with her husband because of financial issue, i.e. spending (possibly much) money. Secondly, the post-completion laugh particles may indicate she thinks that her account (line 6) is problematic (Cf. Shaw et al., 2013), or her account is some kind of a joke.

Eva’s playfulness can also be taken to indicate her readiness to be engaged in a non-serious interaction. As a tease, John’s turn (line 3-4, Extract 5.9) may invite a po-faced response (Cf. Drew, 1987). Eva’s account, which indicates financial issue with John’s idea, can be understood as a “serious” response to John’s playful/ sarcastic suggestion. At the same time, the post-completion laugh particles indicate some degrees of non-seriousness. Since John’s line (3-4, Extract 5.9) is the first potentially non-serious turn in the sequence, Eva’s post-completion laugh particles can also be taken to indicate her acceptance to enter non-serious and playful interaction.

At this point (line 6, Extract 5.10), the interaction has slightly moved from Eva’s problematic

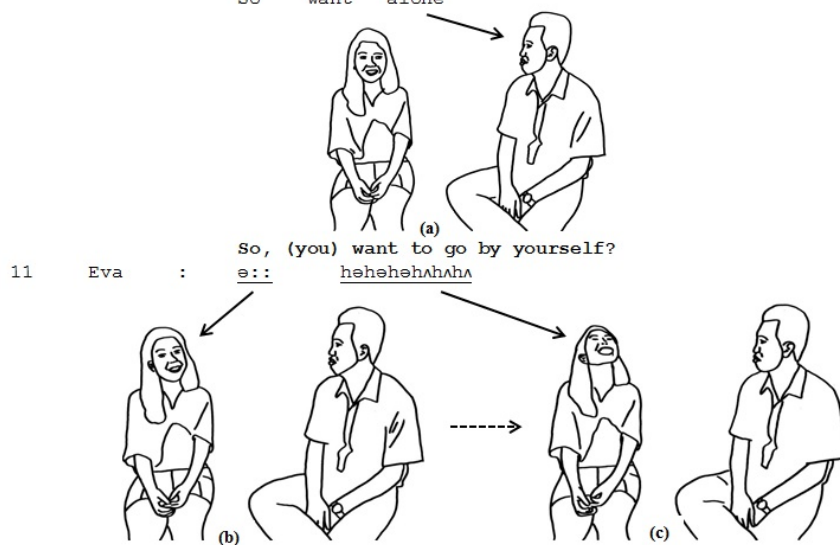
desire to go for a holiday, to Eva's issue with going for a holiday with her husband. John indicates some kind of trouble with Eva's account (Line 6). He subsequently initiates a repair. While putting a confused facial expression (Picture b, Extract 5.10), John says *maksudnya* '(what do you) mean?' or 'meaning?' (Line 8, Extract 5.10) in a rising intonation. His response indicates trouble, in all likelihood to the previous turn. However, it does not specify what the trouble is. This kind of open class repair initiator may indicate a trouble beyond what being said. Among other troubles, it may indicate an abrupt topical shift and "inapposite" response (Drew, 1997).

The repair initiator marks a trouble in the prior turn. Besides that, it also invites the previous speaker to repeat or rephrase the previous (problematic) turn. At least this is what Eva does in the subsequent turn. In response to John's repair initiator (line 8, Extract 5.10), Eva says kalau bring family together, spend much money 'bringing the whole family, (means) spending (too) much money (line 9). She rephrases her previous account in Line 6. Instead of saying going for a holiday with her husband (dia 3SG in line 6), she says family together which may include her son or even her extended family such as her sister, mother, parents in laws, etc. Then instead of vaguely saying spend money (line 6), she specifies the issue by saying spend MUCH money (line 9).

John's repair initiation (Line 8) maintains the interaction to stay on the topic of Eva's dispreference to going for a holiday with her husband. Consequently, the lifetime of this specific topic is being extended beyond its production in Line 6 and its subsequent immediate turn (line 8, 5.10). The lifetime of this specific topic is being extended. The interaction stays on this topic - Eva's dispreference to going for a holiday with her husband - at least until Line 9. At the same time, the repair initiator also foregrounds this topic. Before this repair initiation, the main topic of the talk is Eva's desire to go for a holiday. At this point, the main topic seemingly shifts to Eva's dispreference of going for a holiday with her husband.

Extract 5.11 Segment 6, Line 9-11

9 Eva : Kalau bring family together, spend much money
 CONJ
 Bringing the whole family, (means) spending (too) much money
10 John : Terus, mau sendiri
 So want alone



Though Eva has repaired her turn (Line 9, Extract 5.11), John still appears to have trouble. This time he indicates the trouble by proposing a candidate understanding. He says *terus, mau sendiri* 'So, (you) want to go by yourself?' (Line 10, 5.11) in a rising intonation with a confused facial expression (Picture a, Extract 5.11). By producing a candidate understanding, John prompts Eva to produce a response in the form of confirmation or disconfirmation to the candidate understanding (Heritage, 1984a).

Besides a genuine attempt to understand the reason for Eva's dispreference to going for a holiday with her husband, John's candidate understanding (Line 10, Extract 5.11) can be also understood as doing three actions. The first one is an effort to maintain the interaction to stay on the topic of Eva's dispreference to go for a holiday with her husband or her family. The second one is a proposal for a slightly different understanding of what Eva has explicitly produces (Line 6, Extract 5.10 and 9, Extract 5.11). Eva has only indicated financial issue in going for a holiday with her husband or her family. It can be taken that she actually wants to go for a holiday with her husband (and her family) but she just cannot financially afford it. She does not say that she wants to go for a holiday alone. Line 10 proposes an understanding that Eva actually means that she wants to go for a holiday alone in Line 6 and 9.

The third action is that the candidate understanding foregrounds Eva's desire to go for a holiday alone. Eva may have wanted to go for a holiday alone all along, but so far she does not say it explicitly. John may indicate his understanding of this desire *ex silentio*, pays attention on different aspects of Eva's response, and move on. Nonetheless, by producing this desire explicitly, John foregrounds Eva's desire of wanting to go for a holiday alone.

In the next turn, instead of producing a straightforward confirmation (or disconfirmation), Eva produces a playful and cryptic response (line 11, Extract 5.11). After John completes line 10, Eva immediately raises her eyebrows. Then she tilts her head to the right while producing an [ə] vocalization and smiles (Picture b, Extract 5.11). She suspends the head position and smile, as well as elongates the vocalization for 0.4 seconds. After that suspension, she tosses her head to the back (Picture c, Extract 5.11) and then produces a soft laughter. As mentioned above, John's "candidate understanding" invites either a confirmation or disconfirmation as the most relevant next action. By not producing a confirmation or disconfirmation, Eva can be taken as withholding that confirmation (or disconfirmation). At the same time, the prompt response indicates that she does not have problem in understanding the previous turn. Further, the smile and laughter indicate playfulness.

Eva's Line 11 is a potentially a non-verbal display of flirtatiousness. Eva's non-verbal behaviors in line 11 (Picture a and b, Extract 5.11) exhibit high similarities to the ones identified as female courtship behavior (Moore, 1985). Eva's tilting head (line 11) similar to what termed as "Neck Presentation" by Moore (1985). Neck presentation is done through tilting one's head to the right or left, so that the neck on the opposite side is exposed. After tilting her head, Eva toss her head and produces soft laughter. Similar behaviors combination - head toss followed by soft laughter – has also been registered as a combination of behaviors, which commonly occurs in female displaying non-verbal solicitation behaviors in courtship situation by Moore. Considering the above similarities between Eva's behaviors in line 11 to ones recorded by Moore catalogue (1985), it is possible that both Eva and John or one of them identify Eva's behaviors in line 11 as

display of flirtatiousness.

Extract 5.12 Segment 6, Line 12-14

12	John	:	Λ[	:::	]
13	Eva	:	=[kalau	<u>sendiri</u>	kan]
			if	alone	DP



14	Eva	:	As for (being) alone (as we already know)
			udah just think of myself
			already
			I will only have to think about myself

Though Eva does not produce a straightforward verbal response to John's candidate understanding (Line 10), John does not appear to have trouble in understanding her response (Line 11, Extract 5.11). Eva's soft laughter (line 11) consists of six laugh particles. The first three are rising [hə] and the next three are falling [hΛ]. Throughout the three falling [hΛ], the particles are progressively produced in softer voice and slower pace. Hence, at the last [hΛ], the laughter is considerably softer in comparison to the initial [hə]. John starts to smile during Eva's second [hΛ] laugh particle. His smile develops in concurrent with Eva's laughter (Line 11). Without leaving gap in between, John then produces an elongated [Λ] vocalization after Eva's last [hΛ] laugh particle (Line 12, Extract 5.12). This timely response indicates that John does not have trouble in understanding Eva's previous cryptic response (line 11, Extract 5.11).

John does not only understand Eva's cryptic response, but also understand it in a specific way. His response is non-verbal. John smiles and points at Eva while producing the elongated [Λ] vocalization (Picture in Extract 5.12). For many, this gesture displays that one has spotted some transgressiveness. Still, because his response is non-verbal, how he understands Eva's cryptic response (line 11, Extract 5.11) is not transparent. Nonetheless, the fact that he is able to produce a timely gesture indicates that he has enough understanding at least to produce a timely response.

At this point, the interaction has moved away from trouble-telling (line 2-10, Extract

5.7) to potentially flirtatious guessing game (Line 10-12, Extract 5.7). It moves slowly from disclosing a trouble of having a desire to go for a holiday (Line 2, Extract 5.7), closing the trouble-telling sequence (line 3-4, Extract 5.7), and then to foregrounding Eva's dispreference of going for a holiday with her husband or son (line 5-9, Extract 5.7). At line 9, the interaction still revolves around Eva's desire to go for a holiday, but the specific issue at hand is whether she actually wants to go for a holiday ALONE. The potentially flirtatious guessing game (Line 10-12, Extract 5.7) then revolves around this issue. Eva withholds, and potentially cryptically expresses confirmation that she wants to go for a holiday alone. John then responds by producing equally non-verbal playful and cryptic behaviors (Line 12, Extract 5.7). At this point (Line 12, Extract 5.7), Eva and John are no longer attending Eva's destitute emotion as in line 2. They are now sharing playfulness.

Latching to her playful and cryptic response (line 11), is Eva's clarification. That clarification indicates that she actually wants to go for a holiday alone (line 13-14, Extract 5.12). She says *kalau sendiri kan udah just think of myself* 'As for (being) alone (as we already know) I will only have to think about myself'. Whether Eva actually means to say it – that she wants to go for a holiday alone – from early on or the idea has just been planted by John in line 10 (Extract 5.11), her clarification indicates that she owns that idea. She wants to go for a holiday alone.

Extract 5.13 Segment 6, Line 15-19

15 John : O gitu,
Owh like-that
Oh I see,
16 ni tak pesenin tiket ke Bangkok dulu a
this I(do) order-IN ticket to first DP



here let me order (you) a ticket to Bangkok okay
17 Eva : <Heh heh heh heh heh heh heh heh>=



18 John : =Mau eAirasia tapi
want but
Interested? Ehm but (with) Airasia
19 : mau?=
interested?

At the point when the talk reaches the mutual understanding that Eva wants to go for a holiday alone (Line 13-14, Extract 5.12), John produces a gesture. This gesture is then understood as an initial move towards an arrangement making, which is possibly romantic in nature. As Eva produces line 14, John moves his left hand. He puts his left hand to his left pants' pocket. Then, when Eva completes line 14, he initiates a turn (Line 15 - 16). At its completion, Line 15-16 can be understood as an announcement of him ordering a ticket to Bangkok. He says *oh gitu ni tak pesenin tiket ke Bangkok dulu ya* 'oh I see here let me order (you) a ticket to Bangkok okay' (line 15 – 16, Extract 5.13). Produces before and during the announcement of getting a (flight) ticket, John's gesture (Picture a and b, Extract 5.13) can be understood as indicating that he is going to get the ticket through his phone (probably making a call or accessing internet ticket booking website).

Line (15-16, Extract 5.13) does not provide the terms of the ticket. Some of the details which are absent are who the beneficiary is and who is financing the ticket, as well as whether it is a solo trip for the beneficiary. The beneficiary can be deduced from the

Extract 5.14 Segment 6, Line 19-24

19		:	mau?= interested?
20	Eva	:	=((inhalation)) Adu::h, °cap°- EXCL Uwh, ti- ((tired)) <kamu naik apa> you ride what what (are) you flying (with)?
21			
22	John	:	Airasia ke sananya, To there-DET Airasia for the outbound (flight), baliknya naik Garuda return-DET ride (for) the return (flight is) riding Garuda (Indonesia)
23			
24	Eva	:	Aku naik Thai I ride I flew with Thai (Airways)

context, but who finances the ticket and whether it is a solo trip remains ambiguous. So far (from Line 2 to Line 14), their talk revolves around Eva's desire to go for a holiday. Therefore, the beneficiary can be deduced: Eva. Then, who pays for the ticket and what kind of trip that will be are not being made explicit here. The payer can be John. It can also be Eva, or even be someone else. John only announces that he is ordering it. Prior to line 15-16, Eva reveals that Eva wants to go for a holiday alone (line 14). John even connects his turn to that turn indicating his understanding and marking his subsequent part of turn as a consequence of line 14. He says *o gitu* 'Oh (I) see' at the beginning of line 15. Hence, the most straightforward understanding of line 15-16 is to see that John is ordering a ticket for Eva's solo trip.

However, though vague, potentially the Bangkok ticket is for John and Eva's joint trip. First, Bangkok is not a random destination. John is planning to visit Bangkok in near future. Eva knows about this plan, she has even assisted John in obtaining Baht (Thailand's currency) before. Evidently, in other part of the same conversation, Eva and John talks about how Eva has obtained Thai Baht for John and then methods to obtain more cash in Bangkok.

Further, the participants have a shared idea that line 15-16 is actually referring to John's upcoming trip and not just a random Bangkok trip. In line 18, John prompts Eva's response whether she is interested in him ordering her a ticket. He also gives her a condition, that the ticket will be Airasia (Airline) ticket. Then five turns later (line 21,

Extract 5.14), Eva asks what airline John will take, without specifying the air trip in question. John responds immediately by specifying which airlines he is taking on his outbound and inbound flight from Bali (line 22-23, Extract 5.14). At this point, it can be deduced that Eva and John are actually orienting to John's upcoming Bangkok trip in Line 15-16.

This joint trip - to Bangkok - is potentially romantic in nature. There are three observations pointing at this direction. The first one is that this whole exchange (line 2-26, Extract 5.7) occurs within a conversation that has been initiated in flirtatious note (Segment 1 – 'being (a) spare for someone else's wife, See Subsection 4.2.2). Then, the subsequent talks has the potential to be analyzed, by the participants, as relevant to flirting.

The second reason is that in the immediate preceding turns, Eva has displayed behaviors linked to flirting (Line 11, Picture b and c, Extract 5.11). After the introduction of flirtatiousness at the beginning of their conversation (Segment 1), frame of flirting may potentially be re-activated in the immediate preceding turns as a result of Eva's potential non-verbal display of flirtatiousness (Line 11). The participant may then complete their understanding by seeing line 15-16 (Extract 5.13) as flirting relevant. The possible joint trip to Bangkok is romantic, therefore it fits to be produced at this specific juncture in their talk (Line 15-16, Extract 5.13), which is after Eva's potential display of flirtatiousness in Line 11 (Picture b and c, Extract 5.11).

The third reason is that the immediate preceding turns (line 2-14, Extract 5.7) contains romance related "relevant category environment". In line 3 (Extract 5.7) John (re-)introduces Eva's husband into the talk. He says *nanti dia dateng* '(as we know) he is coming later', which is understood to be making reference to Eva's husband return. In doing so, John connects holiday to Eva's husband. The possible unstated assumption there (in line 3) is that Eva currently cannot go for a holiday because her husband is away. The relevant category environment" being set here is the Membership Categorization Device (MCD) of couple holiday. The categories are wife and husband. As husband and wife, in all likelihood they are connected in romantic (or even sexual) relationship. Hence, the couple holiday is possibly romance or even sexual in nature.

Though Eva introduces family together ‘whole family’ in line 9 (Extract 5.7); this introduction is not being ratified by John. Hence, it is possible that John still maintains his orientation to the couple holiday MCD. But even for family holiday, having her husband along, the holiday can be romantic and sexual in nature. Then when John suggests Eva wanting to go for a holiday alone (Line 10, Extract 5.7) and Eva ratifies it (Line 13-14, Extract 5.7); what John (and possibly Eva) has in mind is possibly that Eva wants to go with someone else. The couple holiday MCD holds, it is just that the other party is definitely not Eva’s husband. In order for the holiday to be still romantic and sexual, the other person is probably a male, other than her husband¹.

So when John announces ordering a ticket (for Eva) to Bangkok (line 15-16, Extract 5.13), which can be understood as referring to his upcoming trip; his announcement can be understood as inferring a couple holiday where the parties are him and Eva. The other party, the male, is provided by the potential reference to John’s upcoming trip, Bangkok. He is ordering a ticket for Eva to go to Bangkok so that she can join him. The unstated assumption here is that Eva is longing for a romantic (and possibly) sexual kind of holiday with someone other than her husband. In other words, Line 15-16 is potentially a unilateral announcement of a joint romantic holiday, where the participants are John and Eva.

Surely, neither Eva nor John explicitly says anything about romantic couple trip to Bangkok. That is how ambiguous a flirting interaction is. However, it should be noted that though Line 15-16 leave so many details unexpressed, Eva does not seem to have trouble in understanding it. She has some ideas in her mind with regards to Line 15-16. Immediately after John completes line 16, Eva produces laughter (Line 17, Extract 5.13). She rocks her body forward while producing the laughter (Picture b, Extract 5.13). The timing indicates absence of trouble in understanding. The laughter indicates playfulness, while absence of verbal response indicates Eva withholds her response. The most likely reading here is that Eva has the understanding of what John is actually doing here (Line 15-16), but she does not want to produce explicit response. It is possible that if she will compromise the flirting enabling ambiguity is she produces explicit response here.

¹ The unstated assumption here is that Eva is exclusively heterosexual

A reference to future joint activity may initiate a future arrangement sequence (Cf. Ekberg, 2011). If Eva orients to John's line 15-16 as a pre, which awaits Eva's aligning response may develop into a future arrangement sequence, her absence of aligning response here (Line 17) forestalls that incipient project. This mechanism can be seen as a one of the courtship qualifiers that also present in other piece of flirting sequence in the data (see Section 3.3 for a discussion in courtship qualifiers). In this piece of data, the interaction transitions from trouble-telling to a pre of romantic activity arrangement making. The presence of romantic and sexual attraction is vague and ambiguous. But the sequential context and development provides enough contexts for one of the turn (line 15-16, Extract 5.13) to be understood as a flirting relevant pre of romantic activity arrangement making sequence.

5.1.3 From Family Holiday to Possible Joint-holiday Invitation

In this instance, the interaction transitions from Eva's family holiday plan to a potentially joint trip arrangement, involving Eva and John. This sequence is similar to the one is Subsection 5.1.2 because in the end the interaction arrives at potential holiday arrangement involving Eva and John. The differences are, here the initiator is Eva and the holiday being referred is Eva's family holiday. In the flirting sequence in Subsection 5.1.2, the initiator was John and the trip potentially being referred is John's upcoming trip to Bangkok. In this flirting sequence, turn by turn playfulness is introduced into the interaction. Then after both Eva and John agree to leave Eva's husband behind, the flirtatiousness culminates in Eva's "invitation" for John to join in the trip.

Extract 5.15 Segment 7, Line 1-14

1	Eva	:	Eropa kan mau ke London t[uh] Europe DP already to that For Europe (as you know) (I've) already got that arrangement to London	
2	John	:		[O::H][iya , °gitu°] yes like-that
3	Eva	:	Ah, yes, (I remember) that	[ə::= <Jadi ting]gal> So remain
4	Eva	:	mikirin tiketnya papahnya aja, think-IN ticket-DET father-DET only So the only thing now (is) ticket for the father,	
5	Eva	:	pulanganya gak usah dia ikut pul(h)ang Home-NYA NEG need 3SG join go-home (for) the return trip, he doesn't need to return home	
6			~Heh heh heh~ diusir ~khuuh[huuh]~ Evict-PASSIVE I	
7	John	:	He he he I (can be) kicked out	[(jerodj-)] = (unclear))
8	John	:	Jangan diajak pa[pah]nya.= Don't take-PASSIVE father-DET Don't take the father (along),	
9	Eva	:		[•h]
10	John	:	=nga[pain diajak-] why take-PASSIVE Why (are you) taking (him anyway) -	
11	Eva	:	[Berdua ↑j a-] a group of two only head-turning	
12	John	:	Just (the) two- [ha he] ((head-nod))	
13	Eva	:	[<cari ya> °sana°]= find DP there Find (me) there okay	
14	John	:	=EH!	

Earlier, Eva reveals her intention for having a family holiday to Singapore. In response, John suggests Eva to go all the way to Europe. The two then subsequently talk about how expensive a family trip to Europe would cost. Amid this discussion, Eva reminds John that she has got a plan (presumably for a family trip) to London. In line 1 (Extract 5.15) Eva says *Eropa kan udah mau ke London tuh* ‘(as for) Europe (as you know) (I/we) will (go to) London’. *Kan* is an epistemic marker, which indicates shared knowledge (Wouk, 1998). Indicated by the presence of *kan*, here Eva is understood as reminding John about a plan for a trip to London that she has told John before.

At this point, whether this London trip is a solo trip, family trip, etc., is not being made explicit. However, John does not seem to have trouble with that. He knows what Eva is talking about and he treats Eva’s line 1 as a reminder. In response, he says *O::H iya, gitu* ‘Ah, yes. (I remember) that’ (line 2, Extract 5.15).

Eva then produces more information regarding that London trip. As she adds more

information, she gradually adds playfulness as well. Eva says *jadi tinggal mikirin tiket papahnya aja* ‘So the only thing (now) (is) thinking about (a) ticket for the father’ (line 3-4, Extract 5.15), indicating that she may need to purchase a flight ticket for her husband. Then she says *pulanganya gak usah dia ikut pulang* ‘(for) the return trip, he doesn’t need to return home’ (line 5, Extract 5.15). Here she reveals her intention of not taking her husband for the return trip, in all likelihood to Bali.

5 Eva : pulangny₃ gak usah dia ikut pul(h)ang
 Home-NYA NEG need 3SG join go-home

(for) the return trip, he doesn't need to return home

7 John : He he he I (can be) kicked out [(j'erodj-)=
 ((unclear))

indicates some degrees of humor in Eva's plan of not taking her husband home. The humor allows her turn to be taken non-seriously, or in other word to be understood as a joke. At the same time, by producing such a humor, Eva also reveals that leaving her husband behind is non-serious topic. It is something that she can joke about.

Eva's humorous commentary in line 6 (Extract 5.16) reveals that she sees her (imaginary) plan to not taking her husband home is a transgression. It is something that can even cause her a sanction, in the form of being evicted from her house. Balinese are patrilocal (See Section 1.2.3 for more discussion on the married Balinese life). When a couple is married, the female comes to live in the male's family house. Living in the male's family house comes with a consequence. If she is deemed to transgress some norms or regulations by her husband's family; they have the right to cast her out from her husband's family house. For Eva's case, though she can physically stays in her mother's place, but according to the customary law she resides in her husband's family house. Thus, her husband family can casts her out of their house as a sanction if they deemed her to transgress some norms or regulations.

Here Eva produces *diusir khuuh* 'I (can get) kicked out' (line 6, Extract 5.16) after *pulang nya gak usah dia ikut pulang* '(for) the return trip, he doesn't need to return home' (line 5, Extract 5.16). The placement of the commentary *diusir* 'cast out' right after indicating her (imaginary) plan of not taking her husband home can be understood as indicating that they are somehow connected. Considering the presence of the Balinese patrilocal arrangement and its consequence to the female; here (Line 6) Eva can be understood as orienting to that arrangement and consequence. If she does not return with her husband, she imagines that she can be cast out (by her husband's family). Thus here, line 6 *diusir khuuh* 'I (can get) kicked out' reveals that she orients to her (imaginary) plan of not taking her husband home as a transgression.

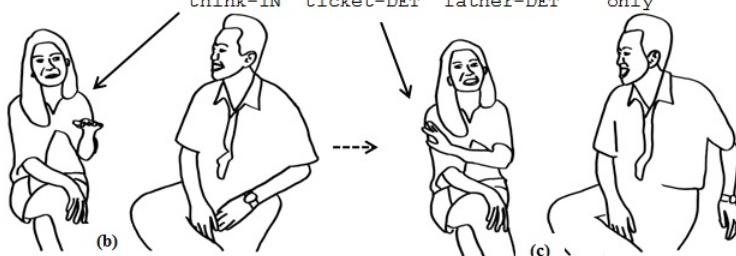
In alignment, John appears to treat Eva's plan (line 5) - not taking her husband home – rather negatively. John smiles after Eva reminds him about her planned London trip (line 1, Picture a to c, Extract 5.17). While looking at Eva, he sustains this smile when Eva produces line 3-4. He still smiles when Eva progressively produces line 5. However, he

1 Eva : Eropa kan mau ke London t[uh]
 Europe DP already to that
 For Europe (as you know) (I've) already got that arrangement to
 London

Ah, yes, (I remember) that



4 Eva : mikirin tiketnya papahnya aja,
think-IN ticket-DET father-DET only

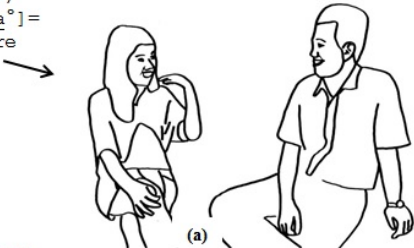


So the only thing now (is) ticket for the father.

However, in the next turn, instead of advising Eva to take her husband home – after the

planned trip –, John suggests her to not to take her husband for the trip in the first place. At almost the end of Eva's line 6, John produces a sound that can only discerned as *jerodj-* (Line 7, Extract 5.16). There is no obvious corresponding word either in Indonesian or in Balinese to this *jerodj-*, hence it is unclear what is John actually trying to say here.

Extract 5.18 Segment 7, Line 8-14

8	John	:	Jangan diajak pa[pah]nya.= Don't take-PASSIVE father-DET Don't take the father (along),
9	Eva	:	[•h]
10	John	:	=nga[pain diajak-] why take-PASSIVE Why (are you) taking (him anyway)-
11	Eva	:	[Berdua ↑j a-] a group of two only head-turning Just (the) two-
12	John	:	[ha he] ((head-nod))
13	Eva	:	[<cari ya> °sana°]= find DP there
 (a)			
14	John	:	=EH! Find (me) there okay
 (b)			

After the incomprehensible cut off sound *jerodj-*, and immediately after Eva completes her turn (Line 6, Extract 5.16), John produces a turn. He says *jangan diajak papahnya* 'don't take the father' (line 8, Extract 5.18). In line 4, Eva refers to her husband by using *papahnya*, here John mirrors her person reference. Produced within this context of talking about London trip, line 8 can be understood as a suggestion for not taking her husband for the planned London trip. Then latching to that turn, he says *ngapain diajak-* 'why (are you) taking (him anyway)-' (line 10, Extract 5.18). *Ngapain* is a common question word in conversational Indonesian. Depends on the context, it can be translated into 'why', 'what for', or 'what are you doing' (J. N. Sneddon, 2006). Produced after what appear as a suggestion to not taking Eva's husband for the London trip, line 10 can be understood

as a challenge to Eva's idea of taking her husband for the trip to London.

Eva has even more daring idea. She does not only concurs with John's idea of not taking her husband in the first place. She even possibly wants to have a joint trip with John and openly asks John to look for her in London. In overlap with John's challenge to her idea of taking her husband for the London trip (line 10), Eva says *berdua ja* 'just (the) two' (line 11, Extract 5.18). Then subsequently she says *cari ya sana* 'find (me) there' (line 13, Extract 5.18). As an agreement particle, *ya* 'yes' can also be employed in the situation when one seeks for an agreement or affirmation (Wouk, 2001). As a result of the employment of *ya*, line 13 can be understood as Eva seeking for John's agreement or affirmation to *cari* 'find' *sana* 'there'.

From the sequential context, Line 13 (Extract 5.18) clearly means Eva asks John to look for her in London. So far, they have been talking about her planned trip to London. Hence, the most straightforward way to understand the referential *sana* 'there' is by seeing it as referring to London. Further, the reference London along with the sequential context indicates that Eva orients to the planned trip. This means that the trip involves her. Then, Eva also looks at John while producing this turn (Picture a, Extract 5.18). The gaze indicates that John is not only the listener, but also the addressee. Hence, line 13 is understood as asking whether John agrees or willing to affirm that he will 'find' or look for her (Eva) in London.

What is less transparent is, who are line 11 (Extract 5.18) *berdua* '(the) two' refers to? Line 11 is ambiguous because it can be understood as referring to either Eva and John, or Eva and her son. There is a double overlapping situation between Line 10-13 (Extract 5.18). Line 10 overlaps with line 11 and line 12 overlaps with line 13. Line 11 (Extract 5.18) also ends in a cut-off quality. Hence, it is unclear whether line 11 and 13 is produced as a single idea. What has been produced so far before line 11 is John's suggestion to leave Eva's husband behind in the first place. If line 11 is produced based on a single idea with line 13, then it is more likely that *berdua* '(the) two' refers to Eva and John.

If line 11 and 13 are NOT connected, there is a possibility that *berdua* '(the) two' (Line 11, Extract 5.18) refers to Eva and her son. Before Eva and John talks about the London trip,

they were talking about Eva's family holiday. This topic includes Eva, her husband, and her son. Since Eva says jadi *tinggal mikirin tiket papahnya aja* 'So the only thing (now) (is) thinking about (a) ticket for the father' (line 3-4, Extract 5.15), it can be assumed that the trip includes her son and her son's ticket has been arranged. Hence, if she leaves her husband's behind, then she can go *berdua ja* 'just (the) two' with her son. Line 11 is ambiguous because it can be understood as referring to Eva and John, as well as Eva and her son.

On the surface, Eva's "request" in line 13 merely asks John to find her in London. However, this request can be understood as transgressive in nature. In all probability, the transgressive reading is derived from understanding the request as romantic or sexually motivated. Promptly after Eva produces her "request" (line 13, Extract 5.18) John stops smiling (Picture b, Extract 5.18) and produces [ɛh] vocalization in considerably powerful voice (Line 14, Extract 5.18). John smiles throughout the production of line 8-13 (Picture a, Extract 5.18). He suddenly stops smiling as he produces line 14 in response to line 13. The transition from smiling to not smiling anymore can be taken to indicate his negative orientation to what has just been delivered: "requesting" him to find Eva in London.

Then, the powerful [ɛh] vocalization can be taken as a kind of reprimand. As a "request", Eva's line 13 (Extract 5.18) make relevant acceptance or declination. The disaffiliative form or response to a "request" would be a declination. If John wants to decline the request, he can produce a declination or even withholding any response. Since John produces a reprimand, then John reveals his orientation to Eva's previous turn not as a mere "request", but a breach or transgression. Together, the facial expression changes (Picture a to b, Extract 5.18) and the vocalization (Line 14, 5.18) Extract indicates John's orientation that Eva has just done something wrong or transgression.

At the same time, John's response (line 14, Extract 5.18) can also be seen as exhibiting histrionic appearance. This histrionic appearance can be taken to indicate the non-serious or play nature of his response (Cf. Bateson, 1955, 1987(Bateson, 1955, 1987)). In other word, the behavior is potentially "acted". It is not an exclusively serious and involuntary reaction to Eva's "request". The change of facial expression is very sudden. The duration

is 0.3 second. Not only that, the facial expression is not mild. It goes from observably smiling to observably “disturbed”. The facial expression change can be understood as indicating the possibility of the play nature of this reprimanding response.

Though neither of the participants explicitly says that Eva’s line 13 is flirtatious, whether they understand it as flirtatious is very likely. First, similar with other extended flirtatious sequence, this sequence occurs within a conversation, which was started in flirtatious tone (Segment 1 ‘being (a) spare for someone else’s wife (line 10), Subsection 4.2.2). Then, Eva’s “request” for John to look for her in London can be understood as him taking her husband’s place. The “request” (line 13) occurs after John suggests her to not taking her husband for the trip in the first place (line 8). Hence, the “request” can be understood as a consequence for not taking her husband. In turn, it is potentially understood that John is a replacement to Eva’s husband.

Thirdly, the trip may be a clandestine trip. By saying *cari ya sana* ‘find (me) there’ (line 13, Extract 5.18), it can be understood that Eva and John departs to London from Bali separately. The reason is unstated here, but one may think it is because the trip is clandestine. The question of why a married female and her (male) friend have to go on a clandestine trip can be answered by understanding that it may be romantic or sexual in nature. If the trip is romantic or sexual in nature, then it is also transgressive.

Though the “logic” is unstated, it is possible that John sees the trip as transgressive. The reprimand in Line 14 (Extract 5.18) can be seen as an evidence of John seeing Line 13 as transgressive. The histrionic appearance marks the scold as a play. The scold marks his possible understanding of the transgressive nature of Eva’s “request” (line 13, Extract), while at the same time the histrionic appearance veiled it with ambiguity. Whether John actually ratifies Eva’s idea – of looking for her in London when she travels there in the future – is ambiguous.

In this instance, the interaction gradually moves from reminder that Eva has a family holiday arranged to London, to a potentially joint romantic activity arrangement involving the two of them. Eva digresses from the holiday plan by adding her playful “wicked” idea of not getting her husband a ticket home. From that idea, the interaction then gradually

develops to Eva will not take her husband in the first place and then she “request” for John to look for her in London. Though the request garners a “scold”, in the end it is ambiguous whether John agrees or is keen on joining Eva in London if she ever gets to London.

5.2 “Delayed” Termination

In some cases, one of the participants may have signaled their declination to continue the flirting interaction, but the ongoing flirting interaction termination appear to be delayed. The delayed termination appearance is created through one of the participant latches a related joke to the ongoing, heading for terminating, flirting interaction. As a result, instead of shifting into non-humorous different topic, the participants appear to be sharing a joke relevant to their previous, terminated, flirting interaction.

Extract 5.19 Segment 7, Line 10-20

10	John	:	=nga[pain	diajak-]
			why	take-PASSIVE
			Why (are you) taking (him anyway) -	
11	Eva	:	[Berdua	↑j a-]
			a group of two	only
				head-turning
			Just (the) two-	
12	John	:	[ha he]	
			((head-nod))	
13 →	Eva	:	[<cari ya> °sana°]=	
			find DP there	
			Find (me) there okay	
14 →	John	:	=EH!	
15			(.)	
16	John	:	°Neked [ye kamu]°	
			Arrive DP(doubt) there	
			(I) doubt that (I/we can) even get there	
17	Eva	:	°[Ke London]°(.)	
			to	
			To London	
18		:	belum ini lo, belum ngemail,	
			Haven't this DP haven't NG-email	
			Haven't this, you see, haven't sent (the) email,	
19		:	katanya Email dulu,	
			Said-NYA first	
			(It is) said (that I have to send) email first	
20		:	baru dikasi tau sama dia	
			then give-passive know by 3SG	
			then (will) be informed by him (/her)	

Before discussing the two instances of delayed termination in the data, I would like to present an instance where termination to flirtatious sequence occurs immediately. In

Segment 7 (Line 13, Extract 5.19), Eva produces a “request”. This request can be understood as flirtatious in nature (See Subsection 5.1.3 for a discussion about this sequence). This requests then garners a “reprimand” from John (Line 14, Extract 5.19).

After the reprimand, the flirtatiousness subsides. Eva does not attend to her “request”, which can be understood as making reference to joint clandestine holiday with John, anymore. In line 16 (Extract 5.19) John reveals his doubt that they can get to London. In Line 17-20 Eva attends to a slightly different topic. She says that she has not sent (the) email (Line 18, Extract 5.19). She also says that she should send (an) email first before given the instruction (Line 19-20, Extract 5.19). In cases such as the above (Segment 7, Extract 5.19), the termination of flirting sequence is immediate, therefore NOT delayed. The following two instances instantiate delayed termination of flirtign sequence.

5.2.1 Delaying through pretend-play

In this instance John responses to Eva’s flirtatious action through a pretend-play. The pretend-play sustains the humor and playfulness of the interaction. Additionally, within that turn doing pretend-play, John also refers to Eva as *istri yang jablai* ‘deprived wife’. As his turn produced after Eva’s flirtatious action, the turn is understood as an acknowledgement that Eva has just performed a flirtatious action. Because of the sustained of humor and playfulness, as well as the turn status as an acknowledgement to previous flirtatious action, whether John’s turn is part of the flirtatious sequence or its termination is unclear. Evidently, Eva produces some playful and potentially flirtatious responses in the next turns. The flirting sequence only then ends several turns after Eva’s reminder that they are being recorded.

Eva’s Line 46-47 (Extract 5.20) turn can be understood as a flirtatious action. It is potentially a humorous invitation to a clandestine activity of nganter ‘escort’ her home. Several turns before this invitation John asks Eva about the location of her mother’s house (Line 26, See Subsection 4.2.3 for a discussion about this turn and the location-demonstration sequence that it triggers). John knows that Eva is currently staying at her mother’s house.

In all likelihood, John also knows that house is located near the data collection venue². At the point when John's display of understanding of the location of the house is relevant, he produces a comment that it is 'scary at night' (Line 41 and 44, Extract 5.20). In response to this comment, Eva produces line 46-47. She says *tapi kalau yang nganter gak keliatan, nggak apa – apa* 'but if the escort is invisible, (then) no problem (Line, 46-47, Extract 5.20).

Line 46-47 (Extract 5.20) is potentially an invitation to a clandestine activity of *nganter* 'escort' or driving her home. This is the first time activity escorting is discussed in Eva and John's conversation since they were discussing about the location of the house in the immediate preceding turns. The initial conjunction *tapi* 'but' indicates that this turn (Line 46-47) connects to the previous turn or action. *Tapi* 'but' indicates that the speaker accepts the idea as stated in the previous action or turn, but what comes after the conjunction will be in contrast or contradictory to the idea or action in the previous turn. Hence, the initial *tapi* 'but' indicates that it may be 'scary at night', but it is not always so.

The rest of the turn after *tapi* 'but' is a *kalau* 'if' construction. Interesting enough, because the turn is produced one element at a time, the *kalau* 'if' construction can be understood to be simultaneously doing two things. The first one is that it provides a condition where the scariness does not happen. It is the four first turn elements: *tapi kalau yang nganter* 'but if the escort' (Line 46), which carry this understanding.

This construction introduces the noun *yang nganter* 'the one who escort' or 'the escort'. Similar to *nyerep* 'being (a) spare', *nganter* is the nasalized form or *anter* 'escort'. The difference is, the base form of *nyerep* is a noun (*serep* 'spare'), while the base form of *nganter* is a verb (*anter* 'escort'). This is the first time this role *yang nganter* 'the escort' is mentioned in their conversation. Provided by the presence of *tapi* 'but', the most likely connection between this turn (Line 46, Extract 5.20) to the previous one (Line 41, Extract 5.20) is that somehow this role - *yang nganter* 'the escort' – is the one who can make the 'scary at night' go away.

² Eva was the one who suggested the data collection to be held in this park. Her reason was because the park is near to her mother house, the house where she lived in at that time. In all likelihood, John knows about the reasoning and that the location of her mother's house is near to the Park.

The second action done by the *kalau* ‘if’ construction is providing the condition of the escort. It is the rest of the turn starting from *yang nganter* ‘the escort’. It is *yang nganter gak keliatan, nggak apa – apa* ‘the escort is invisible, (then) no problem (Line, 46-47), which carry this understanding. This condition of the escort provides a possibility to understand that the escorting activity is clandestine. Since the escort needs to be invisible to cause not trouble, it is implied there will be some problem if the escort gets to be seen.

This turn (line 46-47, Extract 5.20) also ambiguously implicates Eva and John. The activity of escorting involves two parties: the escort (actor) and the escorted (beneficiary). John’s previous comment (Line 41) can be understood as making reference to the house where Eva currently stays. In that sense, Line 41 implicates Eva. As a consequence, since Line 46-47 responds to that turn, Line 46-47 can also be understood to implicate Eva. There is still a possibility, though slim, that Line 46-47 may involve other people living in the house, i.e. her mother, her sister, or her brother in law; or involve other people living in the area, i.e. the villages. However, it is Eva who presence in this conversation and there are no other appealing reasons for any of the participants to think that Line 46-47 implicates those people other than Eva. Hence, in all likelihood Line 46-47 implicates Eva.

Then, in all likelihood, Line 46-47 is understood as implicating John as the escort. Eva looks at John (Picture e and f, Extract 5.21) while producing this turn. Seeing her gaze direction, it is clear that this turn is being addressed to John. John and Eva are working in the city. Hence, it is highly sensible to see the arrangement of John escorting Eva home at night. Still, it should be noted that as a result of absence of explicit person reference, there is still a possibility that the escort is someone else.

The clandestine nature of the escorting activity can be taken to suggest that the activity is possibly transgressive, at least that is what Eva may have in her mind. Eva is currently living in the house of her mother. She lives with her mother. Her mother may not allow her to be escorted by a man other than her husband, especially at night. Then, this house is located in her late father’s village of birth. Most of her father extended family members

are living in that village. They are her mother's neighbors as well. The neighbors may see her, a married woman, escorted by a man at night as a transgression. They, the neighbors, may disapprove or gossip about her and this is the problem.

The clandestine nature of the escorting activity can be taken to suggest that the activity is possibly flirtatious. This exchange (Line 41 and 44, and Line 46-47, Extract 5.20) occur around 1 minute after John indicates that their interaction is *nyerep istri orang* 'being (a) spare for someone else's wife' (Segment 1, line 9 -10, See Subsection 4.2.2 for a discussion about these lines). It is possible that similar to *nyerep istri orang* 'being (a) spare for someone else's wife', the activity of *nganter* also implicates Eva and John, as well as flirtatious in nature. In addition, Eva may not only afraid that the neighbors think that the *nganter* 'escorting' activity is transgressive; but Eva also thinks that it is transgressive. It is transgressive because it is flirtatious and extramarital affair related.

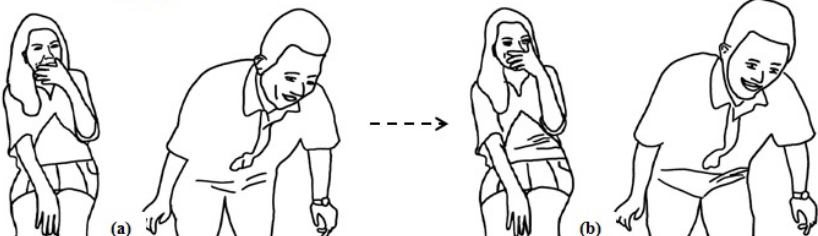
As a whole, the turn (line 46-47, Extract 5.21) has the potential to be understood as an invitation to for John to escort her home, or at least a pre to the *nganter* 'escorting' arrangement making. An announcement of a future activity, which implicates the other party, may initiate a future joint arrangement activity (Ekberg, 2011). John may understand Eva's line 46-47 as implicating him, thus produces a response to express whether he can be or interested in involved, or not, in that very joint activity. If he is interested, he may even produce an offer to be the escort subsequently. In that sense, Eva's line 46-47 has the potential to be understood as an invitation to a clandestine activity, or a pre- to an arrangement making pertaining to the *nganter* 'escort' her home.

Line 46-47 (Extract 5.21) can also be regarded as an invitation to enter playfulness. Eva starts to smile at the beginning of line 46 (Picture a, Extract 5.21). Then as she produces *keliatan* 'visible', laugh particle is audibly interpolated into it last syllable -than. As she produces more, her speech becomes more perturbed. The next syllabic word *nggak* 'NEG' is interpolated with an even more audible laugh particle. The last two words of her turn *apa – apa* '(something/ trouble)' is produced in a quiver quality. The quiver then transforms into full-fledged laughter after Eva completes her verbal turn. The smile, interpolated laugh particles, and laughter indicate how Eva orients to humor in her turn

line 46-47 (Cf. Haakana, 2010). In other word, Eva marks that her turn can be taken non-seriously. Since this is the first playful turn in the immediate surrounding context, it can also be regarded as an invitation to enter playfulness.

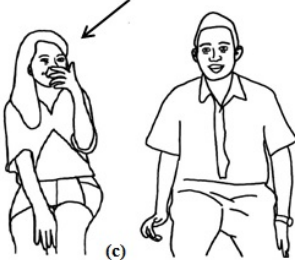
Extract 5.22 Segment 3, Line 48-53

48 (0.6)



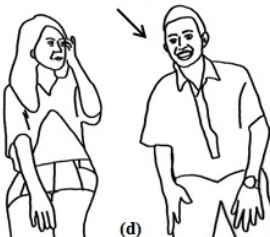
(a) (b)

49 Eva : heh [↑]heh heh [heh heh]



(c)

50 John : [Sau]dara - saudara

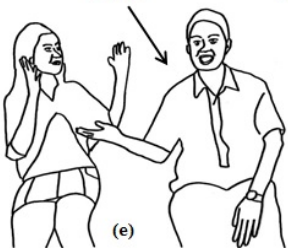


(d)

Viewers,

51 Eva : °<Heh heh>°

52 : inilah [seorang istri] yang jablai,=
this a wife REL



(e)

this is (/let me present) a jablai wife

53 Eva : [eh tid(h)ak]
hey NEG

Hey no

John appears to accept Eva's invitation to enter playfulness. He responds with a pretend-play. Shortly after Eva completes line 46, he lifts his bottom (Picture a and b, Extract 5.22). He then slowly turns his seating position from looking at Eva to forward-facing (Picture c, Extract 5.22) subsequently. Then in overlap with the two last laugh particles of Eva's

laughter (Line 49), John initiates a turn. He says *saudara – saudara, inilah istri yang jablai* ‘Viewers, this is a deprived wife’ (Line 50 and 52, Extract 5.22). He looks at the camera, while producing these two lines (Picture d and e, Extract 5.22). He refers to Eva by using his right hand when he produces *inilah* ‘this (is)’ (Line 52, Picture e, Extract 5.22).

John’s line 50 and 52 is a pretend-play. He pretends to be a TV presenter introducing Eva to the “audience”. The pretend-play appearance is obtained verbally and non-verbally. Verbally it is obtained through the employment of a specific words *saudara – saudara* ‘viewers’ and *inilah* ‘this (is)’ + Noun construction. Non-verbally it is obtained through his bodily position of facing the camera (Picture d and e, Extract 5.22) and his hand gesture of “presenting” Eva (Picture e, Extract 5.22).

The specific turn elements *saudara – saudara* ‘viewers’ is a common address term used by TV presenter in the context of TV show. *Inilah* ‘this (is)’ + Noun construction is also a common construction used by TV presenter to introduce his or her guest. In addition to that, John also faces the camera while producing his turn (Picture d and e, Extract 5.22). TV presenter usually talks to the camera instead of the other present interactional participant. TV presents also often protrudes his hand in the similar gesture to how John protrudes his hand towards Eva’s direction while saying *inilah* ‘this (is)’ (Picture e, Extract 5.22). As a package, the *saudara – saudara inilah* ‘viewers this (is)’ is easily identifiable TV presenter action in TV show context.

Whether John’s turn is a part of the flirtatious sequence or not is unclear. Firstly, as the pretend-play sustains playfulness, it can be seen as an acceptance to enter a playful interaction. Secondly, the specific term he uses to refers to Eva – *istri yang jablai* ‘a wife who is deprived (Line 52, Extract 5.22) – can be understood as an acknowledgement to Eva’s flirtatiousness in the previous turn (Line 46-47, Extract 5.21). The word *jablai* is an abbreviation, which is derived from *jarang* ‘rarely’ + *dibelai* ‘caressed’. It refers to female who is rarely caressed, hence needs to be caressed. As a word, it has entered Indonesian vernacular and it is employed to refer to flirtatious female. As a consequence of the employment of *jablai* to refer to Eva, John’s turn (line 50 and 52) can be understood

as an acknowledgement of the previous turn - Line 46-47 (Extract 5.21) - as flirtatious. In that sense, it is flirting relevant.

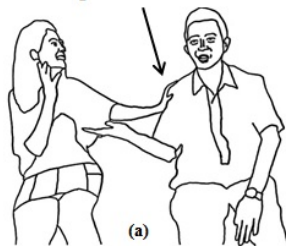
However, it should be noted that calling Eva *jablai* 'deprived' may not be considered an affiliative response with regards to the flirting sequence. Firstly, Eva's action (Line 46-47, Extract 5.21) can be seen as a pre to a flirting relevant arrangement making sequence. This arrangement making involves the activity of escorting Eva home. The potential participants are Eva as the escorted and John as the escort. In line 50 and 52, John does not continue this incipient arrangement making sequence. He neither mentions the activity nor positions himself as the alleged escort.

Secondly, in terms of Eva and John's role in flirting interaction. The two are the pair who are romantically and sexually attracted to one another. By calling Eva as 'deprived wife', John puts himself as an observer or outsider instead of the other pair. In the above sense, John's line 50 and 52 (Extract 5.22) can be seen as both continuation and termination to the flirting sequence. That flirting sequence may have been initiated somewhere between Line 41 to Line 47 (Extract 5.21).

Extract 5.23 Segment 3, Line 52-57

52 John : inilah [seorang istri] yang jablai,=
 this a wife REL
 this is (/let me present) a jablai wife

53 Eva : [eh tid(h)ak]
 hey NEG

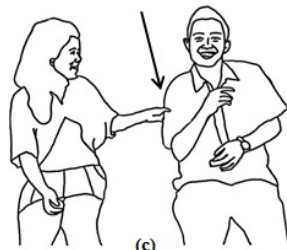


54 : Hey no
 = >°eeh°< =



55 John : Hey
 °=ada yang mau?°
 Exist REL want
 Anybody want?

56 Eva : ~Jan!gan, dire[k(h)am °hoh hoh huh huh°~]
 Don't record-PASSIVE



57 John : Don't (do that), (we're being) recorded
 [eh ↑eh eh]=

Evidently, Eva produces some playful and potentially flirtatious responses in the next turns. In overlap with John's *seorang istri* 'a wife', Eva pushes John's shoulder gently while saying *eh tidak* 'hey no' (Line 53, Picture a, Extract 5.23). Produces after John says *saudara – saudara* 'viewers', Eva's action can be understood as a rejection to John introducing her to the viewers (through the camera). There is a perturbation in her negation *tid(h)ak* 'no'. Since she produces this line while smiling (Picture a, Extract 5.23), the perturbation can be identified as interpolated laugh particle. In turn, the presence of this laugh particle indicates humor. Hence, it can be understood that firstly her rejection – the push and *eh tidak* 'hey no' (Line 53) vocalization – is non-serious in nature. Secondly,

it can also be understood that Eva sustains the humor in their interaction.

Eva also pushes John's hand (Picture b, Extract 5.23) and pinches him afterward (Picture c, Extract 5.23). Eva and John are smiling and laughing when these physical contacts occur (Picture a, b, and c, Extract 5.23). As the physical contacts being produced along with smile, they can also be understood as a means to display playfulness. They can also be taken to indicate physical intimacy as well. However, it is unclear whether the physical contacts carry intimacy in romantic and sexual attraction sense, or merely friend to friend intimacy.

Extract 5.24 Segment 3, Line 58-59

58	John	:	=!Oh-HOH,		he	direkam	ya
	Eva	:	Owh		record-PASSIVE	DP	
					((hand-clap))		

59	Eva	:	Oh hoh, recorded?	
		:	°a(h)da rek(h)am(h)an°	
		:	Exist recording	
		:	(We're being) recorded/ (There's a) recording	
	John	:	((repositioning: facing Eva))	

In the next turn, Eva launches another action. This action then eventually puts a break to their flirting relevant playfulness. In the next turn, she reminds John that they are being recorded (Line 56, Extract 5.23). After this reminder, John performs a big display of surprise (Line 58, Picture a, Extract 5.24). Eva then also responds with equally playful and noticeable response. She laughs and claps (Picture b, Extract 5.24). Then, slowly after the big display of surprise and handclap, their laughter slowly diminishes. Subsequent to the shared laughter, Eva quietly says *ada rekaman* 'there('s) (a) recording' (Line 59, Extract 5.24). In concurrent, John exits his playful pretend-play position. While Eva produces

line 59, John shifts his bottom and then assume the previous dyadic conversation position: facing Eva (Picture c, Extract 5.24). In the turns subsequent to Line 59, Eva and John are no longer laughing or even smiling (Picture a and b, Extract 5.25).

Extract 5.25 Segment 3, Line 60-63

60	John	:	Jadi, (.) So,
61	:	:	<u>sense of</u> (.) Interviewer-[<u>nya</u> (.) <u>mun-°cul°</u>] DET emerge
(a) (b)			
			(my) "sense of interviewer" emerges
62	Eva	:	[° <hm hm hm hm>°] hm hm hm hm (giggle)
63	John	:	((head-shake)) (ajak sekali) ask once (I'll) take (you) once

John's Line 50 and 52 can be seen as a move towards a termination of flirting sequence since it does not response to Eva's flirtatiousness (line 46-47) affiliatively. However, Eva and John are still playful subsequent to John's line 50 and 52. Additionally, subsequent Eva's touches (gentle shoulder push, hand push and pinch) can also be understood as intimacy-laden physical contact, besides mere playful. Hence, John's Line 50 and 52 are ambiguous in terms of whether it terminates or continues their flirting interaction. It indicates a move into a termination but it is not the termination itself. It can also be said that Line 50 and 52 delays the termination of flirting sequence in Segment 3. It is only after Eva produced another move to terminate the flirting interaction – reminder – that their playfulness and flirtatiousness eventually terminates.

5.2.2 Delaying through canned joke

In other extended flirtatious sequence (Segment 8) John delays the flirting sequence termination through joke. This joke exploits his own flirtatious previous turn. The exploitation of his own previous turn, as well as the humor that ensues, creates the appearance that his joke

is somehow connects or even a continuation of the flirtatious sequence. The flirting sequence actually then terminated after a topical shift done by Eva. The smile, laughter, as well as flirtatiousness cease after the topical shift.

In Line 24 (Extract 5.26), John produces a flirtatious turn. He says *tak kawinin mau* ‘I “marry” (you) interested?’ This turn can be understood as an attempt to gauge whether Eva is interested in marrying or having sex with John. Hence, it is flirtatious in nature. In response, instead of indicating whether she is interested in marrying or having sex with John, Eva only produces a soft laughter *heh heh* (Line 25, Extract 5.26). John then prompts Eva to answer in the next turn by producing a vocalization *heh*, while flashing his eyebrows (Line 26, Extract 5.26).

Eva still does not produce explicit response to John’s question in line 24. Instead, she produces a reminder. She says *direkam lo, direkam* ‘(we’re being) recorded you know, (we’re being) recorded (Line 27, Extract 5.26). Considering its placement, this reminder (Line 27, Extract 5.26) can be understood as an account for her lack of fitting response. By reminding John that they are being recorded, it is potentially implied that their conversation can be accessed by other people because they are being recorded. Further, what John has said (Line 24, Extract 5.26) is in all likelihood inappropriate for the consumption of “public”, or other people other (see section 3.3.1 References to the inappropriate context for an extended discussion).

At the same time, with regards to flirting sequence, Eva’s reminder (Line 27, Extract 5.26) can also be seen as disaffiliative action. It indicates Eva’s unwillingness to partake in the flirting sequence. If John sees it that way, he has the option to produce an aligned action which marks an exit from the flirting sequence. Similar action has been done in Segment 3. There, the reminder successfully results in termination of their humorous and flirtatious interaction. The reminder garners immediate responses in the form of intense display of emotion, which can be seen as a move towards termination of flirtatious sequence. Evidently, the humor and flirtatiousness then cease after that intense display of emotion (Segment 3, Line 58, in Subsection 5.2.1, Extract 5.24).

Here in Segment 8, the reminder does not successfully result in termination of their

flirting sequence as in Segment 3. It even results in a more daring flirtatiousness, which is disguised as a canned joke. Before Eva completes her reminder (Line 27, Extract 5.26), John negates her turn. He negates her turn by saying *nggak apa – apa* ‘no problem’ (Line 28, Extract 5.26). By saying no problem, on one hand he reveals that he understands that Eva has indicated some kind of problem (Line 27, Extract 5.26). On the other hand, he indicates that he does not see the same issue as a trouble.

Then latching to that negation, in speeding quality and rising intonation, he says *kan* (Line 30, Extract 5.26). Produced in this position, it is functioned as a turn holding device. It indicates that more is to come. *Kan* is an Indonesian epistemic particle, which marks shared knowledge. It can be employed to extend common ground in the context where the participants do not actually share common ground. The form, *kan*, indicates that what is going to be produced is something that either both John and Eva know, or something that John knows and Eva should know (assumed to know).

The epistemic particle *kan* is then followed by an even more daring flirtatious action. After the epistemic *kan*, John says *tak kawinin, tak nikahin itu urusan belakangan* ‘I have sex (to you), (whether) I marry you is something that can be settled later’ (Line 31, Extract 5.26). Through line 31 he disambiguates the meaning of the word *kawin* ‘get marry/ have sex’ in line 24. He makes it clear that what he intended to say in line 24 (Extract 5.26) was to know whether Eva is interested him having sex to her. By clarifying what he means, John makes his previous flirtatious move becomes more evident. This response can be seen as an even more daring flirtatious, or even disrespectful, action.

This daring flirtatious action is disguised as a canned joke. It can be understood that there are two canned jokes in Line 30-31. The first one is the *kawin/nikah* ambiguity canned joke. This joke is common for Indonesian, at least in the context of Bali. *Kawin* has two meanings: get marry and have sex. Speakers may use *kawin* and unintentionally cause the listeners to take it to mean ‘have sex’. The humor comes from the transgression or violation of talking about sex in conversation. It gets even funnier if the joke is combined with misunderstanding.

The second canned joke, which is possibly done through Line 30-31, is the *Married by*

Accident (MBA) joke. *MBA* refers to a practice where a couple gets married as a result of pregnancy. The Balinese are “obsessed with fecundity” (Parker, 2003). As a result, it is common for couple to conceive before getting married. Wedding is only planned after the female is pregnant. Though this practice is highly common, on the discourse level, pre-marital sex is still somewhat taboo. The couple may admit that the female is pregnant during the wedding, but it would be absurd for a couple announce to their parents that they are trying to conceive because they are intending to get marry. *MBA* can become a joke in conversation. The humor comes from the transgression or the “breach” of talking about trying to conceive and then get married as a result of pregnancy.

The two canned jokes are still sexual relevant. Nonetheless, they may disguise the flirtatious potential of Line 30-31. At least, they compromise the seriousness of the context. They humor enable John’s flirtatious Line 30-31 to appear as an attempt to joke. At the same time, since the joke connects to Line 24 through the word *kawin* ‘have sex’ or ‘get marry’, it potentially retrospectively negotiate the seriousness of Line 24. Line 30-31 negotiates the seriousness of the context, so the interaction can be understood as humorous and non-serious instead of a communication of John genuine sexual attraction to Eva.

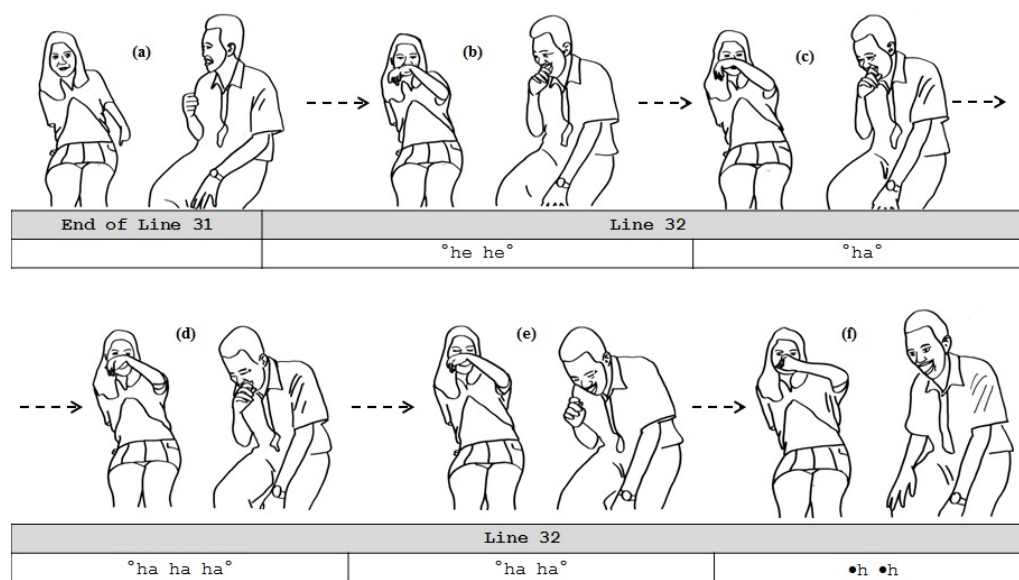


Figure 5.1: Segment 8, Line 31-32

Eva seemingly orients to the humor of line 30-31. Evidently, she smiles and displays mirroring bodily movement to John. At the end of line 31, John raises his right and

towards his mouth (Picture a to e, Figure 5.1) and then rocks his body slightly forward while smiling (Picture a to e, Figure 5.1). In concurrent, Eva also moves one of her hand, her left hand, towards her mouth and rocks her body forward while smiling (Picture a to c, Figure 5.1).

That was the furthest that John's responds to Eva's reminder (Line 28 and 30-31) extend their flirtatious interaction. Subsequent to her smile and mirroring bodily movement, she terminates the humor and flirtatiousness. After rocking his body, when John's right hand reaches his mouth (Picture b and c, Figure 5.1), John loosely covers his mouth and laughs. On the contrary, after rocking her body, and her left nearing her face, Eva rubs her nose (Picture b and c, Figure 5.1). While she rubs her nose, her smile gradually subsides (Picture c to f, Figure 5.1). Soon after, she produces a turn *pake itu*- 'use that' (line 33). This turn is the beginning of a slightly different topic. That topic is not aligned to the *kawin* 'have sex' or 'get marry' topic.

After Eva's Line 33, the humorous and flirtatious interaction is terminated. In response to Line 33, John produces an open class repair initiator *kenapa* 'pardon' (Line 34, Extract 5.27). By producing this open class repair initiator, John indicates an abrupt shift in conversation (Cf. Drew, 1997). At this point, John is no longer smiling, let alone laughing (Line 34 and Picture, Extract 5.27). Then in response to John's repair initiator, Eva says *baju resmi, lek ati ke puri kayak gini* 'formal attire, so shameless to go to (a) palace like this' (Line 35-36, Extract 5.27). At this point, Eva and John are no longer talking about have sex or get marry as in Line 24 and 30-31. The interaction is no longer humorous either. Neither of them is smiling or laughing at this point. Hence, the humorous and flirtatious interaction has been terminated at this point.

In this instance, the termination is delayed for a short while. Eva puts a brake to their humorous and flirtatious interaction through the production of reminder. However, John "successfully" extends their humorous and flirtatious interaction for a short while by negating Eva's reminder and producing a joke. In response, Eva seemingly acquiesces by smiling and mirroring John's bodily movement. However, soon after, Eva produces a verbal turn which shifts the topic away from flirtatiousness. Eva's action then successfully

terminates their humorous and flirtatious interaction.

Extract 5.20 Segment 3, Line 41-63

41 John : =<tapi kalau malam>, horror
But when night scary
=But when night (comes, its) scary

42 (0.6)

43 John : |[<fə >]|
|((head-up movement))|
Right?

44 Eva : |[°ho]|ror°
|((head-up movement))|
Scary

45 (.)

46 Eva : <Ta!pi kalau yang nganter> gak keliat(h)an,
But if REL escort NEG visible
But if the one who escorts is invisible,

47 : ~Ngg(h)ak ~apa - apa~ °ehék ehék ehék°~
NEG what - what
(then) no problem

48 (0.6)

49 Eva : héh ↑héh héh [héh héh]

50 → John : [Sau]dara - saudara
Viewers,
°<Héh héh>°

51 Eva : inilah [seorang istri] yang jablai,=
52 → : this a wife REL
this is (/let me present) a jablai wife

53 Eva : [eh tid(h)ak]
hey NEG

54 : Hey no
= >°eeh°< =
Hey

55 John : °=ada yang mau?°
Exist REL want
Anybody want?

56 Eva : ~Jan!gan, dire[k(h)am °hoh hoh huh huh°~]
Don't record-PASSIVE
Don't (do that), (we're being) recorded

57 John : [eh ↑eh eh]=
58 John : =↑Oh-HOH , | he direkam ya
Owh record-PASSIVE DP
Eva : |((hand-clap)
Oh hoh, recorded?

59 Eva : | °a(h)da rek(h)am(h)an° |
Exist recording
(We're being) recorded/ (There's a) recording

John : | ((repositioning: facing Eva)) |

60 John : Jadi, (.)
So,
61 : sense of (.) Interviewer-[nya (.) mun-°cul°]
DET emerge
(my) "sense of interviewer" emerges

62 Eva : [° <hm hm hm hm>°] hm hm hm hm
(giggle)

63 John : ((head-shake)) (ajak sekali)
ask once
(I'll) take (you) once

Extract 5.21 Segment 3, Line 46-47

46 Eva : <Ta!pi kalau yang nganter> gak keliat(h)an,
But if REL escort NEG visible

(a) (b) (c) (d)

But if the escort is invisible,
47 : ~Ngg(h)ak ~apa - apa~ °eh ek eh ek°~
NEG what what

(e) (f)

(then) no problem

Extract 5.26 Segment 8, Line 22-36

22 John : Seksi seka[li dirimu]
Sexy very you
Your're so sexy

23 Eva : [°eh eh m]hem hem°

24 John : <Tak kawinin mau?>
I-do marry/sexual intercourse-IN want
I "marry" (you), interested?

25 Eva : °heh heh°=

26 John : =heh
(eyebrow flashing))

27 Eva : Direkam lo, [~°direkam°~]
Recorded DP recorded
(We're being) recorded (I remind you), (We're being) recorded

28 John : [gak apa - apa]
NEG what what
No problem

29 Eva : [°e hek eh ek eh ek°]

30 John : [=<!Kan> (0.9)] tak kawinin,
DP I-do (sexual) intercourse
(as we know) I have sex with you,

31 John : Tak nikahin itu urusan belakangan|
I-do marry that business later
(whether) I'm marrying (you) is a different business/
can be dealt later

32 Eva : °he he ha ha ha ha ha° •h •h=

33 Eva : =Pake iftu-
Use that
Wearing that-

34 John : Kenapa?
Why
Pardon?

35 Eva : (Full dress/baju resmi)
(Full dress/formal attire)

36 : Lek ati ke puri kayak gini
Shameless to palace like this
(It is) shameless to go to (the) palace like this

Extract 5.27 Segment 8, Line 33-36

33 Eva : =Pake i!tu-
 Use that
 Wearing that-
34 John : Kenapa?
 Why



 Pardon?
35 Eva : (Full dress/baju resmi)
 (full dress/formal attire)
36 : Lek ati ke puri kayak gini
 Shameless to palace like this
 (It is) shameless to go to (the) palace like this

Chapter 6

Categories as Person Reference in Flirting Sequence

In the current data, the participants often refer and address to one another using categories. However, there is an asymmetry. It is John who is more often refers and addresses Eva by using categories and not vice versa. John refers or addresses Eva using categories in Segment 1, Segment 3, and Segment 8, while Eva only refers or addresses John using categories in Segment 3. Additionally, the categories used by John are mostly gendered and at time they are even potentially degrading; while, the category used by Eva is non-gendered and neutral.

6.1 Person Reference in Indonesian Conversation

Conversational Indonesian has a considerably huge repertoire of person reference. To refer to other person or people in conversation, Indonesian speaker may produce the name of the person, employ personal pronoun, employ associative address term (such as *om* ‘uncle’, *tante* ‘aunt’, etc.), honorific address term (such as *Bapak* for older man, *kakak* for older person who are not so old, *mbak* for older female etc.), or even omit any person reference altogether. To date, studies have identified that Indonesian speakers choose the appropriate person reference for their conversation based on discourse context, sociolinguistic and cognitive factors (Mintz, 1994, 2002; J. N. Sneddon, Adelaar, Djenar, & Ewing, 2010; Djenar, 2006, 2007).

There is a range of personal pronoun in Indonesian language. There are such as *gue*, *aku*, *diriku*, *saya* and *hamba* for first person singular; *kami* and *kita* for first person plural; *lo*, *kau*, *dirimu* (see Subsubsection 3.2.1.2 for a discussion on the use of this performative pronoun in the current data), *kamu* and *anda* for second person singular; and *kalian* and *anda sekalian* for second person plural. Among the above personal pronouns, the most common is the first person pronoun *aku* ‘I’ and the second person pronoun *kamu* ‘I’. These are the two pronouns which are used among people who are familiar with each other and sharing the same social status (Mintz, 1994).

6.1.1 Personal Pronoun *aku* ‘I’ and *kamu* ‘you’

In the current data, Eva and John employ these two person pronoun frequently. Below are some occasions where they employ *aku* ‘I’ to refer to themselves and *kamu* ‘you’ to refer or address the other party.

6.1.1.1 *Aku* ‘I’

In Line 24 (Extract 6.1) Eva employs *aku* ‘I’ to refer to herself.

Extract 6.1 Segment 6, Line 19-24

19	:	mau?= interested?
20	Eva	:=((inhalation)) Adu::h, °cap°- EXCL Uwh, ti- ((tired))
21		<kamu naik apa> you ride what what (are) you flying (with)?
22	John	: Airasia ke sananya, To there-DET Airasia for the outbound (flight),
23		baliknya naik Garuda return-DET ride (for) the return (flight is) riding Garuda (Indonesia)
24	Eva	: Aku naik Thai I ride I flew with Thai (Airways)

In Line 3 and 6 (Extract 6.2) John employs *aku* ‘I’ to refer to himself.

1 Eva : *Trus kenken ne, payu kundangan?*
 So how this going to-reception
 So how is it, (are we) still going to (the) reception?

2 John : *Ya ntar tak kabarin lagi*
 Yes later I-do news-IN further
 Yes I will keep (you) updated.

3 John : *Aku mau ke kantor dulu*
 I want to office first
 I want to go to (the) office first.

4 : *Tak cek kondisi terakhir*
 I-do check condition latest
 I'm checking the latest condition.

5 John : *Soalnya, tadi udah bilang, ng*
 Because earlier already say
 Because earlier (I) have said, ng

6 John : *Aku gak ikut sama ini,*
 I NEG follow with this
 I am not coming with this,

7 John : *sama ****
 *with ****

60 John : Jadi, (.)
So,
61 : sense of (.) Interviewer-[*nya* (.) *mun-°cul°*]
DET emerge
(my) "sense of interviewer" emerges
62 Eva : [*°* <hm hm hm hm>*°*] hm hm hm hm
(giggle)
63 John : ((head-shake)) (ajak sekali)
ask once
(I'll) take (you) once
64 Eva : [emang] cocok kamu jadi wartawan
indeed suitable you become journalist
Indeed you are suitable to be (a) journalist
65 John : Kok gitu?
PART like-that
Why is that?
66 Eva : Cerewet *°soalnya°*
Because (you are) talkative

In Line 64 (Extract 6.3) Eva employs *kamu* 'you' to address John. She says *emang cocok kamu jadi wartawan* 'Indeed you are suitable to be (a) journalist. Then in Line 22 (Extract 6.4) John employs the Indonesian 2SG pronoun *kamu* 'you' to address Eva, even if the rest of the turn is in Balinese. He says *nyen jak kamu mai* 'who are you coming here with?'. *Nyen* 'who', *jak* 'with', and *mai* 'here' are all in Balinese.

Sacks and Schegloff (1979) observed that there are two preferences for referring to person in conversation. Those preferences are: (1) “minimization, involves use of a single reference form” and (2) “recipient design, involves the preference for "recognitionals,"

Extract 6.4 Segment 2, Line 19-23

19	John	:	Ehm, sip Yep, cool. (1.4)
21	Eva	:	°trus, trus° go on, go on
22	John	:	°nyen jak kamu mai?° Who with you here Who are you coming here with?
23	Eva	:	Eh, mbak ((pointing)) Ehm, (the) nanny

e.g. name” (p. 15). As a result of the two preferences, there is this tendency to employ short one-word recognitional, such as name, instead of the longer description.

Enfield, Stivers, and Levinson (2007), have pointed the possibility that the above preference system may be influenced by culture. They have reported that instead of short one-word recognitional, associative terms such: as my sister, your husband, and alike, are more common in Tzeltal, Tzotzil, and Yucated. Based on their report, it can be said that the unmarked person reference system in those cultures is associative term instead of the short one-word name.

Conversational Indonesian appears to operate the two preferences (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979) slightly differently to English, Tzeltal, Tzotzil, and Yucated. In the cases where the references and addressees are retrievable from the context, instead of satisfied with short one-word recognitional, conversational Indonesian even goes further as to omit explicit person reference. Wouk (2005) has reported that only about half of all clauses in her data-set contains explicit subject. It appears that, In Indonesian conversation, omission of person reference are equally common to explicit person reference.

Wouk observation is consistent to the present data. John and Eva often omit explicit references, when the reference or addressee is retrievable from the context. Below are instances where the person references are omitted in the flirtatious sequence.

6.1.2.1 Eva as the Omitted Reference

In Segment 6 (Line 16, Extract 6.5) John announces *ni tak pesenin tiket ke Bangkok dulu ya* ‘here I order ticket to Bangkok first okay’. Though he does not explicitly says that the ticket is for Eva, the employed verb indicates the presence of a beneficiary whom is not John. Then, the context – talking about Eva’s desire to go for a holiday – suggests that the beneficiary is Eva.

Extract 6.5 Segment 6, Line 1-16

1	Eva	:	°must tuh° that That's a must
2	Eva	:	Pengen banget liburan want really holiday (I) really want to go for a holiday
3	John	:	Iya, nanti kan dia datang, Yes later DP 3SG come Yes (as we know) he is coming soon
4		:	Sebulan lagi, [ajak liburan] one-month more take holiday In a month, take (him) (for a) a holiday
5	Eva	:	[°aduh°]
6	Eva	:	Uwh Kalau pergi sama dia kan, spend money, If go with 3SG DP
7			Hehehehe Going (for a holiday) with him, (means) spending money. Hehehehe.
8	John	:	Maksudnya? (what do you) mean?
9	Eva	:	Kalau bring family together, spend much money CONJ Bringing the whole family, (means) spending (too) much money
10	John	:	Terus, mau sendiri, So want alone So, (you) want to go by yourself?
11	Eva	:	e:: hehehahahahaha=
15 →	John	:	O gitu, Owh like-that Oh I see,
16 →			ni tak pesenin tiket ke Bangkok dulu a this I(do) order-IN ticket to first DP here let me order (you) a ticket to Bangkok okay

John indexes someone else as the beneficiary of his action ordering ticket to Bangkok. The suffix *-in* indexes a beneficiary, whom is different than the actor of the verb. “The colloquial applicative suffix *-in* is a robust marker of informal style. It can often replace *-kan* or *-i*, retaining the same meaning as the form with the standard suffix,” (Ewing, 2005, p. 253). Sneddon et.al. (1996) enlists several meanings of the standard suffix *-kan*, such as causative, instrumental, and benefactive. The most appropriate meaning in the case of *pesenin* ‘order’-*in* is the benefactive meaning. Hence, though John does not explicitly express who is the beneficiary, the employed verb form indicates presence of a beneficiary

whom is different than him.

John's announcement (Line 16, Extract 6.5) occurs within a context of Eva telling John about her desire to go for a holiday. Eva has just admitted that she wants to go for a holiday alone (Line 13-14, Extract 6.5). As a consequence, when John announces that he is ordering a ticket to a foreign destination – Bangkok – (Line 6, Extract 6.5) the most likely beneficiary to this action will be Eva. Based on the context, the most likely beneficiary of John's action – ordering (a) ticket to Bangkok for someone else – is Eva; though, she is not being explicitly referred.

6.1.2.2 John as the Omitted Addressee

In Segment 7, Eva says *cari ya, sana* 'look there okay' (Line 13, Extract 6.6). Though she does not explicitly address John, the context suggests that Eva addresses this turn to John. In addition, since the turn is produced within the context of Eva's family holiday, the person being looked for can be understood as Eva himself or Eva and her son. Consequently, the turn (Line 13, Extract 6.6) is understood as asking John to look for her, or her and her son, in London.

Extract 6.6 Segment 7, Line 1-14

1	Eva	:	Eropa kan mau ke London t[uh] Europe DP already to that For Europe (as you know) (I've) already got that arrangement to London
2	John	:	[O::H][iya , °gitu°] yes like-that Ah, yes, (I remember) that
3	Eva	:	[e::=<Jadi ting]gal> So remain
4	Eva	:	mikirin tiketnya papahnya aja, think-IN ticket-DET father-DET only So the only thing now (is)ticket for the father,
5	Eva	:	pulanganya gak usah dia ikut pul(h)ang Home-NYA NEG need 3SG join go-home (for) the return trip, he doesn't need to return home
6			~Heh heh heh~ diusir ~khuuh[huuh]~ Evict-PASSIVE I He he he I (can be) kicked out
7	John	:	[(jerodj-)]= ((unclear))
8	John	:	Jangan diajak pa[pah]nya.= Don't take-PASSIVE father-DET Don't take the father (along),
9	Eva	:	[•h]
10	John	:	=nga[pain diajak-] why take-PASSIVE Why (are you) taking (him anyway)-
11	Eva	:	[Berdua ↑j a-] a group of two only head-turning Just (the) two-
12	John	:	[ha he] ((head-nod))
13	Eva	:	[<cari ya> °sana°]= find DP there Find (me) there okay
14	John	:	=EH!

The place of reference *sana* ‘there’ in Line 13 (Extract 6.6) is London. As a consequence, the entity being looked for is Eva, or Eva and her son. Line 13 occurs within a conversation about Eva’s plan for a family holiday to London. Prior to Line 1 Eva and John talks about Eva’s plan for family holiday. Then in Line 1 Eva reminds him that she has got a plan for a, presumably family, holiday to London. Eva and John stay on this topic throughout line 2-12 (Extract 6.6). Hence, when Eva says *sana* ‘there’ in Line 13 (Extract 6.6), the most likely understanding is that Eva is referring to London.

The one being looked for can be Eva or Eva and her son. Earlier in Line 5 (Extract 6.6) Eva jokingly says that her husband does not need to return home. Then, in response John jokingly suggests Eva to not to take her husband for the holiday in the first place (Line 8, Extract 6.6) and then even challenges Eva’s idea of taking her husband along (Line 10, Extract 6.6). From line 5 to line 10 (Extract 6.6), it appears that Eva’s husband participation in the London holiday is being negotiated. When Eva says *berdua ja-* ‘just

(the) two-' in Line 11 (Extract 6.6), in all likelihood it does not include her husband. Hence *berdua ja-* 'just (the) two-' in Line 11 (Extract 6.6) may either refer to her and her son, or her and John. Then, when Eva says *cari* 'look for', without specifying the entity being looked for, the entity can be understood as her or her and her son.

Extract 6.7 Segment 7, Line 10-13

10	John	:	=nga[pain	diajak-]	
			why	take-PASSIVE	
			Why (are you) taking (him anyway)-		
11	Eva	:	[Berdua	↑j a-]	
			a group of two	only	
				head-turning	
12	John	:	Just (the) two-		
			[ha he]		
			((head-nod))		
13	Eva	:	[<cari ya> "sana"]=		
			find DP there		

(a)

(b)

Find (me) there okay

Additionally, Eva produces a group of behaviours indicating that her turn (Line 13, Extract 6.7) is specifically addressed to John. She directs her gaze at John while producing her turn (Line 13, Picture b, Extract 6.7). She turns her head towards John slightly before the onset of her turn (Line 11, Picture a, Extract 6.7). As she turns her head, she locks her gaze at John's direction. At the same time, she raises her eyebrows and nods, while producing her turn. She nods twice: when she says *cari ya* 'look okay' and when she says *sana* 'there'. The presence of gaze indicates that he addresses her turn at John. Her raised eyebrows and nods potentially indicate that she is attempting to engage John as well as convince him and prompts his for response.

In the situation where the reference or addressee is retrievable from the context, participants may forego person reference completely. In making the reference or addressee more evident, they employ verbal and non-verbal means to indicate the reference or addressee, but without producing the reference or address term explicitly.

6.2 “Marked” Person Reference: Categories

There are two observations in terms of the use of the marked person reference of categories in the data. The first one is that the male participant, John, addresses the female participant, Eva, through categories more often within the flirting sequences. On the other hand, Eva rarely does so. Even when she addresses or sees him with a commonly identifiable gendered (male) term, within the context of that turn, that term is not seen as gendered.

The second observation is that selection of category in use is motivated by the action being done through the turn. Stivers (2007) observed that when a speaker in conversation employs marked person references in conversation, it is doing more than just referring. She observed how the marked associative term such as associative ‘yer sister’, ‘my honey’, etc, and demonstrative prefaced description ‘that next door neighbor’, etc, provides a means to negotiate the participant’s domain of responsibility.

Similarly, when John employs categories to address or refer to Eva in flirting sequence, he is doing more than just referring to her. The employment of the categories enable the turn to be inferentially understood in a flirtatious relevant way, while at the same time maintaining a high degree of ambiguity. Categories are “inference rich” (Sacks, 1992). Hence, they are fit to do this kind of job. The possible inferences activated by the categories make it possible for a turn to be understood as flirtatious, yet still ambiguous. It appears that the constraint at play in flirting interaction is ambiguity. The employment of categories as person reference is doing more than referring to the other party, it addresses the constraint of ambiguity.

6.2.1 John

Not all gendered term is employed for gender related business, and vice versa. It may be employed for other business (Kitzinger, 2007; Stockill & Kitzinger, 2007). There are times when gendered term is employed for business other than gender. There are also times when non-gendered term is employed for gender related business. In the current data, there is one time when Eva employs gendered term to refer to John for gender

Extract 6.8 Segment 3, Line 46-53

46 → Eva : <Ta!pi kalau yang nganter> gak keliat(h)an,
But if REL escort NEG visible
47 → : ~Ngg(h)ak ~apa - apa~ °ehék ehék ehék°~
NEG what - what
But if the escort is invisible, (then) no problem
48 (0.6)
49 Eva : héh ↑héh héh [héh héh]
50 → John : [Sau]dara - saudara
Viewers,
51 Eva : °<Héh héh>°
52 → : inilah [seorang istri] yang jablai,=
this a wife REL
this is (/let me present) a jablai wife
53 Eva : [eh tid(h)ak]
hey NEG
Hey no

related business. There is also one time when Eva produce a non-gendered term, which possibly refers to John, but being understood as doing gendered business by John.

6.2.1.1 Seemingly non-gendered (but potentially gendered) category: *yang nganter* ‘(the) escort’

There is one instance where John is possible depicted to be a member of a possibly gendered category: In Segment 3, line 46, Eva mentions a category of *yang nganter* ‘the (one) who escort/ the escort’ (Extract 6.8). She says *tapi kalau yang nganter gak keliatan gak apa – apa* ‘but if the escort is unseen then no problem’ (line 46-47). The reference *yang nganter* ‘the escort’ here comes with the predicate of *gak keliatan* ‘unseen’ and condition *gak apa - apa* ‘no problem’.

The analysis suggests that this non-explicit category, employed in this specific context, is understood as male by John. Thus it is gendered. Subsequent to the mention of *yang nganter* ‘the escort’, John refers to Eva as *seorang istri yang jablai* ‘a wife who is deprived’ subsequently (Line 52, Extract 6.8). This response suggests that somehow this *yang nganter* ‘the escort’ (Line 46, Extract 6.8) category is relevant to Eva’s identity as a wife. The most likely reading is why the category of *yang nganter* ‘the escort’ comes with the predicate of unseen here is because this category is understood as male. A male escort should remain unseen because Eva is a wife. A person who is incumbent to the category of wife will have to face problem if she is escorted by male escort.

It is also possible that the reason for the escort to remain unseen is because the escort (Line 46-47, Extract 6.8) does not only perform the innocuous escorting activity, but also

caressing Eva. Caressing her can be seen as a romance or sexual act. Eva is married so romance or sexual act by a male other than her husband is transgressive, therefore should be unseen (Similar discussion on Line 50 and 52 can be accessed in Subsection 5.2.1). Provided by John's understanding, which is displayed through Line 50 and 52 (Extract 6.8), along with its flirtatious connection, the seemingly non gendered *yang nganter* 'the escort' in Line 46-47 (Extract 6.8) is actually understood as gendered in this occasion.

6.2.1.2 Seemingly gendered (but not gendered) category: *wartawan* '(male) journalist'

There is one instance where John is depicted to belong to a gendered category. This instance occurs not within a flirting sequence itself. It occurs some turns after the participants exit the flirting turn. . It is placed within a turn which retrospectively comments about the just exited sequence (Cf Goodwin, 1992 & Psathas, 1990).

Extract 6.9 Segment 3, Lin 63-69

63	John	:	((head-shake)) [<(ajak sekali)>] ask once (I'll) take (you) once
64 →	Eva	:	[emang] <u>cocok</u> kamu jadi wartawan indeed suitable you become journalist
			
65	John	:	Indeed you (are) suitable to be (a) journalist Rok gitu? PART like-that Why is that?
66	Eva	:	Cerewet °soalnya° Because (you are) talkative
67	John	:	!eh What?
68	Eva	:	Cerewet= Talkative
69	John	:	=Emang sengaja kan nyari yang begini Indeed deliberate PART look-for REL like-this This is the one in demand right?

As a commentary to what have happened in the flirting sequence (Segment 3, Line 41-59, see Extract 5.20 or Appendix B to access the transcript, and Subsection 3.1.2.4 and 5.2.1 for discussion regarding these Lines), in Line 64 (Extract 6.9) Eva says *emang cocok kamu*

jadi wartawan 'indeed you (are) suitable to be (a) journalist'. In doing so, she accredited John's talkativeness to what has just happened in the preceding turns Line (41-59). The Indonesian *wartawan* means male journalist. The counterpart of *wartawan* is *wartawati* 'female journalist'.

Nonetheless, the term *wartawan* is not gendered. There are two reasons to say so. Firstly gender differentiation between *wartawan* and *wartawati* is presently archaic. *Wartawan* is commonly used to refer to both male and female journalist. Presently, it is also common to employ the English derived, gender neutral *jurnalis* 'journalist'.

Secondly, in this context, *wartawan* is being used to refer to the category of journalist as an incumbent to the Membership Categorization Device (MCD) of job. Here, the gendered category *wartawan* is not employed for a gender related business. Eva does not appear to orient to the gender specification of the journalist. There is a short question and answer sequence right after Eva says that John is 'suitable to be a journalist' (Line 64, Extract 6.9). In Line 65 (Extract 6.9) John says *kok gitu* 'why (is) that'? *Kok* is a questioning particle, "[P]laced before a statement, *kok* changes it to a question and expresses the speaker's surprise that it is correct: 'how could that be? How come?' (Sneddon, 2006). Here, produced after Line 64, the turn *kok gitu* 'why (is) that'? can be understood as a question of why Eva says John as 'suitable to be a journalist' (Line 64, Extract 6.9).

In response, Eva says *cerewet soalnya* 'because (you are) talkative' (Line 66, Extract 6.9). Taking Eva's account (Line 66, Extract 6.9) as her motivation for casting John as a *wartawan* 'male journalist', she reveals that she orients to the predicate of talkative of a journalist instead of the gender specification of whether it is male *wartawan* or female *wartawati*. The focus here is the talkativeness of a *jurnalis* in general and not the *wartawan* male gender specification.

6.2.2 Eva: Derivatives of the Category of *istri* 'wife'

There are times when John employs gendered category *istri* 'wife' to refer to Eva. Those are in Segment 1 and Segment 3. In Segment 1, John refers to Eva, in the third person,

as *istri orang* ‘someone else’s wife’. In Segment 3 John refers to Eva, again in the third person, *seorang istri yang jablai* ‘a wife who is rarely caressed’. In those occasions, John does not appear to be merely referring to Eva. Those categories are essential in the turns where they appear. Through the employment of the above categories, some possible flirting relevant meaning can be inferred from those turns.

In addition to categories, is also one time, in Segment 8 Line 49, when John refers to Eva with a vague reference *yang begini* ‘some(one/thing) like this’. Though *yang begini* ‘some(one/thing) like this’ is not a category label, there is in fact an underlying category being oriented through it. A careful observation reveals that this reference - *yang begini* ‘some(one/thing) like this’ - orients to a category. Similar to the employment of explicit category label – the derivatives of *istri* ‘wife’ – the employment of this vague reference *yang begini* ‘some(one/thing) like this’ give ways to inferentially derived flirting relevant action.

6.2.2.1 *Istri orang* ‘someone else’s wife’

As a response to Beth’s parting message (Line 2 and 4, Extract 6.10), John assures Beth that Eva and him are going to be alright. They are going to be alright even if Beth and Ron take a long time to return (Line 5, Extract 6.10). Jocularly, John then says that it is even pleasant being (a) spare (husband) for someone else’s wife (Line 9-10, Extract 6.10). Here, as he was talking to Beth and Ron, John employs the category of *istri orang* ‘someone else’s wife’, to refer to Eva in third person. Eva is indeed a wife of someone else and there is going to be only John and Eva there (Similar discussion about the reference in Line 10 can be seen in Subsubsection 3.1.2.1).; hence though Eva is not being explicitly referred here, in all likelihood this *istri orang* ‘someone else’s wife’ is actually referring to Eva.

The form itself, a category, has provided some degrees of ambiguity. In this case, the ambiguity lie in who is actually being referred through *istri orang* ‘someone else’s wife’.

Extract 6.10 Segment 1, Line 1-11

1	John	:	Ya, silahkan silahkan, Bu Yes please please madam Yes, please Madam
2	Beth	:	[Ya, pergi dulu ya, ntar] (.) Yes go first yes later Okay, (we're) leaving okay, later (.)
3	John	:	[Waduh, maaf saya-] EXCL sorry I Ups, sorry I-
4	Beth	:	kembali bentar lagi return a while again returning in a while
5	John	:	Ya, ndak apa, lama juga nggak apa - apa Yes NEG what long-time also NEG what what Yes, no problem, It'll gonna be alright even if (it) takes a long time
6	Beth	:	[°waduh°] °Oh my°
7	Ron	:	[°ah°]
8			(0.4)
9 →	John	:	°em°, enak lagi begini (.) pleasant even like this °ehrm, (It's) even pleasant like this
10		:	nyerep istri o[rang] Spare wife person Being (a) spare for someone else's wife
11	Ron	:	°<[bawa]-in bubur?>° Bring+IN porridge °Bring (you) (some) porridge°

The reference is indeed retrievable from the context (Eva's transportable identity¹ as a wife and their current conversational arrangement), but the level of saliency is different than for example name or personal pronoun.

Line 10 (Extract 6.10), where the category being employed, can be seen as an account of the preceding turn, i.e. Line 9. In line 9 (Extract 6.10) John says *enak lagi begini* 'this is even pleasant'. Then Line 10 ensues. Line 10 can be seen as a combination of an activity *nyerep* 'being (a) spare' (See section 3.1.2.1 for extended discussion on the verb *serep* 'spare') and category *istri orang* 'someone else's wife'. Since category is inference rich (Sacks & Jefferson, 1992), the provision of category here enables an understanding, which is inferentially derived, of why the present arrangement *begini* 'like this' (Line 9, Extract 6.10) is pleasant. In that sense, Line 10 is then understood as an account to Line 9.

What is the potential understanding derived from Line 10: activity *nyerep* 'being (a) spare' and category *istri orang* 'someone else's wife' combination. To unpack John's

¹ "...transportable identities travel with individuals across situations and are potentially relevant in and for any situation and in and for any spate o f interaction."(Zimmerman, 1998, p. 90)

Line 10, we can start from the explicit category: *istri* 'wife'. One way to conceptualize the category of *istri* 'wife' is to see it as an incumbent to the Membership Categorization Device (MCD) of married couple. The other member of this MCD is the husband. Here in Line 10, John does not only make relevant the category of wife, but also the husband. He reveals his orientation through saying *istri orang* 'someone else's wife'. This phrase reveals his orientation to Eva's incumbency to the category of *istri* 'wife', as well as indicates the presence of someone (other than him) as the husband.

Then by saying *nyerep* 'being (a) spare', John can be understood as subsuming himself within the husband and wife MCD arrangement. John indicates that he is the *serep* 'spare', or in this case the most appropriate translation would be surrogate. This juxtaposition provides a conceptualization of what is *begini* 'like this' (Line 9). It is not simply Eva and John conversing in the park, but a spare husband and someone else's wife kind of conversation. Additionally, this juxtaposition also provides an account of why *begini* 'like this' is *enak* 'pleasant'.

There are myriad of possible understanding here. It is possibly pleasant to converse about hobbies. It is possibly equally pleasant to talk about Eva's son. However, since John mentions *nyerep istri orang* 'being (a) spare (for) someone else's wife'; the listener may understand this is the reason of why it is pleasant. Husband and wife may do some kind of romance and sexual activities when they are alone. Similarly, a *serep* 'spare', or surrogate in this case, and a wife may do the same thing. The difference is that they are not the real or legitimate member of the married couple MCD. Hence, the listener may be steered to take that possibly, it is pleasant because they may be doing some kind of romance or sexual activity. Then, the illegitimate incumbency to the married couple MCD of a *serep* 'surrogate' *istri orang* 'someone else's wife' may contribute to the potential extramarital affair nuance of Line 10. One would be able to imagine that doing some kind of romance or sexual activity in extramarital affair arrangement is the one that makes *begini* 'like this' becomes *enak* 'pleasant'.

At the same time, it is important to note that John does not explicitly say that Eva and him sitting there for romance or sexual kind of activity, etc. Hence, his actual intention

remains ambiguous.

6.2.2.2 *Seorang istri yang jablai* ‘a wife who is rarely caressed’

In Segment 3, as a response to Eva’s playful cryptic, potentially flirtatious, turn (Line 46-47, Extract 6.11); John performs a pretend-play (See subsection 4.3.1.2 for extended discussion of Line 46-47 and subsection 5.2.1 for extended discussion of Line 50 and 52).

Within the pretend-play of Line 52 and 52 (6.11), John addresses the camera and refers to Eva as *seorang istri yang jablai* ‘a wife who (is) rarely caressed’.

Extract 6.11 Segment 3, Line 46-53

46 →	Eva	:	<Ta!pi kalau yang nganter> gak keliat(h)an, But if REL escort NEG visible
47 →		:	~Ngg(h)ak ~apa - apa~ °ehek ehek ehek°~ NEG what - what But if the escort is invisible,(then) no problem (0.6)
48			heh ↑heh heh [heh heh]
49	Eva	:	
50 →	John	:	[Sau]dara - saudara Viewers, °<Heh heh>°
51	Eva	:	
52 →		:	inilah [seorang istri] yang jablai,= this a wife REL this is (/let me present) a jablai wife
53	Eva	:	[eh tid(h)ak] hey NEG Hey no

Jablai [dʲʌblʌe] is an abbreviation. It is derived from *jarang* ‘rarely’ and *belai* ‘caressed’.

In some cases it is written as *jablay* instead of *jablai*. The two spellings are used interchangeably.

Other than carrying the meanings of it abbreviated words *jarang* ‘rarely’ and *belai* ‘caressed’, *jablai* has its place in Indonesian vernacular. Based on its context of usage, it may be understood as humorous or derogatory. The word *jablai* gains its popularity after a well celebrated movie: *mendadak dangdut* ‘suddenly dangdut’ (Soedjarwo, 2006). The movie has a song entitled *jablai* (rejalgakmuf, 2008). In that song, the character *jablai* is represented as a female wearing red unitard in excessive jewelry (See Figure 6.1 for reference). Not only that, that female also move her body seemingly flirtatious, but at the same time exaggerated and amusing. This depiction introduces the humorous sense of *jablai*. It is a flirtatious female, who is tacky and possibly fail miserably in actually entices a man.



Figure 6.1: Si Jablai from Jablai (2006) song

Jablai also carries derogatory sense. For some, it is the term used to refer to prostitute or slut. An entry in urban dictionary says that jablai is “an Indonesian term used often by the village societies meaning ‘prostitute’ (female)” ([jablay, n.d.](#)). Then a cursory internet search may reveal that jablai is associated to slutty female ([jablay - Google Search, n.d.](#)). Taking the above senses of jablai into consideration, seorang istri yang jablai has different possible meanings.

Seorang istri yang jablai ‘a wife who (is) rarely caressed’ can be understood as a sub-set of the category of *istri* ‘wife’, specifically in relation to the frequency of being caressed, presumably by the husband. Within the same set, there is probably the one who is not jablai (often caressed) as well. Considering the possible different meaning of *jablai*, *seorang istri yang jablai* may simply refer to the category of wife who is rarely caressed, the tacky kind of wife who fails miserably at enticing man or the slutty or even prostitute kind of wife. There probably some predicates and activities bounded to each of the subset of *istri* ‘wife’. The one being often caressed has some features, inclination, etc; the same goes to the jablai ‘rarely caressed’ ones.

Produced after Eva’s Line 46-47 – But if the escort is invisible, (then) no problem –, it can deduced that *seorang istri yang jablai* ‘a jablai wife’ has some kind of connection to getting unseen escort. There are arrays of possible understanding here. One is that because Eva is rarely caressed, the unseen person escorting her should then be also caressing her. The other are that Eva is that kind of wife, who is tacky and fails miserably at enticing man, so that it is her thing to ask to be escorted by someone in clandestine manner. It is also possible that Eva is simply slutty, hence he wants to ask to be escorted

in clandestine way.

In any ways, the category of *istri* ‘wife’ plays important role here. *Istri* is a category, which is commonly understood as an incumbent to the Membership Categorization Device (MCD) of married couple. The other member is *suami* ‘husband’. *Istri* ‘wife’ is also commonly seen as an incumbent of roles in society. The other members are probably, *suami* ‘husband’, *mertua* ‘in laws’, singles, kids, teenage girl, teenage boy, spinster, etc. Each of the categories comes with their own associated governing norms, predicates, activities, etc.

John, and Eva, may have some ideas of how wife should act. By modifying the category of wife with *yang jablai* ‘the jablai (one)’, John indicates that Eva is not a “normal” wife, for whatever definition of “normal” wife that he has in his mind. Produced after line 46-47, which indicates the presence of invisible escort, it is more straightforward to think that Eva’s incumbency to the category of “normal” wife is negotiated as a result of this invisible escort. Without the category of *istri* ‘wife’, the above inference cannot be achieved. At the same time, the exact meaning of John’s *seorang istri yang jablai* ‘a wife who (is) rarely caressed’ (Line 52) is difficult to be pinned down, therefore remains ambiguous.

6.2.3 Eva: Category (*yang*) *begini* ‘(something) like this’

In Segment 8, Line 49 (Extract 6.12), John refers to Eva with a vague reference *yang begini* ‘some(one/thing) like this’. *Yang begini* ‘some(one/thing) like this’ is constructed from the relativizer *yang* and the adverb of manners *begini* ‘like this’. The two can be seen as modifier to an elliptic noun. In terms of categorization, *yang begini* ‘some(one/thing) like this’ can be seen as the predicate of an unspecified category. *Begini* ‘like this’ is not explicit, it refers to the available predicate without verbalizing it. One way to understand what constitutes this unspecified category is by tracking what transpires during the interaction. The possibility is that the participants orient to this category during the same sequence.

In line 45 (Extract 6.12), only several turns before Line 49, John says *gak apa – apa*

45 John : Gak apa - apa begini
NEG what what like-this

(a)

(It's) okay like this.

46 Seru [dapat-]
Exciting get
Exciting (to) get-

47 Eva : [eeergh]

48 John : Biar pernah aja
So ever just
For once

49 aku ngajak sekali - sekali yang begini
I go-together once REL like-this

(b) (c)

I go with (something) like this

begini ‘(It’s) okay this way’. At the moment when he produces *begini* ‘like this’, he looks at Eva’s thighs (Picture a, Extract 6.12), which at the moment is wearing a short skirt. Hence, *begini* ‘like this’ somehow related to Eva’s short skirt. Since Balinese weather is hot and humid for most of the time of the year, wearing a short skirt is quite common.

However, here John indicates that it is somehow “exciting”. After producing Line 45, where he non-verbally refers to Eva’s short skirt, he says *seru dapet* ‘(It’s) exciting (to) get-’ (Line 46). We may not know what he actually means by Line 46, as he discontinues his turn and produces Line 48 and 49 *biar pernah aja aku ngajak sekali –sekali yang begini* ‘for once I take some(one/thing) like this’. However, by comparing between what has been discontinued (Line 46) and the repair (Line 48-49), it can be deduced that John sees *begini* ‘like this’ as something exciting, special, or even amusing; something or someone that he wants to have experience to go with.

If we go further up, to the beginning of the sequence, we may actually able to gain more information about this category *yang begini* ‘some(one/thing) like this’. Line 49 (Extract

Extract 6.13 Segment 8, Line 1-10

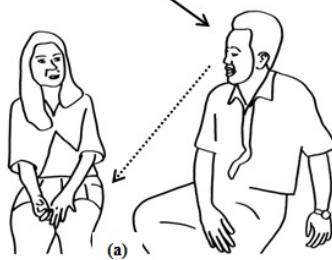
1	Eva	:	<i>Trus kenken ne, payu kundangan?</i> So how this going to-reception So how is it, (are we) still going to (the) reception?
2	John	:	Ya ntar tak kabarin lagi Yes later I-do news-IN further Yes I will keep (you) updated.
3	John	:	Aku mau ke kantor dulu I want to office first I want to go to (the) office first.
4			Tak cek kondisi terakhir I-do check condition latest I'm checking the latest condition.
5	John	:	Soalnya, tadi udah bilang, ng Because earlier already say Because earlier (I) have said, ng
6	John	:	Aku gak ikut sama ini, I NEG follow with this I am not coming with this,
7	John	:	sama *** with ***
8	John	:	Yang lagi satu itu ngajakin kemaren REL again one that ask yesterday Another (party) asked (to got together) yesterday,
9	John	:	Anak - anak panti people institution the people at the institution.
10	John	:	Ya ntar tak ° giniin° tenang aja Yes later I-so like-this calm only Yes, later I will do something (for you) just stay calm.

6.12) occurs after a conversation about John and Eva plan to go to a reception together. In Line 1 (Extract 6.13), Eva asks whether they are going to the reception in Balinese. The Balinese word *payu* ‘going to’ indicates that some kind of arrangement has been made before. Hence here, Eva’s question in Line 1 (Extract 6.13) asks whether they are going to the reception as planned before. Then unable to give a decisive answer, John assures Eva that she will be kept updated (Line 2 and 10, Extract 6.13) and he will and has done some measures to make sure that they are still going to the reception (Line 3-9, Extract 6.13).

Subsequently, John starts to smile and while looking at Eva’s thighs asks whether Eva wants to go to the reception (Picture a, Line 11, Extract 6.14). Not getting prompt response from Eva, John then produces a turn, which can be understood as stating the “condition” for Eva to be taken to the reception. He says *begini tapi ya* ‘but this way okay’ (Line 14, Extract 6.14). He points at Eva’s short skirt while saying *begini* ‘like this’ (Picture a, Extract 6.14). Provided by the sequential context, here John can be understood as indicating that if Eva wants to be taken to the reception she needs to be *begini* ‘like this’. Eva then playfully “screams” in response (Line 15, Extract 6.14), which is then prompts

Extract 6.14 Segment 8, Line 11-17

11 John : Ma'fu kundangan?|
Want reception

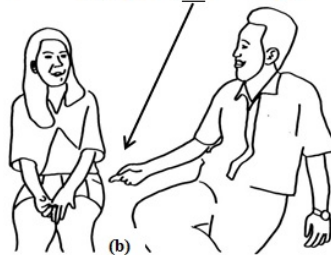


Sure wanna go(to the) reception?

12 Eva : (0.4)

13 [°(h)əp°]

14 John : [Begi]ni tapi ya



But this way okay?

15 Eva : əɑ::

No::

16 John : Yah begini yah

Yes like-this yes

Okay, like this okay

17 (0.3)

Extract 6.15 Segment 8, Line 18-24

18	John	:	[!ya] yes ((eyebrows flashing)) Okay?
19	Eva	:	[Rok] pendek Skirt short Short skirt
20	John	:	°<Gimana dong>° How DP What should (I) do
21	Eva	:	æ:::rgh No:::
22	John	:	Seksi seka[li dirimu] Sexy very you Your're so sexy
23	Eva	:	[°eh ehm]hem hem°
24	John	:	<Tak kawinin mau?> I-do marry/sexual intercourse-IN want



I marry/have sexual intercourse (to you), interested?

John to repeats his previous condition. This time, as a result of being “sandwiches” between two affiliative agreement markers *yah* ‘yes’, instead of indicating a condition the turn can be understood as a persuasion for Eva to be *begini* ‘like this’ (Line 16, Extract 6.14).

At this point, from the context and John’s non-verbal signal, three points can be deduced about *begini* ‘like this’. The first one is that it is somehow related to Eva’s short skirt. The second one is that it is Eva’s appearance that John’s wants Eva to appear in. The third one is John’s idea of Eva *begini* ‘like this’ – appear in her present look – is possibly non-serious.

Then subsequently, in Line 19 (Extract 6.15)Eva says *rok pendek* ‘short skirt’. Line 19 occurs after John produces the persuasion (Line 16), a gap of 0.3 seconds and another response- acceptance pursuant from John (Line 18, Extract 6.15). Line 19 is the place where acceptance or declination to Eva wearing her present look to the reception is due again. And there Eva says *rok pendek* ‘short skirt’. Putting its placement into consideration, *rok pendek* ‘short skirt’ here can be understood as the account of her declination of John’s previous persuasion (Line 16, Extract 6.14 and 18, Extract 6.15).

Extract 6.16 Segment 8, Line 33-36

33	Eva	:	=Pake itu- Use that Wearing that-
34	John	:	Kenapa? Why
			
35	Eva	:	Pardon? (Full dress/baju resmi) (full dress/formal attire)
36		:	Lek ati ke puri kayak gini Shameless to palace like this (It is) shameless to go to (the) palace like this

At the same time, since before this point the topic of their talk has not been explicit, Line 19 also reveals Eva's understanding of what constitutes *begini* 'like this'. Hence, *begini* 'like this' is *rok pendek* 'short skirt'. Later on, in line 36 (Extract 6.16) Eva reveals her reasoning of why *begini* 'like this', *rok pendek* 'short skirt', is inappropriate for the reception. In line 36 (Extract 6.16) Eva says 'shameless to go to (the) palace like this'. From that turn, it can be deduced that the reception will be held at some kind of palace and according to Eva it is shameless to wear short skirt to such place.

As previously mentioned, *begini* 'like this' firstly produced in this sequence as a condition, in relation to going to the reception (Line 14, Extract 6.14). Eva needs to be *begini* 'like this' in order for her to be taken to the reception by John. However, Eva then rejects (Line 19, Extract 6.15). The rejection does not terminate the relevancy of *begini* 'like this'. After the "rejection", John says *gimana dong* 'what should (I) do' (Line 20, Extract 6.15) and then followed by *seksi sekali dirimu* 'you're very sexy' (Line 22, Extract 6.15). Considering its sequential placement, here John can be understood as indicating asking her to appear in such way, *begini* 'like this' – wearing short skirt –, is inevitable because she is very sexy. Not only that, this sexiness – of wearing short skirt – is also appealing. Subsequently, John says *tak kawinin mau* 'I marry (you) interested' (Line 24) (see Subsection 5.2.2 for the discussion on the dual meaning of *kawin*). Line 24 can be understood as indicating John's sexual attraction to Eva.

The employment of this undefined categorical reference - *yang begini* 'some(one/thing) like this' - in this spate of talk enables John (and Eva) to communicate their flirtatiousness; while at the same time maintaining some degrees of ambiguity. Bit by bit John can be understood as indicating that Eva wearing a short skirt is sexy, appealing, and even thrilling for him. At the same time, John does not reveal the above information at one go, therefore maintaining some degrees of ambiguity. Additionally, it is still possible that John may be orienting to a different category when he actually says *yang begini* 'like this' in Line 49.

6.2.4 Notes On The Participants' Gender-Related Asymmetrical Treatment

“THERE IS ONE UNDENIABLE SEX DIFFERENCE IN SOCIAL BEHAVIOR: MEN SEXUALLY harass, assault, and rape women, whereas women rarely do comparable acts. Our society seems to have learned the less that these are violent crimes. Unfortunately, some performances of sexual violence also bear troubling relationships to flirtation.” (Hopper, 2003, p. 55)

The above categorizations (Subsection 6.2.1, Subsection 6.2.2, and Subsection 6.2.3) shows that firstly, there is a prevalence of 'gender' in the John's turns (where flirting is a relevant activity). On the other hand, Eva hardly if at all uses 'gender' in her flirting. When she does assign categories to the male interlocutor, categorization devices other than gender was used, e.g., occupation. At one time (Subsubsection 6.2.2.1), Eva potentially conceptualizes John in gendered way. However, the gender element is ambiguous and vague there. In addition, the gendered reading is merely a "requirement" for Eva's turn to be understood as flirtatious.

Secondly, while flirting can be 'fun', it may on occasion also carry with it an unpleasant undertone, where the female participant is treated by her interlocutor in a potentially derogatory way. As we can see in the employment of *seorang istri yang jablai* 'a wife who is rarely caressed' (Subsection 6.2.2) and vague reference *yang begini* 'some(one/thing) like this' (Subsection 6.2.3). In the earlier categorization, the word *jablai* may also mean

slut or prostitute, other than the funny and tacky flirtatious female. In the later categorization, the designation *begini* is not human specific. In other word, there is a chance that John may actually conceptualize Eva as an object or condition here.

It appears that, at least in this case, a female active partaking in a flirting interaction warrants a potentially derogatory treatment. These categorizations occur as a result of Eva's partaking in the flirting sequence or simply because for the male participant, she is appealing in sexual way.

In the earlier categorization, John's mention of *seorang istri yang jablai* 'a wife who is rarely caressed' occurs immediately after Eva's alleged flirtatious turn. In the later categorization, it appears that the categorization *yang begini* 'some(one/thing) like this' is closely connected to Eva's current appearance, i.e. wearing a short skirt. Though for the climatic context, this appearance is completely unremarkable. Bali is hot and humid all year long. At least for John, she is very sexy (Segment 8, Line 22, See Subsection 6.2.2 and Subsubsection 5.2.2). Her sexual appeal is even so strong, until John wants to have sex with her (Segment 8, Line 24, See Subsection 6.2.2 and Subsubsection 5.2.2).

While, a careful observation shows that in the first categorization, Eva's alleged flirtatious action is actually built on the foundation of John's preceding "peculiar" turn (Segment 3, Line 41, Subsection 3.2.5). Eva's alleged flirtatious turn also occurs not long after John's bold turn, which may be understood as implying that their conversation is flirtatious and extramarital affair related (Section 1, See the analysis in Subsection 3.1.2.1). It also occurs shortly after John's soft pats, which can be understood as flirting relevant male to female light tactile contact (Section 2, See the analysis in Subsection 3.1.1.5).

Then, in the second categorization, John is the one who notices Eva's "sexy" appearance. She had dressed up that way since they arrive in the data collection venue. It was John who brought up the topic of her dress after he fails to give a positive answer to Eva's question of whether they are going to the reception together (Segment 8, Line 14, Subsubsection 4.3.2.2). Her "compliance" to John's flirtatious advances appear to be used as the one warranting such treatment. Evidently, Eva's affiliative responses (smile and laughter throughout Line 14 to 23 in Segment 8), are response with more daring and explicit

flirtatiousness by John. In the end John even jokes about “only” intending to have sex with Eva and not getting married (See the analysis of Segment 8, Line 24 in Subsection 4.2.1).

This asymmetrical treatment and categorization fit to what has been previously discovered in social norm involving female. Female are deemed to have some standard of conduct (Adikaram, 2014), in the case of failure to deliver to that standard of conduct, she can get socially sanctioned. In the case of the current data, the “failure” on the female side is firstly verbally responding to the male potential flirtatious advances in affiliative way (Segment 3, Line 46-47, See the analysis in Subsubsection 4.3.1.2) and secondly wearing a dress which “very sexy” according to the male.

In addition, both of the categorizations, *seorang istri yang jablai* ‘a wife who is rarely caressed’ and *yang begini* ‘some(one/thing) like this’ can be said to be produced for the purposes of “constructing” humor in flirting interaction. It is a kind of “improper talk” (see the discussion on “improper talk”, humor, and affiliation in Subsection 2.1.2), which is afforded to be produced in the current “flirting” context. Therefore, it is not to be taken as offensive. This means that having that kind of “improper talk” – treating a female in derogatory way – is the way, or at least one “efficacious” way to do flirting, as what the data has shown. It is not an exaggeration to see the connection between male derogatory treatment to female and flirtatiousness.

Chapter 7

Summary and Conclusion

7.1 Summary of Findings

Our analysis of the data showed that flirting can be characterized as an affiliative joint activity which is achieved through a combination of overt displays of humour and playfulness and embedded displays of sexual interest or attraction. Turn by turn the participants reciprocated displays of sexual interest or attraction to one another, while at the same time attending to different interactional concerns and contingencies.

Our analysis of the data also showed that in flirtatious interaction, the participants achieve intimacy through feigned transgression and humor. What made flirtatious interaction different from other intimacy constructing activity is the embedded sexual undertone. The sexual undertoned embedded transgression could also be slipped within other humorous activities. The sexual undertone in flirting could be figured similar to Russian doll. It was nested within another organization, and that organization was nested within yet another organization. It was basically embedded within other more “official” activities.

An examination of the flirting sequences in the data revealed that flirting-relevant elements may be attended to and developed into flirting sequences in one of two main ways. The first was one in which one of the participants issue what may be called a ‘flirting invitation’. One of the participants might then produce a turn which potentially embedded with sexual undertone. In the following turn, the interlocutor might respond in a variety

of ways, from providing a clear uptake or a non-verbal appreciative token (e.g., a smile) to disattention or even reprimand. When the former options (clear uptake or a non-verbal appreciative token) occurred, the flirtatious sequence could be said as being initiated. When the latter options occurred (disattention and reprimand), the flirtatious sequence could be said as failed to be initiated, could be said as terminated.

Flirtatious interaction could also be entered gradually. A seemingly innocuous element in a prior turn was being noticed and retrospectively turned into a flirting-relevant component. Turn by turn the participants attended to the flirting relevant element of the turn. In the current data, this process could happen within activities as innocuous as talking about future family holiday or even talking about plan to go to a reception. It appeared that any given sequence has the potential to be developed into a flirtatious one, given the presence of the participants cooperative move in noticing, sustaining, and connecting the ongoing interaction to sexual and romantic theme.

Attending to membership categorization allowed us to appreciate the many ways in which “gender” was used as a category device in the data. A close analysis of the use of gender (as a categorization device) in the data revealed an interesting asymmetry between the two participants in their perception and treatment of each other. While there was a preponderance of “gender” in the male participant’s turns (where flirting is a relevant activity), the female participant hardly if at all used ‘gender’ in her flirting. When she did assign categories to her male interlocutor, categorization devices other than gender will be used, e.g., occupation. The only category that Eva assigned to John was *wartawan* ‘journalist’ in Segment 3. While John assigned various gendered categories to Eva throughout the flirtatious sequence. Those categories were *istri* ‘wife’ (Segment 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 10), *jablai* ‘flirtatious female’ (Segment 3), as well as the vague reference *yang begini* ‘some(one/thing) like this’ (Segment 8). The analysis also showed that those gendered categories, provided by the social and cultural background, were potentially derogatory.

7.2 Contributions and Limitations

Since this study employs a set of data, which has never been previously gathered, and attends to questions which has never been asked in the field of flirting; this study offers a novel perspectives on flirting. It shows what happen inside of the flirtatious sequence as it happens, instead of the beginning of a potential flirtatious interaction (such as pick-up line (Saint-Dizier de Almeida & Agnoletti, 2010)), some activities peripheral to flirting (such asking about personal relationship question in speed dating (Stokoe, 2010b)), or participants impression of their flirtatious experience (Wiedmaier, 2014; Coffelt & Hess, 2015; VanderMolen, 2014; Hall & Xing, 2014).

This study contributes to the long tradition on the study of humor and playfulness in interaction (Bateson, 1955, 1987; Schefflen, 1965; Holt, 2013); as well as humour, transgression, and intimacy (Jefferson et al., 1987; Korobov & Laplante, 2013; Coupland & Jaworski, 2003; Walker, 2013; W. Beach & Glenn, 2011). It supports the previous assertion and observation that intimacy can be achieved through transgression and shared humour in interaction. This study also captures another means of achieving intimacy for potential romantic couple. Previous study (Korobov & Laplante, 2013) has documented talking about other people and insult to the interlocutor as means of achieving intimacy for potential romantic couple. This study offers ambiguous display of romantic or sexual attraction and playfulness as another means of achieving intimacy for potential romantic couple.

“...relationships are constructed and "negotiated" moment by moment in a delicate to and fro, some of which can be documented through close attention to the details of talk (Mandelbaum, 2003). The study has documented how relationship, especially intimacy is actually being “negotiated” in talk. When one of the participant produces the first flirtatious action (flirting invitation), he or she may see the context as fitting to produce such action. It is then when the next participant response appreciatively that the two may observe each other’s orientation to the context as fitting to produce flirtatious action. The termination of flirtatious sequence can also be figured in term of boundary negotiation,

especially in terms of how and how far one can flirt or joke with each other.

In addition, this study has attempted to integrate Conversation Analysis (CA) and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA). It exercises the proposal to “promote MCA as a method for interrogating culture, reality and society, without recourse to its reputed ‘wild and promiscuous’ analytic approach” (Stokoe, 2012, p. 277). It has demonstrated the efficacy of combining Conversation Analysis (CA) and Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA). MCA provides the mean to explicate the participants’ implicit displays of sexual attraction in flirting interaction. Category is “inference rich”(Sacks & Jefferson, 1992, Fall 1964-Spring 1965, p. 41), there are countless inferences that can be drawn from a single category within a turn. By looking at the participants’ own response on the subsequent turn, how the participants understand the previous implicit action can be examined. CA’s proof procedure provides a method for the MCA to be based on the participants’ own orientation of a certain action, instead of the analyst perspective.

The study has also demonstrated how to approach flirting as a sequential phenomenon, instead of seeing it in terms of a single action or simple action versus reaction. In addition, the study also showed how to approach the delicate activity of flirting from an emic perspective. First of all, it showed how to approach flirting by taking the participants own viewpoint through the employment of CA and MCA ethnomethodology approach. And secondly, it showed how to perform analysis which is informed by cultural understanding from the perspective of the member of the culture.

This study is limited by the amount of participant. It only employs data from a single dyad: Eva and John. Spontaneous flirting interaction can only be “chanced upon” once in a long while. It is practically not feasible to gather a big sample of spontaneous flirting interaction. This study’s encounter with this piece of valuable data can be said as serendipitous. But it would be ideal if the study can get hold on more data. Therefore, possibly various joking “style”, means of showing sexual interest or attraction, topic to develop flirtatious sequence from, etc. can be gathered.

7.3 Further Studies

This study laid a foundation for further studies on spontaneous flirting interaction. As previously mentioned, it would be ideal to gather more data of spontaneous flirting interaction. This study has sketched how flirting is done in naturally occurring conversation. The findings of the current study can be used as a platform to launch further studies on naturally occurring flirtatious sequences. In addition to this general direction, there are also several directions which have been touched upon in the analysis, but yet to be attended in a great detail.

The first one is deniability in flirting interaction. In the data, other than humour and the methods for circumventing explicit sexual interest and attraction displays; the participants also produce their turn in a complex grammatical form. For example, Eva's line 46-47 (Segment 3) *tapi kalo yang nganter gak keliatan, gak apa apa* 'But if the escort is invisible, (then) no problem'. The turn can be figured as, in analogy, palimpsest, which different clauses superimposing one another. There are at least two conditional clauses within that single turn. Future studies can be focused on these kinds of complex turn internal structure.

The second one is, it can also be observed that the participants use different methods of evading accountability for doing flirtatious action. In one occasion, the participant employs announcement to initiate what appear to be arrangement for future activity, an activity which commonly initiated through a proposal (Ekberg, 2011). Within the same occasion, the participants also manipulate the benefit distribution for the proposed activity. While John is the one who actually introduces the activity for the first time to the interaction, he constructs his proposal as doing favor. It is done through the *tak* 'I-do' + V-(suffix-*in*) construction. Above is only one example. There are different methods of evading accountability, which can be observed in other occasions in the current data. Further studies may gather those different methods of evading accountability.

The participants also employ the epistemic marker *katanya* '(one) said' and *ternyata* 'turn out' in their speech during the flirting interaction in the data. It would be interesting to

go deeper into the use of these epistemic marker and uncover their role in the flirtatious action construction. Not only that, similar to the production of improper talk (Jefferson et al., 1987), flirting is also closely related to affiliation, therefore intimacy or solidarity. All the more, conversational Indonesia has been identified to exhibit high degree of solidarity (Wouk, 1998, 2001). It would also be interesting to go deeper and uncover how affiliation, intimacy, and solidarity is being managed in flirting interaction and how constraint to affiliate among the Indonesians plays role in flirting sequence. There is a possibility that one hard to disaffiliate from flirting invitation, simply because his or her affinity to affiliate.

By attending to participants methods for constructing their flirting action, we may learn more about how people actually construct their flirtatious actions, what their concerns are and how those concerns are translated into how they structured their actions. Whether and how notion such as “face” (Brown & Levinson, 1987) can be used to capture the concerns being managed in flirting interaction. This direction appears to be in alignment to what has been touched upon recently in a volume on “requesting in social interaction” (Drew & Couper-Kuhlen, 2014). That request is a complex action in social interaction and there are myriad of different concerns being taken into account in producing a request.

The study reported in this thesis has also informed us on the dark side of flirting interaction. There is a thin line between flirting and harassment (Hemmasi, Lee Graf, & Russ, 1994; Hopper, 2003; Rowland et al., 1982; Ferrer-Pérez & Bosch-Fiol, 2014). To some extent, John’s potential derogatory treatment to Eva can be seen as verbal harassment. The fact that is also “logically” more straightforward to attribute negative gender related category to Eva, the female, as a result of her mere partaking in flirtatious sequence is also intriguing. This is in line to what has been uncovered in studies on norms, especially in Asian culture. A female who actively partakes or display sexual attraction to the opposite sex is regarded as “bad” woman (Adikaram, 2014).

Further study may attend to this gender and norm issues in more depth as to uncover the mechanisms which enables this asymmetry and potential derogatory treatment to the female participant. Attention can be focused on the onsite mechanism (within the

interaction) (Kitzinger & Frith, 1999; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2008) and the pre-existing linguistic and cultural sexist tendencies (Kitzinger & Frith, 1999; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2008; Weatherall, 2015, 1996).

In addition, this study employs a single dyad. More data from different dyads doing flirtatious interaction can be gathered in order to investigate whether and how common is the preponderance for asymmetrical gendered treatment and potentially derogatory treatment between the male and female participant in flirtatious interaction. These lines of investigation can be aptly be performed by employing CA and MCA.

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Appendix 1: Transcription Convention

Below are some relevant symbols employed in the transcription and its explanation. The list and explanation are modified from Jefferson's transcription convention (Have, 2007; Jefferson, 1985, Appendix 1), as well as Glenn and Holt (2013) and Hepburn and Bolden (2013) for the laughter related method for transcription.

Temporal and Sequential Relationship:

[....] separate bracket on two successive lines with utterances by different speaker indicates an overlap, or the point where an embodiment starts and ends with regards to the utterance.

= equal signs, one at the end of one line and one at the beginning of a next, indicate no 'gap' between the two lines (latching). This comes in pairs, one at the end of a line and another at the start of the next line or shortly after.

Timed Interval (0.0) numbers in parentheses indicate elapsed time in silence by tenth of seconds, so (7.1) is a pause of 7 seconds and one-tenth of a second.

(.) A dot in parentheses indicates a tiny 'gap' within or between utterances.

Characteristics of Speech Production word

: colons indicate a prolongation of the immediately prior sound.

:: multiple colons indicate a more prolonged sound.

. a period indicates a stopping fall in tone.

, a comma indicates a continuing intonation, like when you are reading items from a list.

? a question mark indicates a rising intonation.

↑↓	arrows indicate marked shifts into higher or lower pitch in the utterance-part immediately following the arrow.
WORD	upper case indicates especially loud sounds relative to the surrounding talk. Utterance or utterance-parts bracketed by degree signs are relatively quieter than the surrounding talk.
<>	right/left carets bracketing an utterance or utterance-part indicate speeding up.
•hh	period followed by hs indicates inbreath.
~word~	tilde indicates perturbation in the speech production.
W(h)ord	bracketed h within indicates laugh particle interpolated within speech.

Transcriber's doubts and comments

()	empty parentheses indicate the transcriber's inability to hear what was said. The length of the parenthesized space indicates the length of the untranscribed talk.
(word)	parenthesized words are especially dubious hearings.
(())	double parentheses contain transcriber's description rather than, or addition to, transcription.

Presentation

<u>Underlining</u>	indicates the part of speech where the screengrab, which is located below the transcript, is taken.
<i>Italic</i>	means that the speech is Balinese (Language).

Appendix 2: Transcription

Segment 1 – 5

1. John : Ya, silahkan silahkan, Bu
Yes please please madam
2. Beth : [Ya, pergi dulu ya, ntar] (.)
Yes go first yes later
3. John : [Waduh, maaf saya-]
EXCL sorry I
4. Beth : kembali bentar lagi
return a while again
5. John : Ya, ndak apa, lama juga nggak apa - apa
Yes NEG what long-time also NEG what what
6. Beth : °waduh°
7. Ron : °ah°
8. (0.4)
9. John : °əm°, enak lagi begini (.)
pleasant even like this
10. : nyerep istri o[rang]
Spare wife person
11. Ron : °<[bawa]-in bubur?>°
Bring+IN porridge
12. Eva : ~nyerep?~-
N+spare
13. Beth : bawain bubur mau?
Bring+IN porridge interested
14. John : Bubur apa?
Porridge what

Yes, please Madam

Okay, (we're) leaving okay, later (.)

Ups, sorry I-

(we are) returning in a while

Yes, no problem, (It'll) gonna be
alright even if (you) take a long time

°Oh my°

ah

(0.4)

°ehrm°, this (is) even pleasant

Being (a) spare (husband) for someone's
else's wife

°(Do you want us to) bring (you)
(some) porridge°

Being (a) spare-

(What about if we) bring (you) (some)
porridge, interested?

What porridge (do you mean)?

15.	Beth	: Tak beliin yang Mamak tu I+do bring+IN REL that	I'm buying (from) that <i>Mamak</i> (porridge stall)
16.	John	: Ga::k, gak apa - apa, gak usah dah= NEG NEG what what NEG need already	No, no problem, (there's) no need.
17.	Eva	: =Di situ aja makan, [susah makannya] nanti At there only eat difficult eat+NYA later	Let's just have it there, it's going (to be) difficult to eat (here)
18.	Beth	: [nanti aja, ya?] later only yes	Alright (we'll have it) later, okay?
19.	John	: Ehm, sip	Yep, cool.
20.		(1.4)	
21.	Eva	: °trus, trus°	Go on, go on
22.	John	: °nyen jak kamu mai?° Who with you here	Who (are) you coming here with?
23.	Eva	: Eh, mbak ¹ ((pointing at her son's nanny at a distance))	Ehm, (the) nanny
24.	John	: <i>Pasti sing maelem-</i> ↑ə Certainly NEG with-helmet TAG	(I) bet (you guys) didn't (come here with) helmet, did you?
25.	Eva	: A:↑ING, nak pa[ek] NEG DP close	(Of course) no, it's near
26.	John	: [di-]janan ² ?	Whereabouts (is it)?
27.	Eva	: ə:↑ (1.7) ə:: ((hand movements))---	(that way, and then that way, and then that way)
	John	: ---((staring at Eva throughout her hand movement))---	
28.	John	: ə↑ jalane ene Road-the this ((hand gestures: pointing from left to right))	Erm This road?
29.	Eva	: Jal[an ini]	This road

¹ *Mbak* is an address term, which has Javanese origin. It is employed to address female older than the speaker or any young female (KBBI). However, it is also common to refer to the nanny with *Mbak*, at least in Bali context.

² *Dijanan* is a Balinese question words. The closest English equivalence would be whereabouts. Balinese *Dijanan* requires an answer, which indicates the location of a certain object from a known point of reference.

	Street	this	
30. John	:	[[°<pake>° bahasa Indo]ne sia, bahasa Indonesia Use language language ((patting Eva's arm twice))= ((smile: increasingly apparent))	Use Indonesian language, Indonesian language
31. Eva	:	=((pausing her movement)) ((smile))	
32. Eva	:	Jalan ini ↑ni Street this DP ((smiling))	This road, this (one)
John	:	((smiling)) ((hand movement to the right)) [((to the left))]	
33. John	:	[Mana?] which-one	Which one?
Eva	:	((pointing to the left))	
34. John	:	Oh ini? Oh this ((raising his hand to point))	Owh, this (one, isn't it)?
Eva	:	---((pointing to the left))---	
35. Eva	:	s:m [Tu dah ke utara] That PART to north ---((pointing to her left))---	Yup. That's it to the north
36. John	:	[Masih jauh ke utara?]((looking at Eva))--- Still far to north	(Is it) far to the north?
37. Eva	:	((mild head-shake)) ((frown)) Naik dikit, udah dah up a little already PART ((hand movement: climb))	Just a short ascend, (and) (you are there)
Eva	:	((shifting her gaze: looking at John))	

38. (0.8)

39. John : O::::[::::::::::]:==== **Owh**

40. Eva : [Naik, srut³]| **Ascending, srut**
 up
 |((looking away))
 |((sharp rising hand movement))
 |((looking at John))---

41. John : = <tapi kalau malam> horror | **but at night (its) scary**
 But CONJ night horror

Eva : ---((looking at John))--- |((looks away))

42. (0.6) **(.)**

43. John : |[<↑ə >]| **Right?**
 |((head-up movement))|

44. Eva : |[°ho]|ror° **°Scary°**
 |((head-up movement))|
 |((smile))---

45. **(.)**

46. <Ta↑pi kalau yang nganter> gak keliat(h)an, **But if the escort is invisible, (then)**
 But if REL escort NEG visible **no problem**

47. ~Ngg(h)ak apa - apa °ehék ehék ehék°~
 NEG what - what
 ((smiling and laughing))

48. (0.6)

49. : həh ↑həh həh = [həh həh]
 ((mouth-covering giggle)) **Heh heh heh heh heh**

John : ((body repositioning: camera facing))

50. John : [Sau]dara-saudara, **Viewers,**
 ((extending his hand towards Eva's direction))

³ *Srut* here is some kind of onomatopoeia. It is done along with rising hand movement. Presumably this is how Eva imagines the sound of a motorbike or a car making short ascend.

51. Eva	:	°<Heh heh>°	°<Heh heh>°
52.		inilah [seorang istri] yang jablai,= this a wife REL	This is a wife who (is) rarely caressed
53. Eva	:	[eh ~tid(h)a:k ~] Hey NEG ((left hand pushing John's shoulder)) ((laughing))	Hey no
54.	:	=>°eeh°<= ((left hand pushing John's hand))	Hey
55. John	:	°=ada yang m(h)a(h)u?° Exist REL want	Anybody want (her)?
56. Eva	:	Jan↑gan, dire [k(h)am °hoh hoh huh huh°] Don't record-PASSIVE ((left hand pinching John's shoulder))	Don't (do that), (we're being) recorded
	John	:	((look at Eva))
57. John	:	[eh ↑eh eh] ((dodging while laughing))	Eh eh eh
58. John	:	↑Oh-HOH, he direkam ya Owh record-PASSIVE DP	Oh hoh, (are we being) recorded?
	Eva	:	((hand-clap))
59. Eva	:	°a(h)da rek(h)a[m(h)an° Exist recording	(There's a) recording
	John	:	((body repositioning: facing Eva))
60. John	:	Jadi, (.) So	So,
61.		sense of (.) Interviewer-[nya (.) mun-°cul°] emerge	(my) "sense of interviewer" emerged
62. Eva	:	[° <hm hm hm hm>°] hm hm hm hm ((giggles))	Hm hm hm hm hm
63. John	:	((head-shake)) (ajak sekali) ask once	(I'll) take (you out) once

64.	Eva	: e mang cocok kamu jadi wartawan indeed suitable you become journalist ((pointing at John))	Indeed you (are) suitable to be (a) journalist
65.	John	: Kok gitu? PART like-that	Why (is) that?
66.	Eva	: Cerewet °soalnya°	Because (you are) talkative
67.	John	: ↑ə ^h	What?
68.	Eva	: Cerewet=	Talkative
69.	John	: =Emang sengaja kan nyari yang begini Indeed deliberate PART look-for REL like-this	⁴ This is the one (in demand) right?
70.	Eva	: °hæ? əh° = ((head nod))	Yeah
71.	John	: =((eye-brow flash))	
72.		(2.8)	
73.	Eva	: Dulu tempat pacaran °ni° Before place dating ((hand gesture))	This (place) (is) used to be a dating place
74.	John	: ((observing the sight in front of him))	
75.	John	: Dulu apa sekarang, sekarang masih kayaknya Before what now now still seems-NYA ((observing))	(It's) used to be or now (it's still is), (it) seems (to me) (It's) still is
76.	Eva	: Tapi dulu rumputnya bagus, But before grass-DET good	But the grass used to be fine
77.		rumpunya [ger]sang= grass-DET dry	the grass (is) dry
78.	John	: [i jo?] ((moving eyebrows))	Green?

⁴ The subject is omitted here. It is unclear who is looking for "something like this".

79.	Eva	:	=Emm, dah jelek sekarang	Yup , (it) becomes terrible now
			Already bad now	
			((head-nod)) ((observing))	
80.	John	:	Cuaca:	(the) weather
			((chewing ⁵))	
81.			((“ping”))	
	John	:	((looking at Eva’s bag))	
82.	Eva	:	°anakku ma na°	(I wonder) where my son (is)?
			Son-1-SG-POSS where	
83.	John	:	((flashing eye-brow))	
84.	Eva	:	DAVI::D, DAVI::D	DAVI::D, DAVI::D
85.	John	:	Ah, biarin dia main - °main°.	Ah, let him play
			Let-IN 3SG play play	
86.			Udah ada mbaknya	(he’s got) his nanny (with him)
			Already exist nanny-DET	
87.			(1.4)	
88.	Eva	:	((hand gesture: beckoning))	
89.			°Jatuh dia, duh duh duh°	
			Fall 3 SG	He falls aw, aw, aw
	John	:	((smile))---	
90.	John	:	Ah ah [ah ah]	Ah ah ah ah ((laughing))
			((laughing))	
91.	Eva	:	[°ehehk°]	hehe
			((soft laughter))	
92.	Eva	:	Makin ganteng dia	He (is) getting more handsome
			Increasingly handsome he	
			((looking to the left-her son’s position))	
	John	:	((turning his head))-----	

⁵ This part of conversation is done while John is chewing a chewable candy (Mentos).

93. John : A::: eheui eheu[i]
--((looking at Eva + smile))

94. Eva : [i]h cinta ma anakku=
Love with son-2SG-POSS
95. = ehehehehehe

96. John : [<Ma bapaknya?>]
With father-DET
((looking at Eva))

Eva : [[(moving gaze to the right, smiling shyly)]]

97. Eva : ~ə biasa aja he he he he he~=
plain just
((laughter voice))
((moving gaze back to John, shyly))

98. =●hh [°he he°]

99. John : | [Δ↑::] | kapan dia dateng?
When he come
|((closing mouth with right hand))|
((smiling))

100. Eva : Maju dia pulang tau=
Advance he come-home know
((looking at John))

101. John : =Kapan?

102. Eva : Pasti gara - gara foto i↑tu ya
Must because photo that PART

103. John : əm. [kapan dia dateng]
When 3SG come

104. Eva : [maju dia]
advance 3SG

105. Tanggal lima
Date five

wohohoooo

Uwh, (I)love my child, ehehehehehe

With the father?

Hmmm just plain

Hh hehe

Aaaw...When (will) he come?

(He) advances (his) return, you know

When (is it)?

It must be because of that picture,
right?

Yep. When (is) he coming?

He (is) early

(on the) five

106. John : Lima apa? Januari
 five what January

107. Eva : ((nods))

108. John : WOOO DAH DEKET YAH=
 already close tag

109. =Ah...siap siap. Huhm
 Get ready

110. Eva : <°he he he°>

111. Apa yang perlu saya siapkan
 What REL need 1SG get-ready

112. Sarang [wallet?]
 Nest swallow

113. Eva : [Madu] jahe, [He he he he]
 Honey ginger

114. John : [°ehm°]

115. Eva : Eh, aku mau beli itu
 1SG want buy that

116. pas sebenarnya waktu di Thailand
 Exactly actually when at

Five (of) what? January?

((nods))

WOHOOO (IT'S) VERY SOON?

Aha, get ready. Huhm

Is there anything I need to prepare?

Bird's nest?

Honey and ginger, he he he he

Hey, I actually wanted to buy that

when (I was) in Thailand

Segment 6

1. Eva : Must tuh
that
2. (.) Pngen banget liburan
want really holiday
3. John : Iya, nanti kan dia dateng,
Yes later DP 3SG come
4. Sebulan lagi, [ajak liburan]
one-month more take holiday
5. Eva : [°aduh°]
6. Kalau pergi sama dia kan, spend money,
If go with 3SG DP
7. hehehehe
8. John : Maksudnya?
Mean-NYA
9. Eva : Kalau bring family together, spend much money
If
10. John : Terus, mau sendi[†]ri
So want alone
11. Eva : |ə:: |həhəhahahahaha
|((raising eyebrow))
|((head tilt))
|((head toss))
12. John : Λ[::]
13. Eva [kalau sendiri kan]
if alone DP
14. : udah just think of myself
already

That's a must

(.) (I) really want to go for a holiday

Yes (as we know) he is coming soon,

Next month, take (him) (for) a holiday

Uwh

Going (for a holiday) with him, (means)
spending money.

Hehehehe

(What do you) mean?

Bringing the whole family, (means)
spending (too) much money

So, (do you) want to go by yourself?

ə:: həhəhahahahaha

Aaaaaaaa

As for (traveling) alone (as we know),
(I) will only have to think (about)
myself

15.	John	:	O gitu, Owh like-that	Oh I see, here let me order a ticket to Bangkok okay
16.			ni tak pesenin tiket ke Bangkok dulu ya this I(do) order-IN ticket to first DP ((taking his phone))	
17.	Eva	:	<Heh heh heh heh heh heh heh heh>= ((laugh))	Hhhhhhhh
18.	John	:	=Mau eAirasia tapi= want but	Interested? Ehm but Airasia
19.		:	mau?= want	Interested?
20.	Eva	:	=((inhalation)) Adu::h, °cap°- EXCL	Uwh, ti-(red)
21.			<kamu naik apa> you ride what	what (are) you (flying with)?
22.	John	:	Airasia ke sananya, To there-DET	Airasia for the outbound (flight),
23.			baliknya naik Garuda return-DET ride	(For) the inbound (flight its) Garuda (Airways)
24.	Eva	:	Aku naik Thai [besar] I ride	I (flew) with Thai, big
25.	John	:	[Thai Air↑ways]	Thai Airways?
26.	Eva	:	e?e, [°besar°] Yes big	Yes, big
27.	John	:	[Ceweknya] cakep - cakep ↑ya, Girl-Det good-looking good-looking DP	The girls (are) pretty right, the stewardesses?
28.			<Pramugarinya> Stewardess	

Segment 6 Supplement: Exchanging Baht

- | | | | | |
|-----|------|---|---|--|
| 1. | John | : | ↑mm [kam-], kam:u dimana nukar keto to=
you where exchange that | Hmm you-, where (did) you exchange that |
| 2. | Eva | : | yeb- | ((unclear)) |
| 3. | Eva | : | =↑Baht | Baht |
| 4. | | : | (.) | (.) |
| 5. | | : | di [itu, murah] Mas Pin-
At that cheap | Over there, (it's) cheap, <i>Mas Pin</i> |
| 6. | John | : | [°Pasti° muridmu ya]
Certainly student-your DP | (It) must be (from) your student right |
| 7. | Eva | : | -aə: muridku
Yes student-2SG-POSS | Yes, my student (I) got (it) for three
hundred fifteen |
| 8. | | : | dapet[nya, ti]ga ratus lima belas
got-NYA three hundred fifteen | |
| 9. | John | : | [Dimana Mas Pin tu]
Where that | Where (is) that <i>Mas Pin</i> |
| 10. | Eva | : | Mas Pin yang ini, Mas Pin ya:ng di: <Legian>
REL this REL at | This <i>Mas Pin</i> , <i>Mas Pin</i> in <i>Legian</i> |
| 11. | John | : | Legian ɔ:: | <i>Legian</i> , owh:: (I see) |
| 12. | Eva | : | Kalok yang di Sanur
If REL at | As for the one in <i>Sanur</i> it's five points
more expensive |
| 13. | | : | lebih mahal dia lima poin
more expensive 3SG five point | |
| 14. | | : | °<masak>° | Really? |
| 15. | Eva | : | Ih waktu ne liu timpal aku- nukar nukar Baht-
EXCL time this many friend 1SG exchange exchange | Hey, last time (I have got) many friends
exchanging (their rupiah to) Baht, I
thought you only need that much (If I
knew you need more) I would have
exchanged (some more for you) for three |
| 16. | | : | tak kira kamu cuman perlunya segitu aja
I(do) thought 2SG only need-NYA that-much only | |

17. kan, ak tukarin dapet tiga ratus ↑toh **hundred, you see.**
DP I (do) exchange-IN get three hundred DP

Segment 7

- | | | | |
|----------|---|---|--|
| 1. Eva | : | Eropa kan mau ke London t[uh]
Europe DP already to | For Europe (as you know) (I've/ we've)
got that arrangement to London |
| 2. John | : | [O::H][iya , °gitu°]
yes like-that | Ah, yes. (I remember) that |
| 3. Eva | : | [9:::<Jadi ting]gal>
So remain | So the only thing now (is)ticket for
the father |
| 4. | : | mikirin tiketnya papahnya aja,
think-IN ticket-DET father-DET only | |
| 5. | : | pulangnya gak usah dia ikut pul(h)ang
Home-NYA NEG need 3SG join go-home | (for) the return trip, he doesn't need
to return home |
| 6. | : | ~Heh heh heh~ diusir ~khuuh[huuh]~
Expel-PASSIVE | He he he I (can get) kicked out |
| 7. John | : | [(jerodj-)]= | ((unclear)) |
| 8. John | : | Jangan diajak pa[pah]-nya.=
Don't take -PASSIVE father-DET | Don't take the father (along), |
| 9. Eva | : | [•h] | •h |
| 10. John | : | =nga[pain diajak-]
why take-PASSIVE | Why (are you) taking (him anyway)- |
| 11. | : | [berdua ↑ja-,]
Two-together only | Just the two- |
| 12. | : | [ha he]
((head-nod))
 ((looking at Eva)) | Ha he |
| 13. Eva | : | [<cari ya> °sana°]=
Find DP there
 ((looking at John))
 ((hand gesture)) | Find (me) there okay |
| 14. John | : | =EH! | EH! ((dismissing tone)) |

15.	(.)	
16. John	: °Neked [ye kamu] ° Arrive DP(doubt) there	(I) wonder whether (we can) even get there
17. Eva	: °[Ke London] ° (.) To	To London (.)
18.	belum ini lo, belum nge-mail, Haven't this DP haven't NG-email	Haven't (done) this, you see, haven't sent (the) email,
19.	katanya Email dulu, Said-NYA first	(Someone) said (that I have to send) email first
20.	baru dikasi tau sama dia then give-passive know by 3SG ((right hand playing with the ring on her left middle finger))	then (I will) be informed by him (/her)
21. John	: Apa isi tesnya, IELTS? What content test-DET	What's in the test, IELTS?
22. Eva	: IELTS eh	IELTS huh
23.	(1.0)	

Segment 8

1. Eva : *Trus kenken ne, payu kundangan?*
So how this going (go to)-reception
2. John : *Ya ntar tak kabarin lagi*
Yes later I-do news-IN further
3. *Aku mau ke kantor dulu*
I want to office first
4. *Tak cek kondisi terakhir*
I-do check condition latest
5. *Soalnya, tadi udah bilang, ng*
Because earlier already say
6. *Aku gak ikut sama ini,*
I NEG follow with this
7. *sama ****
With
8. *Yang lagi satu itu ngajakin kemaren*
REL again one that ask yesterday
9. *Anak - anak panti*
people institution
10. *Ya ntar tak ° giniin° tenang aja*
Yes later I-so like-this calm only
11. *Maŋu |kundangan?*
Want reception
|((gazing at Eva's thighs))
12. (0.4)
13. Eva : *[°(h)əe°]*
14. John : *[Begi]|ni tapi ya*
Like-this but yes
|((smile))

So how is it, (are we) still going to the reception?

Yes I will keep (you) updated.

I'm going to (the) office first.

I'm checking the latest condition.

Because earlier (I) have said, ng

I'm not coming with this,

with ***

Another (party) asked (to go together) yesterday,

People at the institution.

Yes, I'll deal with it later just stay calm.

Sure wanna go (to the) reception?

°(h)əe°

But this way okay?

	((looking at Eva))	
	((pointing at Eva's tighs))	
15. Eva	: əʔɑ:: ((screaming)) ((smiling))	əʔɑ::
16. John	: Yah, begini yah Yes like-this yes	Okay, like this okay
17.	(0.3)	(0.3)
18. John	: [ʔya] Yes ((eyebrows flashing))	Okay?
19. Eva	: [Rok] pendek Skirt short	Short skirt
20. John	: °<Gimana dong>°= How DP ((slightly tilting his body towards Eva))	(Then) how?
21. Eva	: =æ:::rgħ= ((tilting her body away from John))	æ:::rgħ
22. John	: =Seksi seka[li dirimu] Sexy very you	You('re) very sexy
23. Eva	: [°eh ehm]hem hem°	°ehēh heh heh°
24. John	: <Tak kawinin mau?> I-do marry/have sex-IN want	I "marry" (you), interested?
25. Eva	: °heh heh°= ((smile + head movement))	°Heh heh°
26. John	: =heh ((eyebrow flashing))	huh?
27. Eva	: Direkam lo, [°direkam°] Recorded DP Recorded	(We're being) recorded (I remind you), (We're being) recorded
28. John	[gak apa - apa]= NEG what what	No problem

- | | | | |
|----------|---|---|--|
| 29. Eva | : | [°e hek ehək ehək°] | e hek ehək ehək ehək |
| 30. John | : | [=<↑Kan> (0.9)] tak DP I-do kawinin, sexual intercourse | (as we know) I "marry" (you). |
| 31. | | Tak nikahin ⁶ itu urusan belakangan I-do marry that business later ((disparaging face)) | (whether) I'm marrying (you) is a different business/ something to deal with later |
| 32. | | °he he ha ha ha ha ha° •h •h= | °he he ha ha ha ha ha° •h •h |
| 33. Eva | : | =Pake i↑tu- Use that | Wear that- |
| 34. John | : | Kenapa? Why | Pardon? |
| 35. Eva | : | (full dress/baju resmi) | (full dress/formal attire) |
| 36. | | Lek ati ke puri kayak gini Shameless to palace like this | Shameless to go to (the) palace like this |
| 37. John | : | Pake kebaya ⁷ gitu? Wear like that | Wearing kebaya you mean? |
| 38. Eva | : | Enga::k No ((headshake)) | No |
| 39. | | (.) | |
| 40. Eva | : | Baju yang lebih so~p(h)an~ Cloth REL more polite | (a) more decent attire |
| 41. John | : | Hmmmm | Hmmmm |
| 42. Eva | : | Kan baju j(h)alan ~j(h)a(h)l(h)an~ DP cloth sightseeing | You see (this one is) (a) casual attire |
| 43. John | : | O gitu like-that | Oh I see |

⁶ See section 4.2.1 for the analysis on *kawin* 'get marry/have sex' and *nikah* 'get marry' disambiguation.

44.	(0.4)		(0.4)
45.	Gak apa - apa begini		(It's) okay this way
	NEG what what like-this		
46.	Seru [dapet-]		(It's) exciting (to) get-
	Exciting get		
47. Eva	: [eeergh]		eeergh
48. John	: Biar pernah aja		For once
	So ever just		
49.	aku ngajak sekali - sekali yang begini		I take (/go out with) some(thing)
	I go-together once REL like-this		like this
50.	(1.3)		(1.3)
51. Eva	: Dah bilang tadi sama Ibu		(I) have told mom
	Already tell earlier to mother		
52. John	: Apa °katanya°		What (did) she say?
	What say-3SG-POSS		
53.	(1.9)		(1.9)
54. Eva	: Bisa kundangan nyanan bu keto		"(I) may go to a reception later Mom"
	Can going to reception later Mom like-that		like that
55.	(0.8)		(0.8)
56.	Oh nah gitu		"Oh alright", like that
	O okay like-that		
57.	(0.3)		(0.3)
58. John	: °Hm:::°		Hmmm
59. John	: ((murmuring))		((murmuring))
60. John	: <Tawang keto kan>		if (I) knew (it's) like that, (I)
	Know like-that DP		would have taken (you) to Jakarta for
61.	Uli ibi plaibang ke Jakarta malu jep		a while
	From yesterday taken-away to earlier for a while		
62. Eva	: Ee Joh ternyata kata Meg tuh		Yes, turns out that (it's) far, Meg
	Yes far turn out say that		says
63. John	: Hah?		What?

64. Eva	:	Dari	tempatmu	itu	From your place (that you've mentioned before)
		From	place-2SG-POSS	that	
65. John	:	[Dia	tinggal	dimalna?	Where does she live?
		3SG	live	where	
66. Eva	:	[Dari	rumahnya	dia]	From her house
		From	house-POSS	3SG	

Segment 9

1. John : Pasti mabuk, dijamin
Sure seasick guaranteed
2. Eva : Kalau naik Bounty=
If ride
3. John : =ya:, pasti mabuk,
Yes sure seasick
4. John : Kalau dari ini bisa, dari Padang Bai
If from this can from
5. Eva : eʔu::hm
6. John : Lebih deket, lebih cepet dia,
More close more fast 3SG
[°sekitar, setengah jam°]
about a half hour
8. Eva : [tapi gak berani, resiko] bawa anak, °takut°
But NEG dare risk take child afraid
9. John : ʔke
10. Eva : Ke Lemboʔnga:n
11. John : °ngapain bawa anak°,

Why take child
tinggal di rumah aja,
leave at home just
13. dirimu sama siapa::[<gitu ke situ>
self-2SG with who like-that to there
14. Eva : [SUAMIKU]:::
Husband-2SG
15. aeng ajin nu keto timpa:l
elaborate taught REL like that friend
16. John : Suami,

(You will) definitely get seasickness,
(It's) guaranteed

Travelling on Bounty (Cruise Line)?

Yes, definitely get seasickness

As for from here (you) can (travel to
Lembongan Island), from *Padang Bai*,

I see

It's closer, faster,

about a half an hour

But (I) wont dare, risky taking (my)
child, afraid

To?

To *Lembongan* (of course)

°why (do you need to) take (your)
child?°

just leave (him) at home,

you (just go) with someone to that
place

My husband!

(You) unnecessarily teach(your) friend
something like that

Husband,

17. Husband
 lupa udah punya suami ibu yang satu ini
 forget already have husband mother REL one this
 18. Eva : Heh hakh hakh hakh hakh h h
 19. John : Ternyata dirimu sudah punya suami ↑ya
 Turn-out you already have husband yes
 20. Eva : i[ya:::] keliatannya single ya
 Yes look-NYA yes
 21. John : [heh hah hah]
 22. John : ə::
 23. (2.3)

This lady forgets (that she) has got a husband

Heh hakh hakh hakh hakh h h
(It) turns out that you already have a husband, right?

Yes, (I do) look like (I am) still single right

Heh hah hah

yeah

(2.3)