○ INVESTIGATING APOLOGY RESPONSE STRATEGIES IN AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH AND BAHASA INDONESIA: GENDER AND CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

Adrefiza *Faculty of Education, University of Jambi, Sumatra, Indonesia*
Dr Adrefiza is a senior lecturer in the Faculty of Education, University of Jambi, Sumatra, Indonesia. He is also Head of the Language Centre at the university and Secretary of the School and Madrasyah Acreditation Board of Jambi Province. His research interests lie in speech acts and cross-cultural pragmatics, comparing Australian English and Bahasa Indonesia.
adref64@yahoo.co.id

Jeremy F. Jones *University of Canberra*
Dr Jeremy F. Jones is a senior lecturer in the Program of TESOL and Foreign Language Teaching at the University of Canberra. His teaching, research and publications are in the areas of discourse analysis, intercultural communication, and language teaching methodology.
Jeremy.Jones@canberra.edu.au

Studies on apologies have proliferated in pragmatics research, but little research has been conducted on apology responses (ARs). The present inquiry contributes to filling the gap in the literature, and it does so by examining such responses in two languages, Australian English (AE) and Bahasa Indonesia (BI). The study ultimately focuses on two variables, gender and culture. It probes behavioural differences in the genders in and between the two societies, and considers cultural differences in the expression of ARs. Using oral discourse completion tasks (DCTs), the researchers recorded and analyzed a total of 360 responses to three apology situations. The findings reveal that ARs in both languages were complex and elaborate, embodying various subsidiary speech acts and expressions. The ARs generally showed indirectness and mitigated face threats towards interlocutors. However, one striking result is that there was no marked gender difference in AR strategy either within or between languages, thus challenging a stereotype that females are more accepting and 'polite' than males (Brown, 1980; Holmes, 1995, 2008). Another surprising result was that, in a significant minority of cases, Indonesians were revealed to be more direct and face-threatening than their Australian counterparts, again confronting a stereotype of speech behaviour, in this case that Asians are more indirect and ambiguous than native English-speakers in Western cultures.

KEY WORDS: Pragmatics; speech acts; apology responses; gender; culture; Australia; Indonesia

1. INTRODUCTION

The speech act of apology has gained a good deal of attention and interest among sociolinguists and pragmatics scholars. This is not only due to its obviously vital social

functions, but also to the fact that such a speech event is believed to be one of the commonest social exchanges in society (Cordella-Masini, 1989). As Holmes (1990) has pointed out, its realization is often thought to be both linguistically and culturally specific. As a result, studies on apologies have proliferated, presenting results from various perspectives, not only pragmatic but also linguistic, psychological, and pedagogical.

Although a good deal of research has been carried out on apologising in East Asian cultures such as Japanese, Chinese, and Korean), few studies have focused on South East Asia (Wouk, 2006), and none has considered Australian English and Indonesian together. Also, the previous studies have generally been conducted in isolation, that is, without the inclusion of the victim's potential reactions to the act.

The literature review will show that a few studies have incorporated some discussion of ARs in their studies, but this is not comprehensive and more of a 'supplement' to the consideration of the apology act itself. Another neglected issue is the association between the AR as an act of politeness and gender and culture in its realization and how it varies across languages and cultures.

The present study attempts to fill this gap in the research by including a focus on a non-Western language and offering an analysis of responses to apology. It aims at describing how ARs are realized in Australian English and Bahasa Indonesia (a national language of Indonesia) with regard to gender and cross-cultural variations in the two language communities. The results are expected to take a step towards a more complete picture of the whole apology event, that is, the apology and the response to it.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 STUDIES ON APOLOGIES AND APOLOGY RESPONSES

The act of apologizing occurs frequently in our societies. It may take place anywhere, either in public or in private interactions (Grainger and Harris, 2007). An apology is typically a post-event speech act signifying some kind of violation of social norms has taken place (Spencer-Oatey, 2008). It is regarded as a speech act which pays attention to the face needs of the addressee and is often described as a face-supportive act (Holmes, 1995). Its occurrence signifies that the speaker acknowledges the wrongdoing and takes responsibility for it while at the same time attempting to remedy the relationship with the victimized person. Goffman (1971) identifies it as a 'remedial interchange'. Holmes (1990, 1995) perceives apology as a negative politeness strategy which is expressed to show respect rather than solidarity or friendliness, making it different from strategies relating to compliment and greeting, which are basically aimed at showing solidarity and friendliness. While, as Cordella-Masini (1989) suggests, apologizing is one of the very common features of daily social life in Western societies and indeed in many others, it nonetheless remains complex

and sometimes difficult to recognize because it involves many social, psychological, linguistic and paralinguistic aspects in its realization (Grainger & Harris, 2007). Holmes (1990) views it as a multifunctional speech act as it entails both linguistic and non-linguistic features in its operation. On most occasions, it also indicates a level of politeness and involves face management (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Holmes, 1990).

Studies on apologies have been conducted since the 1980s (Wouk, 2006). An ambitious and comprehensive cross-cultural study of apology was pioneered by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain (1984) in their CCSARP project. Here, apologies, along with requests, were analyzed cross-culturally in eight different languages with respect to variability of social constraints such as individuality, situation, and native and non-native perspectives. Similarities and differences in their realization patterns were discussed. Since then, interest in apologies has continued to develop to embrace the issues of different socio-pragmatic and cultural variables in its realization.

Even so, according to Nureddeen (2007), most studies on apologies have focused largely on Western languages. Studies on Asian and Eastern languages remain relatively few. Wouk (2005) claims that interest in exploring apologies in Eastern and Asian languages has begun to develop only recently. Examples of these are Bergman (1989), who explore Thai apologies; Wouk (2005, 2006), who investigates Lombok Indonesian apologies; Kim (2008), who compares apologies in South Korean and Australian English. Other scholars have investigated apologies in Arabic and Persian languages. These include studies by Afghari (2007), who studied Persian apologies, and Nureddeen (2007), who concentrated on Sudanese Arabic. A recent study by Shariati and Chamani (2010) provides further analysis of apologies in the Persian language.

Inquiry into apology is likely to have gained popularity due to their function of maintaining and restoring good relations in society (Grainger & Harris, 2007). According to Grainger and Harris, studies on apologies are not only integrated into pragmatics and politeness theory, but also into other disciplines such as sociolinguistics, social psychology, philosophy, and foreign language teaching. A number of common social factors such as age, gender, personal relationships, social power and status, and discourse contexts, and situations have often been incorporated into investigation of apologies (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, 1984). The results have been useful and provided many new insights for foreign and second language teaching. Studies from Martinez-Flor (2006); and Kasper and Rose (1999), for example, have significant pedagogical implications for EFL or ESL teaching.

One study by Holmes (1990) examined apologies based on a corpus of 183 of naturally occurring conversations in New Zealand English. She considered some characteristics of apologies in informal remedial interchanges within the context of Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) model of politeness. The discussion covered a wide range of elements, including the functions of apologies, the range of strategies used to apologize, their semantic

and syntactic structure, and sociolinguistic aspects of apologies. Specifically, Holmes explored apologies in various aspects such as the relationship between the complexity of apology and the weightiness of the offence which elicited it. Then, apologies were assessed in terms of Brown and Levinson's (1987) model, referring to rank of the imposition, power of the hearer over the speaker, distance between the participants. These social factors had previously been regarded as influential in the realization of apologies (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Holmes (1990, 1995) claims that apologies seem to provide a rich source of information on the ways language interacts with society. Apart from these factors, however, other prominent facets such as situation, degree of offence, and frequency of apology are also believed to be influential (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

Although the concept of apology appears to be universal, its realization and interpretation may be culture-specific. Park and Guan (2006) suggest that a particular type of offence that calls for an apology in one culture may not necessitate an apology in another. Other studies have shown that the frequency as well as the ways they are realized vary significantly from culture to culture (Cohen & Olshtain, 1981; Olshtain, 1989; Vollmer & Olshtain, 1989). In terms of the frequency of occurrence, Japan is regarded as the country where the act of apology is most frequently used (Spencer-Oatey, 2008).

Studies on speech act responses, on the other hand, have tended to focus on compliment responses (CRs). Studies on CRs have proliferated in pragmatic literature and have been found to be culturally specific in terms of verbalization and conceptualization. Some of the studies include those from; Farghal and Al-Khatib (2001); Golato (2003); Tran (2008); Tang and Zhang (2008); and Cheng and Yang (2010). These studies have identified a number of CR strategies both on macro and micro levels. A few macro strategies such as acceptance, evasion, and rejection are similar to those found in ARs. The micro strategies in CRs, however, are numerous and include agreeing, disagreeing, returning, explaining, deflecting, thanking, and using humour. They have not only been investigated in terms linguistic and pragmatic variables, but also in terms of social aspects, unfolding how they are realized according to a range of age groups, gender, power status, social distances, and role relationships of the interlocutors. The proliferation of CR studies, therefore, should have thrown light on AR research so that the information gap between the two speech acts can be minimized.

A few past studies in ARs have indicated some interesting phenomena. Bennett and Earwaker (2001), for example, found that apologies across languages are rarely rejected. This observation has been repeated in other studies, suggesting that the most preferred responses to apologies falls into acceptance or forgiveness category (Adrefiza, 1995; Holmes, 1995; Robinson, 2004). Goffman (1971, as cited in Owen, 1983, p. 23) enumerates three acts that may follow apologies: (a) relief; (b) appreciation; and (c) minimization. According to Goffman, expressions such as: 'You're welcome', 'That's all right', 'Think nothing about it', 'It's okay' are most common minimizing remarks used in American speech when

terminating the exchange. Owen claims that these remarks indicate an acceptance of apologies, while 'OK' or 'all right' without deictic 'that's' or 'it's' can be identified as an acknowledgement of an apology. Norrick (1978) identifies these remarks as the act of forgiving as they indicate the speaker's attempt to dismiss the offence by denying its importance. According to Norrick (1978), these dismissal remarks include 'It's nothing', 'Never mind', and 'No harm done', which reflect the speaker's satisfaction with the apology. Further studies on ARs, such as Holmes (1990, 1995) and Robinson (2004), have classified the above responses, which express relief, appreciation, and minimization, as all representing acceptance of apology.

However, most of these studies do not include essential socio-pragmatic aspects such as gender, age, cultural, contextual, linguistic, and pragmatic subtleties. These aspects, along with Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) PDR politeness principles, may affect how ARs are performed and realized and, as in other speech acts, they may vary across languages and cultures.

2.2. APOLOGY RESPONSE STRATEGIES

A few scholars have identified ARs in their studies. These include Owen (1983), Holmes (1995), and Robinson (2004). Holmes (1995) notes that responses to apologies can be manifested through a number of ways, ranging from silence to various kinds of linguistic expressions. She then puts apology response strategies into a few broad categories. These include: Accept (That's OK); Acknowledge (That's OK, but please don't do it again); Evade (Let's make it another time); and Reject (silence). Robinson (2004) and Owen (1983) provide similar strategies. In their studies, they name the acceptance remark 'That's alright' or 'That's okay' as 'absolution' and found that it was the most preferred response to apologies, especially in American and British English conversation. In his study, Robinson (2004) also mentions an acknowledgment as an AR strategy category, but such a response is often represented through non-verbal behavior such as shrugging. He adds that no particular verbal expression is identified to indicate this response strategy. In Holmes' (1995) study, however, an acknowledgement is identified as a combination of an acceptance and some sort of face threatening expressions or speech acts such as warning or threatening, indicating a weak acceptance of an apology.

Robinson (2004) suggests that the absolution 'That's alright' consists of an indexical term such as 'That's' and an evaluation such as 'OK' or 'alright'. He adds that the indexical term may not refer entirely to the act of apology per se but to the offence that is indexed by the apology. In other words, the evaluation term 'alright' or 'OK' intrinsically refers to the speaker's evaluation of the offence, indicating that she or he does not regard the offence as serious and she or he finally dismisses it. According to Robinson, the use of the above absolution remark indicates the speaker's disagreement with the offender's claim to have

caused an offence. In fact, in the speaker's view, there is no offence that has taken place, thus harmony and equilibrium still prevail.

Holmes' classification has been, in fact, adopted in a number of recent Compliment Response (CR) studies. Some of them include: Golato (2003); Farghal and Al-Khatib (2001); Tang and Zhang (2008); and Chen and Yang (2010). Tang and Zhang (2008), for example, adopted Holmes' AR strategy categories in their CR study among Mandarin Chinese and Australian English speakers. They categorized CR strategies into three macro strategy categories: Accept, Reject, and Evade. The Acknowledgement category, however, is not included in their classification as it may not be appreciated as a common response to compliments. They also identified a number of micro level strategies which come under each macro level strategy. These include Acceptance sub-strategies such as Appreciation token, Agreeing, Downgrading, and Returning; Rejection sub-strategies such as Disagreeing, Questioning and Challenging; and Evasion sub-strategies such as Shifting, Informative comments.

A recent CR study by Chen and Yang (2010) in Mandarin Chinese has come up with more elaborate sub-strategies. They identified 16 CR sub-strategies which came under the three macro strategies Accept, Deflect/Evade, and Reject. Some of them are similar to Tang and Zhang's model. However, they added a few new and different sub-strategies, for example: Encouraging, Explaining, Expressing embarrassment, Offering, and Using humour.

It is clear that the few AR studies that have been conducted do not adopt a classification scheme of the macro and micro strategies. This may be due to the fact that both ARs and CRs are different to the extent that they affect the interlocutors' face. Essentially, ARs are highly face-threatening and usually place the speaker in a difficult situation (Agyekum, 2006; Holmes, 1995; Lakoff, 2001). In contrast, CRs, are essentially face-supporting in nature and tend to place the speaker in a pleasant circumstance (Holmes, 1995). The face threat seems to encourage AR speakers to express much more complex responses than CR speakers do, and they are sometimes difficult to interpret and categorize. However, Holmes' (1990, 1995) AR categorization can still apply, and the present study adopts it. But it also attempts to examine other possible subsidiary or extended speech acts and expressions expressed by the speakers in their attempts to control face threats towards the apologizers and to show indirectness and politeness in their ARs. In general, the present study basically adopts both Holmes' (1995) macro and Chen and Yang's (2010) micro model strategies.

2.3 GENDER ISSUES IN ARs

Gender specific differences in ARs have been studied by Holmes (1989, 1995). Based on a corpus of 183 naturally occurring conversations among native speakers of New Zealand English, she found that the majority of responses fell into the acceptance category. Women were found to be more likely to accept apologies than men (38%: 27.7%) and men were more

likely to reject apologies more often than women (25.5%: 21.7%). She further claims that, although gender differences were not statistically significant, the findings do suggest trends. Women were also reported to express and receive apology more often than men. However, such findings need to be drawn from other languages to find out how the act varies in terms of conception, verbalization, and linguistic strategies across languages and cultures. Apart from linguistic aspects, AR studies may also be challenging and demanding in terms socio-pragmatic variables such as age, situations, and degree of offence severity. They may also be interesting in terms of Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) concept of politeness, uncovering how such an act works with social power status, social distance, and role relationship between the apologizer and the offended person.

3. METHODOLOGY

The study involved 60 native speakers of AE (30 males and 30 females) and 60 native speakers of BI (30 males and 30 females) whose age ranged from 20 to 30 years. They were selected based on personal contacts and familiarity with the researchers. Based on the nature and aims of the present study, an oral DCT was selected as a means of data-gathering technique. This follows Yuan (2001) in investigating CRs in Mandarin Chinese in which an oral DCT was used as a data-gathering method (among other means). There are two solid reasons why this technique is considered relevant to the aims of the present study. First, as suggested by scholars such as Kohler (2008) and Lorenzo-Dus (2001), oral DCTs still represent speech data in which some of the common interactional features such as hesitations and repetitions can still be captured and investigated. These speech features have been regarded as important aspects which show indirectness and politeness as well as serving face-threatening mitigation function (Holmes, 1989; 1995). Second, with the use of this technique, the intended variables to be investigated such as the situation, the age and gender of the participants and degrees of severity could still be controlled.

Unlike ordinary oral DCTs, in which the prompts are made in written form (as conducted by Yuan, 2001), the type used in the present study was modified in such a way that the respondents were invited to listen to pre-recorded apology expressions, then they were asked to respond to them naturally as if they were engaging in a telephone conversation. In addition, to make it more natural and authentic, the apology expressions were audio-recorded from native speakers of both languages, also through oral DCTs. Thus, the remedial exchanges still showed a range of interactive features, although the interlocutors were not talking face-to-face.

All responses were transcribed and categorized according to Holmes' (1995) broad and Chen and Yang's (2010) sub-strategy classifications. The transcription was based on Holmes' (1995) model, using word for word transcription, and fillers, repetition, hedges, hesitation, and any other discourse and pragmatic particles were included. Once the transcription was

completed, the data were then analyzed word for word in their entirety, focusing primarily on the linguistic and pragmatic features used by respondents in both languages. The categorizations of AR strategies and sub-strategies are grouped in the schedule below. The sample expressions only include key phrases from the complex extended units – see the Appendices for extended examples: more detailed discussion of these occurs in Section 4.2.

Strategy	Sample Expressions
Acceptance (AC)	
Absolution	'That's OK' (No representation found in BI)
Dismissal	'It doesn't matter', 'Don't worry' (Nggak apa-apa)
Formal	'I accept your apology', 'I forgive you' (Aku maafin)
Thanking	'Thanks (for apologizing)' (Terima kasih)
Advice/Suggestion	'You should remember next time' (Seharusnya kamu ingat)
Requests	'Please return it as soon as possible' (Tolong kembaliin bukunya segera)
Expressing Empathy	'I understand that stuff happen' (Saya ngerti kok)
Expressing Emotion	'I'm disappointed' (Saya kecewa)
Questioning/Surprise	'How could you do that to me?' (Kok kamu gitu sih?)
Acknowledgement (AK)	
Absolution Plus	'That's OK, but …'
Negation Plus	'It doesn't matter, but …' (Nggak apa-apa)
Formal Plus	'I accept your apology, but …' (Aku maafin, tapi…)
Advice/Suggestion	'You should have called me' (Seharusnya kamu nelpon)
Warning/Threatening	'Don't do that again next time' (Jangan diulangi lagi)
Evaluating	'It's ridiculous', 'You're horrible' (Kamu memang nyebelin)
Expressing Emotion	'I'm angry', 'I'm disappointed' (Aku marah)
Evasion (EV)	
Deflecting/Explaining	'We had lovely time anyway' (Acaranya bagus)
Thanking	'Thanks for letting me know' (Terima kasih telah ngasih tahu saya)

Questioning/Surprise	'How could that happen?' (Kamu kok gitu sih?)
Request	'It would be great if you drop it off ASAP' (Kembalikan segera bukunya ya)
Advice/Suggestion	'You should be careful next time' (Lain kali hati-hati ya)
Expressing Emotion	'I'm a bit pissed at you at this moment' (Kamu menjengkelkan)

Rejection (RJ)

Refusals	'I don't think that dinner's gonna do much now' (Nggak, aku nggak mau)
Advice/Suggestion	'You should have called me' (Seharusnya kamu ngasih tahu dong)
Requests	'Please give it back soon' (Kembalikan bukunya segera)
Warning	'I won't tell you any more secrets' (Aku nggak mau cerita lagi sama kamu)
Blaming	'I told you a secret, but you told everyone' (Aku certain rahasia, malah kamu ceritakan ke orang lain)
Swearing	'You're really shit' (Sialan kamu)
Asking for Compensation	'You have to replace it with the new one' (Kamu harus ganti bukunya)
Evaluating	'That's not good', 'You're horrible person' (Kamu nyebelin bangat)
Non-Apology "Sorry"	'Sorry, I can't forgive you' (Maaf ya aku nggak bisa maafin kamu)
Expressing Emotions	'I'm really angry' (Aku kesal bangat)
Thanking	'Thanks' (Terima kasih)

The present study poses the following research questions:

i.   How do young adult Australians and Indonesians, both males and females express their responses to apology?

ii.   Are there any gender and cultural differences in apology response strategies in both language communities?

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. MAIN AR STRATEGIES IN AE AND BI

From a total of 360 responses recorded from 120 respondents who spoke one or the other of the languages, it appears that, regardless of gender and situation variables, the two languages show a dissimilar pattern of AR strategy distribution, especially in the Evasion and Acknowledgement categories. There are, however, a number of small differences in the other two categories. Table 1 and Figure 1 below show the distribution of AR strategies in both languages.

Table 1: Main AR Strategy Distribution in AE and BI

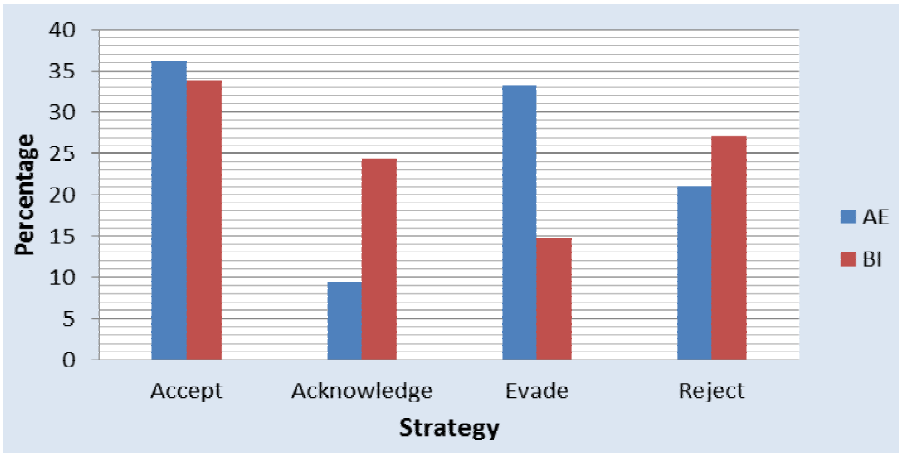|		Accept	Acknowledge	Evade	Reject
Australian English	**(N)**	65	17	60	38
	(%)	36.1	9.4	33.3	21.1
Bahasa Indonesia	**(N)**	61	44	26	49
	(%)	33.8	24.4	14.4	27.2
Average	**(N)**	126	61	86	87
	(%)	35.0	16.9	23.8	24.2

AE: N=180 BI: N=180 Total N=360

Figure 1. Main AR strategy distribution in AE and BI

It is observable in the above table and the figure that the largest percentage of responses in both languages falls into the Acceptance category, with a total rate of 36.1% in AE and 33.8% in BI. There is a relatively small difference in the percentage of this strategy in both languages. The proportion of Evasion is also relatively high in AE with a total of 33.3%. It is the second highest rate of AR strategy in AE. The occurrence of this strategy, however, is much lower in BI, representing only 14.4% in total, comprising the least frequent strategy in BI. It is noticeable that the Acknowledgement strategy does not seem much favoured in AE and is the least frequent AR strategy in this language. However, the incidence of this strategy is relatively high in BI, with a total occurrence of 24.4% in the data.

In addition, the percentage of Rejection is comparatively high in both languages. Almost a quarter of the responses fall into this category, representing a total occurrence of 27.2% in BI and 21.1% in AE. The rates show that Rejection occurs slightly more frequently in BI data, if anything, than in the AE data.

The findings presented in Table 1 and Figure 1 give a general picture of AR strategies employed by the Australian and Indonesian respondents. They reflect how the two speech communities react to the offenders' apologies in their attempts to restore personal relationships and harmony. The results illustrate both personal and cultural manifestations of politeness and solidarity, and both these factors are evidently engaged in the selection of the strategies in responding to apology. This is in line with the thinking of Paltridge (2004), who believes that these factors along with other variables, such as degree of social distance and power between interlocutors, degree of imposition, age of participants, and the sex of the speakers, play an essential role in the act of apology. Some aspects of these variables also seem to apply to the realization of ARs. Although the interlocutors are equal in terms of social status and power, the AR strategy selection varies from respondent to respondent. Still, it must be acknowledged that the data represent only a small fraction of both societies; so the variations of AR strategy distributions in the two languages that are evident here can only be seen as an indication of the type of speech act behaviour phenomenon that can be expected from both communities.

The findings, however, show a few additional phenomena of interest. First, both language communities tend to be rather other-oriented and self-denying in their apology responding behaviours. This is indicated by the proportion of Acceptance included by the respondents in each of the two language groups. This strategy is preferred more than the others, a result that seems to be consistent with prior studies such as those by Owen (1983), Holmes (1995), and Robinson (2004), who all claim that acceptance of an apology is the most preferred AR. At the same time, the frequency of Rejection is noticeably high in both language groups, revealing that Acceptance does not have overwhelming domination in ARs. It seems that the respondents cannot completely restrain their self-oriented behaviours. The frequency level of Rejection in the present study seems to challenge a finding by Bennett and Earwaker (2001)

which suggests that apology is rarely rejected. Different techniques used in collecting data might have caused the divergent findings. Bennett and Earwaker used naturally occurring data in their study, whereas, as stressed earlier, this study relies on oral DCT data.

The fact that both communities show Acceptance as the most favoured response of the four strategies is worth noting. This does not seem to be consistent with the varying cultural characterizations of the two societies. Australia is generally thought to be Western and individualist, while Indonesia is commonly associated with Eastern and collectivist culture (see Darine & Hall 1998; Hofstede, 1980; Rusdi, 2000; Sawir, 2002). The two are believed to differ from one another in many aspects, including in the way social and personal relationships in society are maintained. In a collectivist society, such as Indonesia, personal and social ties are claimed to be stronger than those in individualist countries such as Australia (Rusdi, 2000) because social life encounters are shared in groups much more intensively than in an individualist society. Collectivist culture is also said to be more tolerant than individualist culture (Jin & Cortazzi, 1998, as cited in Rusdi, 2000, p. 12). Notionally, then, one would expect Acceptance to occur more often in BI than in AE. However, such a discrepancy is not evident here. Instead, both societies tend to be equally 'polite' in their apology responding behaviours as indicated by their equivalently frequent use of Acceptance.

Another interesting phenomenon that can be seen in the results is the proportion of Evasion and Acknowledgement strategies in use. The fact that Australian respondents show a higher incidence in EV than do Indonesians seems to challenge one of the general stereotypes about the speech styles of the two societies. These stereotypes originate in a common distinction made about communication styles between High Context and Low Context cultures (Hofstede, 1980). Essentially, Indonesians are thought to belong to a HC culture, so their speech styles tend to be considered ambiguous, implicit, and indecisive (Aziz, 2000; Wouk, 2006); Australians, on the other hand, are generally regarded as members of a LC culture and are thought to be explicit, open, and frank (Hofstede, 1980; Rusdi, 2000). Evasion necessarily is an HC characteristic as it shows a good deal of implicitness and deflective behaviour on the part of the speaker (Aziz, 2000; Hofstede, 1980; Rusdi, 2000). Therefore, people from a LC culture occasionally find it difficult to understand people from HC as the latter's intention may be ambiguous (Aziz, 2000). According to Aziz (2000), evasiveness and ambiguity are prominent in Indonesian society. In the present study, however, such characteristics do not appear prominently. Surprisingly, the Australian participants tend to express themselves evasively much more often than the Indonesians when responding to apologies. This is indicated by the ratio of Evasion expressed by the speech communities which is dominated by AE speakers.

The relatively high percentage of Evasion strategy in AE may relate to the realization of face work and politeness principles. It is possible that, for most Australian respondents, Evasion is a strategy intended to pay respect and show solidarity in an attempt to minimize the face-loss

or face-threat towards the addressees following a hurtful event. They may consider explicit responses as too direct and face-threatening in the given circumstances. Therefore, deflecting the response could be the most appropriate strategy. In Indonesian society, in contrast, such actions are likely to be perceived somewhat differently. They do not seem to perceive Evasion as a strategy to show respect or solidarity which has potential to reduce face-loss, but rather as something which indicates indecisiveness. Indonesian respondents preferring to express their ARs more directly and more explicitly than Australians challenges the HC stereotype of Indonesian society.

There is also a noticeable difference between the two communities in their expression of Acknowledgement. As stated earlier, Acknowledgement is the least preferred AR strategy in AE. The occurrence of this strategy, however, is much higher in BI than that in AE, with the ratio of 24.4: 9.4% in the data. This clear disparity of use may be due to differences in personal or social orientation factors present in the two cultures. For most Indonesians, acknowledging may be seen as preserving personal dignity, signalling a feeling of reluctance to let the offender completely off the hook. For them, letting the offender fully off the hook after a hurtful event may be perceived as difficult, and cause damage to their self-worth and integrity. Hence they often respond using Acknowledge strategy, leaving the offenders with a certain face-threatening expression such as a warning, suggestion, or advice, which indicates a weak acceptance of the apology. This phenomenon, however, does not seem to be prominent or preferred in Australian society, as may be assumed by the low percentage of Acknowledgement in AE.

Finally, the occurrence of Rejection shows another interesting feature of the data. In Figure 1, there is 27.2% of Rejection in BI and 21.1% in AE. As Acceptance represents the speaker's other-oriented and self-denying behaviour (Holmes, 1995), Rejection can be interpreted as the opposite (self-oriented and other-denying). These percentages of Rejection in the results of the study signal that some participants in both languages can be self-oriented and other-denying; they fail to conceal their hurt feelings following an offence or wrongdoing committed by their close friends. They do not shy away from face-threatening behaviour and tend to have no tolerance of the friend's wrongdoing. They do not mince words in their responses.

It is worth pointing out that the rate at which Rejection occurs in BI is somewhat higher than in AE. Although the difference is small, and there are insufficient data to draw a generalization about it, the not insignificant incidence of rejection among the Indonesians deserves comment. Some work has seen a correlation between religiosity and forgiveness (for example, McCullough et al., 1998), and although Indonesian society is generally characterized as more religious than Australian society, the type of responses to apology is likely complex and can be both personally and culturally specific. It is possible that the degree of severity of the offence,

the relationship between the offender and the victimized person, and the situation in which the apology occurred may also be some of the essential factors.

4.2. EXTENDED STRATEGIES

Similar to Chen and Yang's (2010) CR classification model in Mandarin Chinese, it appears that ARs in the present study show a complex linguistic phenomenon. They are complex, unstructured and elaborate. Apart from the principal strategies (Accept, Acknowledge, Evade, and Reject), the responses embrace a number of subsidiary speech acts and expressions. While Chen and Yang use the terms macro and micro strategies in classifying CRs, the study uses the terms main and extended strategies. The main strategies are classified into Accept, Acknowledge, Evade, and Reject, while the extended strategies refer to subsidiary speech acts and expressions used by the respondents, which are embodied in their responses.

Some of the most common subsidiary speech acts and expressions evident in the present study are: Thanking, Advice/Suggestion, Request, Explaining/Clarifying/ Deflecting, Blaming, Warning/Threatening, Expressing empathy, Swearing, Evaluating, Asking for compensation, Questioning/Surprise, and Expressing emotions. It was often found that one extended response accounts for more than one subsidiary speech act and/or expression. Also, one particular speech act or expression could have more than one illocutionary force or meaning. The details of the strategy distributions are set out in Tables 2-5 below:

Table 2: Acceptance Extended AR Strategies in AE and BI

Extended Acts and Expressions		AE			BI			Total
		M	F	Sum	M	F	Sum	
Absolution	(N)	34	22	*56*	0	0	*0*	56
	(%)	11.2	7.3	*18.5*	0.0	0.0	*0.0*	18.5
Dismissal	(N)	12	7	*19*	40	29	*69*	88
	(%)	4.0	2.3	*6.3*	13.2	9.6	*22.8*	29.1
Formal	(N)	1	0	*1*	15	13	*28*	29
	(%)	0.3	0.0	*0.3*	4.9	4.3	*9.2*	9.6
Thanking	(N)	9	3	*12*	3	3	*6*	18
	(%)	3.0	1.0	*4.0*	1.0	1.0	*2.0*	6.0
Expressing empathy	(N)	3	5	*8*	3	1	*4*	12
	(%)	1.0	1.6	*2.6*	1.0	0.3	*1.3*	3.9
Advice/Suggestio	(N)	13	17	*30*	11	18	*29*	59
	(%)	4.3	5.6	*9.9*	3.6	5.9	*9.6*	19.5
Expressing emotion	(N)	2	4	*6*	7	7	*14*	20
	(%)	0.6	1.3	*2.0*	2.3	2.3	*4.6*	6.6
Questioning/Surprise	(N)	2	1	*3*	3	3	*6*	9
	(%)	0.6	0.3	*1.0*	1.0	1.0	*2.0*	3.0
Request	(N)	3	3	*6*	2	3	*5*	11
	(%)	1.0	1.0	*2.0*	0.6	1.0	*1.6*	3.6
Total	(N)	79	62	*141*	84	77	*161*	302
	(%)	26.1	20.5	*46.7*	27.8	25.5	*53.3*	100

Table 3: Acknowledge Extended AR Strategies in AE and BI

Extended Acts and Expressions		AE			BI			Total
		M	F	Sum	M	F	Sum	
Absolution	(N)	1	9	10	0	0	0	10
	(%)	0.7	6.6	7.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.3
Dismissal	(N)	0	2	2	16	16	32	34
	(%)	0.0	1.5	1.5	11.7	11.7	23.5	25.0
Formal	(N)	4	2	6	9	8	17	23
	(%)	2.9	1.5	4.4	6.6	5.9	12.5	16.9
Advice/Suggestion	(N)	2	4	6	17	17	34	40
	(%)	1.5	2.9	4.4	12.5	12.5	25.0	29.4
Warning/ Threatening	(N)	0	2	2	0	3	3	5
	(%)	0.0	1.5	1.5	0.0	2.2	2.2	3.6
Expressing emotion	(N)	1	6	7	6	9	15	22
	(%)	0.7	4.4	5.1	4.4	6.6	(11.0)	(16.1)
Evaluating	(N)	0	1	1	0	1	1	2
	(%)	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.7	0.7	1.5
Total	(N)	8	26	34	48	54	102	136
	(%)	5.9	19.1	25.0	35.3	39.7	75.0	100

Table 4: Evasion Extended AR Strategies in AE and BI

Extended Acts and Expressions		AE			BI			Total
		M	F	Sum	M	F	Sum	
Clarifying/Explaining/ Deflecting	(N)	15	4	19	7	7	14	33
	(%)	9.2	2.5	11.7	4.3	4.3	8.6	20.3
Thanking	(N)	4	8	12	1	2	3	15
	(%)	2.5	4.9	7.4	0.6	1.2	1.8	9.2
Questioning/Surprise	(N)	4	3	7	6	4	10	17
	(%)	2.5	1.8	4.3	3.7	2.5	6.1	10.5
Request	(N)	12	14	26	5	7	12	38
	(%)	7.4	8.6	16.0	3.0	4.3	7.3	23.4
Advice/Suggestion	(N)	14	9	23	9	7	16	39
	(%)	8.6	5.5	14.2	5.5	4.3	9.9	24.0
Expressing emotion	(N)	6	7	13	5	2	7	20
	(%)	3.7	4.3	8.0	3.0	1.2	4.3	12.3
Total	(N)	55	45	100	33	29	62	162
	(%)	33.9	27.8	61.7	20.4	17.9	38.3	100

Table 5: Rejection Extended AR Strategies in AE and BI

Extended Acts and Expressions		AE			BI			Total
		M	F	Sum	M	F	Sum	
Refusal	(N)	0	3	3	9	8	17	20
	(%)	0.0	1.7	1.7	5.2	4.6	9.9	11.6
Questioning/Surprise	(N)	1	4	5	6	9	15	20
	(%)	0.6	2.3	2.9	3.5	5.2	8.7	11.6
Advice/Suggestion	(N)	1	7	8	1	5	6	14
	(%)	0.6	4.0	4.6	0.6	2.9	3.5	8.1
Request	(N)	4	6	10	3	3	6	16
	(%)	2.3	3.5	5.8	1.7	1.7	3.5	9.3
Warning	(N)	1	0	1	1	2	3	4
	(%)	0.6	0.0	0.6	0.6	1.2	1.7	2.3
Blaming	(N)	0	4	4	6	4	10	14
	(%)	0.0	2.3	2.3	3.5	2.3	5.8	8.1
Swearing	(N)	0	1	1	1	0	1	2
	(%)	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.6	1.2
Asking for compensation	(N)	1	0	1	2	3	5	6
	(%)	0.6	0.0	0.6	1.2	1.7	2.9	3.5
Expressing emotion	(N)	4	13	17	16	19	35	52
	(%)	2.3	7.5	9.9	9.3	11.0	20.3	30.2
Evaluation	(N)	2	3	5	0	1	1	6
	(%)	1.2	1.7	2.9	0.0	0.6	0.6	3.5
Non-Apology "Sorry"	(N)	0	4	4	1	3	4	8
	(%)	0.0	2.3	2.3	0.6	1.7	2.3	4.6
Thanking	(N)	3	2	5	2	3	5	10
	(%)	1.7	1.2	2.9	1.2	1.7	2.9	5.8
Total	(N)	17	47	64	48	60	108	172
	(%)	9.9	27.3	37.2	27.9	34.9	62.8	100

Table 6 below shows the number of occurrence of the extended strategies in AE and BI

Table 6: AR Extended Strategies in AE and BI

No	Extended Acts and Expressions	AE			BI			Total
		M	F	Sum	M	F	Sum	
1	**Acceptance**							
	Absolution	34	22	*56*	0	0	*0*	56
	Dismissal	12	7	*19*	40	29	*69*	88
	Formal	1	0	*1*	15	13	*28*	29
	Thanking	9	3	*12*	3	3	*6*	18
	Expressing empathy	3	5	*8*	3	1	*4*	12
	Advice/Suggestion	13	17	*30*	11	18	*29*	59
	Expressing emotion	2	4	*6*	7	7	*14*	20
	Questioning/Surprise	2	1	*3*	3	3	*6*	9
	Request	3	3	*6*	2	3	*5*	11
	Total	79	62	*141*	84	77	*161*	302
2	**Acknowledgement**							
	Absolution	1	9	*10*	0	0	*0*	10
	Dismissal	0	2	*2*	16	16	*32*	34
	Formal	4	2	*6*	9	8	*17*	23
	Advice/Suggestion	2	4	*6*	17	17	*34*	40
	Warning/Threatening	0	2	*2*	0	3	*3*	5
	Expressing emotion	1	6	*7*	6	9	*15*	22
	Evaluating	0	1	*1*	0	1	*1*	2
	Total	8	26	*34*	48	54	*102*	136
3	**Evasion**							
	Clarifying/Explaining/Deflecting	15	4	*19*	7	7	*14*	33
	Thanking	4	8	*12*	1	2	*3*	15
	Questioning/Surprise	4	3	*7*	6	4	*10*	17
	Request	12	14	*26*	5	7	*12*	38
	Advice/Suggestion	14	9	*23*	9	7	*16*	39
	Expressing emotion	6	7	*13*	5	2	*7*	20
	Total	55	45	*100*	33	29	*62*	162

4	Rejection							
	Refusal	0	3	*3*	9	8	*17*	**20**
	Questioning/Surprise	1	4	*5*	6	9	*15*	**20**
	Advice/Suggestion	1	7	*8*	1	5	*6*	**14**
	Request	4	6	*10*	3	3	*6*	**16**
	Warning	1	0	*1*	1	2	*3*	**4**
	Blaming	0	4	*4*	6	4	*10*	**14**
	Swearing	0	1	*1*	1	0	*1*	**2**
	Asking for compensation	1	0	*1*	2	3	*5*	**6**
	Expressing emotion	4	13	*17*	16	19	*35*	**52**
	Evaluation	2	3	*5*	0	1	*1*	**6**
	Non-Apology "Sorry"	0	4	*4*	1	3	*4*	**8**
	Thanking	3	2	*5*	2	3	*5*	**10**
	TOTAL	17	47	*64*	48	60	*108*	**172**
	TOTAL AC+AK+EV+RJ			*339*			*433*	**772**

The tables show the number of extended speech acts and expressions which are expressed by the respondents in both languages. Regardless of the gender variable, there are a total of 772 instances (339 in AE and 433 in BI) of the extended speech acts and expressions used by the respondents. The Indonesians tend to use the extended speech acts and expressions more often than the Australians in their ARs.

It can also be seen in the tables that some of the extended sub-strategies are recurring in each of the main categories. These include subsidiary speech acts and expressions such as: Thanking, Advice/Suggestion, Questioning/Surprise, Request, and Expressing emotions which occur in all four main strategies. The speech act of Advice/Suggestion is the most frequent subsidiary response, representing a total number of 59 instances in Acceptance, 40 in Acknowledgement, 39 in Evasion, and 14 in Rejection out of a total number of 772 instances of the extended strategies in both languages. The Expressions of emotion are also frequent, appearing in all four main strategies with the total number of 20 instances in Acceptance, 22 in Acknowledgement, 20 in Evasion, and 52 in Rejection.

A few speech acts, however, are only used in a particular strategy. Expressing empathy, for example, is only found in Acceptance (12 instances in total), while Refusal, Swearing, Blaming, are found only in Rejection. In addition, the acceptance markers or expressions (Absolution, Dismissal, and Formal) can only be found in Acceptance and Acknowledgment strategies.

The description of the use of the extended responses in the two languages shows several phenomena of particular interest. First, ARs in both languages tend to be elaborate. They embody a combination of speech acts and linguistic expressions which, in most cases, demonstrate the respondents' desire not to respond bluntly. The elaboration can also be intended to show politeness and solidarity as the respondents try to control face threats and face loss which might otherwise be inflicted on the offenders. This feature has been acknowledged in previous research such as that of Holmes (1995), Agyekum (2006), and Lakoff (2001). These authors suggest that both apology and apology responses are face-threatening in nature because they place both the apologizer and the respondent in a difficult situation, and thus longer expressions are thought to be needed to accommodate this. For most people, it is not an occasion for brevity.

In addition, the elaboration of the responses may relate to the relationship status in the situation in which the apology is expressed. Unlike in CRs, where the respondents are in a pleasant situation regardless of the relationship status between the interlocutors, the respondents in ARs are obviously in some insecurity. This becomes more of a dilemma when the offender is a close friend. As a result, most of the responses are elaborate and complex, signalling the speakers' difficulties in controlling their psychological feelings and linguistic expressions at once in order to maintain the harmony. This is in line with Holmes (1990), who suggests that the ARs tend to be elaborate and complex when the interlocutors are friends and have equal status. In the present study the respondents seem to make extra effort to mitigate face threats towards the offenders who are their close friends.

Based on the data as shown in Table 6, it is clear that Indonesian respondents are more elaborate than Australians in their ARs. The rate of extended speech acts and expressions used in their responses are more frequent than those in AE, especially under Acknowledgement and Rejection. However, Australian respondents tend towards more elaboration than Indonesians in expressing Evasion (100:62). It is also noticeable that face-threatening expressions such as Emotion occur more frequently in BI than in AE. The expressions of Emotion seem to indicate that the respondents cannot hide their feelings as a result of the offence. It is possible, of course, that emotion is seen as relevant and natural among friends.

Another difference is seen in the use of Formal acceptance: Indonesian respondents use it more often than their Australian counterparts. The discrepancy may relate to different perceptions about the formality of the expressions. The use of 'Saya terima maaf kamu' (I Accept your apology) or 'Saya maafkan kamu' (I forgive you), for example, is not generally regarded as formal in BI, while in AE it can be regarded as the opposite, especially between friends, and so is perceived as inappropriate in this context. That said, it seems that the Indonesians often use the colloquial variant 'maafin', not formal 'maafkan' (e.g. 'Ya sudah saya maafkan') – or may even couch that entire utterance in colloquial language (e.g. 'Tapi

ya udahlah aku maafin deh'). This helps to make the expression feel more acceptable to use to a friend. Australian English, on the other hand, does not have colloquial variants of the relevant words, to help make the expression feel less stiff (e.g. in 'I accept your apology' or 'I forgive you').

The elaboration of responses in Rejection is interesting to observe. In this strategy respondents cover the widest variety of extended speech acts and expressions. Indonesian respondents are more elaborate than Australians in expressing Rejection, using many more extended speech acts in their responses (108:64). Strikingly, most of the expressions are embodied in a combination of face-threatening speech acts and expressions. Indonesians use more Refusals and Emotion, which are negative in illocutionary force, than Australians, signalling that Indonesians appear to be more confronting than Australians in their responses. The statistics for Rejection strategy reveals the degree of disappointment and hurt that the Indonesians seem to feel as a result of the given situation.

Ultimately, although some speech acts and expressions recur, the illocutionary force and meaning they involve can be different depending on what strategies are employed. The meaning or illocutionary force of Thanking in Acceptance, for example, may be different from Thanking in Rejection. Naturally, it represents the speaker's positive attitude when it occurs in Acceptance, while it can show another illocutionary force, one of 'cool' politeness, when it is expressed in Rejection. Although relatively small in number, Swearing words such as 'shit', as the most face-threatening expression, in particular, occur in both languages (only two instances found in the data, one in AE and one in BI). Its occurrence represents a very strong psychological emotion on the part of the respondents.

4.3. GENDER VARIATIONS

This section considers whether there are any differences between males and females in the two societies in the way they express themselves when responding to apology. As suggested by scholars such as Lakoff (1975), Tannen (1990), Coates (2004), Holmes (1995) and Mills (2003), there is appreciable evidence showing that men and women differ from one another in their use of language. On the basis of the stereotype, women focus more on the social relationship in their talk (Holmes, 1995) and are more polite than men (Brown, 1980); thus it might be thought that in the apology situation, women, for the sake of 'harmony', would be more accepting than men. However, it is also true that gender speech behaviour has been shown to be affected by a diversity of variables such as the age of the respondents and the contexts of the conversation (see Mills, 2003). This study examines gender speech variations with regard to three selected situations, focusing particularly on the speech patterns of young adult speakers whose ages range from 20 to 30 years.

Table 7: Cross Linguistic Gender AR Strategy Distributions in AE and BI

		AC		AK		EV		RJ		Total
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
AE	(N)	37	28	6	11	31	29	16	22	180
	(%)	20.6	15.6	3.3	6.1	17.2	16.1	8.9	12.2	100
BI	(N)	31	20	21	23	15	11	23	26	180
	(%)	17.2	11.1	11.6	12.9	8.3	6.1	12.9	14.4	100

Table 8: Acceptance - Gender AR Strategy Distributions in AE and BI

	Male	Female	Total
AE	37 (57%)	28 (43%)	65 (100%)
BI	31 (61%)	20 (39%)	51 (100%)

Table 9: Acknowledge - Gender AR Strategy Distributions in AE and BI

	Male	Female	Total
AE	6 (35%)	11 (65%)	17 (100%)
BI	21 (48%)	23 (52%)	44 (100%)

Table 10: Evasion - Gender AR Strategy Distributions in AE and BI

	Male	Female	Total
AE	31 (52%)	29 (48%)	60 (100%)
BI	15 (58%)	11 (42%)	26 (100%)

Table 11: Rejection - Gender AR Strategy Distributions in AE and BI

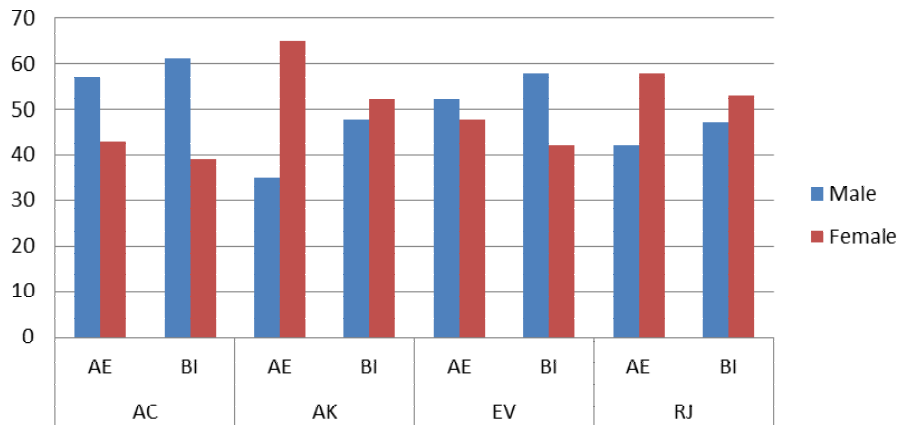|	Male	Female	Total
AE	16 (42%)	22 (58%)	38 (100%)
BI	23 (47%)	26 (53%)	49 (100%)

Figure 2. Gender AR strategy distribution in AE and BI (%)

Tables 8-11 and Figure 2 show the general picture of gender AR strategy distribution through both languages. It is noticeable that, regardless of situation variable, males and females in both languages exhibit slightly different distribution patterns. In general, the difference looks relatively small and does not show fixed patterns. However, noticeable differences can be seen in Acceptance and Rejection. The figure reconfirms the evidence that AE speakers both males and females, are more evasive (using more Evasion strategy) than are males and females in BI, whereas males and females in BI show a considerably higher rate in the Acknowledgement category than those in AE. It can also be noticed that males are slightly more evasive and less acknowledging than females in the two language communities. The widest difference is noticeable in AE, where females look much more acknowledging than males.

In both male and female responses, the rate of Rejection is striking regardless of language. BI speakers, both males and females, are more rejecting than AE speakers. This is indicated by the rate for this strategy found in the two language groups. However, the difference is not particularly wide. It is also worth pointing out that although the difference is small, females overall tend to show a higher rate of Rejection than males in both languages.

The findings show that men's and women's speech behaviour is complex. Although past research has indicated that men and women differ from one another in their speech behaviours (see Brown, 1980; Coates, 2004; Holmes, 1995, 2008; Mills, 2003; Tannen, 1990; Wouk, 2006), the trend is not highly evident in the present study. This is perhaps partly because there are constraints acting on the respondents in terms of the situations and the status of relationships between the interlocutors. Another influencing factor may be the age of the respondents (Romaine, 1984). The findings more closely support the thinking of Mills (2003), who noted that gender speech variations are multifarious, depending upon numerous

aspects such as context, audience, politeness orientation, and aims of the conversation. They certainly challenge any established stereotype that women are more accepting and polite than men (for example Holmes, 1995, 2008) and suggest that men's and women's speech difference is not clearly fixed and in any case may change over time (Bing & Bergvall, 1996, as cited in Mills, 2003, p. 170; Johnson & Meinhof, 1997).

The disparity between Holmes' results and those of the present study may suggest a general change in male and female behaviour since Holmes did her research. It is possible that the genders are growing closer together in their language use, and research has lent some credence to this trend (see Johnson & Meinhof, 1997; Bing & Bergvall, 1996). All in all, the findings show that gender difference is not especially robust, and any difference is not in a fixed or regular pattern.

4.4. GENDER SPECIFIC VARIATIONS IN AE AND IN BI

An intra-language analysis shows relatively small evidence of any remarkable gender difference. In the case of BI respondents, it can be seen in Figure 2, for example, gender difference is relatively small in three categories (Acknowledge, Evasion, and Rejection), but more marked in Acceptance. Both males and females share almost equal proportions in Acknowledge and Rejection categories. However, males are likely to more dominant in Acceptance and Evasion categories.

In AE, however, the difference is somewhat more noticeable than in BI. The most remarkable difference is present in Acknowledgement category, where females are much more represented than males in this strategy. This trend also is also evident in Rejection category, showing females' dominance in this strategy. However, gender difference is not particularly remarkable in the Evasion category. As stated earlier, gender difference is evident in the Acceptance strategy, where males show a slightly higher rate of use than females (57%: 43%). Although the difference is not wide, it may be sufficient to indicate that males in AE are more accepting in their ARs than their female counterparts.

From this, it can be concluded that in both languages gender variations seem to occur in a non-fixed pattern. The differences are almost negligible, signalling that gender speech variations in the two language communities do not show significant differences, at least in responding to apology.

The findings further enhance Mills' (2003) claim that gender speech differences are highly sensitive, culturally specific, unstable, and may change over time. This is probably because men and women are now tending to share participation in public spheres, social power, and responsibility in most societies. However, it is important to point out here that the patterns of gender variations in the study are specific to young adult speakers rather than any other age group. Among older people, for instance, differences would probably be more perceptible.

4.5. GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THE USE OF EXTENDED STRATEGIES

Tables 2-6 show gender differences in the use of extended strategies in the two languages. However, these tables indicate the elaboration of the strategies used by males and females in the two language groups. The findings reveal that as in the main strategies, there is no regular pattern of gender differences either within or between the two languages. Gender differences can be seen in the use of only some speech acts and expressions in the four main strategies.

The total number of extended speech acts and expressions used across the four strategies by males and females of both languages shows that females in AE use more extended responses than males in both the Acknowledgement and Rejection categories (see Table 6), while males use more extended strategies than females in the other two categories. The ratio of male and female use of extended speech acts and expressions in Acknowledgement is 5.9%:26% and it is 9.9%:27.3% in Rejection. In contrast, the ratio is 26.1%:20.5% in Acceptance and 33.9%:27.8% in Evasion. In BI, the gender difference in the use of the extended speech acts and expressions is negligible. A sharp difference is seen in Rejection (27.9% in males and 34.9% in females).

In Acceptance, there are a few differences in the use of the extended strategies depending on language. The use of Absolution in AE, for example, is more frequent in males than in females, with a ratio of 11.2%:7.3%. Also, Thanking occurs more often in males than in females in AE (3.0 %:2.0 %). In BI, in general, gender difference is not substantial. However, males tend to use Dismissal more often than females, with a ratio of 13.2%:9.6%, and Advice/Suggestion occurs more frequently in females than in males (6.0%:3.6%).

In Acknowledgement, gender difference is much more noticeable in AE than in BI. Females in AE use more extended speech acts and expressions than their male counterparts, with a ratio of 26:8 (19.1%:5.9%). In contrast, the margin is very narrow in BI (35.3% in males and 39.7% in females). In AE, females are likely to use Absolution and Emotional expression more often than males. In BI females tend to express emotion more frequently than males do.

Gender difference is relatively narrow in the Evasion category in the two languages. In AE, for example, males use extended responses slightly more often than females (55:45 or 33.9%:27.8%). In BI, however, gender difference is negligible, with the ratio 33:29 or 20.4 %:17.9 %. In AE, more Clarifying/Explanation/Deflecting occurs in male Evasion than in female. Also, females tend to use Thanking more often than males.

In the Rejection category, there are also some gender differences evident. As with the other strategy categories, gender difference in Rejection is more apparent in AE than in BI. In AE there are more extended speech acts and expressions used in female rejecting responses than in male responses, with the ratio being 47 (27.3%):17 (9.9%). In BI, the gender difference is smaller, with a ratio of 60:48 (34.9%:27.9%). In AE females are more likely to 'express

emotion' than males. This is indicated by the comparison of the rate of male and female Emotional expressions in the rejection responses (13:4) or (7.5 %:2.3 %).

Overall, gender differences in the use of extended speech acts and expressions tend to show a complex pattern in either language or across languages. There are no consistent patterns of gender difference so generalization cannot be made, except to offer the overall point that male and female behaviour is not necessarily 'gendered', although in several cases females tend to use more Emotional expressions and Advice more often than males do.

5. CONCLUSION

This research has entailed describing and discussing apology response strategies with regard to situation and gender variables in the AE and BI languages. One finding is perhaps no surprise: that Acceptance is the most favoured response. Absolving the offender who has not done great harm to oneself is morally sanctioned and encouraged in both cultures; it is also an "easy" response, relieving the victim of having to search uncomfortably for words to deny acceptance.

A significant finding lies in the data on gender behaviour. There seems to be no fixed or regular pattern of male and female responses either within or between languages. Overall, the results do not harmonise with prominent past research undertaken by Lakoff (1975), Brown (1980) and Holmes (1995) which suggests that females are more polite, more indirect, more cooperative, and pay more attention to face redress than males in their speech behaviour. In several cases in the present research it was males who tended to be more accepting and more polite than females in their responses. This phenomenon signals perhaps that gender speech differences are complex, inconsistent, and subject to shift over time (see Bing & Bergvall, 1996; Johnson & Meinhof, 1997; Mills, 2003,). Also, as Mills (2003) claims, it is often difficult now to prove that males and females use language in different ways since women have taken strides towards equality with men in social spheres over recent decades. The findings of this study can be used as a further indication that the boundaries between female and male language are not at all clearly established.

A further challenge to stereotype is revealed in the data. It was anticipated that the Indonesian cohort, as 'Asian', would be more indirect and deferential than their Australian counterparts. But the Indonesians in the study offered no higher rate of Acceptance. The reasons for this Indonesian and Australian behaviour are far from clear. Further sociolinguistic research would be needed to provide an explanation for the phenomenon.

It must, however, be acknowledged that the study has at least some limitations. First, the study is limited in terms of authenticity of the data. Although oral DCTs have been widely employed as a technique of speech act or pragmatics study data collection (see Yuan, 2001), they are still not able to capture the full naturalness of the interaction between apologizers and respondents. The instrument used cannot capture the co-constructed nature of apology

speech events, simply requesting the informants to respond to an initial verbal cue, and their response to that cue is an unbroken monologue. In real life, in both Australian English and in Indonesian, lengthy apology responses probably tend to be performed over multiple turns instead, interspersed with turns by the Apologizer, rather than being delivered in a single 'blurt'. Also, through the use of oral DCTs, although the respondents were asked to listen to recorded apology prompts and respond as naturally as possible, the dynamicity of interactional features such as facial expressions, body language or gestures, and perhaps intonation patterns could not be fully captured. Such features may well have offered more insight into the complex responses. Future studies of ARs could use naturally occurring interactions or role-play for a comparison of responses, though it must be conceded that these methods, while having the merit of gathering more authentic data, are not likely to record a reliable breadth of sample. Thus, the use of oral DCTs was considered most appropriate in the context of present study due to their practicality in obtaining data. It is quicker and simpler for the authors to elicit, transcribe and analyze the data

Second, the study is limited in terms of its scope and the number and type of variables. It focuses only on gender and cultural perspectives on the ways both language communities express themselves in responding to apology. It also offers evidence of elaboration made by males and females in the two languages in their responses. Further studies, with wider scope and more variables, could be used to gain more representative findings from which generalizations could be made. Such studies could investigate how the respondents express the act with varying degrees of offence, and with different situations, age groups, social status, and relationships between the interlocutors.

Finally, as there is only limited research into AR strategies, and this research addresses the gap to only a modest degree, more research is needed into intercultural pragmatics to provide data and insights on ARs in languages other than Australian English and Bahasa Indonesia.

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APPENDIX 1: SAMPLES OF AE DATA

Strategy	Sample Expressions
Acceptance (AC)	
Absolution	'That's OK'
Dismissal	'It doesn't matter', 'Don't worry'
Formal	'I accept your apology', 'I forgive you'
Thanking	'Thanks (for apologizing)'
Advice/Suggestion	'That's OK, you should remember next time'
Requests	'That's alright. Please return it as soon as possible'
Expressing Empathy	'That's OK, I understand that stuff happen'
Acknowledgement (AK)	
Absolution Plus	'That's OK, but …I'm disappointed'
Negation Plus	'It doesn't matter, but I am annoyed'
Formal Plus	'I accept your apology, but … I'm really disappointed'
Advice/Suggestion	'That's OK, but you should have called me'
Warning/Threatening	'That's fine, but please don't do that again next time'
Evaluating	'That OK but it's ridiculous', 'That's alright, but you're horrible'
Expressing Emotion	'It doesn't matter, but I'm angry'.
Evasion (EV)	
Deflecting/Explaining	'We had lovely time anyway'
Thanking	'Thanks for letting me know'
Questioning/Surprise	'How could that happen?'
Request	'It would be great if you drop it off ASAP'

Advice/Suggestion	'You should be careful next time'
Expressing Emotion	'I'm a bit pissed at you at this moment'
Rejection (RJ)	
Refusals	'I don't think that dinner's gonna do much now'
Advice/Suggestion	'That's not good. You should have called me'
Requests	'Hey look, how would you feel if you're in the same situation? I need my book back and you need to give it back to me as soon as possible'
Warning	'Er it's pretty stupid. I won't tell you any more secret'
Blaming	'No, I just think it's really ridiculous. I told you a secret, but you told everyone'
Swearing	'Er, you're really shit. I'm actually pissed off at you right now…'
Asking for Compensation	'You have to replace it with the new one'
Evaluating	'That's not good', 'You're horrible person'
Non-Apology "Sorry"	'Sorry, I can't forgive you'
Expressing Emotions	'It's really disappointing. I'm really angry'
Thanking	'I don't think that I will lend you anything anymore. Er thanks for apologizing anyway'

APPENDIX 2: SAMPLES OF BI DATA

Strategy	Sample Expressions
Acceptance (AC)	
Absolution	(No representation found in BI)
Dismissal	'Ah nggak apa-apa (kok)'
Formal	'Ya udah, aku maafin (deh)'
Thanking	'Ya nggak apa-apa. Terima kasih ya?'
Advice/Suggestion	'Ya, nggak apa-apa, lupain aja. Seharusnya kamu ingat hari ulang tahunku'
Requests	'Ya aku maafin, tapi janji ya kamu harus kembaliin bukunya secepatnya ya?'
Expressing Empathy	'Ah nggak apa-apa. Saya ngerti kok, kamu kan selalu sibuk'
Expressing Emotion	'Waduh, saya sebenarnya agak kecewa, tapi nggak apa-apalah. Lupain aja'
Questioning/Surprise	'Duh, kok kamu gitu sih? Tapi ya nggak apa-apa lah'

Acknowledgement (AK)

Absolution Plus	(No represetantion in BI)
Negation Plus	'Yah, nggak apa-apalah, tapi mau diapain lagi. Kamu memang begitu sih'
Formal Plus	'Ya udah, aku maafin, tapi lain kali tolong kamu ingat ya?'
Advice/Suggestion	'Ah kamu nih, ya udah nggak apa-apa, tapi seharusnya kamu nelpon dong'
Warning/Threatening	'Wah kamu selalu begitu. Ya udah nggak apa-apa, tapi lain kali jangan diulangi lagi ya?'
Evaluating	'Kamu memang nyebelin sih, tapi ya udah aku nggak apa-apa kok'
Expressing Emotion	'Kok kamu begitu sih. Ya udah aku maafin,, tapi aku marah nih'

Evasion (EV)

Deflecting/Explaining	'Wah acaranya bagus loh. Banyak yang datang'
Thanking	'Terima kasih ya telah ngasih tahu saya'
Questioning/Surprise	'Kamu kok gitu sih?'
Request	'Ya, tolong kembalikan segera bukunya ya, soalnya saya perlu banget'
Advice/Suggestion	'Lain kali hati-hati ya, jangan sampai lupa lagi'
Expressing Emotion	'Kamu emang selalu begitu sih, selalu menjengkelkan'

Rejection (RJ)

Refusals	'Nggak, aku nggak mau. Kamu pergi aja sendirian'
Advice/Suggestion	'Waduh, seharusnya kamu ngasih tahu dong. Teganya kamu begitu sama aku'
Requests	'Aku ssebel banget sama kamu. Mas aku udah nunggu lama, kamu nggak datang. Tolong kembalikan bukunya segera ya'
Warning	'Pokoknya aku nggak mau cerita lagi sama kamu. Kamu nggak bisa dipercaya'
Blaming	'Aku nggak nyangka kamu seperti itu. Aku certain rahasia, malah kamu ceritakan ke orang lain'
Swearing	'Sialan kamu!'
Asking for Compensation	'Ya, kamu harus ganti bukunya. Aku nggak bisa terima ini'
Evaluating	'Kamu nyebelin bangat. Aku nggak nyangka kamu begitu sama aku'
Non-Apology "Sorry"	'Maaf ya aku nggak bisa maafin kamu'
Expressing Emotions	'Kamu ni kok begitu sih. Aku kesal bangat'
Thanking	Aku nggak bisa maafin kamu, Terima kasih'