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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is of my own composition and that it contains no material submitted previously.

Ayako Namba
September 2010
Abstract

This thesis contributes to the body of research on listnership. It accomplishes this through an investigation of the functions of laughter in the listening behaviour of participants in Japanese interaction.

The majority of studies concerning conversational interactions have focused on the role of the speaker rather than on that of the listener. Notable work on the listener's active role in conversation includes research done by Goffman (1981), Goodwin (1986) and Gardner (2001). Laughter research has shifted from an early interest in the causes of laughter to an interest in how it is organised and how it functions in conversational interaction. Despite many studies on listenership and laughter as distinct areas of research, there have been relatively few studies on how laughter contributes to listenership behaviour.

In order to explore the relationship between listenership and laughter, I used a corpus of spoken interactional data. This data consists of conversations between Japanese participants (university students and teachers) who were asked to tell each other stories about a surprising moment that they had experienced. The corpus was constructed in such a way as to make it possible to compare (1) solidary (student-student) and non-solidary (student-teacher) interactions and (2) higher status story-teller (teacher telling student) and lower status story-teller (student telling teacher) interactions. Qualitative methods (drawing on a variety of techniques of discourse analysis) were used to discover laughter patterns and functions in relation to the role of the listener both at the micro-level and in relation to the macro-structure of the surprise story-telling. Quantitative methods were used to analyse the relationship between laughter patterns/functions and the above interaction types (solidary/non-solidary and lower status/higher status interactions).

I found, firstly, at the micro-level of analysis, that the listener’s laughter contributed to the co-production of conversation through functions that included: responding/reacting, constituting and maintaining. There were two patterns of the listener’s laughter that were motivated by the speaker’s laughter invitation: acceptance, and declination. Acceptance involved the functions of responding/reacting or constituting, with the listener’s laughter functioning to support mutual understanding and bonding between the participants. Declination could be related to signal the listener’s lack of support for the speaker, however, the listener used the third option, the ambivalence. This shows that despite the absence of laughter, a verbal acknowledgement or understanding response was alternatively used. In a problematic situation, the listener’s laughter was found to reveal the listener’s third contribution: the maintaining function, helping to resolve an ongoing interactional problem.
At the macro-level of analysis, based on the three phases in a surprise story, I found that laughter played a key role at phase boundaries (1st: preface/telling; 2nd: telling/response; and 3rd: response/next topic). The laughter patterns and functions appeared in each boundary. The acceptance pattern was more frequent than other patterns in all of the boundaries. The responding/reacting and constituting functions mainly appeared in the acceptance. The patterns of laughter in a trouble context were rare because they only appeared in a trouble context. The maintaining function in such a context also occasionally occurred in order to repair the trouble situation.

Looking at laughter in relation to the different interaction types, I found, lastly, that the solidary dyads tended to demonstrate acceptance (constituting the responding/reacting and constituting functions), while the non-solidary dyads had a greater tendency to show declination. In addition, the lower-ranked listeners tended to show ambivalence, while the higher-ranked listeners tended to be more flexible in showing either acceptance or declination. These findings suggest the existence of a relationship between laughter patterns/functions and politeness: a higher degree of solidarity and a lower degree of status can influence the display of acceptance patterns/functions and listenership behaviour; a lower degree of solidarity and a higher degree of status can indicate flexibility when choosing a response type. In a trouble situation, laughter in its various patterns/functions was used in all interaction types to recover resolutions to any impediments in the ongoing engagement.

All in all, I found that laughter contributes to listenership, both through supporting affiliation and through helping to resolve ‘trouble’ situations. I showed how listenership expressed through laughter plays a role in negotiating, creating, and maintaining the relationship between the self and the other in mutual interactions. As implications, I finally indicated that such laughter activities as the display of listenership could be closely connected to the Japanese communication style.
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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Listenership in Language Studies

This thesis contributes to the body of research on listenership (Gardner, 2001; McCarthy and Carter, 2000; Tannen, 1989). It accomplishes this through an investigation of the functions of laughter in the listening behaviour of participants in Japanese interaction.

Although current research on spoken interaction deals primarily with the role of the speaker, this study draws particular attention to the role of the listener. Researchers such as Goffman (1981), Goodwin (1986) and Gardner (2001) have done some interesting work concerning the listener’s role in conversation. Their work discusses the listener’s general activities based on his or her verbal behaviour, including the means by which the listener signals his or her role and communicative function in conversation. Laughter is one signal that displays a listener’s role. Laughter research has moved from an early focus on the causes of laughter to an emphasis on its organisation and function in interaction (Jefferson, 1979; 1984b; 1985; 2010; Jefferson et al., 1976; Gavioli, 1995; Haakana, 2001; 2010; Glenn, 2003; 2010; Holt, 2010; Partington, 2006, and etc.).

Despite the fact that some attention has been given to laughter as a distinct area of research, relatively few studies have drawn attention to the role of the listener where laughter is concerned. In order to fill this research gap, this study explores laughter as one aspect of listenership in general, especially by dealing with mutual interactions. Since I am a native speaker of Japanese and am permitted access to a large corpus of Japanese data, this study deals with issues related to that information. The active participation of the listener seems essential in building a rapport in Japanese interaction, an idea called “the listener-based mode” (Yamada, 1997). Because this aspect is closely related to the current project, the following study suggests some implications for the association between laughter as a display of listenership and Japanese communicational practice.
1.1.1 A focus on the Speaker

Studies of interaction typically focus on the role of the speaker, rather than on that of the listener:

The primary source of data for the study of language has typically come from the activities of speakers. Noticeably lacking within linguistics has been systematic study of the actions of hearers. (Goodwin, 1986: 206)

With regard to such speaker-centred studies, Goodwin indicates that listeners have received increased attention in more recent speech act theory. For instance, Goodwin mentions statements by Clark and Carlson (1982: 35) that suggest the importance of the listener’s role: “speech acts cannot be fully understood without considering the hearers as well as the speakers”. Despite this, Goodwin claims that Clark eventually defines speech act theory in a way which indicates that “what the hearer actually does is beyond the scope of what legitimately can be studied” (Goodwin, 1986: 206): “Speech-act theory […] is a theory about the speaker’s intentions, not about the listener’s successful recognition of those intentions and subsequent behavior[s]…” (Clark, 1982: 54).

Goodwin emphasises the fact that the above definition still shows a lack of attention to listener behaviours and to listener contributions in conversational interaction. Following Goodwin’s argument, it would appear that such a restricted role for the listener does not enable us to identify the details of a conversation on the whole. In fact, without the listener’s cues, the speaker simply cannot advance the conversation. Tannen (1989: 12) mentions that “listening […] is an active not a passive enterprise, requiring interpretation comparable to that required in speaking, and speaking entails simultaneously projecting the act of listening”. Her suggestion here persuades me of the need to investigate the listener’s role in interaction.

1.1.2 Listenership

In order to set up this study, it is necessary to define the term listenership. Some researchers (Gardner, 2001; McCarthy and Carter, 2000; Tannen, 1989; Goodwin, 1986)
have noted in passing that *listenership* has never been fully explained when dealing with conversational interaction. First, I introduce the type of listener with whom I will deal and consider the fundamental idea of the speaker and listener’s roles in conversational interaction. On the basis of this understanding, I then define the term for this study.

The listener’s role varies in each situational and conversational context. Goffman (1981) claims that there are three kinds of listeners: “those who overhear, whether or not their un-ratified participation is inadvertent and whether or not it has been encouraged; those (in the case of more than two-person talk) who are ratified participants but are not specifically addressed by the speaker; and those ratified participants who are addressed” (1981: 9). Following Goffman’s classification, it is the third type of listener that most directly relates to my investigation — especially as it informs the relationship that exists between the speaker and the listener.

In order to understand the role of the listener in conversation, conversation must be examined as a result of actions produced by both the speaker and the listener. Listenership thus shows the importance of the non-speaking (if ratified and addressed) participant’s contribution when it comes to achieving conversation as a co-production. In order to demonstrate his/her contribution, the listener employs various signals. These signals may include such verbal signs as backchannelling, offering an acknowledgement, providing an evaluation, repeating a preceding production and the like, as well as such non-verbal signals as laughter, nodding, smiling and head shaking. These signals function to show the various roles of the listener. For instance, such signals may serve to show appreciation for and/or agreement with the co-participant’s utterance. Just as the listener responds to or reacts to the speaker’s utterance, the speaker coordinates his or her own production so as to respond (or react) to the listener’s various activities. Such a mutually responsive engagement can create a product of the actions of both participants. Here it seems essential to notice that such a mutual engagement also involves a moment-by-moment negotiation of action. In short, listenership can be a fundamental contribution by the listening side to the co-production of a conversation. Such a contribution is achieved through non-verbal or verbal signals. These signals have certain communicational functions in the co-production. In this sense, listenership can be
regarded as an interactional object fulfilled by the participants’ interactions. I thus define it in relation to the contribution of the non-speaking, ratified and addressed participant, particularly with regard to the co-production of conversation as it relates to the moment-by-moment negotiation of action.

1.2 Laughter

With respect to the interaction between verbal and non-verbal behaviours, laughter seems to include both of the sides: verbal and non-verbal behaviours. Laver and Hutchenson (1972) suggest that behavioural features can be divided into four groupings: vocal/verbal, vocal/non-verbal, non-vocal/verbal, and non-vocal/non-verbal. Laughter involves vocal/nonverbal features in accordance with these categories. Under the features, this study regards laughter as “a phenomenon that combines different kinds of modalities: vocal (the production of laugh tokens or particles), facial expression (e.g. smiling) and the body movement (e.g. the shaking of the torso) […] perceived both audibly and visually” (Glenn, 2010: 1499; Glenn, 2003: 66).

In the course of examining the listener’s role in terms of language use more generally, I discovered that laughter research has shifted from an early interest in the causes of laughter, such as incongruity (Schopenhauer, 1886), to the more interactional aspects of laughter (Jefferson, 1979; 1984b; 1985; 2010; Jefferson et al., 1976; Gavioli, 1995; Haakana, 2001; 2010; Glenn, 2003; 2010; Holt, 2010; Boxer and Cortés-Conde, 1997; Partington, 2006 and etc.). These aspects include conversational humour, functions of laughter, and laughter organisation within the field of the language in use. In conversational humour, joking and teasing can be regarded as a means of enhancing group-bonding (Boxer and Cortés-Conde, 1997). On the other hand, teasing may sometimes effect group-distancing. These activities suggest that laughter relates to both bonding and distancing. In addition, these activities are highly linked to particular social contexts. Laughter can also be a production that is highly embedded within a social context.
In addition to these functional aspects, laughter is *organised* in conversational interaction. The organisation of laughter in a humorous context shows how laughter is initiated and how it thus triggers an ensuing response (Jefferson, 1979). The mutual laughter achieved through both the speaker and the listener depends on both parties noticing the *laughable* which refers to “any referent that draws on laughter” (Glenn, 2003: 49) in their interaction; if both parties notice the laughable then such sharing may enable them to accomplish a co-production of interaction through laughter. Failure to achieve such a co-production, on the other hand, may be related to the absence of the listener’s laughter. However, this absence of laughter in a problematic situation may work differently (Jefferson, 1984b). For instance, the listener’s laughter when the speaker is in a problematic situation could prove to be offensive; it could be more appropriate to regard the situation as serious and to refrain from laughing. In this sense, laughter is highly dependent on the ongoing interactional process, as negotiated and adjusted by both participants.

In addition to these functions/organisations of laughter at the micro-level of conversational routine, it would seem that the appearance of laughter might influence the whole discourse. The listener’s laughter could be the expected reaction when primed by some laughable element, such as when telling a joke (Sacks, 1974). A laughing reaction or response may indirectly show that the listener appreciates the speaker’s successful joke-telling and his/her contribution to the conversation. It may also signal an acknowledgment that the speaker’s contribution has been completed and that the conversation can shift into another stage. The functions and organisations of laughter thus support the idea that laughter may cover everything from small conversational exchanges to the whole process of dialogue production.

Laughter that is highly sensitive to social and conversational contexts can be related to interpersonal relationships in interaction. As described above, laughter may involve two contrasting functions: bonding and distancing. Such social aspects of laughter can be considered in terms of *politeness* when dealing with *face* (Goffman, 1967; Leech, 1983; Brown and Levinson, 1987 and etc.) issues and social variables (Brown and Gilman, 1960). In the bonding and distancing functions mentioned above (in conversational
joking), the former often relates to face-enhancement, while the latter often relates to face-loss. Furthermore, laughter that relates to the listener’s role may be associated with these same matters. For example, when the listener expresses the speaker’s contribution through laughter, it might enhance the speaker’s face. When the listener shows a serious stance without laughter, the co-participant’s face might be lost due to the lack of any support from the listener. Teasing may have a negative effect on the co-participant by increasing his or her vulnerability. Laughter may thus be a sensitive product that influences human relations. In line with such issues, laughter can be connected to social variables such as power and solidarity (Brown and Gilman, 1960). In terms of the above two contrasting functions, bonding and distancing, the former can be related to in-group solidarity, while the latter can be associated with out-group relations and power (Boxer and Cortés-Conde, 1997). This shows how laughter can be affected by social variables. Brown and Gilman’s work on the distinctive use of personal pronoun forms between T and V also suggests the relationship between solidarity and power, as well as the connection between linguistic forms and these social variables. Likewise, the patterns and functions in relation to listenership in the ongoing interaction may be affected by the degree of the status and common experience/history that the co-participants share. In brief, it is necessary to consider how these social variables might influence laughter activities and establish a co-production of conversation.

In order to deal with the above aspects of laughter (everything from micro-conversational routines, to the whole discourse, to specific social contexts), the listener’s role might be relevant: his/her contribution might be essential for achieving a co-production of conversational interactions through laughter. The absence of a listener’s laughter after talking about a story might influence the ensuing conversation and thus the entire conversation. A listener might choose his/her response type or reaction in accordance with the speaker’s social status within the power relationship. Despite such a possible connection between the listener’s role and laughter, there are relatively few studies that investigate the relationship between the listener’s contribution and laughter in conversation. In order to overcome this research gap, this thesis will explore the relationship between the two.
1.3 General Aims of the Research

Based on the basic background of listenership and laughter (as introduced above), this dissertation aims to contribute to the body of research on listenership with particular reference to the contributions made by laughter. Treating laughter as part of listenership, this research explores such contributions by analysing Japanese interactions. Specifically, this study pursues the interactional functions of laughter in the listening role of the participants at the micro-level of conversational routines and in relation to the macro-structure of the discourse genre. It then goes on to explore the relationship between these functions and a number of interaction types. This study finally considers certain implications for associations between laughter as part of listenership and Japanese communicational practice. It hopes to show how listenership expressed through laughter plays a prominent role in negotiating, creating, and maintaining the relationship between the self and the other in mutual interactions.

1.4 Data and Methodology

In order to achieve this research aim, this study employs a large body of spoken interactional data that was pre-available, consisting of conversations between Japanese participants obtained by the project of “Empirical and Theoretical Studies on Culture, Interaction, and Language in Asia” (directed by Sachiko Ide at Japan Women’s University). Since I am a native speaker of Japanese, my knowledge and experience of Japanese language and culture prove advantageous when dealing with such Japanese interactional data. This data consists of conversations between Japanese participants (university students and teachers) who were asked to tell each other stories about a surprising experience that they had had. The corpus was constructed in such a way as to make it possible to compare (1) solidary (student-student) and non-solidary (student-teacher) interactions and (2) higher status story-teller (teacher telling student) and lower status story-teller (student telling teacher) interactions. Given these two interactional types, my research will explore the relationship between listenership and laughter.
The method for analysing this data is both qualitative and quantitative. Qualitative methods drawing on a variety of techniques of Discourse Analysis were used to discover laughter patterns and functions. These discoveries were examined in relation to the role of the listener both at the micro-level and in relation to the macro-structure of the surprise story-telling. Quantitative methods were used to analyse the relationship between laughter patterns/functions and the above interaction types (solidary/non-solidary and lower status/higher status interactions).

1.5 Overview of This Thesis

Chapter 2 provides an overview of listenership as covered in the academic literature, particularly as it concerns conversational practice and some aspects of listenership in Japanese. I begin by discussing how the listener plays an essential role in achieving mutual conversational interactions. I then describe several means, verbal and non-verbal, by which the listener signals his/her role. I shall now explain how those signals show certain communicative functions in the ongoing interaction, and how listenership is then used through the mutual response engagement between the speaker and the listener in order to accomplish a co-production of conversation. In addition, I shall address listenership behaviours in Japanese interactions.

Chapter 3 offers another overview of the literature on laughter. First, I present the causes of laughter by focusing on psychological and discourse accounts. This discussion focuses on the relationship between laughter and humour. Second, I describe various kinds of laughter functions. Third, I move into a description of the organisation of laughter. Fourth, I shed light on the relationship between laughter and social contexts through politeness theories and social variables. Through these previous studies I shall consider how laughter can relate to listenership.

Chapter 4 describes the methodology for the forthcoming analysis. In order to fill the research gap following the above literature review, I first state my specific research aims and the research questions for this thesis. I then move into an explanation of the corpus data used, advancing my inquiry by describing motivations, the organisation of the data,
and the process of data collection and transcription. I then mention the methods that will be used in order to analyse this data: these are both qualitative and quantitative. The qualitative Discourse Analysis deals with patterns and functions of laughter (through listenership behaviour), by focusing on both a micro-analysis of conversational routines and a macro-analysis of the surprise story-telling. Based on the patterns and functions discovered in the qualitative analysis, the quantitative analysis then demonstrates the frequency of these patterns and functions by comparing two interactions that deal with differing degrees of solidarity and social power between the participants.

Chapter 5 reveals the patterns and functions of laughter in the ongoing conversational contexts. The patterns in the general conversational context draw on the speaker’s invitation and response patterns of laughter. The functions of the listener’s laughter will then be addressed in relation to these patterns. Likewise, the patterns and functions in a problematic context will also be demonstrated. These findings will then be associated with listenership behaviour.

Chapter 6 moves on to examine the relationship between those patterns/functions and the structure of the surprise story-telling. I present how they appear in three different phases, looking particularly at the relationship constructed between micro-patterns/functions of laughter and the macro-structuring of a discourse.

Chapter 7 explores the use of laughter in social contexts involving such variables as power and solidarity, using a quantitative analysis. This investigation takes into account the relationship between micro-level patterns/functions and discourse structures as discussed above. I show how the patterns/functions of laughter in each phase boundary are affected by different types of interaction. Such associations between laughter and interaction types are explained in terms of politeness theory and social variables, power and solidarity.

Chapter 8 summarises the findings described in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 and draws conclusions from the overall investigation. It notes the significance and limitations of the research, and outlines possible future applications.
Chapter 2

Listenership in Conversational Interaction

2.1 Introduction

In order to set up my study, I will open my discussion by reviewing previous literature dealing with a listener’s contributions in conversation. I will illustrate listenership behaviours as they appear in both general conversational practice (2.2) and in Japanese practice more specifically (2.3), and I will provide a summary based on the results of my analysis (2.4).

2.2 Listenership as Part of Conversational Practice

I open my discussion by describing an overview of the concept of listenership. I then discuss the means and functions of listenership.

2.2.1 Overview of Listenership

Firstly, the role of the listener is not passive but active. The traditional account of the listener’s role shows that the listener’s hearing and understanding are secondary compared with the speaker’s activities. Despite this traditional view, such hearing and understanding activities “are dialogic acts because they require active interpretation, not passive reception” (Tannen, 1989: 100). A dialogue includes “the polyphonic nature of all utterance […] which derives from the multiple resonances of the people contexts, and genres with which the utterance of word has been associated” (Tannen, 1989: 99). The multiple resonances in dialogue reflect Bakhtin’s (1981) notion of multi-voice indicating the utterance that is filled through another’s echoes. In such dialogues with multi-voice the listener’s contribution is inevitable. Voloshinov (1973) suggests that various forms used in communicational activities, e.g. reported speech, display the listener’s active participation and reception of the speaker’s preceding productions in
relation to the study of dialogue. In addition, Gardner (2001) successfully reveals the listener’s active participation by focusing on backchannelling responses as interactional objects, e.g. “Yeah”, “Mm hm”, “Okay” and “Mm”. His analysis reveals the listener’s ability to influence the conversation by taking these brief statements as evidence of the listener’s stance at any moment in the conversation. All of the above findings suggest that the listener plays an essential role in conversational interaction.

In order to understand the listener’s role in conversation, the conversation should be seen as a co-production of both the speaker and the listener. The contrast between “individual and joint actions” (Clark, 1996: 18) comes into focus when considering the relationship between the speaker and the listener. According to Clark, a conversation can be regarded as a joint action when it refers to “an action [taken] by an ensemble” (1996: 18). For instance, Clark illustrates how a duet plays out as a joint action, while a solo remains an individual action. Speaking and listening in conversation are not autonomous actions, but participatory actions that refer to “individual acts performed only as parts of joint actions” (1996: 19). The language use created in such actions is a joint action. Participants involved in a joint action should play a particular role in conversation. Clark calls this an activity role (1996: 33). Clark mentions that the roles in a joint action might be, for example, those of narrator and audience. I shall focus on those roles that are constructed in a conversational relationship between speaker and listener. Thus, interaction should be a product of the actions of both participants. However, the term “joint action” may imply a rather static state in that both participants produce a product. This is because interaction contains moment-by-moment negotiations of any one action. For this reason, interaction is regarded as a co-production of both participants in my study.

Introducing Goffman’s model (1981) in terms of the speaker’s roles fulfilled in the course of a face-to-face interaction: animator, author and principal, Clark describes three other types of action on the part of the listener: attending, identifying and responding (Clark, 1996: 21). To be more specific, Clark explains how the listener attends to the speaker’s vocalisation, identifies the speaker’s words and phrases, and acts as the respondent who recognises what is meant and responds to the question asked
In all three roles, attending, identifying and responding, I am concerned about the ratified and addressed listeners (in Goffman’s term, the “hearers”). Through these three roles, the listener shows his/her active participation in the ongoing interaction. As defined in the Introduction, listenership is the active contribution of the non-speaking participant within the conversation co-produced by the participants.

Secondly, the listener responds continuously to the speaker by sending a variety of signals. Although there are three types of information, “cognitive information”, “indexical information” and “interactional management information” (Laver and Hutcheson, 1972), these signals fall within the category of “cognitive information”. These distinctions appear when looking at the information exchanged between the participants. Cognitive information is “the propositional or purely factual content of the linguistic signals exchanged” (Laver and Hutcheson, 1972: 11). In order to properly fulfil his/her active role as a listener, the listener needs to provide certain signals as cognitive information. These signals include various kinds of responsive activities, such as nodding, laughing, smiling and backchannelling.

Thirdly, these signals communicate a number of meanings and fulfil a variety of communicative functions. In order to properly fulfil his/her role as a listener, the listener needs to signal various response-meanings to the speaker. These communicative functions relate to the second kind of information, “indexical information” (Laver and Hutcheson, 1972). They explain that when employing information about the speaker, the listener often draws inferences about the speaker’s identity, attitudes and moods. This includes any behavioural information that leads to the speaker’s biological, psychological or sociological characteristics. According to the above description, it seems that a participant projects indexical information in order to define and control the role that he/she plays during the conversation. Based on signals that offer cognitive information, the listener’s communicative functions include such information as: “I am attending to what you are saying”, “I can hear what you’re saying”, “I understand what you’re saying”, “I like/dislike what you’re saying”, “Say more”, and “Let me say something”. Maynard (1987: 591) focuses on Japanese head movement and observes that this movement has a communicative function in conversation. She reports six
interactional functions of head movement: (1) affirmation, (2) claim for turn-end and turn-transition, (3) pre-turn and turn claim, (4) turn-transition period filler, (5) backchannelling, and (6) rhythm taking (Scollon, 1982). Moreover, Maynard claims that these functions work together to achieve what she calls “conversation management”, referring to the “interactive and interpersonal strategies that participants of conversation (speakers, listeners and audience[s], if any) use to achieve rapport and emotional bonding” (Maynard, 1987: 591). This conversation management can be closely connected to indexical information. These communicative functions generally cover the functions of listenership as well as the functions of head movement. These functions are delivered through both non-verbal and verbal behaviours.

Fourthly, just as the listener actively responds to the speaker, so the speaker actively responds to the listener, modifying his/her output in response to the behaviours of the listener. These mutually responsive behaviours contribute to the construction of discourse as a co-production of both the speaker and the listener. This co-production is also linked with the third kind of information called “interaction-management information”: “the participants exchange informational details in order to collaborate with each other in organising the temporal progress of the interaction” (Laver and Hutcheson, 1972: 12). Laver and Hutcheson suggest that this exchange allows the participants to proceed with the conversation as follows: they initiate and terminate the interaction in a conventional way and then indicate the transitions in the interaction from one stage to another. Such interaction-management information enables the participants to engage with one another in joint conversation and to then create a co-production.

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1 I need, however, to mention Maynard’s treatment concerning both the speaker and the listener. Maynard treats such functions related to both speakers and listeners because she claims that head movement in Japanese conversation is used by both speakers and listeners during the potential turn transition – as well as during a single interactant’s turn. In her treatment, she suggests that “‘speakers’ and ‘listeners’ are not two opposing notions but are complementary to, and defined in terms of one another” (Maynard, 1987: 591). Although she does not seem to distinguish between these two participants, the six functions that were relevant to the listener also played a role in establishing the listener’s place in the conversation. I have thus decided to take up these functions in relation to the listener’s role.
2.2.2 Means of Listenership

As touched upon in the above overview, the listener provides different kinds of responses. For instance, the listener might respond to a speaker with laughter, smiling, nodding/head shaking, verbal backchannelling and the like. Given more details, Gardner (2001: 2-3) introduces general response activities that contribute to establishing the listener’s role in a conversation. These include such verbal responses as continuers (“Mm hm” and “Uh huh”), acknowledgements (“Mm” and “Yeah”), newsmarkers (“Really?” “Oh” and “Right”), change-of-activity tokens (“Okay” and “Alright”), assessments (“Great” and “Not good”), brief questions (“Who?” and “Which book do you mean?”), collaborative completions (A: “So he’s moved into”…B: “Commercial interests”) and many non-verbal vocalisations and kinetic actions. These types of response activities can be mainly divided into two forms of expression: verbal and non-verbal. Laver and Hutcheson (1972) claim that the behavioural means for communicating this information seem to be classified within two divisions: vocal versus non-vocal behaviour, and verbal versus non-verbal behaviour. Vocal behaviour involves all the actions producing speech, while non-vocal behaviour consists of communicative activities other than speech such as gesture, posture and the like. In terms of the distinction between verbal and non-verbal, Laver and Hutcheson mean to say that verbal elements in conversations are equal to the actual meaning expressed by words whereas non-verbal behaviour is all vocal and non-vocal conversational behaviours which are not verbal in the sense given above. Thus, behavioural features can be classified according to four divisions as follows: vocal verbal features are spoken words as linguistic units; vocal/non-verbal features include intonation, spoken emphasis and units; non-verbal/verbal features are written or printed words as linguistic units; and non-verbal/non-verbal features relate to elements such as facial expressions, gesture, and posture. Following this classification, my current focus on laughter as the contribution of listenership is clearly related to the category of vocal/non-verbal features. Laughter sometimes appears alongside other non-vocal/non-verbal features such as smiling and nodding; it also appears alongside various vocal/verbal responses such as backchannelling and discourse markers. They also show the listener’s prominent role in conversation, and should thus be necessary when considering their relevance to laughter.
Gardner (2001) introduced various kinds of vocal/verbal features in order to describe the listener’s activities. Since my interest is in laughter as a part of listenership, I deal with some of them here, particularly backchannelling activities (continuers, acknowledgement and assessments) that could show the prominent role of a listener. It is important to understand the role of other features that display listenership. These other features may sometimes overlap with laughter. To sum up, these various kinds of responses, laughter, smiling, nodding/head shaking and verbal backchannelling are related to one another and can work together to provide an essential means of listenership.

### 2.2.3 Functions of Listenership

Communicative functions based on the means of listenership involve six aspects (Maynard, 1987) that are provided in the overview of listenership. I shall detail these aspects with reference to various other means that are closely related to listenership: laughter, nodding/head movement, smiling and verbal backchannelling. This research is about laughter. In order to understand the way laughter is used, however, it is necessary to understand how it relates to all the other possibilities. For instance, an appreciative or affirmative response can be achieved by means of laughter, smiling, nodding or verbal signals such as backchannelling (these are the most significant signals to show listenership in responsive behaviours); either response may be achieved by consecutive or simultaneous use of two or more of these. The six functions are basically divided into two types: responsive or reactive activities and turn organisation.

I will now deal with the first response activity. I start by discussing continuers (Schegloff, 1982) in relation to backchannels (Yngve, 1970; Dunkan and Fiske, 1977). Among listener responses, backchannelling is one of the most important phenomena in conversational interaction. The term, backchannel is first introduced by Yngve (1970) who focuses on non-primary turns. According to Yngve, backchannelling is recognised in the following example when, “the person who has the turn receives short messages such as ‘yes’ and ‘uh-huh’ without relinquishing the turn” (Yngve, 1970: 568). Building on Yngve’s idea, Dunkan and Fiske (1977) broaden the range of expressions to include
signals of sentence completion (completions by one speaker of another’s utterance),
requests for clarification and brief statements. At the same time, the authors include not
only ‘vocal’ backchannels but also ‘visual’ backchannels such as nods and headshakes.
Triggered by these studies, some conversation analysts have tried to investigate the
functions of the backchannels as a listener activity in terms of turn management.
Schegloff (1982) first clarifies the interactional functions of backchannelling and
describes vocal utterances such as “Uh huh” as continuers. Schegloff suggests that short
utterances like “Uh huh”, and “Mm hm”, take the following stance:

\[
\text{[T]he speaker of […] extended unit should continue talking, and in that continued}
\text{talking should continue that extended unit. ‘Uh huh,’ etc. exhibit this understanding, and}
\text{take this stance, precisely by passing an opportunity to produce a full turn at talk.}
\]

(1982: 81)

Along with the display of listening, acknowledgement in response tokens such as
“Mm,” and “Yeah”, show the listener’s agreement with or his/her understanding of a
preceding talk (Jefferson, 1984a). Focusing on overlapping speech, Jefferson explores
how the listener acknowledges the speaker’s utterance, and how this then leads to a shift
in topic. These pre-shift markers, which she calls, acknowledgement tokens (Jefferson,
1984a: 199) cover various objects such as “Yeah”, “Mm hm”, “Uh huh” and the like.
With regard to the two acknowledgement tokens, “Yeah” and “Mm hm”, Jefferson
identifies a distinction between reciprocity and speakership with respect to the two
acknowledgement tokens, “Mm hm” and “Yeah” (or “yes”). She explains that in terms
of “Mm hm” the listener can make the current speaker keep talking; while “Yeah”
functions as a shift marker from the current listener role to speakership. Thus, “Mm hm”
works as an example of passive reciprocity, whereas “Yeah” is used as a preparation
marker that moves the listener into the speaker’s role. To sum, although
acknowledgements and continuers exist on different levels, their functions are quite
similar. More specifically, acknowledgement functions as a claim to understanding,
agreement or simple hearing, whilst a continuer can function to hand the floor back to
the speaker immediately (Gardner, 2001: 16).
Both continuers and acknowledgement lack the listener’s evaluation of a preceding talk. Assessments (evaluations) as well as other response features offer additional response or reactive activities. Goodwin (1986) distinguishes backchannels into two types: continuers and assessments such as “Wow” and “Gosh, really?”. Although the response tokens above tend to involve the listener’s non-evaluative stance, assessments or evaluations can illustrate the listener’s empathetic stance through appreciation, sympathy, and agreement – this is accomplished by, “do[ing] affective involvement in [a] principal speaker’s statement” (Goodwin and Goodwin, 1987:25). Continuers generally aim to return the floor to the speaker and belong to the listener’s primary action. Assessments can display the active listener’s role. Assessments, however, can be produced either by the listener or the speaker. Despite such differences, response features and assessments share “the ability to not simply display alignment to ongoing talk, but [to] establish and negotiate that alignment through a systematic process of interaction while the talk being aligned to is still in progress” (Goodwin, 1986: 49).

Along with continuers, assessments can play a key role in showing the listenership behaviours in telling a story. For instance, in the case of telling a joke, the listener’s assessments, such as appreciation, would be expected in response to a preceding story (Sacks, 1974). These issues will be discussed in my analysis of laughter and in the story-telling structure that I detail later on in Chapter 6.

In addition to various kinds of vocal/verbal responses, backchannelling can involve non-vocal/non-verbal and vocal/non-verbal features at the same time. In order to grasp the listener’s behaviour as a whole, I shed light on nodding, smiling and laughter as distinct methods of backchannelling. Dunkan and Fiske (1977) claim that nodding is a normal part of backchannelling. Following this, Maynard (1987) focuses on head movement and observes that this movement fulfils the six functions of listenership that are mentioned above. Another non-vocal/non-verbal behaviour, smiling, can also play a part in displaying the listener’s role. Brunner (1979) mentions that smiling can also work as backchannelling. In addition, Haakana (2010) suggests that smiling can work as a pre-laughing device and that it can act as a response to the preceding laughter. These arguments show that laughter can occur together with another verbal utterance. Smiling, laughter and other verbal utterances can be closely connected with one another, and can
easily relate to the listener’s efforts at backchannelling. Likewise, the listener’s laughter as a vocal-/non-verbal behaviour can function by itself as backchannelling in conversation (Schenkein, 1972; Maynard, 1987). All of the above literature shows that nodding and smiling are non-vocal/non-verbal behaviours; laughter as a vocal/non-verbal behaviour demonstrates listenership through the backchannelling function.

The second type is the function relevant to turn organisation. This includes topic transitions/endings, repairs and the like. Maynard (1987) reports that head movement as a non-vocal/verbal feature involves these functions in conversational interaction. For example, she reveals that head movement worked as conversational filler when the turn shift happened and the listener took a new turn. In line with these functions of the head movement, other activities such as some of the vocal/verbal features may also show similar functions. These features include a change-of state token “Oh” (Heritage, 1984a) and a change-of activity-token “Okay” (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973).

Heritage observes that although the traditional understanding of “Oh” (and related utterances such as “Uh huh”, “Mm hm”, “Yeah”, and etc.) indicates an undifferentiated collection of backchannels or ‘signals of continued attention’, “Oh” is performed in order to suggest a change-of-state proposal “which is commonly used so as to accept prior talk as informative” (Heritage, 1984a: 335). He mainly considers two types of conversational environments, “informings” and “repair” (Heritage, 1984a: 300). Heritage claims that a major conversational environment through the particle “Oh” is produced in response to information. Moreover, he illustrates two points: (1) “Oh” receipts are produced as a response to complete chunks of information, and (2) they are performed at such points as when the information-giving is possibly finished (1984a: 301). Moving onto the second major sequential environment of “oh” markers as a repair initiation, Heritage suggests that a second speaker initiates a repair for the prior speaker’s turn and the first speaker then produces a repair that is followed by the second speaker’s receipt with “Oh” (Heritage, 1984a: 316). Information and repairs (as illustrated above) regarding “Oh” evidence that “Oh” functions acknowledge receipt and act as a change-of-state marker for the prior speaker’s turn. As there are many
variations surrounding backchannel activities, those findings of an “Oh” marker contribute to an identification of at least one of these variations: “Oh” fulfills a distinctive function involving turn organisation in the on-going talk.

Change-of-activity-tokens, such as “Okay”, indicate the shift into a new activity or talk. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) examine “Okay” as a device in the closing of telephone conversations. They report on how the marker “Okay” causes the participants to initiate the termination of a telephone call. In addition, Schegloff (1986) examines how the participants open a topic through the marker “Okay” in conversational interactions. In brief, these findings show that vocal/verbal features “Oh” and “Okay” played a role in repair, a topic opening/ending, and topic transitions in relation to the listener’s role. Although I touched upon the functions of such turn organisation through head movement and verbal responses, other activities such as laughter as a part of listenership can be related to such aspects, and should be addressed by examining empirical analyses of conversational interactions.

To conclude, the background of listenership as a general conversational practice was addressed by considering the significance of the listener’s status in conversational interaction, the means of his/her listenership, his/her communicative functions and particular contributions for achieving a joint action in conversations. Laughter can be one of the primary means of signalling listenership and fulfilling various functions so as to achieve a co-production of conversation. Although the background of laughter will be discussed in the next chapter, the process of listenership as described above presents the general and fundamental facets by which we understand the concept of listenership in relation to laughter.

2.3 Listenership in Japanese Conversational Interaction

Based on the above discussion, I will now consider listenership behaviours in Japanese practice. This section is devoted to a review of the relevant literature on Japanese listenership. Japanese characteristics may be related to certain behavioural
understandings that contribute to the listener’s role. In order to understand the background for traditional Japanese ideology, I shall explore certain key terms in order to consider how Japanese ideology is constructed in Japanese cultural studies. In relation to listership, one of the essential aspects of Japanese communicational practice is “the listener-based mode” (Yamada, 1997: 38). This aspect can be derived from Japanese cultural and social conventions. To consider this aspect, I will start by discussing certain traditional backgrounds of Japanese ideology and social conventions such as ambiguity/indirectness, harmony (‘wa’), group orientations, and interdependence.

Generally speaking, Japanese is often said to be ambiguous when it comes to communication (Tsujimura, 1987; Kunihiro, 1976). Ambiguity is mostly associated with the folk term, ishindenshin (‘telepathic communication’), which indicates that one’s thought is best understood or interpreted without overt expressions from heart to heart. This characteristic may reflect the fact that Japanese people do not always rely on explicit communication but rather on implicit or indirect communication. Such indirectness may evoke silence in Japanese communication. It has also been said that the Japanese emphasise the virtue of silence. The importance of silence may be connected with the view that explicit communication is not significant for mutual understanding in Japanese society. As suggested by Kunihiro (1976), there is virtue in saying little and in depending on a non-linguistic expression of the truth. Lebra (1976) observes that silence is treated as social modesty.

In relation to ambiguity, indirectness and silence, Japanese individuals are said to emphasise wa (‘harmony’) in interpersonal relationships and to prefer “nonconfrontational communication” (Watanabe, 1993). Wa (‘harmony’, or ‘harmonious integration of the group’), which indicates “archetypal human relations embodied in the pre-war ie (familial) ideology” (Tanaka, 1999: 6), is considered as one of the crucial group values in Japanese society (Hirokawa, 1987). Nakane (1970) also claims the stress on group bonds in Japanese social structures, particularly as compared to the west. Such an emphasis on wa (‘harmony’) may also derive from another
Japanese communicational aspect, interdependence\(^2\), which relies on a Japanese identity (Yamada, 1997). The concept of Doi’s term *amae* (literally, sweetness) (1971) indicates an instinctive emotion, or the “hopeful expectation of someone’s indulgence and favor” (Markus and Kitayama, 1991: 239; e.g. Tanaka, 1999). This term intends “to explain the Japanese perception of interdependence” (Yamada, 1997: 9) in the human relationships of Japanese society. Such *amae* (‘sweetness’) originally refers to “what a small child feels toward his mother” and Doi regards *amae* (‘sweetness’) as “a basic desire” (Doi, 1971: 123). However, *amae* (‘sweetness’) influences not only childhood but also adulthood. Doi accounts for the fact that such a word is non-existent in European languages as based on his psychiatric experiences in the west. Such a view closely relates, Doi contends, to the importance of both mutual understanding and a consideration for others (’*omoiyari*’). Doi claims that *amae* (‘sweetness’) is indispensable for identifying Japanese behaviour. Yamada calls this emphasis on interdependence and mutual consideration, “Others-Centered Interdependence” (Yamada, 1997: 12). She illustrates how Japanese ideology is based on this practice. “Others-Centered Interdependence” is achieved through distanced and implicit communication (Yamada, 1997: 21). In short, the concept of *wa* (‘harmony’) is another pivotal characteristic that shows Japanese ideology and that is connected with group-bonding (or interdependence characterised by *amae* (‘sweetness’) and a consideration for others).

Just as group-bonding in Japanese social structures is important to the concept of *wa* (‘harmony’), ‘group-orientation’ is indispensable to Japanese ideology. The importance of the group in Japanese society is imposed on interdependent interactions. Such interactions are relevant to understanding two group orientations: whether one is inside (’*uchi*’) of the group or outside (’*soto*’) of the group (Yamada, 1997:13). Yamada explains that Japanese interactions draw attention to this distinction. Watanabe (1993) indicates that, “the social motivations for nonconfrontational communication are [a] strong emphasis on harmony within a group and sensitivity to face” (Watanabe, 1993:

\(^2\) Interdependence that shows Japanese identity is often compared with independence that shows western identity. Since this research concentrates on the Japanese perspective, I shall not deal with any comparison between Japanese and western identities.
Such “group orientation” is relevant to an emphasis on hierarchy in the Japanese society. In Japanese society “it is considered almost prohibited when it is against the superior in the social hierarchy because it causes the superior’s loss of face” (Watanabe, 1993: 180). Hirokawa points out that Japanese prefer “to avoid embarrassing both themselves and others” and that they are highly sensitive to ‘face’ (Hirokawa, 1987:146-147). He also suggests that Japanese people are keen to avoid “losing another’s face”. Such “face” considerations are deeply relevant to the hierarchical system. Midooka (1990) accounts for the Japanese social structure below. For instance, people can show self-expression towards equals (such as colleagues or friends) though it is unwise to do so towards superior people. People do not generally oppose a superior’s opinions, but respect them because opposition seems impolite and disadvantageous. In the case of speaking to superiors, people should use *keigo* ('honorifics') and they should be expected to use a different language towards those of equal or lower status (juniors). Considering these criteria in Japanese social structures, “propriety, etiquette and politeness are regarded as the essential ingredients of social discretion in this purportedly homogeneous, hierarchical society” (Tanaka, 1999: 8). All of the literature supports the idea that group-orientation is highly motivated by Japanese social structures – and that group-orientation carefully balances the self and the other in order to preserve the sensitivity to face. These aspects establish Japanese ideology and are reflected in Japanese communication through honorifics.

In line with this relationship between aspects of Japanese ideology and communication, “Others-Centered Interdependence” (Yamada, 1997) may play a role in considering the essence of listenership in Japanese communication. The listener’s status tends to be more fully emphasised than that of the speaker in Japanese communication. In Japan we often say that one successful communicator in conversation is a *kikijouzu* (‘good listener’). This is because “[f]or the Japanese, the responsibility of communication rests with the audience, making listener interpretation not only key, but the main mode of communication” (Yamada, 1997: 38). One important activity of the listener is *sasshi* (‘guesswork’), where “[t]he process of anticipatory guess work [is] required to fill out each other’s communication” (Yamada, 1997: 37). It is “a strategy where players try to understand as much as possible from the little that is said” (Yamada, 1997: 37). The
person who does this successfully can “‘hear others out with little need for explanation” (Yamada, 1997: 37). A good listener should be called sasshi no ii hito (‘a person with good guesswork’). Yamada explains that this type of person is “someone who is quick to understand and emphasise” (Yamada, 1997: 37). She further suggests that guesswork is likely to happen in a relationship where people have known each other for a long time. She gives some examples of the listener’s guesswork in conversation. In one example, Japanese businessmen A and B had known each other for over thirty years. When A asked B to comment on a proposal, B responded only by saying sore wa chotto (‘that’s a little…’). Hearing this, A could sense B’s reluctance to comment on the proposal, and could guess that B disagreed with it. A few days later, A heard from another colleague that B had been expressed a negative comment concerning the proposal. Yamada suggests that A’s guesswork might be successful because of the long-term relationship between them. Following this communicational strategy, she identifies the listener’s communication as “Listener Talk” (Yamada, 1997: 38). In brief, one aspect of the Japanese ideology, Others-Centered Interdependence, can be reflected in particular communications such as guesswork in Listener Talk.

All of the literature cited above may illustrate the distinctive characteristics of Japanese ideology and may demonstrate that communication—i.e. the listener’s role and Japanese social structures—are interconnected in complicated ways (other languages may of course bear similar complexity). Empirical studies on the detailed description of human communications will further be expected to support those of the characteristics. Such research may indirectly provide or reflect the associations between communication and social structures.

Because of the importance of the listener’s status in Japanese interactions (as shown above), Japanese communication scholars study the listener’s behaviours in order to examine the means and communicative functions. Such works include backchannelling,

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3 Other research in the area of cultural psychology may provide corroborating evidence from controlled experiments. Focusing on differences in “self-construals” between Japanese and westerns, Marukus and Kitayama (1991), and Kitayama and Markus (2000) demonstrate that the self in Japanese is viewed as interdependent; the self in the west is seen as independent from the psychological process such as cognition, emotion, and motivation.
nodding, head shaking, smiling and others. Although my focus is laughter, we need to understand how it relates to all the other possibilities in order to understand the way laughter is used. For instance, giving an appreciation response or reaction can be done by means of laughter, smiling, nodding or verbal signals; and it may be done by simultaneous or consecutive use of two or more of these. I shall therefore focus on backchannelling, nodding/head shaking because they seem interconnected with one another in eliciting the listener’s behaviours by the participants in conversation. In addition, they may provide some aspects of Japanese ideology and social structure, as considered above. I shall lastly mention their links up to laughter as part of listenership.

As described in the above section of backchannelling, backchannelling in Japanese (called *aizuchi*) has been emphasised as one pivotal point of listenership behaviours. Backchannelling is characterised as “a signal of affiliation or solidarity which allow listeners to express their support, agreement, and/or encouragement for a current speaker’s state of talk” (Saft, 2007: 1291; Iwasaki, 1997; Maynard, 1986; 1989; Mizutani, 1984; White, 1989; Yamada, 1997). Yamada (1997: 97) suggests that “in Listener Talk, listeners backchannel in order to emphasise their role as interpreters” (Yamada, 1997: 97). In addition, backchannelling in Japanese can be regarded as “…a relatively open class of items employed by listeners in conversation” (Saft, 2007: 1291). For instance, frequent forms of backchannelling take certain items, such as *un*, *ee*, *hai* (all of which can be translated as ‘yes’), *hontoo* (‘really’) and *soo* (‘I see’) (Mizutani, 1984; Maynard, 1986); Iwasaki (1997) includes much more substantive items, such as repetitions and clarifying questions, as well as more frequent items. In relation to backchannelling, Clancy et al. propose “reactive tokens”, defined as “short utterance[s] produced by an interlocutor who is playing a listener’s role during the other interlocutor’s speakership” (1996: 356). Such tokens include backchannels, reactive expressions (a short non-floor-taking lexical phrase or word), collaborative finishes, repetitions and resumptive openers (a type of non-lexical element which is used at turn-initial points) in conversation. Due to various understandings of backchannelling and the various types of backchannelling in Japanese conversation, many researchers adopt a primary stance on the Japanese conversational style as pursuing interpersonal cooperation and harmony (Kita, 1999; Iwasaki, 1997; Maynard, 1986; 1989; Mizutani,
1984; White, 1989; Yamada, 1997). Along with this discussion, some researchers consider backchannelling as having special significance in terms of Japanese culture (Yamada, 1997; LoCastro, 1987). Yamada regards backchannelling as a significant cue: in order to “[play] up their listenership and promote togetherness, Japanese listeners indulged in back-channels because it is a primary strategy of Listener Talk that makes [the] listener, rather than [the] speakers, the center of communication” (Yamada, 1997: 96). In line with her suggestion, playing up listenership and promoting togetherness through backchannelling suggests an important means of Japanese communication: Listener Talk.

Backchannelling can involve non-vocal/non-verbal phenomena at the same time. In order to grasp the listener’s behaviour as a whole, I shed light on non-verbal activities, especially nodding (‘unazuki’), that distinctively characterise various methods of backchannelling and that show listenership. Following Dunkan and Fiske’s (1977) proposal to include non-verbal behaviours such as nodding in backchannelling, it is worthwhile to note that nodding also plays a significant role in the listener’s behaviour to conversation. There are six functions of listenership as mentioned above: (1) affirmation, (2) claim for turn-end and turn-transition, (3) pre-turn and turn claim, (4) turn-transition period filler, (5) backchannelling, and (6) rhythm taking (Scollon, 1982; Maynard, 1987: 591). These functions work together to achieve “conversation management” in order to support “rapport and emotional bonding during each encounter” (Maynard, 1987: 591). In fact, Maynard presents how nodding fulfils these functions. Following these functions, I am concerned with using a co-production to make the whole conversation, and with the listener’s contribution to achieving a co-production. The study of nodding involves two aspects: nodding by the listener, and nodding by both the listener and the speaker. The former was addressed earlier in the section and regarded as the general phenomena. The latter shows a co-production between both participants. The listener’s role is related through his/her single achievement (such as in the former case through nodding) and a co-production is achieved with the speaker such as in the latter case. Since a co-production is related to the listener’s role, it is significant to look at both cases. The following discussion deals with these two aspects.
Firstly, I shall look at the simultaneous nodding between the speaker and the listener in interaction in Japanese. Maynard (1987), Kita (1999), and Kita and Ide (2007ab) observe that sometimes the distinction between the speaker and listener is blurred in Japanese because of the simultaneous nodding that takes place by both the speaker and the listener. Looking at Maynard’s study, she suggests that two things happen in Japanese conversation: either a sequence of two to four nods with a constant tempo, or simultaneous nodding by both the speaker and the listener. Maynard claims that the former type comes from Scollon’s (1982) “rhythmic ensemble”. This ensemble implies that a particular rhythm becomes apparent by beating the tempo of the conversation along with the participants. Maynard thus includes ‘the rhythmic’ tempo as representing one of the nodding functions above (Maynard, 1987: 591). On the other hand, she explains that the participants often keep the rhythm of their conversation even in cases where they do not speak.

As developed from Maynard’s findings above, Kita (1999) and Ide and Kita (2007ab) point out that there is still another type of nodding behaviour. This combines Maynard’s two distinctions into what Kita calls “a synchronized nod sequence” — where “two interactants can produce a sequence of nods in synch” (Kita, 1999: 265). Such synchronised nodding evidences that the participants’ activities are “structurally co-dependent, and have assimilatory orientations” (1999: 267). In the course of producing the synchronised nodding, Kita suggests that the distinction between the speaker and the listener is blurred: nodding occurs not only by the listener, but rather by both participants together. Such a blurring shows the co-production of nodding between the participants. Although nodding is basically regarded as the listener’s single activity, this study suggests that nodding can be both the speaker and the listener’s joint work. As I mentioned above, the listener’s contribution further motivates the speaker’s response and reaction, and such a recurring work can result in achieving a co-production of conversation. In this sense, the listener’s role involves both the listener’s single contribution and the synchronised work between the participants — such as through nodding.
Secondly, nodding as the listener’s single contribution can be associated with other non-vocal/non-verbal behaviours such as smiling. The work done on Japanese ideology shows that due to an emphasis on implicit or indirect communication, Japanese communication prefers silence. As Kunihiro (1976) mentions, there is virtue in saying little and in depending on a non-linguistic expression of the truth. Such a non-linguistic expression can be connected with nodding and smiling. The following study shows that the listener actively participates in conversation and fulfills his/her role even through silence. When considering nodding and smiling in the silent moments of Japanese conversations, Kogure (2007) demonstrates how nodding and smiling appear in “loop sequences” (Iwasaki, 1997), or in a series of Japanese backchannelling expressions (by different speakers). Kogure also demonstrates how silence occurs in the sequence of nodding. Within such sequences, Kogure clarifies how participants can avoid creating silence through the use of nodding and smiling in ongoing interactions. Such research takes into account not only the interaction between verbal and non-verbal actions, but also the interactions between various non-verbal actions. Kogure suggests that such devices — nodding and smiling — primarily contribute to maintaining a cooperative atmosphere in loop sequences and to achieving a co-production of conversation. This study shows that nodding is the joint work of the speaker and the listener, and that it is also the listener’s single achievement. Listenership involves both cases in order to achieve a co-production of conversation.

Silence that is derived from an emphasis on indirectness in conversation has long been regarded as a virtue in Japanese communication. Smiling is one activity that occurs in silence and that shows listenership in Japanese interaction. In terms of Japanese traditional culture, an “enigmatic smile” may be unrelated to understanding amusing or happy occasions (Oda, 2006: 17). This idea is closely related to the idea of controlling one’s emotions and is motivated by a distinct ‘shame-sensitive’ aspect of Japanese society (Oda, 2006: 24). As described in the section concerning Japanese ideology, such shame-sensitiveness indicates a high regard for the treatment of the face. This reflects the fact that the Japanese may prefer to avoid embarrassing both themselves and others.
(Hirokawa, 1987). Although this is the traditional perspective that is relevant to Japanese ideology, smiling can be considered in conversational interaction just as Kogure (2007) determined through the loop sequence above. Given this contribution of smiling in the display of listenership behaviour, Kogure (2007) observes the important relationship between nodding and smiling in Japanese interaction. He claims that smiling plays a role in identifying the importance of a listener’s role. His findings show that smiling — as well as nodding — fills quite a bit of silence. Despite the fact that the study of smiling has been rarely addressed in research into Japanese conversation, his findings openly discuss the importance of smiling in displaying a listener’s participation in Japanese conversation. These findings support the idea that smiling can play a role in characterising Japanese listenership (in relation to silence and indirectness) and in displaying the active role of a listener in the ongoing interaction. Moreover, smiling may also play a role when considering my focus on laughter as a part of listenership because some of the literature suggests that smiling precedes laughter (Glenn, 2003; Haakana, 2010). Haakana also mentions that smiling can be used as a response to preceding laughter, and that smiling can appear alongside other verbal utterances. These aspects may also relate to the listener’s laughing activities in my analysis.

In line with the enigmatic smile in Japanese, the study on Japanese ideology shows that laughter also relates to a trouble or embarrassment situation. Yamada (1997) justifies the listener’s laughter (and/or smile) “because a laugh or a smile can show commiseration and empathy among communicators who need and depend on each other” (Yamada, 1997:100). Her analysis indicates that laughter and smiling can work together to show the listener’s role even in a non-humorous circumstance. Although I have specifically described laughter in Japanese contexts, more details concerning laughter will be discussed in the next chapter.

To conclude, all of the literature on listenership in Japanese contexts shows that Japanese communication may be deeply related to social structures and that an emphasis on the listener’s role (expressed as Listener Talk) could be linked with certain social structures. In relation to such an emphasis, the listener’s various behaviours, such as backchannelling, nodding, and smiling all show the listener’s role in conversation and
can indirectly be associated with certain Japanese social aspects. Such aspects are indirect and implicit communications, harmony, group-orientations, guesswork and the like. This research provides an essential example of the importance of Japanese aspects when considering laughter as a part of listenership in Japanese conversational interaction. These aspects will be mentioned in Chapter 8 with regard to the implications of my research.

2.4 Summary

This chapter provided an overview of current research on listenership. I illustrated the means and functions of the listener’s role that are fulfilled in general conversational practice. I then discussed how they could relate to laughter as a part of listenership. In addition, I described Japanese contexts in listenership. I mentioned how the listener plays a role in Japanese interaction and how he/she is linked to Japanese social conventions. In the light of this background, I will go on in the next chapter to explore another topic of interest: laughter.
Chapter 3
Research on Laughter in Conversational Interaction

3.1 Introduction

The study of laughter is twofold: early research concentrates on pursuing the psychological causes of laughter (3.2), while later research examines social functions and patterns based on mutual interaction (3.3 to 3.4). The former is traditionally derived from academic areas such as philosophy, biology, and psychology, where the term incongruity constitutes the most important facet related to causes of laughter. The latter consists of two different laughter structures: micro and macro. The micro structure deals mainly with laughter as it includes patterns and functions that are highly motivated by human social relations and by conversational routines. The macro structure reveals a connection between laughter and the whole structure of conversational discourse, drawing particular attention to joke-telling (Sacks, 1974). In order to consider these conversational structures in relation to social contexts, I will now deepen these discussions of social relations (considering politeness matters and social variables) in order to access my overarching concerns: listenership and laughter (3.5). I will then provide a summary (3.6).

3.2 Psychological Causes of Laughter

‘Incongruity’ is a key term for starting to understand the causes of laughter in the research literature. According to Schopenhauer, laughter is an expression of the incongruity “between a concept and the real objects which have been thought through it in some relation […]” (Schopenhauer, 1886: 76). Kant regards laughter as “an effect resulting from the sudden transformation of a heightened expectation into nothing” (Kant, 1790/2000: 333). Incongruity involves certain paradoxical messages between expectations and reality, between non-seriousness and seriousness. Such paradoxical messages in incongruity are likely to associate humour – such as joking, teasing,
mocking and fantasy scenarios – with sarcasm, irony and the like. In relation to laughter, Flugel provides various other features of humour:

> Both laughter and humor imply a certain kind of playfulness or absence of immediate biological urgency; they are of social significance and are themselves greatly influenced by the immediate social environment and by cultural conditions generally; they involve an element of surprise and of the unexpected; they are connected with sudden relief or relaxation, in which there is a quick transition from a more serious to a less serious and more playful attitude; they are associated with certain emotional or instinctive tendencies, more especially those related to fear, sex, aggression, and the sense of triumph or superiority; while on the more intellectual side they involve an element of incongruity as manifested in the juxtaposition of things, situations, or meanings which are not usually experienced together. (Flugel, 1954: 709-710)

This suggests that incongruity provides the close connection between laughter and humour.

As Flugel notes, laughter and humour are associated with playfulness. It is significant to introduce the notion of play (Bateson, 1972; Goffman, 1974). Bateson opens the investigation of play by observing the playful interaction between two monkeys. He reports that although their actions and signals look like superficial fighting, they here indicate that the participant monkeys were not fighting at all. He regards this phenomenon between the monkeys as play, “[that] could only occur if the participant organisms were capable of some degree of metacommunication, i.e. of exchanging signals which would carry the message ‘this is play’” (Bateson, 1972: 179). Focusing on abstract and implicit levels of human communication, Bateson identifies a metacommunicative message as, “the subject of discourse [that indicates] the relationship between the speakers” (Bateson, 1972: 178). Such a message can deal with implicit contexts or with the intentions of the communication. In relation to the metacommunication message, play can be characterised as “a phenomenon in which the actions of ‘play’ are related to, or denote, other actions of ‘not play’” (Bateson, 1972: 181). To locate a play frame, an utterance in the frame can be based on describing the ‘irrealis’ world such as imaginary, fantasy, and make-believe situations. Hence,
participants can create and negotiate a play frame throughout their humorous interactions.

As play provides us with a distinction between non-seriousness and seriousness, humour seems to relate to a sudden movement between the different interpreted frames. This established movement closely connects humour with incongruity, and may constitute one frame of reality in terms of *bisociation* (Koestler, 1964). This term suggests that the punch line establishes “its humorous effect by suddenly shifting to another, equally coherent, but competing frame” (Glenn, 2003: 20). Although such a term may indicate the isolation between two frames, the coherence between them is also critical when paying attention to the humour phenomena. In his argument, Mulkay (1988) makes it clear that people may retain contradictory frames of interpretation whenever there is a humorous atmosphere. Incongruity plays a role in approaching the relationship between humour and laughter. However, it may simply indicate that laughter can be a response stimulus.

To summarise, incongruity theory highlights laughter that derives from sudden reactions, i.e. to sudden shifts in joking or humour that result in the production of laughter. However, this theory still sheds light on a very specific aspect of laughter and neglects a more comprehensive picture of the laughter experience, leaving out, for instance, any mention of personal delivery or individual reception throughout the mutual interaction. A problem may lie in the fact that incongruity assumes a simple association between laughter and humour. Laughter is a response that is stimulated by incongruity. Due to such limitations, later interests in laughter will then move to consider the functional aspects fulfilled in social engagement.

**3.3 Social Functions of Laughter**

As I described in Chapter 2, the listener expresses certain signals in order to establish his or her role in the conversation. These signals achieve certain communicative functions. Laughter is a pivotal signal in this regard. Based on this discussion, this section will pursue various functions of laughter in relation to the listener.
The functions of laughter in mutual interaction are considered on the basis of the relationship between humour and laughter. For the listener, laughter can be considered “as a way of signaling affiliation and alignment” (Partington, 2006: 18). Affiliation refers to “the expression of solidarity with another participant on an affective, interpersonal plane”, whilst alignment refers to “communicating agreement with what another person has said, that is, approval of the opinions and sentiments he or she has expressed” (Partington, 2006: 18). The listener’s laughter “can signal affiliation and/or alignment with the first speaker […] or non-affiliation and/or non-alignment […]. Or it can simply signal understanding and [an] acknowledgement that the first speaker was attempting laughter-talk” (Partington, 2006: 18). Partington suggests that affiliation can “create the group-bonding effects of shared laughter”. He indicates that laughter is a pivotal means of promoting in-group solidarity, though it might also promote disconnection: “its potential to express disaffiliation can project an individual or group as external, an out-person/group, and is a significant way of shaming and performing aggressive face attacks” (Partington, 2006: 18). Following these accounts, the listener’s laughter supports or coordinates two sides of the same coin: bonding and distancing. These studies suggest that both aspects are highly connected to specific social contexts — such that laughter is readily associated with specific social structures.

I will take up two types of verbal activities related to the listener’s laughter as a means by which to signal bonding: conversational humour and responding. The first activity type includes joking, teasing, and self-denigrating for the purposes of promoting in-group bonding. First of all, I will address the background for joking in mutual interaction. As Brown and Levinson (1987: 124) relate joking to one of the linguistic politeness strategies, they believe that jokes are used to corroborate mutual shared background knowledge and values, and suggest that jokes are useful for putting listeners ‘at ease’. In addition, they suggest that joking can be employed in order to avoid what they call face threatening acts, which are “[those] acts [that] intrinsically threaten [one’s] face” (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 60). Jokes can be considered as promoting

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4 The detail of linguistic politeness will be addressed in section 3.5.
in-group solidarity and mitigating certain awkward situations. Given such backgrounds for jokes, however, they should be distinguished from two different speech activities: joke-telling (Sacks, 1974) and conversational joking (Boxer and Cortés-Conde, 1997; Attardo, 1994; Lampert and Ervin-Tripp, 2006; Norrick, 1993). The former is motivated by a highly conventionalised and socialised structure with certain introductory statements and punch lines; the latter can be regarded as producing much more spontaneous and humorous situations on the basis of a play frame created by the participants (Boxer and Cortés-Conde, 1997: 277; see also Sacks, 1974, for joke-telling). My discussions here will be associated with laughter functions that are produced impulsively through the conversational exchange between participants, and will concentrate on conversational joking. In addition, as regards the relation between laughter and joking in ongoing interactions, laughter can be regarded as a production that is provoked through spontaneous conversational joking.

Although the distinction between joking and teasing has been ambiguously treated in the research to date, they should each be understood as having distinct characteristics. Boxer and Cortés-Conde present the following three types of conversational joking: teasing, joking about an absent other, and self-denigrating joking. Teasing indicates that it alone “can bite or nip, since this activity must be directed at a participant” (Boxer and Cortés-Conde, 1997: 279). Whereas, the other two types of conversational activity can ‘tie up’ without ‘biting’ such that the relation between the participants is then corroborated (Boxer and Cortés-Conde, 1997: 279). The ‘biting’ aspect of teasing, due to the element of criticism or vulnerability is supported by other scholars (Attardo, 1994; Lampert and Ervin-Tripp, 2006, and etc.). In terms of self-denigrating joking, Boxer and Cortés-Conde regard this as a form of safer humour, without any biting. On the other hand, Lampert and Ervin-Tripp consider it as the high-cost forms by analysing conversations of mixed- and same-sex groups of friends. The distinctions between joking, teasing and self-denigrating can be effected by regarding these three activities as based on friendly or intimate interactions. That is, joking and self-denigrating involve a ‘bonding’ function; teasing shows situational sensitiveness and bears both ‘bonding’ and ‘biting’ functions. When the social parameters such as gender and power differences come into those activities (Lampert and Ervin-Tripp, 2006), however, such distinctions
must be dealt with very carefully. In relation to those functions, laughter is likely to occur in the three joking activities. Partington describes the classification of laughter in terms of several domains and functions: joking relates to several supportive functions such as claiming common ground, teasing, and confirming in-group identity; it may also relate to non-acceptance of the other’s utterance or indicate the inappropriate nature of an utterance by serving a non-supportive or distancing function (Partington, 2006:18). His classification suggests that laughter can connect either with supportive or with non-supportive functions in the domain of joking in accordance with certain social relations such as power, interpersonal distancing and intimacy. Although laughter functions as they appear in the domain of joking are mostly emphasised during in-group bonding, the contrastive ‘biting’ aspect might also be present because of out-group and interrelated power relations.

Laughter is related to a second type of activity: responding or reacting. Atkinson (1984) looks at the response of an audience to public speech in order to suggest that laughter is one of the primary means of displaying affiliation, or bonding in response to the speaker’s production. He mentions that such responses are likely to occur prior to a punch line or an element of surprise (Atkinson, 1984: 393). Likewise, Sacks (1974) explains that laughter is the appropriate response to the speaker’s joke telling. These suggestions support the idea that laughter can serve as a major responsive or reactive device to the speaker’s first production. Furthermore, as I mentioned in Chapter 2, backchannelling is one of the most important communicative functions to express listenership. Laughter may sometimes serve as a means of backchannelling in the ongoing interaction. Focusing on the listener’s laughter, Schenkein (1972) claims that the listener’s response or reaction can support the speaker’s utterance with his/her non-serious attitude and that laughter is crucial for communication. Laughter may be connected with assessments when it supports, appreciates, or agrees with the speaker’s production (Partington, 2006: 18). The close connection between them, as described in Chapter 2, is similar to the connection that exists between assessments and backchannelling (see Goodwin, 1986).
Previous studies suggest that laughter involves two main functions: bonding and distancing (or biting) in social and conversational contexts. These are related to conversational joking, and often express themselves through self-denigration and teasing. The bonding function serves to increase solidarity in relationships such that any resulting laughter supports bonding within the group. The biting or distancing function, which is also expressed by teasing, deals primarily with out-group relationships or power. When focusing on the listener’s role in relation to this bonding aspect, the literature explains how laughter displays interpersonal bonding and how backchannelling is one aspect of a listener’s laughter. Assessments are also relevant for understanding response activities, specifically support, appreciation, or agreement with the speaker’s production, or with his or her non-serious attitude. These communicative functions (i.e. backchannelling, supporting, appreciating and agreeing with the speaker’s contribution under a certain humorous context) are directly related to the contribution of listenership.

I will focus on awkward or problematic circumstances in relation to laughter functions as they signal distancing. There are situations when the speaker’s laughter serves to ease problematic or awkward situations. This occurs in ‘trouble talks’ that express misfortune and troubled situations. Jefferson (1984b) sheds light on such laughter — describing situations when a trouble teller produces an utterance and then laughs (Jefferson, 1984b: 346). The listener then has two choices when responding: either laughing or non-laughing. Particular features are involved in this ordering. The teller might demonstrate some resistance to the talk by producing laughter in order to take the trouble lightly (what Jefferson calls “trouble-resistance”). For that trouble, the listener might either produce a serious response with a non-humorous status (“trouble-receptiveness”) (Jefferson, 1984b: 351), or he/she might take it with laughter. Using these considerations, Jefferson reveals how the listener might accept and join in with a trouble teller’s laughter. At the same time Jefferson also mentions how there can be a “time-out” for pleasantries; for “buffer topics” indicating jokes and anecdotes; or for other unrelated materials in the course of discussion. Such cases suggest that both the teller and the listener perform laughter together in relation to buffer topics or
time-outs. It can be seen that a constant balancing act between receptiveness and resistance is negotiated and maintained through the participant’s engagement with the trouble telling. These findings indicate how the listener’s treatment of troubles in the ongoing interaction is manifested in laughter or non-laughter responses. The teller’s trouble through laughter and the listener’s receptive response show the significant function of the listener’s laughter when dealing with awkward or problematic situations in an ongoing interaction. A laughter response indicates the listener’s intention to display a non-serious treatment of the situation; his/her non-laughter response reveals that he/she is treating the situation as serious.

In addition to these aspects, resistance can be related to the listener’s responding behaviour in order to avoid losing face. For instance, Goffman (1956) mentions the “hollow laugh” which refers to a method that effectively hides embarrassment. Through this hollow laugh, the listener may display his or her resistance by laughing in order to deal with an upcoming embarrassment or with some particular trouble in responding to the speaker’s possibly embarrassing production. Furthermore, Gavioli (1995) examines how laughter functions as a sort of mitigation when the bookshop service assistant faces trouble in response to a customer’s queries in English and Italian service encounters. Gavioli discovers how the organisation of turns operates differently between these two languages: laughter is turn-initial in English, while it is turn-final in Italian. In the English encounter, the assistant may provide an account in the same turn, while in the Italian situation the customer may pursue another account or an alternative solution. These different language mechanisms reveal a connection between laughter functions that express embarrassment, and cultural-specific regularities.

Haakana (2001) also observes certain laughter sequences that focus on remedying interactional problems in Finnish primary care encounters. According to his findings, the patient typically laughs alone: doctors do not laugh in response to the patient’s laughter. He reports that although laughter is generally regarded as a sign of humour or amusement in the sociable repertoire of these encounters, his database indicates that laughter mainly occurs as a sign of the patient’s embarrassment. Haakana also illustrates a common feature of laughter where laughter is quite restricted and goes unreciprocated
where the laughter performs something other than inviting the doctor to participate in the laughter. The reason why most cases are based on one person laughing rests in the fact that the laughter is employed for purposes other than the sharing of amusement with co-participants. These observations suggest that the patient constructs various turns using laughter in order to deal with his/her problematic or delicate issues. These findings show how laughter functions as a device for considering delicate interactional business in medical institutions.

In contrast to the bonding aspect of teasing, biting may also be related to an awkward, trouble or embarrassment situation as touched upon in earlier discussions. Drew (1987) demonstrates how the listener provides a serious response (what he calls a “po-faced response”) to prior teasing. In characterising the circumstance when teasing occurs, Drew says that speakers may provide some sign of verbal exaggeration, e.g. extensive complaining. The listener may also go into certain situations without recognition; or he/she may identify an opportunity to tease the co-participant. In a continuum of responses to teasing, the listener may not join in and may thus show a po-faced response. Another option is that though the listener may recognise the tease, he/she may not laugh. Such findings may indicate that, as Drew suggests, “listener identities or categories are occasioned either in recipients’ own talk prior to being teased, or in the teases themselves […] one or some of those identities are being occasioned in and through the teasing sequences” (Drew, 1987: 249). Although teasing seems effective for enhancing the in-group bonding, the above findings show that the biting aspect of teasing directly influences the listener’s non-laughing response. Such an absence of laughter will be discussed in detail in the later section (concerning the organisation of laughter).

To summarise, laughter shows the function of distancing, particularly as it relates to awkward, problematic or delicate situations as described above. The speaker’s laughter occurs in such a context as a means of ‘resistance’ in order to avoid trouble. In this context, the listener’s role involves two coping options: laughing or non-laughing. The listener’s laughter following the speaker’s laughter in trouble may result in two possibilities: bonding or distancing. The former bonding is likely to happen when the
listener supports or resolves the speaker’s trouble situation, sometimes by bringing about a humorous effect such as joking or expressing sympathy. The latter distancing, on the other hand, is likely to occur when the listener does not support the speaker’s situation. As another possibility, the listener may spontaneously laugh in response to the speaker’s trouble (without laughing). The same two options of the listener’s response can also be applicable to this case: bonding or distancing. To consider listenership behaviour, such bonding should be included in my discussion. Moreover, it is also essential to consider the case when the listener’s laughter is absent, so as to look at the entire picture of the listener’s laughter. Drew’s finding indicates that teasing sometimes brings about the biting function that Boxer and Cortés-Conde (1997) observe. Po-faced response, the absence of the listener’s laughter following the speaker’s teasing indicates the listener’s serious attitude and his reluctance to join the speaker. Such findings show that the absence of the listener’s laughter may reflect some disconnection to the speaker by dealing with the teasing as a problematic treatment.

Laughter is closely associated with developing two alternative social and interactional functions: bonding and distancing. However, such functions have been primarily connected to humour. Laughter may involve other interactional circumstances in which humorous/non-humorous contexts are not always relevant. Affiliation/disaffiliation (see Partington, 2006) as introduced above can be alternatively employed in order to deal with more global interactional contexts of laughter. Partington mentioned that affiliation can bring about group-bonding effects through shared laughter, and can lead to building in-group solidarity. In relation to this aspect, Stivers explains affiliation as that situation when “the hearer displays support of and endorses the teller’s conveyed stance” (Stivers, 2008: 35). Focusing on the interaction between teller and listener in storytelling, she suggests that:

[I]n the environment of story completion in which what is due is for the recipient [to] display his or her stance toward the reported event, preferred and affiliative uptake involves taking a stance that matches the teller’s stance toward the event(s) being described as, for example, funny, sad, horrible, or exciting. (Stivers, 2008: 35-36)

This suggests that affiliation shows a tight connection between the teller’s stance and the listener’s stance towards the event. Such a perspective is essential for understanding
the listener’s side as associated with the teller or speaker. In addition to such a story-telling event, affiliation can be also seen in a general speech-event. Thus by including both types of events, affiliation can be regarded as “through claiming access to and understanding of the teller’s [or the speaker’s] stance, story recipients [or listeners] show themselves to endorse the teller’s [or the speaker’s] perspective […]” (Stivers, 2008: 32). In terms of a listener’s laughter in affiliation, it may indicate that he/she supports or endorses the speaker’s perspective. Laughter may also relate to disaffiliation when related to awkward, problematic contexts. The listener’s laughter seems more relevant for expressing his/her role when it supports or resolves the speaker’s trouble or adjusts an interpersonal relationship between the interactants. At the same time, the listener’s absence of laughter (e.g. in response to teasing) is also significant as it may express the listener’s lack of appreciation for the speaker, leading to the display of disaffiliation.

As shown in the above discussion, in relation to the two main functions of laughter in humour — bonding and distancing — affiliation and disaffiliation can be motivated by social contexts. Affiliation can be connected with effecting in-group solidarity, whilst disaffiliation can highlight inequality in out-group power relationships. Such aspects suggest that laughter is closely associated with the social roles of the participants and with external social structures. These associations will be considered in greater detail in later sections examining politeness (face) and social variables.

### 3.4 Organisation of Laughter

Along with the above functions of laughter, we can attempt to capture the listener’s contributions through understanding the basic organisation of laughter. In the following section I will shed light on the organisation of laughter in certain playful frames. This organisation partly consists of the listener’s response to the speaker’s first laughter, called the *invitation* (Jefferson, 1979).
In relation to sequential placement, identification of the “laughter’s referent” is also important when considering the organisation of laughter. There are two possible sequential placements of laughter (Glenn, 2003: 48; see also Schenkein, 1972: 365; Jefferson, 1974: 7). One placement occurs when laughter can be heard as referring to talk. That talk occurs immediately preceding the laughter. On the other hand, when laughter routinely follows the completion of a prior laughable utterance, the placement also routinely appears as an earlier recognition point at which the laughable nature of the utterance-in-progress becomes evident. Laughter at the recognition point can indicate that the listener understands the laughable element. This element is called laughables and refers to “any referent that draws laughter” (Glenn, 2003: 49). Laughables include both verbal and non-verbal activities. As noted in the previous studies, one typical laughable can be a joke (Sacks, 1992; Glenn, 2003).

Although jokes closely relate to humour, laughter is not always related to humour and laughables are not necessarily humorous. In terms of laughter and humour, Glenn (2003) cautions against an over-reliance on theories dealing with humour (including incongruity), asserting that such reliance “risks assuming that laughter necessarily is caused by humour, when that is often (perhaps a majority of the time) not the case” (Glenn, 2003: 33). With regards to over-reliance, Glenn argues that laughter merely plays a subservient role as a response to stimulus. Instead, he characterises laughter as a much more dynamic activity: “Laughter can serve to create a feeling of humour, it can be faked, it can occur before or during its referent, and it can be induced simply by other laughter” (Glenn, 2003: 33). By shifting from the assumption that laughter follows humour, to a mutual constitution model, laughter can be sought within a much more dynamic interactional process. As Glenn consequently proposes, emphasis should be placed on the “co-construction of sequences, interactions, understandings, and meanings” (Glenn, 2003: 33). Such a mutual constitution model suggests that “the occurrence of laughter marks its referent (usually retrospectively) as laughable — and, potentially, as humorous” (Glenn, 2003: 33). He suggests that funniness is thus understood as a jointly negotiated communicative accomplishment. In this sense, a laughable can also be negotiated and created in the course of the participants’
ongoing-interaction through laughter activities.

In terms of the listener’s laughter, there are two types of laughter: laughter that is invited by the first laughter and laughter that is not always motivated by the first one. The first type indicates the acceptance of the speaker’s invitation (Jefferson, 1979; Glenn, 2003). According to Jefferson, laughter is an activity that can occur when: “[the] speaker himself indicates that laughter is appropriate, by himself laughing, and [the] recipient thereupon laughs” (Jefferson, 1979: 80). This speaker’s laughter is named an *invitation* (a first laugh) and encourages others to join in with the laughing. This invitation, as Jefferson (1974) suggests, can include not only a first laugh but also the laughable: “both laughables and laughter, singly or in combination, may invite laughter” (qtd. in Glenn, 2003: 81). On the one hand, the listener’s laughter is named the subsequent *acceptance* (a second laugh) by laughing so as to display “responsiveness and mutual ratification of a comic or lucid frame” (Glenn, 2003: 54). Acceptance of the invitation to laughter can be achieved without delay. The following fragment shows a typical pattern of laughter as it occurs after the speaker’s first utterance:

(1) Invitation (Jefferson, 1979: 80)
Dan:   I thought that wz pretty outta sight didju
      Hear me say’r ou a junkie.
      (0.5)

Dan: hheh heh heh

⇒

Dolly: hheh-heh-heh

⇒

In this fragment, there is no gap between Dan’s laughter and Dolly’s laughter response. After Dan’s utterance, the pause demonstrates that the listener’s spontaneous laughter is absent. Recognising such an absence, Dan provides laugh particles that “appear within a word, between words, or freestanding and independent of words” (Glenn, 2003: 43), producing the invited laughter in the next turn. Dolly joins in the laughter without any delay and thus indicates that her response laughter is an acceptance. In contrast to this post-utterance production of laughter, the next fragment shows that the listener’s laughter appears within the first speaker’s utterance:
(2) Invitation (Glenn, 2003: 51)
Mason: You know they have the eh:::huh .hhh most
       beautiful interior decorating (0.4)
       instih hhks of (0.3)

Jill:                   [    
                          fhhh

In this fragment, the listener (Jill) gives laughter during Mason’s utterance. Motivated by Mason’s invitation, which includes a couple of laugh particles, Jill provides laughter without any delay. There is no gap between Mason and Jill’s laughter. These two examples suggest two methods: (1) the speaker’s inviting laughter after the utterance completion and the listener’s accepting laughter; and (2) the listener’s accepting an invitation to laugh during the speaker’s utterance including laughter. In both cases the speaker’s inviting laughter and the listener’s acceptance are achieved without any gaps between them. Sacks notes that, “laughs are very locally responsive — if done on the completion of some utterance they affiliate to [the] last utterance and if done within some utterance they affiliate to its current state of development” (Sacks, 1974: 348). This explanation suggests that the listener’s laughter is not always motivated by the first laugh alone, but by any previous productions, either the last production or current utterances. Moreover, the first invitation for the forthcoming response can also include any productions other than laughter.

Following the speaker’s invitation, the listener’s response can either accept through laughing or decline by not laughing (Jefferson, 1979). The acceptance is achieved through these two methods: the response after the speaker’s utterance and the one within his/her utterance, as considered in (1) and (2). In order to decline a speaker’s invitation to laugh, the listener may pursue non-laughing utterances. For example, the listener may pursue topical matters at the moment in which the speaker invited laughter:

(3) Declination (Jefferson, 1979: 84)
Gene: So thatshook the old (h)house (h)hold up fer
       a(h)whi(h)le heh

Patty:                   [Oh yes I c’nn magine
                         [    ]


43
At Gene’s turn including laugh particles (line 2), the listener starts a non-laughing utterance by following Gene’s preceding utterance. Here is another example:

(4) Declination (Glenn, 2003: 58)
Ida is relating a conversation she had with her son in which she offers to come for him if he has “hurt himself or something”.

10 Ida =cz – (ih) se t ah.’ll pop round if yiv
10a-12 heu:rtchise(h)e(h) [If (or someth’.hh)

11Jenny: [What ti:me d’er]ing.

Ida invites Jenny to laugh by including laugh particles (line 10) but Jenny does not join in (line 11). Following these laugh particles, Jenny overlaps with Ida’s production but pursues a non-laughing utterance with a question as a first part in adjacent pairs, which are sequences of paired utterances, such as question-answer (Levinson, 1983). While Jenny is talking, she indicates that she stops relating to Ida’s previous laughing invitation. Jenny’s non-laughing utterance thus signals her refusal to laugh in response to the speaker’s invitation. Declining the laughier invitation thus indicates that the second speaker continues to talk without laughter (Glenn, 2003: 81).

Next, the second type is mainly associated with the listener and indicates an explicit laughable or first laughter that is produced on a volunteer basis by the listener – that is to say without an invitation (Jefferson, 1979: 81; Glenn, 2003: 81). In some sense, this volunteer basis could be regarded as the listener’s first invitation for the speaker to laugh. However, when regarding laughter as a responsive activity (as mentioned above), this volunteer based laughter contributes to an active display of listenership behaviour because it demonstrates a desire to read and find laughable elements independent of any invitation. This may suggest that it is not just laughter that does the inviting, but also other elements as well. Glenn explains that, “there may also be instances in which a laughable, rather than first laugh, serves as a laugh invitation” (Glenn, 2003: 81). By mentioning the work by Jefferson et al. (1976: 30), Glenn shows that a sequence of laughable and listener laughter may constitute an adjacency pair, and that “a laughable by itself makes laughter relevant from next speaker” (Glenn, 2003: 81). Glenn further
poses an issue whether a first laughter by the listener is regarded as volunteered or invited as “laughables are so diverse it remains difficult to present a consistent case for their status as specifically inviting laughter or not, except for specialized interactional moments, such as the punch line of a joke” (Glenn, 2003: 81). In relation to the above discussion on laughables, these moments can be negotiated through the jointly interactional process created by the participants, and can be constituted with regard to the listener’s following laughter.

As in the laughter activities mentioned above, laughter is commonly produced through more than two parties together. This is referred to as “laughing together” (Jefferson et al., 1987: 158; Sacks, 1992; “shared laughter” in Glenn’s term, 2003: 53). This shared laughter is produced via invitation and acceptance type sequences and not with “unison laughter” that indicates laughing at the same time (Jefferson et al., 1976). With considerations of such ‘sharedness’, the term play (Bateson, 1972; Goffman, 1974) as mentioned in Section 2, indicates an interactional state created by metacommunicative signals which frame or bracket messages. In the case of impropriety or teasing (as discussed in the following section), invitations and their responses involve appreciating such play with certain devices e.g. laughter and further laughables. The shared laughter may typically be achieved within such playful episodes.

In relation to these considerations on shared laughter, Jefferson et al. observe the method of constructing intimacy through ‘improper’ talk. In the course of initiating such a talk, “[a] speaker may be offering an invitation to his co-participants to produce talk together whereby they can see themselves as intimate; together they will be constructing intimacy” (Jefferson et al., 1987: 160). Within the observations of laughter in episodes of improper talk, it is possible to see the listener or speaker treatment as an invitation to intimacy. As Schenkein suggests that laughter is “one of the ways persons can go about proffering or displaying affiliations with one another in the course of some conversation-in-progress” (Schenkein, 1972: 371; Glenn, 2003), such displays must be undertaken in order to seek the method of constructing intimacy and to investigate the listener’s treatment to intimacy. Jefferson et al. (1987) clarify how participants construct shared laughter leading to displays of affiliation and how they deal with improprieties in
interaction. Their findings reveal how the listener shifts from the first declination to laugh to the acceptance towards impropriety, and how participants then support in-group solidarity. They exhibit the listener’s various responses in such contexts: either refusing improprieties by declining to respond to them, or supporting improprieties by appreciating them with laughter (which often then escalates the conversation to include new ones). Jefferson et al. show how laughter is involved in such sequences. More specifically focusing on the listener’s responses, he/she first resists any response. When motivated by the frequent offers, however, he/she changes that resistance into appreciation. To sum up, in order to create intimacy through improper talk, laughter activities in relation to the listener side suggest that the participants’ treatment can be connected to the invitation to intimacy. In addition, as the first declination or resistance could be turned into the acceptance, the listener’s laughter can be negotiated through the participants’ ongoing interaction.

The general organisation of laughter as considered above enables me to look at patterns in the listener’s laughter at the micro-level of conversational routine. Furthermore, it allows me to consider laughter at the macro-level as well. As I discussed in the above section, laughter is quite likely to appear in joking, talking about jokes and “jokes-telling” (Sacks 1974) — all of which can be related to the listener’s laughter. Sacks divides such joke-telling structures into three parts: preface, telling and response. He then reveals how the teller and the listener achieve a mutual interaction in each part, and subsequently creates a more complete picture of the joke-telling. He suggests that laughter could be one of the appropriate reactions to the teller’s joke-telling, and that it is likely to appear in the response sequence after the teller’s completion of the joke. This indicates that the listener’s laughter can be closely associated with the whole structure of discourse, or in this case with the joke-telling itself. For instance, when the listener appreciates the teller’s joke, the response sequence may then simply consist of laughter. If the listener does not support the joke, then another extending sequence might appear. In short, the listener’s laughter as a response may play an essential role in creating the whole structure of the discourse. In addition, Holt (2010) reveals that laughter can

5 Sacks (1974; 1992) suggests that the structure of joke-telling can be applied to that of story-telling in general.
contribute towards as a topic transition. The detail of such overall structures will be illustrated in Chapter 4.

The organisation of laughter in this section involves two sides: micro-levels of conversational routine and macro-levels of discourse. The organisation at the micro level involves patterns of laughter, the speaker’s invitation and specific responses. Likewise, the functions of laughter as discussed in the earlier section also involve this micro-level routine. Those patterns and functions of laughter can suggest how the speaker and the listener achieve their mutual engagement, or how they achieve a co-production of conversation through laughter. In addition, laughter can be related to the macro-level discourse, e.g. through joke-telling. It is significant to look at the role of laughter in relation to creating the whole discourse at a macro-level. All of the literature discussed here include the listener’s role, and suggest that listenership in dealing with laughter should be considered at these two levels.

3.5 Laughter and Social Organisation

Based on these discussions concerning patterns and functions of laughter at the micro-level of conversational routines and in relation to the macro-levels of discourse, I will now relate the listener’s laughter to social contexts. I mentioned in the last section that the functions of laughter primarily involve affiliation and disaffiliation. I shall argue that such contrasting functions are connected to interpersonal relationships (such as politeness and face issues) and that they are built on social variables, solidarity and power.

3.5.1 Politeness

This section deals with how the above functions and patterns of laughter can connect with politeness issues. Pioneering works successfully address various strategies and principles in dealing with politeness phenomena in general (Grice, 1975; Lakoff, 1975; Leech, 1983; Brown and Levinson, 1987, and etc.). The universality involved in these studies, however, has been controversial among scholars who focus on non-western
cultures (Hill et al., 1986; Ide, 1989; Matsumoto, 1988; Gu, 1990; Mao, 1994). Since this thesis aims to explore laughter as part of listenership in general (though dealing with Japanese perspectives as well), I shall concentrate on discovering associations between laughter and politeness by mentioning various strategies, principles and perspectives involved in politeness, rather than by developing the argument between western and non-western perspectives.

In its consideration of interpersonal relationships, this study generally draws on the notion of face as a positive social value that a person claims for himself — especially by the ‘line’ others assume he/she has taken during a particular contact (Goffman, 1967: 5). Goffman’s face basically lies in “any ritually organized system of social activity” (Goffman, 1967: 12). He argues that face can be saved, threatened, or sometimes lost in the course of people’s interactions. In relation to this notion, I will review other politeness theories and issues in this section, and relate them to laughter in the listener’s role.

Lakoff (1975), Leech (1983) and Brown and Levinson (1987) formulate their own politeness theory. Lakoff (1975: 65) can be regarded as a pioneer, who proposed the Rules of Politeness. This publication consists of three rules: Formality (keeping a distance), Deference (giving options), and Camaraderie (showing sympathy). Lakoff regards the first rule as the most important, pursuing indirectness in accordance with a formal conversation setting (e.g. the use of a passive expression in academic thesis writing, using ‘one’ instead of ‘you’ and ‘I’). The second rule suggests that how to behave can be dependent on the addressee’s treatment (e.g. tag questions, hedges and euphemisms). The third rule intends to shorten the mental distance between the conversational participants on the basis of their equal relationship. Although these three rules shed light on indirectness in communication, it is true that the definitions of politeness can vary across cultures. For instance, Europeans seem to prefer Formality, Asians tend to prefer Deference strategies, and modern Americans tend to prefer Camaraderie (Eelen, 2001).
Leech’s Politeness Principle (PP) (Leech, 1983: 132) relies heavily on Grice’s Cooperative Principle that consists of four maxims (CP) (1975). Leech discusses how PP and CP are closely connected with one another. While a speaker wants to ask a favour straightforwardly on the basis of CP, PP can be in effect at the same time, indicating that he/she prefers not to impose anything on his/her addressee. In this sense, PP provides a reason why a maxim in CP is violated in daily conversations. PP constitutes six maxims and sub-maxims: Tact, Generosity, Approbation, Modesty, Agreement and Sympathy. Leech argues, “[n]ot all of the maxims and sub-maxims are equally important” (Leech, 1983: 133). For instance, the Tact maxim seems more prominent than that of Generosity, in that there should be a more powerful constraint in conversational behaviour in the Tact maxim. Since politeness should focus on the other more than the self, two of the sub-maxims in each maxim show a preference. For example, the sub-maxim “Minimize cost to others” should be more prominent than the directive to “Maximize benefit to others” as it appears in the Tact maxim. In addition, Leech mentions that the addressees should be more significant in politeness behaviours than the third party. Leech’s principle can provide a wide range of motivations for polite manifestations. At the same time, the close relationship between CP and PP demonstrates a controversy in conversations; a preference for informative communication (CP) could result in a lack of consideration for others (PP), and vice versa.

Motivated by Goffman’s face (1967), Brown and Levinson (1987) expand the notion in order to grasp the politeness phenomenon and regard face as “the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself, consisting in two related aspects” (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 61). Brown and Levinson place significance on rationality and face as central themes in face-saving work. Rationality involves a reasoning or logic; face consists of two contrastive aspects: positive (the desire of every member that his ‘desires’ be of interest to at least a few others) and negative (the desire of every ‘competent adult member’ that his actions should be unimpeded by others). Under such central themes, the participant’s actions sometimes threaten the other or his/her own face via what are called face-threatening acts (FTAs), which are regarded as pivotal in their politeness theory (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 60). The assessment or seriousness
of FTAs involves three factors according to each cultural practice: social distance, relative power and absolute ranking. Given these descriptions, Brown and Levinson propose various strategies and the universality of face, “assuming that the mutual knowledge of members’ public self-image or face, and the social necessity to orient oneself to it in interaction, are universal” (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 62).

In order to achieve a co-production of conversation made by participatory actions between speaking and listening, these politeness principles, maxims, and strategies show that interaction is a mutual engagement held by both the speaker and listener. They also suggest that interaction can involve laughter as part of listenership and its functions. As discussed in the last chapter, the main functions of laughter are affiliation or bonding (through joking, self-denigration, and teasing) and disaffiliation or biting (through distancing or teasing) (Boxer and Cortés-Conde, 1997). These functions can be related to politeness as expressed in Brown and Levinson’s theory. The affiliative or bonding function can be related to positive politeness because such a function is able to enhance the listener’s positive face, whilst the latter disaffiliative or distancing function can be associated with negative politeness since the function directs one to the listener’s negative face, or else causes the speaker to protect his/her own face. As negative politeness is connected with FTAs, the biting claimed by Boxer and Cortés-Conde (1997) may result in performing FTAs towards the listener. Although teasing can sometimes express the bonding, it may also increase the listener’s vulnerability and thereby result in a biting communication. As I suggested, laughter in relation to listenership behaviour can thus be associated with the affiliative or bonding function and with positive politeness. Brown and Levinson’s positive face strategies, “Seek agreement”, “Avoid disagreement”, and “Assert common ground”, play a role in bringing about positive effects on a listener in conversation. Likewise, Leech’s maxims and sub-maxims such as tact, generosity, approbation, agreement and sympathy can be equivalent to the detailed functions of the listener’s laughter when dealing with such affiliation or bonding. In addition, such maxims enable the speaker to have a positive effect on the listener, as described in such maxims as “Minimize cost to others” and “Maximize benefit to others”. These maxims show that the speaker should lessen any negative effect the conversation might have on the listener. Such maxims support the
fact that it is essential to draw attention not only to the self but also even more importantly to the other. Furthermore, they suggest that the ratified and addressed listener is more important than the third party. In addition, the camaraderie rule in Lakoff’s rules of politeness (1975) can also be connected with the listener’s laughter. This rule has an affiliative or bonding function because it shortens the mental distance between the participants.

Contrary to the above affiliative or bonding functions and positive politeness ideas, the speaker’s laughter in a context of trouble management may possibly relate to negative politeness. In troubles-telling (Jefferson, 1984b), the speaker will express trouble through laughter in order to display self-control. The “hollow laugh” (Goffman, 1956) may protect the speaker’s face because it hides embarrassment. In a specific conversational setting such as exists in the Finnish doctor and patient interaction (Haakana, 2001), or in the Italian service encounters (Gavioli, 1995), the self-control laughter appears as described above. Haakana showed that the patient laughed in order to deal with his/her problem, and that the doctor’s laughter was likely to be absent in response to the patient. In the bookshop encounter, Gavioli reported that the shop worker laughed in order to deal with his/her problem when a customer asked him/her a to produce a book that the bookshop did not have. Such self-control laughter is used not for the other but for protecting the user’s negative face and for resolving problems or embarrassment; this can be connected to Brown and Levinson’s negative politeness strategy. Previous studies suggest that laughter in trouble can also relate to face issues, in particular to saving the speaker’s own face in a negative politeness strategy.

Politeness can also be affected by the listener’s response to the speaker’s laughter. One of the cases considered is the listener’s response to the speaker’s invitation of laughter (Jefferson, 1979). As described in the organisation of laughter, Jefferson showed that the listener’s response either through acceptance (laughing) or declination (non-laughing) followed in response to the speaker’s invitation of laughter. Such patterns of the listener’s response may be connected with the functional aspect in relation to politeness. For example, the declination can indicate that the listener ‘disattends’ the speaker’s
laughing, and may possibly bring about a lack of support for the speaker. This functional aspect may possibly relate to a FTA towards the speaker. On the other hand, in her discussion of laughter in troubles-telling, Jefferson (1984b) showed that the listener’s absence of laughter following the speaker’s laughter offered another way of expressing self-control. Laughter can thus be irrelevant for the invitation that exists in troubles-telling. In this case, the listener’s non-laughter can be an appropriate response that is unrelated to his/her FTAs towards the speaker. Drew’s analysis of “po-faced response” (1987) following the speaker’s teasing suggests that the speaker might perform FTAs towards the listener and that the result would be expressed through a po-faced response. As I suggested, laughter involves sensitivity in accordance with the conversational and social contexts. Within such a conversational context, these ‘possible’ examples indicate that there may be a link between laughter and politeness in relation to listenership.

Since this study deals with Japanese aspects by dealing with Japanese interaction, the non-western perspectives on politeness are considered in reference to the relationship between laughter and politeness. First, the basic argument of the non-western perspectives is described. I will then pursue the relationship between politeness and laughter.

Universality in all of the above, particularly in Brown and Levinson’s theory, has been controversial, especially among researchers from non-western cultures, e.g. Japanese and Chinese societies (Hill et al., 1986; Ide, 1989; Matsumoto, 1988; 1989; Gu, 1990; Mao, 1994). They argue that it is difficult for them to accept the division of face into two aspects, and that the weight given to negative politeness (the freedom to act and the avoidance of imposition on the freedom to act) relates to the focus on individualism in western society. Matsumoto (1989: 404) claims that the most important aspect in the Japanese community is not dependent on the freedom to act, but relies on the relationship between one’s position and that of others in his/her social group. She argues, “[A] Japanese generally must understand where s/he stands in relation to other members of the group or society, and must acknowledge his/her dependence on others. Acknowledgement and maintenance of the relative position of others, rather than
preservation of an individual’s proper territory, governs all social interaction” (Matsumoto, 1989: 405). In contrast to the individualistic concept in western society, her argument indicates that Japanese society closely involves the contrastive concept of being ‘group-oriented’ between out-group (‘soto’) and in-group (‘uchi’). Such a viewpoint of face matters can be embedded in the Japanese linguistic system, e.g. the display of deference through the use of formal forms, honorifics. In her claim of this use of formal forms, Ide points out that it is closely bound with “the speaker’s observation of the social conventions of the society of which he or she is a member” (Ide, 1989: 230). Hence the practice of polite forms in accordance with the social conventions is called discernment (‘wakimae’) in her term. Discernment aims to display “verbally and non-verbally one’s sense of place or role in a given situation according to social conventions” (Ide, 1989: 230). When it comes to group membership, role structures and situational constraints, a great deal of emphasis is placed on behaviour with discernment (Ide, 1989: 241). This claim lies in the fact that the use of formal forms (carefully discerned) are used even when the speaker or listener’s face is irrelevant in the ongoing interaction. Relationships are somewhat obligatory thanks to social conventions. Brown and Levinson’s theory presumes the speaker’s own intention or strategy to show his/her humbleness and to avoid threatening listeners. Those cross-cultural perspectives reflect the fact that Brown and Levinson’s theory highlights the different conceptions between western and non-western cultural practices.  

The distinction between in-group and out-group social structures (particularly as motivated by social conventions) can be connected with the association between laughter and politeness. This connection can also be considered in relation to Japanese

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6 In addition to the emphasis on social conventions, some researchers employ empirical data in order to place a great deal of importance on a speaker’s own perspective (Okamoto, 1995; 1997; Pizziconi, 2003). They claim that the use of formal forms does not always indicate reliance on social conventions but on an individual speaker’s personal choice – especially his/her choice to employ unusual as well as generic forms. In addition to such a cross-cultural controversy, the two aspects of face and universality are debated in relation to their psychological treatment (Fraser, 1990; Watts et al., 1992). Brown and Levinson assume face as a concept that relates to the emotions and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced at a psychological level. It might be difficult to use those psychological interpretations, however, to grasp the participants’ activity embedded within the social ritual. On the other hand, Goffman assumes that both face and social orientation are given in discursive interactions. Hence, when comparing Goffman’s view to more social orientations, it would seem the psychological focus on face has been the subject of controversy among researchers.
communicative practice as described in Chapter 2. Yamada (1997) explains that Japanese communication is based on “Others-Centered Interdependence through distanced and implicit communication” (Yamada, 1997: 21). She suggests that such aspects of Japanese practice are especially significant for group members (Yamada, 1997: 18). This suggests a strong relationship between group-orientation and communicational practice in Japanese. Moreover, the literature suggests that the “Others-Centered” aspect of Japanese conversational practice is related to “the listener-based mode of Japanese communication” expressed through such conversational practice as listener “guesswork” (Yamada, 1997: 38). Such communicational practice and group-orientation in Japanese can be related to laughter functions as described earlier in this chapter. Affiliation and disaffiliation, and bonding and distancing in conversational joking, are closely related to group orientation. The affiliative or bonding function can enhance in-group bonding, while the disaffiliative or distancing function is likely to be associated with out-group power relations. As I mentioned, the relationship between the contrastive function and these social aspects can be connected to laughter. This relationship can be considered with the above Japanese communicational practice and with politeness.

3.5.2 Social Variables

As I described above, politeness issues quite often relate to social variables such as power and solidarity. I here address how these social variables influence laughter, with specific reference to the functions and structures of laughter that are a part of listenership. Following the basic definition of power and solidarity, this section provides a discussion of the association between these social variables and the listener’s laughter.

Firstly, power and solidarity are created and expressed in relation to social structures in discourse. Power relates to “the respects in which relationships are asymmetrical, with one person able to control the other, while solidarity relates to “the relatively symmetrical aspects of human relationships” (Johnstone, 2002: 112). Solidarity can be regarded as the counterpart of power in “the context of mutual orientation to shared knowledge, membership in groups and to show that they are thereby in some senses in
symmetrical relationships with fellow group members” (Johnstone, 2002: 112). In contrast to such symmetrical relationships, social groups may hierarchically involve asymmetrical group-relations of power. Power thus comes with social status, ranging from higher to lower scales (Johnstone, 2002: 112-113). Based on the characterisation of power and solidarity, these social variables are tied to linguistic forms embedded in social contexts. For instance, Brown and Gilman’s (1960) study shows how the T/V phenomena (the distinction between informal, T pronoun forms, and formal, V pronoun forms) as linguistic forms relate to social variables, power and solidarity. Since power parameters associate with certain political or economic situations, degrees of status thus cause inequality in certain situations. In the power relationship, the higher-status person can use the T form to address the lower-status one. Due to his/her higher status, he/she does not have to care for the face of the lower-status person. The lower-status person is expected to use the V form in order to address the higher-status person in order to show the psychological distance between them. The higher-status person may have more flexibility as to whether or not he/she cares for the lower-status individual. On the other hand, solidarity parameters connect with in-group members such as family, colleagues and friends. Solidarity is related to sharing experience and history based on frequent social contacts, and this sharing together can confirm the establishment of solidarity. Solidarity is thus associated with social roles and relative status relationships based on equality or likelihood. The use of T form shows the display of solidarity, while that of V form shows a lack of solidarity. Hence, these findings show a strong connection between linguistic forms and social variables, power and solidarity.

Likewise, these social variables can affect laughter behaviour in accordance with conversational and social contexts. Humour is closely related to laughter activities and reveals certain social structures of power and solidarity. Holmes and Stubb (2003) examine humour (such as conversational joking) in the workplace and illustrate the association between humour and social structures. They suggest that most workplace humour is deeply intertwined with the work context, and that it is related to crafting and maintaining social solidarity in a group. At the same time, they also note that humour is related to the maintenance of control through power relationships in the workplace.
They observe how humour constructs equality between participants, how it establishes common ground among them, and how it diffuses the force of certain directives. For instance, they examine how humour is employed so as to soften criticisms that could come across as threatening, and how it is used to soften insults and challenges such as “jocular abuse”, and “challenges to authority”. Given such observations, they conclude that humour can reveal particular differences in workplace cultures, especially when it comes to understanding certain methods of maintaining power and solidarity in the workplace. In relation to humour, this study also supports the strong association between laughter and social variables — specifically power and solidarity. This is because laughter appears in the production of such humour. Along with the maintenance of power and solidarity, other social variables such as formality and age are deeply embedded in certain social structures, and are associated with laughter. Hayakawa (2003) considers that laughter closely relates to social variables such as intimacy, conversational situations, and age. For instance, when considering laughter in rituals (what she calls “laughter as protocol”) the laughter is closely tied to formality and to the degree of intimacy between the participants. This fact reveals that it is crucial to examine laughter with reference to both social and conversational contexts.

The functions and organisations of laughter can be associated with power and solidarity. The main functions of laughter, affiliation and disaffiliation, and bonding and distancing, are directly related to these two variables. The affiliative or bonding function builds solidarity within groups while the disaffiliative or distancing function establishes power in out-groups. The former function creates solidarity through joking, self-denigration and teasing. The latter function is tied to teasing and power relations. When considering laughter as part of listenership, I highlighted the bonding function because it was more relevant to listenership behaviour. This function operates through backchannelling, acknowledgement, appreciation, camaraderie (Lakoff, 1975), approbation, generosity and sympathy (Leech, 1983). It is thus able to build solidarity. In addition, this function can also occur in the context of trouble management. However, the listener’s laughter may sometimes bring about a disaffiliative or distancing function and result in FTAs. In this sense, the laughter is highly motivated by the ongoing conversational process. In
line with these functions, I also discussed patterns of laughter at the micro-level of conversational routine. The listener’s response activities through laughter (such as acceptance and declination following the speaker’s invitation) are relevant for understanding listenership behaviour. Acceptance may be related to affiliation between the participants, while declination may be related to disaffiliation. These patterns and functions of the listener’s laughter may support the relationship with the speaker in order to achieve a co-production of conversation through laughter. Power and solidarity may also influence the listener’s role and thereby create a co-production. For instance, when the relationship between the speaker and listener involves some inequality in power, such as exists between the higher-status and the lower-status participants, the listener’s response (including functions/patterns of laughter) may be affected by the perceived inequality. As a counterpart to such a power relationship, the solidarity relationship may also affect the listener’s role.

As I further illustrated, laughter can be related to the macro-level of discourse structures. Joke-telling, power and solidarity can also be affected by the listener’s role in such a discourse context. When there is a higher-status speaker talking to a lower-status listener, or vice versa, the listener’s response activity through the patterns/functions of laughter can be affected by the perceived inequality of power, and the degree of solidarity in relationships. These patterns/functions of laughter that are influenced by power and solidarity may also be affected by the structure of the discourse (the listener’s laughter being expected to appear in joke-telling, etc. (Sacks, 1974)). These instances show that power and solidarity can potentially be associated not only with the listener’s laughter behaviour at the micro-level of conversational routine, but also with the relationship between laughter and the whole macro-level discourse structure.

In short, the above argument deals with how social variables could influence laughter as a contribution of listenership. I discuss the association between the listener’s laughter and social variables (power and solidarity) in order to consider implications for micro-level conversational routines and macro-level discourse structures.
3.6 Summary

This chapter reviewed laughter research from a traditional perspective, considering the causes of laughter as previously understood through to more recent studies focusing on mutual interaction and sequential organisation. This organisation ranged from the micro-levels of conversational routine to the macro-levels of discourse structure, and included an examination of higher-level social contexts.

These reviews were discussed in relation to my discussion in Chapter 2 of the listener’s role. Although all of these studies consider the listener’s role and laughter as distinct areas of research, there are relatively few studies concerning the relationship between them. In order to deal with this relationship, my study will now determine a methodology that is closely connected with the forthcoming analysis.
Chapter 4
Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I shall state my research objectives/questions, describe the process of data collection and explain the analytical methods I will use throughout my project.

I will first state my research questions in reference to my overall research aims and in reference to the literature that I considered in earlier chapters (4.2). I will then present the data that I used (4.3). This includes a presentation of information that accounts for the motivations behind the data, the organisation of data, the participants, the process of data collection, and the transcriptions. I will then consider the qualitative and quantitative methods used throughout the study (4.4). The qualitative method discerns the role of the listener and examines specific patterns and functions of laughter as they occur at both the micro-level of conversational routines and in relation to the macro-structure of the story-telling. The quantitative method analyses the relationship between laughter patterns/functions, and a number of interaction types.

4.2 Research Objectives

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, my overall aim in this thesis is to analyse laughter as it contributes to listenership in Japanese conversational interaction. I shall examine laughter from three different angles, looking at it in relation to the micro-level of conversational routine, in relation to the macro-structure of the discourse, and in relation to the more general social context. My specific aims are:
1. to explore patterns and functions of laughter as part of listenership behaviours in Japanese conversational interactions;
2. to investigate the way in which these patterns/functions relate to the macro-structure of discourse;
3. to quantitatively examine these patterns/functions in relation to a number of different interaction types.

The literature reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3 investigates conversational and social contexts in order to address the role of the listener and the role of laughter as distinct areas of research. Despite significant contributions in these studies, there have been relatively few investigations concerning the association between listenership behaviour and laughter in conversational interaction. In order to fill this research gap, this thesis explores the three research aims that are described above.

I shall uncover patterns and functions of laughter in response to the speaker’s production by focusing on two discursive contexts: a non-problematic context and a problematic/awkward context. I shall then examine how these patterns and functions link up to phases in the macro-structure of the surprise story-telling. The structure of the surprise story-telling is divided into three phases, including the relationship between the patterns/functions of laughter discovered and the phases considered. In order to broaden this association into social contexts, I shall lastly examine the frequency of the patterns/functions in surprise story-telling by comparing the interaction type (higher-status teller telling lower-status listener vs. lower-status teller telling higher-status listener) with the other one (the non-solidary or solidary relationship).
Based on the specific aims, my research questions are as follows:

In Japanese interaction:

**Laughter at the micro-level of conversational routines**

1. What kind of patterns and functions emerge when the listener’s laughter is offered in response to the ongoing conversational context?
2. What kind of patterns and functions does the listener’s laughter have when a (possible) problematic context appears?

**Laughter at the macro-structure of discourse**

3. How do the laughter patterns and functions (as described in the micro-analysis) relate to the macro-structure of the surprise story-telling?

**Laughter and social organisation**

4. How are the laughter patterns and functions affected by the social relationship (e.g. power vs. solidarity) between/among participants?

Through these research questions, I shall investigate the listener’s specific patterns and functions of laughter by drawing on various kinds of techniques in Discourse Analysis (DA) and by identifying specific contributions of listenership expressed through laughter.

Contrary to the speaker-centered research, some of the research (e.g. Goodwin, 1986; Tannen, 1989; Gardner, 2001) as I described in the literature review has successfully addressed the importance of the listener’s active role in conversational interaction. In order to show listenership, the above literature suggests that the listener employs certain signals through vocal/verbal, non-vocal/non-verbal and vocal/non-verbal features such as verbal backchannelling, nodding, smiling and laughter in response to the speaker’s contribution. The study then explains that these signals fulfill communicative functions such as backchannelling, acknowledging, appreciating, understanding, supporting and the like. It shows that those signals and functions play a role in achieving a co-production in conversation as a whole. In short, the literature shows that these steps constitute the pivotal aspects of listenership seen as an interactional object.
Moreover, the previous studies of laughter shift their focus from its causes (Schopenhauer, 1886; Kant, 1790/2000; Flugel, 1954; Koestler, 1964 and etc.) to its patterns and functions in mutual interaction (Jefferson, 1979; 2004; 2010; Glenn, 2003; 2010; Gavioli, 1995; Haakana, 2001; 2010; Holt, 2010; Partington, 2006; Holmes and Stubb, 2003; Boxer and Cortés-Conde, 1997 and etc.). Various kinds of approaches in DA provide us with the fact that these functions and patterns were undertaken. In particular, the pattern of invitation and responsive laughter occurs in general. The function of laughter can be connected to certain social contexts. The function of in-group bonding in conversational joking (including self-deprecatations) also links up to affiliation. Such a function enables participants to enhance solidarity in their relationships. On the other hand, laughter in teasing might involve both group bonding and distancing. The latter distancing function might be raised in disaffiliation. Such a function might be connected with unequal power relations or differences. The findings achieved by the literature suggest that by regarding laughter as an interactional object, the patterns of laughter play a role in accomplishing a co-production in conversation and that the functions are tightly connected to both conversational and social contexts.

In order to develop all of the contributions addressed by the previous literature, this thesis investigates the association between listenership and laughter, and thus explores the four research questions listed above. The first and second research questions explore how listenership behaviours can be related to these patterns and functions of laughter at the micro-level of conversational routines. In order to connect this micro-level of analysis to the macro-structure of discourse, I shall pursue the association between those patterns and functions and the story-telling. I shall then demonstrate how laughter — as an essential part of listenership contribution — is embedded in such a macro-structure, and how the listener’s laughter plays a role in creating the story. The last question will deal with how these associations can go on to other social contexts including social variables (power and solidarity) and interpersonal relationships (politeness and face), by quantitatively comparing different interaction types as described in the above objectives.
In order to explore these research questions, the next section will consider data collection.

4.3 Data

In this section I shall describe the procedures I followed in order to collect the present data. I will describe the organisation of data, as well as specific motivations behind the collection of the data, the choice of participants, the process of data collection, and the transcription of the data collected.

4.3.1 Organisation of the Corpus

Since the corpus used in this research was available before my research began, I will start by detailing the various characteristics of that data. The characteristics are twofold: they concern both the overall organisation of the corpus and the particular portion of the corpus data that I used. These characteristics motivate my research by highlighting my specific research objectives, questions and methodology (I will present a more specific picture later in the section).

The data used in this research is part of the corpus of data collected throughout the research project. I shall first provide a general description of this corpus, and I will then mention a particular part of the data that I used in my thesis. Firstly, the corpus data is called “Mr. O Corpus”.7 “Mr. O Corpus” is a cross-linguistic video corpus collected for the project entitled “Empirical and Theoretical Studies on Culture, Interaction, and Language in Asia” under a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japanese Academy for the Promotion of Science (No. 15320054, directed by Sachiko Ide at Japan Women’s University). The main purpose of collecting this corpus is to obtain cross-culturally comparative and interactional data from the English language and from languages in Asia — in order to better compare them and to consider relevant cultural

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7 This name derives from the book, “Mr. O” written by Lewis Trondheim. This data is connected to this book; details will be explained when I describe the kinds of data.
and social practices. The subjects of the Mister O corpus are female teachers and students. In order to observe common sense ideas about the social world and language, the project prepares two dyads: one is a close and symmetrical dyad (student-student pairs), and the other is a distant and asymmetrical dyad (teacher-student pairs). The languages used are Japanese, English, Korean, Chinese and Arabic. The data was collected at Tokyo, Japan in 2004 and 2007, and in Libya in 2008 (this was recorded on DVD). Mister O corpus consists of three kinds of data: Task, Narrative and Conversation. My thesis considers one type of data, Conversation (in Japanese). The following offers a few more details.

I use 135 minutes of a videotaped corpus including conversations held by 23 dyads of Japanese women. Data collection occurred at Japan Women’s University in Tokyo, 2004. Two types of dyads held conversation: two university students who were friends (11 couples) and a teacher and a university student who had never previously met (12 couples). The participants spoke for 5 to 15 minutes about surprises in their daily life. The project members chose a surprise because they realised it might be possible to look at various aspects of ‘natural’ conversations through the topic — primarily because telling a surprise to somebody is something that would happen quite commonly in daily conversation. However as the project set up the particular situations of the context: “telling a surprise”, I quite recognise that they were conversations recorded in an

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8 The Japanese data will be open to the public and available through the National Institute of Information (NII) in the near future.
9 First, in Task data, each pair arranges 15 picture cards and makes a coherent story. They were told to make a coherent story by arranging the fifteen pictures, but they were also told that there is no “correct” story. There are two sets of fifteen cards. In Story 1, Mr. O tries to get across a cliff with the help of a bigger guy but the bigger guy jumps off of him to the other side of the cliff. Mr. O tries to do the same thing with a smaller guy but ends up crushing him instead. In Story 2, Mr. O tries to get across a cliff by using a stick. He succeeds in the second attempt but becomes stuck on an island. One story was assigned to each pair. Second, in Narrative data, each participant tells the story created in the first task. Here, the participants were asked to tell the story to the experimenter one by one. Lastly, in Conversation data, each pair talks about the topic, “what were you most surprised at?” So far, the data was collected from 26 Japanese, 22 American, 20 Korean, 2 Arabic and 4 Chinese pairs.
10 Only two types (J1 and J2) were recorded for 15 minutes.
11 However, one difference between the telling of a surprise in this experiment and the telling of a surprise in daily conversation lies in the fact that in this experiment participants have to negotiate which person will play the role of the teller. Such a negotiation might slightly be unrelated in daily conversation. I will explore this concept in more detail in Chapter 6 (laughter in relation to the macro-structure of discourse).
experimental situation.

This research regards the surprise story-telling involved in the corpus as a type of genre, the kind of speech event in Hyme’s SPEAKING (1972) model. Genre is defined as “the set of purpose-determined conventions in accordance with which the discourse proceeds on a particular occasion” (Trappes-Lomax, 2004: 147). It involves several aspects such as the staged patterning of the discourse, typical topics, and features of register (Trappes-Lomax, 2004). Based on aspects of the norms for communication mentioned in Ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1974), the eight components of verbal, nonverbal, and social interactions (setting and scene, participants, ends, act sequences, key, instrumentalities, norms of interpretation, and genre) suggest that community members need to speak in accordance with their cultural and social contexts. In dealing with the corpus that I used, the generic discourse type is specified as surprise story-telling and is most likely to occur in daily conversation. The speaker tells co-participants (listeners) about a surprising experience. The co-participants may respond to the story positively or negatively. They may then start talking about their own surprise experience. This type of conversation, the surprise story-telling can be connected to the genre in that the surprise story-telling is also embedded in the community members’ cultural and social contexts closely connected to their daily life.

The participants in the corpus of the data presented surprise stories that happened in their daily life. There were 83 total surprise stories in 23 dyads (table 4.1) (35 stories in the teacher and student dyads plus 48 stories in the student and student dyads). The number of surprise stories in each dyad differed from 1 story to 8 stories. Although the order of presenting a story depended on each dyad, it was normal for the pair to tell the story one after the other. If one participant lacked a story, however, then the other one sometimes kept going with another story.
Table 4.1  Distribution of surprise stories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Student</th>
<th>T+S</th>
<th></th>
<th>StudentR</th>
<th>StudentL</th>
<th>R+L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J01</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>J02</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J03</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>J04</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J06</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>J07</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J08</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>J09</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>J11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>J13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>J16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>J17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>J18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>J22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned above, the data was pre-available and my specific objectives were in part determined by the nature of this data. In the next section, I will state several motivations for using this corpus.

4.3.2  Motivation

As described in the literature review on Chapters 2 and 3, the association between listenership and laughter has rarely been explored despite of the contributions of the distinctive study of each area, and this study will concentrate on such an exploration. Laughter as the display of listenership may cover broad areas from the micro-level of conversational routines to the macro-structure of discourse and the social structure. Such perspectives may relate to the use of the current corpus. I shall now mention several reasons why I decided to use this corpus; several advantages that came with observing this particular type of interaction; several details concerning the surprise story-telling; and a bit about the overall nature of the experimental data. As I mentioned

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12 The primary distinction between R and L in the student dyad is that R is the person who sat on the right side in the video recording, while L is the person who sat on the left.
above, the data used in this research is part of the corpus of data collected through the research project. I joined the project including this data-collection as a research assistant in 2004. During that time, I had an opportunity to access this data. Because I was working on the data recording, I could directly recognise how the process of data collection went, how the recording atmosphere was, and how conversations between Japanese participants most naturally occurred during recording.

There are several reasons why I decided to use the data from this project. Firstly, I needed a large amount of data in order to deal with the listener’s laughter activities on the basis of spoken interactions. This large corpus of data permitted me to consider many examples of the listener’s laughter activities as they happened in conversational interaction. Secondly, I wanted to look at laughter activities in terms of social variables, as well as in terms of general patterns and functions. The data enabled me to look at the relationship between laughter and social variables such as solidarity and power. I did this by comparing two types of dyads at the university level (teacher and student/student and student) and two types of participant (teachers and students). I could consider many cases of laughter and the listener by comparing these different interaction types under such conditions. In addition, I was able to control other conditions such as gender and the age of the participants; I was also able to compare many interactions under the same condition. In this data, the gender focus is female and the generational focus concentrates on both the younger generation (twenties) and the middle generation (thirties to forties). Thirdly, the data collection subscribed to the conventions for task-based research. Because participants spoke on one common topic, ‘a surprise in daily life’, it was possible to identify both specific and general patterns as they appeared in the surprise story-telling. However, I recognise that such conversations, “telling a surprise” were collected under an experimental setting. Under this recognition, I have decided to use this corpus data as the current corpus seemed convenient for me to look at my interest on the relationship between listership and laughter.

There are a couple of reasons why I chose this particular type of interaction. Because the project needed to set up 5-15 minute-conversations for each dyad (including 26 dyads in total), there was some concern for those situations when participants had no
conversation during the recording for lack of anything to speak about. The participants might be silent during the recordings. Even though the data would be recorded in this circumstance, it was possible that there would not be any substantial talk. In order to avoid such a circumstance, the project determined to give participants a common and daily topic so that they could easily develop their conversations based on their daily experience. A topic should thus have been a general and familiar topic that everybody was likely to experience, that occurred frequently, that could be easily discovered, and that happened in daily life. A joke would not have worked because it would have been unlikely for each participant to have had the same experience. Based on these conditions, the project assumed that a surprise story was appropriate.

In addition, as a native speaker of Japanese, I felt that conversations by each dyad were quite naturally communicated even though the data was partly related to a controlled setting. Since I worked to record this data as a research assistant, I observed how the data was processed and how the conversation in each dyad proceeded. I could see for myself that the conversation style of the participants when recording seemed similar to the conversation style of Japanese daily interaction. Because laughter also seemed to occur quite naturally in each conversation, I thought it might be possible to examine certain functions of laughter by observing the large body of data that was taken under the above controlled conditions.

Since my qualitative analysis partly involved a conversational analytic approach (in a restricted way), it might also be suitable to here compare the controlled data that is used in this study with, the “naturally occurring conversation or interaction” (Heritage, 1984b; Tannen, 1989). The naturally occurring interaction that is emphasised in Conversation Analysis (CA) should purely constitute the interaction that has been recorded and transcribed (Schenkein, 1972: 1). The data of Conversation Analysis is not elicited but drawn from actual interactions occurring in their natural environments (Schenkein, 1972: 2). The data based on these naturally occurring interactions is characterised by “actual conversational exchanges” (Schenkein, 1972: 2). In contrast, experimentally produced data may slightly lack this ‘actual’ aspect as it reflects on the naturally occurring interaction. For instance, it might not be necessary to decide which
participant will start telling a surprise story in a natural occurring interaction. Dyads may decide who will talk first before they begin, or they may negotiate the talking order if/when one of them lacks a surprise. However, this large body of corpus data also enables me to look at many distinctive and shared (common) cases of laughter through many dyad-conversations that took place under the same conditions: especially in relation to the different status in power relationships (higher/lower status); the different social roles (teacher/student); and the different degree of solidary relationships (non-solidary/solidary). Through such a large body of the data, it would be possible to consider a more comprehensive picture of the relationship between language use and social structuring.¹³

In order to investigate the surprise story-telling by focusing on laughter, it is beneficial to consider a large number of examples. Trappes-Lomax mentions that “[n]either can be described simply on the basis of single instances analyzed qualitatively. Sufficient samples of representative data are needed, and many different features of these samples and associations between the features [...] will be subjected to scrutiny (Trappes-Lomax, 2004: 149). Following this, he suggests that corpus data is useful. In my case, it would be quite advantageous to consider the present corpus data (including many samples of the surprise story-telling) in order to examine different features of laughter and the associations that exist between those features. After the teller tells a surprise story, the listener might be expected to offer some reaction or comment. In such a moment, it may be beneficial to look at a listener’s reaction or comment in order to consider the listener’s role. In addition, when a surprise story is told, the story may include some laughable, or some funny element. The listener’s reaction or comment could be motivated by these elements. When the surprise story is primed by a laughable element, laughter could be an expected reaction to the story, and thus play a role in eliciting the listener’s reaction. This may also suggest a rather mechanic relationship where laughter is ‘caused’ by the presence of these elements.

¹³ This does not mean that naturally occurring interactional data could not also look at this relationship.
Moreover, this type of interaction can meet an essential facet of DA, which is “to show how micro-level social actions realise and give local form to macro-level social structures” (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999: 12). Surprise story-telling can cover everything from micro-level conversational routines (reflected in the mundane experiences recalled by the participants) to macro-level discourses and social structures. My first research objective, examining the patterns and functions of laughter, is related to the micro-level of analysis that deals with the mutual exchange between the teller and the listener through laughter. In particular, this examination is linked up to the patterns and functions in order to achieve a co-production of making a surprise story. The functional model of language is necessary in DA (Trappes-Lomax, 2004: 146). Such a model can present “how the resources of the language system are organized to meet the needs of ‘whos’ and ‘whats’ (context-function) in actual communication” (Trappes-Lomax, 2004: 146). My research objectives also involve such a connection through laughter activities, namely by dealing with the functions that are reflected in internal conversation routines (research objective 1), in the surprise story-telling and in certain social structures (research objectives 2 and 3). The second objective is thus to pursue the association between those patterns/functions and the whole discourse that exists at the macro-level of the surprise story-telling. The third objective is to then show those relationships in relation to different interactions that influence/or cause a co-production of laughter in a surprise story.

As I described above, DA ranges from an analysis of micro-level of characteristics of communication to an analysis of broader social characteristics (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999: 13). This ‘layered’ analysis seems pivotal for my research objectives in this study. In order to explore laughter as a primary contribution of listenership behaviour in Japanese conversational interaction, I need three layered analyses: laughter at the micro-level of conversational routine, laughter in the macro-structure of surprise story-telling, and laughter that is relevant to social engagement. The data used will enable me to pursue these layered examinations. For all of these reasons, the nature of this corpus data will be suitable for pursuing the current research focus.
4.3.3 Participants

All of the participants were native Japanese speakers who lived around Tokyo and who belonged to universities in Tokyo. The participants who acted as teachers were either lecturers or assistant lecturers at the university, and their ages ranged from the thirties to the fourties. Student participants came from the departments of English, Japanese and Mathematics, and were enrolled in their third to fourth year of university. Their ages were the early twenties. Teachers and students who interacted with one another in these couples were doing so for the first time, whereas students tended to know one other already (when this was the case, participants had known each other for no more than seven years). Most of the student participants knew their co-participants because they had taken the same classes in the same departments, or because they had attended the same high schools.

4.3.4 Process of Data Collection

I shall now describe the data collection process. There are three parts to this process: consisting in the circumstances before data recording, the circumstances in the middle of data recording, and the circumstances after the recording is complete.

Firstly, the participants receive a brief explanation of the experiment before starting the recording (about five minutes before). This tells them what to do as research participants in the experiment. At this stage, the participants also receive the task of describing ‘a surprise story in their daily life’. This means that they notice the topic they will talk in the forthcoming recording (about five minutes before). They then move into the recording room.

Secondly, each dyad enters the recording room. They have a seat in front of a video camera and receive instruction to follow directions given by the research assistant. All of the assistants leave the room. The participants are alone and the recording then begins. The members of the project team are standing outside of the recording room and are able to check the recording through a monitor screen (set up outside the room). The
participants can begin speaking whenever they are ready. They then have to speak for 5 minutes.\textsuperscript{14} The assistants enter the room and ask the participants to end the talk after 5 minutes. The recording is then finished.

Thirdly, the participants fill in a questionnaire and sign an informed consent form after the experiment is complete. This marks this end of the process.

4.3.5 Transcription

I transcribed the collected data using Jefferson’s transcript symbols (1985; 2010), modifying some of her laughter features. Although Jefferson’s transcription method expresses laughter through laughter particles (e.g. “hhh”), the present transcription not only employs such laughter particles but also displays the duration of the laughter using bold grey lines. I transcribed conversational fragments using ELAN transcribing software.

Because I am here dealing with Japanese conversations, the presentation of data includes the original Japanese conversation in Italics and a second line showing its free translation in English.

4.4 Data Analysis

I investigated the above research questions using both qualitative and quantitative methods. My qualitative analysis draws on various approaches to Discourse Analysis. In this section I shall explain how such approaches relate to my ensuing data analysis.

4.4.1 Discourse Analysis

As I already mentioned when providing some background for Discourse Analysis (DA), DA can be defined as “the study of language viewed communicatively and/or of

\textsuperscript{14} Two dyads took 15 minute-talk as an exception.
communication viewed linguistically” (Trappes-Lomax, 2004: 134). Linguists illustrate how DA covers broad areas of study — “language beyond the sentence” (Tannen, 1989: 6), and how it examines “language in use” (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999: 3), “language as meaning in interaction” and “language in situational and cultural context[s]” (Trappes-Lomax, 2004: 134). Since DA includes such features as shown above, it also involves various ways and means of undertaking its examination. In line with the previous literature, Trappes-Lomax (2004: 136) shows four ways and their relevant means. The four ways are “rules and principles”, “contexts and cultures”, “functions and structures”, and “power and politics”. “Rules and principles” includes pragmatics and Conversation Analysis (CA). “Contexts and cultures” involves the ethnography of communication and interactional sociolinguistics. “Functions and structures” links with the following perspectives: systemic-functional linguistics (SFL), Birmingham school discourse analysis and text-linguistics. And “power and politics” relates to the following approaches: pragmatic and sociolinguistic approaches to power in language, and critical discourse analysis. In particular, rules and principles are related to pragmatics including politeness theory and CA; contexts and cultures are related to interactional sociolinguistics; functions and structures are linked with the above three means; and power and politics are related to pragmatic and sociolinguistic approaches. All four ways can be quite relevant to my research approaches. The focus in my research is to discover the functions of laughter as listnership contributions. In relation to this focus, the other ways are closely involved in my detailed analysis. I shall first describe the function, and then explains how the other three ways connect to that function.

As a background of my research, functions and structures are connected to “text-friendly models of language” (Trappes-Lomax, 2004: 138) involving Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday, 1978; Halliday and Hasan, 1985; Martin, 1992) and Birmingham school discourse analysis (Sinclair and Couthard, 1975). SFL regards language in the socio-cultural context. In his argument, Halliday (1978) shows that the aim of SFL is “to interpret linguistic processes from the standpoint of the social order” (Trappes-Lomax, 2004: 138). In relation to its association with social order,
SFL also deals with text analysis and genre (Trappes-Lomax, 2004; Martin, 2002). Such functions are considered at both the micro-level of structure and the macro-level of context. Since my focus on laughter relates to dynamic functions including social contexts surrounding the participants, the functions can be concerned with both micro- and macro-level structures. In line with SFL, the latter Birmingham school discourse analysis (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975) based on the classroom discourse reveals the model of the discourse structure, such as in the sequence of “moves” that consists of three actions: an initiating move by the teacher, a responding move by the student, and a feedback move by the teacher. Stubbs (1983) mentions that such a sequence pattern can be applied to conversations. This can also be connected to the surprise story-telling in my study. Initiating a surprise story (by the teller) and responding to the story (by the listener) are actions that can be seen in this sequence of movement. The feedback in my study may reveal further exchanges between the participants that are motivated by the listener’s preceding response. These backgrounds will enable me to consider the functions of laughter in my research more effectively. I have decided to employ another type of theory, however, because these are likely to associate with the classroom discourse and I am dealing with the surprise story-telling (The other type of theory will be explained in the later discussion). As a whole, SFL and Birmingham school discourse analysis show how functions of language in use are pivotal for investigating laughter as listenership. These are beneficial for setting up my data analysis as a background to my research. The functions of laughter deal with a dynamic social context and cover both the micro-level of conversational routine and the macro-level of surprise story-telling. In order to investigate these functional aspects, I also consider rules and principles, and power and politics in my data analysis.

Rules and principles are involved in examining the functions of laughter. As mentioned above, CA and politeness theory in pragmatics can be relevant to my research. These provide us with rules for the ongoing interaction by dealing with the language that is in use. In order to conduct the qualitative analysis, some CA techniques are used in a restricted way by focusing on specific patterns of laughter at the micro-level and the story-telling structure at the macro-level. Some CA techniques may give us “the sequencing rules governing relations between acts” (Trappes-Lomax, 2004: 137). In
terms of seeking rules and principles, politeness theory relates to the concept of face and deals with “acts which are potentially damaging to face, and with the linguistic stratagems used for limiting such damage, when it is unavoidable” (Trappes-Lomax, 2004: 137). Such rules and principles are also significant in order to consider the relationship between laughter and the listener’s role in my research because this relationship can be indirectly connected to the treatment of face and to interpersonal relationships. Trappes-Lomax, however, suggests two differences between CA and pragmatics. The rules in CA are equivalent to “members’ rules” that are meant to express “norms of behaviour, discoverable in the recurring patterns of the action itself, to which members orient in order to manage and make sense of what is going on” (Trappes-Lomax, 2004: 137). Pragmatics, particularly with regard to my focus on politeness, is unrelated. In addition, He notes that CA follows “its insistent empirical concern with the minutiae of the textual data”, while pragmatics is unnecessary in this aspect (Tappes-Lomax, 2004: 137). With all of these similarities and differences, this study relates to CA approaches in order to examine the patterns of laughter in relation to the functions of the listener’s laughter. The study can also involve politeness theory in dealing with the functions of the listener’s laughter. It involves a negotiation of face between the participants, and the creation or maintenance of interpersonal relationships during their mutual engagement. The specific theories in CA and politeness theory will be considered in later sections.

In relation to politeness, power and politics are involved in an investigation of the functions of laughter. The means mentioned above is pragmatic and sociolinguistic approaches. Differences in power (lower versus higher status) are crucially relevant to understanding the relationship between the speaker and the listener in politeness issues. For instance, in Brown and Levinson’s theory (1987), the higher-status speaker is more likely to perform FTAs than the lower-status speaker. Or the lower-status speaker is more likely to use a negative politeness strategy towards the higher-status speaker than the other way round. These examples show the close association between social structures and language usage (Trappes-Lomax, 2004: 139). The social functions of the listener’s laughter can be considered in line with this association because they are relevant to interpersonal relationships. Power and politics will thus be considered when
dealing with the social functions of laughter.

In addition to considering language in use, DA connects language to “social, political and cultural formations” (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999: 3). The linguistic meaning can be associated with various kinds of discursive contexts — ranging from social contexts to characteristic contexts that describe how and when the communicative event took place (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999: 2-3). This interpretation of discourse priorities what is actually done by the participants, rather than what is said. Thus, DA pursues several functional aspects (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999). In order to explore these aspects, textual data such as conversations, interviews, speeches, or various written documents are collected either by recording or by video-recording. Researchers often analyse the structure of conversations, stories and written texts by including non-verbal and verbal performances in their examination. Jaworski and Coupland suggest that one important aspect of DA is “to show how micro-level social actions realise and give local form to macro-level social structures” (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999: 12). This display offers “a way of linking up the analysis of local characteristics of communication to the analysis of broader social characteristics” (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999:13). This connection between micro and macro structures in communication and society relates quite closely to my current analysis. The connection discovers patterns and functions of laughter at the micro-level and then links them to the macro-structure of surprise telling — eventually broadening them to include social structures such as solidarity and power. These DA perspectives inform the present study and permit me to pursue a closer examination of laughter as it relates to listenership behaviour.

4.4.2 Qualitative Analysis

The qualitative analysis is twofold: it addresses the relationship between laughter and listenership at micro-levels of conversational routine and macro-levels of surprise story-telling. The purpose of this analysis is to discover the functions of laughter as a part of listenership in the surprise story-telling. In order to conduct this analysis, I shall deal with the rules and principles of DA. In order to examine the functions of laughter, I
shall first explore various patterns of laughter by using the organisation of laughter (Jefferson, 1979). In line with these patterns of laughter, I shall consider functions of the listener’s laughter at the micro-level of analysis (the first research objective). In order to relate these patterns and functions to the whole structure of surprise story-telling, I shall then draw on the other CA approach such as joke-telling structure (Sacks, 1974) that consists of three sections. In order to look at the detailed functions of these three sections, I will partly refer to narrative structure (Labov, 1972/1999). I will then examine how the above patterns and functions of laughter at the micro-level of conversational routines could be indirectly associated with these structures and functions of the surprise story-telling (the second research objective). Because CA perspectives (the organisation of laughter and joke-telling) can be related to these steps, I will first give a bit of background and consider their relation to my analysis. I will then describe the detail of qualitative analysis.

CA follows *ethnomethodology* (Garfinkel, 1974) focusing research on common-sense reasoning and practical theorising for everyday activities. CA seeks to describe and explicate the various competences that ordinary speakers use and rely on when participating in intelligible, socially organised interaction (Heritage and Atkinson, 1984). As a methodological aim, this analysis is conducted through transcriptions of data that are based on ‘naturally occurring’ interactions. These are either recorded or video-recorded. Conversation analysts reach their findings by demonstrating regular forms of organisation as they appear in a large variety of materials (produced by a wide range of speakers). At the same time, they illustrate how certain regularities are methodically produced and how participants become oriented to them. The primary goal lies in describing the role that particular conversational procedures play in specific interactive activities undertaken by the participants. Furthermore, when seeking to describe this role, CA also provides us with a picture of the procedures as they relate to one another and as they relate to other orders of conversational and social organisation. CA thus pursues “a model for a structural sociology” (Bilmes, 1988: 162).
CA aims to discover regular forms of structure by examining interactional data produced by different speakers. In addition to the discovery of regular forms, CA places some emphasis on analysing deviant cases where “some proposed regular conversational procedure or form is not implemented” (Heritage, 1984b: 244). It is important to understand how both regular and irregular patterns of target activities play important roles in helping to identify the whole picture. Likewise, it can be also beneficial to consider both regular and irregular laughter activities in my research.

The current database might differ from traditional CA in that it is experimentally produced. CA generally emphasises naturalism in data. This data offers artificially stimulated episodes in conversation-like discourse. Despite this, I believe that the data still reflects the diverse features of daily conversation. This is because people ordinarily talk about surprises in their mundane interactions, characterised as the surprise story-telling. Despite such experimental characteristics, participants here did not just describe their surprises systematically as they would in a ‘pure’ experiment. They often digressed from discussing their surprises and dealt instead with other happenings and situations in their ongoing interactions (informally known as ‘chatting’). In addition, my aims in the present research are to consider social factors as well as to clarify general structures of conversation. I am thus pursuing this data in order to fulfill particular aims under the relevant circumstances.

When connecting the goals of CA with my research, particularly in relation to the listener’s laughing activities, there are two primary techniques that I use in my data analysis. First, the general organisation of laughter: the invitation and responses (Jefferson, 1979) is adopted in order to pursue patterns of laughter at the micro-level of conversational routines. I shall examine how the speaker initiates laughter and how the listener reacts or responds to it in the ongoing interaction. Second, in order to relate such micro-level patterns to the macro-level structure of surprise story-telling, my analysis can connect to the joke-telling structure (Sacks, 1974) — primarily because it reflects the general structure of story-telling. Because joke-telling can demonstrate the general characteristics of story-telling, such a story-telling structure can be applicable to
the surprise story-telling. Because this structure deals with the engagement between teller and listener through a co-production of story creation, it may connect the listener’s participation in such a co-production to certain laughter activities. Details of these two techniques will be explained in later discussions. In short, when connecting the goals of CA with my research, particularly in relation to the listener’s laughter response activities, I proceed by linking the micro-structure with the macro-structure of conversational discourse. In examining the patterns of laughter in relation to listenership, the above two kinds of CA techniques may enable me to determine how the patterns of laughter activities are sequentially organised vis-à-vis the participants’ interactions, and also how their conversational procedures play a key role in constructing the macro-level of discourse and social organisation. In relation to these aspects of CA, I will now determine some particular methods in the qualitative analysis.

The qualitative analysis is twofold: it considers the patterns and functions of laughter at the micro-level of conversational routines and their relations to the macro-level of the surprise story-telling as described above. In order to describe these two dimensions, I will discuss my methodological procedures whilst introducing certain analytical concepts that directly relate to the subsequent chapters.

I will now focus on two alternate contexts: non-problematic and problematic. I will explore the listener’s response to these contexts in order to discover specific patterns and functions of laughter. Based on Jefferson’s sequential organisation of laughter (1979), I will pursue specific patterns of laughter in non-problematic contexts. Jefferson’s sequential organisation of laughter consists of three primary dimensions: invitation, acceptance and declination. A general sequence comes about through a pattern wherein the speaker of an utterance invites the listener to laugh and the listener then accepts or declines that invitation (1979: 93). Functions of the listener’s laughter are identified in relation to this invitation and response pattern. Such functions are considered with reference to the contrastive function: group-bonding and group-distancing (Boxer and Cortés-Conde, 1997). On the other hand, focusing on when a deviant context appears, I will demonstrate the patterns and several functions of a listener’s laughter. In sum, I will investigate the listener’s laughter contributions by
discovering such patterns and functions in Chapter 5.

In Chapter 6, I seek to understand the relationship between the patterns/function of laughter and the surprise story-telling. By dividing the surprise story into three phases and focusing on each boundary between phases, Chapter 6 explores the distribution of patterns and functions of laughter in each phase boundary, and aims to link up the micro-leveled patterns and functions of laughter to the macro-level of surprise story-telling. I will reveal how a listener’s laughter can associate with this macro-level of discourse.

I will determine the structure of the surprise story-telling with reference to narrative structure (Labov, 1972/1999; Labov and Waletzky, 1967/2003) and joke-telling (Sacks, 1974). Labov’s narrative structure involves six functions. This bears certain advantages in the sense that it deals with the detailed distinctions between each section in terms of the teller’s narrative description. Several structural functions of these sections can be related to the surprise story-telling. Unlike the present study, however, Labov’s structure may rarely consider the listener’s response. On the other hand, most of the surprise story-telling structure is similar to that of Sacks’s storytelling because it pays a great deal of attention to specific interactions between tellers and listeners. In the three sections, *preface, telling* and *response sequences* (Sacks, 1974), it will be possible to look at specific interactions between them and to consider the listener’s role. As I mentioned in the explanation of the data collection above, the listener’s reaction can be expected following the teller’s story. A listener’s reaction might play an important role in moving the conversation from one stage to the next, and it might be related to the boundaries between the sections. In dealing with the listener’s role at such boundaries, laughter could be an expected reaction if the surprise story is primed by something laughable or humorous. Based on this, I will pursue the distribution of laughter in each phase. I will also add particular aspects in accordance with the structure of telling a surprise. In particular, I shall demonstrate laughter patterns and functions in three phase boundary places — especially in the first phase boundary (from preface to telling), the second phase boundary (from telling to response) and the third phase boundary (from
response to next topic). Although laughter seems to appear in places other than at these boundaries, the focus on these boundaries is relevant for understanding the listener’s role in shifting the conversation from the current phase into the next. This study will explore how laughter relates to a listener’s contribution at the boundary. I shall therefore consider patterns and functions of laughter in order to look at listenership at those three phase boundaries. The functions in DA are necessary and can involve two aspects: internal and external (Trappes-Lomax, 2004: 147). He explains that the category of genre can relate the internal to the external. In relation to this perspective, I will look at how the internal functions of laughter could be related to the external functions such as the structural function of surprise story-telling. In order to consider this, I will also refer to some functional aspects of Labov’s narrative structure in my analysis.

4.4.3 Quantitative Analysis

In order to develop the findings of Chapters 5 and 6, I shall use a quantitative analysis to consider the connection between laughter and social contexts. This analysis relates to pragmatics and to sociolinguistic approaches in the power and politics of DA (Trappes-Lomax, 2004). As described above, these approaches provide me with the relationship between the patterns/functions of laughter in language in use and specific social contexts — including interpersonal relationships and social variables that are closely linked with power and solidarity. Using patterns and functions of laughter as defined in the previous chapters (from Chapters 5 to 6) I will examine those frequencies taken in the different type of dyads: the teacher/student dyad and the student/student dyad. I will also compare differences in the frequencies between dyads. I will look at the solidarity relationships between non-solidary dyads (teacher and student) and solidary dyads (student and student), and at the power relationships between higher status (teacher) and lower status (student) participants, especially when the higher status participant is telling a surprise story to the lower status participant, rather than the other way around. Where there are noticeable differences, I will consider certain relationships between laughter and various social factors. As I mentioned above, the quantitative analysis recognises three phase boundaries. I consider the frequency of laughter patterns
and functions in each boundary. The following are elements of the quantitative analysis:

1. Frequency of laughter in total;
2. Frequency of laughter by comparing the teller with the listener;
3. Frequency of the laughter patterns/functions by comparing two different interactions (solidary/non-solidary interactions; and interactions between the higher-status teller and lower-status listener – or between the lower-status teller and the higher-status listener).

According to the findings in these three parts, I will observe any interconnections between laughter and social variables (such as power and solidarity/politeness issues), considering how such interconnections might relate to the display of listenership.
Chapter 5
Structure and Functions of Laughter in Conversational Routines

5.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the review of the literature (Chapter 3), some fundamental ideas about the nature of conversational interaction such as a co-production of conversations and politeness are clearly relevant to any understanding of listenership behaviour in general and to the use of laughter in particular. Listenership can be understood as part of the contribution of the currently non-speaking participant to the co-construction of the conversation (see Clark, 1996). Clark notes that conversation is, “one type of joint activity – one in which language plays an especially prominent role” (1996: 29). In relation to the co-production, the *politeness principle* (Leech, 1983) suggests that conversation is a mutual collaborative work between speakers and listeners. In their maxims, for instance, Leech’s *tact, approbation*, and *agreement maxims* suggest how the participants should provide positive effects to the co-participants such as praise, sympathy and agreement; how they should be expected to lessen negative effects such as dispraise, antipathy and disagreement in the ongoing interaction. Such mutual collaboration between the participants is rendered significant through an understating of listenership behaviour. Given the background information presented above, in this chapter I will examine the first and second research questions proposed in Chapter 4: what kind of patterns and functions emerge when the listener’s laughter is offered in response to the ongoing conversational context?; and what kind of patterns and functions does the listener’s laughter have when a (possible) problematic context appears?

In order to answer these questions, I aim to describe the patterns and functions of laughter at the micro-level of conversational routines by focusing on the listener’s use of laughter as a way of responding to (or reacting to) what the speaker has said. I pursue this exploration in relation to the display of listenership as it appears in the ongoing conversational contexts. I will then reveal how the participants negotiate and maintain a
relationship between the self and others through laughter as an important aspect of listener behaviour.

5.2 Laughter in the Ongoing Conversational Contexts

In earlier work, Jefferson and her colleagues opened the door to examining the patterns of laughter (Jefferson, 1979; Jefferson, et al., 1987; Jefferson, 1984b, Glenn, 2003; Holt, 2010), particularly focusing on the speaker’s invitation and the two possible responses: acceptance and declination (see Chapter 3). In order to explore the listenership behaviours, I will consider patterns of laughter in this section. My purpose is to build on the analysis, to develop the patterns of laughter, and to identify their functions. I first look at an invitation to laugh, and move on to the listener responses such as acceptance and declination.

5.2.1 Invitation

The invitation must be achieved through both laughables and laughter or either case, either by the speaker alone or both by the speaker and the listener. In addition to these conditions, no laughter can be achieved without a laughable element that causes laughter. To sum up: when laughter is produced during the ongoing conversation, the speaker's laughter should act as an invitation for the listener to laugh, especially in the context of telling a surprise. This invitation will come in the form of either a laughable with laughter or a laughable without laughter. As the speaker initiates laughter in the former case, I call it the speaker's initiation of laughter, while not the speaker but the listener initiates laughter in the latter, and I call it the listener's initiation of laughter. Within the non-problematic setting, laughter may quite likely be related to laughables. If a trouble situation appears, however, then that circumstance would be considered: if laughter (without laughables) is produced, then this would be relevant for understanding the trouble situation. In this context, the speaker's laughter is not counted as the invitation. Such cases will be dealt with later. First, I shall deal with the invitation.
When looking at the listenership behaviour of laughter, it is important to examine the laughable (Glenn, 2003) that causes laughter. The listener’s laughter can appear when motivated by the speaker’s production in the course of interaction. An invitation to laugh consists of this laughable, and the listener’s response to the laughable consists of either acceptance or declination. The invitation should be dependent on one of two actions in terms of the initiation of laughter: either the speaker’s action or the listener’s action. Both of these can be associated with producing a laughable and laughter. In relation to the invitation as defined above, laughables will appear in the ongoing interactional process. They are linguistic items (sometimes including non-vocal/non-verbal features such as gestures). Laughter that comes from either the speaker or the listener can contribute to signalling a laughable.

In the speaker’s initiation of laughter, the speaker produces a laughable and laughter immediately follows. The listener’s laughter follows in reaction to the speaker. The signal for producing a laughable arises from the speaker. Both participants, however, may sometimes produce laughter. This laughter series includes two situations: 1) when the speaker’s laughter appears first and the listener’s laughter follows (consecutive laughter); 2) when the speaker’s laughter appears first, the listener’s laughter follows, and their mutual laughter overlaps at certain points (overlapping laughter).

In the listener’s initiation of laughter, on the other hand, the speaker may produce a laughable without any laughter. The listener can still recognise the laughable, however, and can signal that recognition through laughter. This case appears when the listener recognises a laughable and signals that recognition to the speaker through laughter. The speaker’s certain signals work at recognising a laughable on what I call, occasions. As a laughable connects to the ongoing conversational contexts, and diverse culture surrounding the conversational participants, the participants do not always identify a laughable or funny element. Under such a circumstance, the listener’s subsequent laughter may be closely connected to a linguistic item, the occasion produced by the speaker’s prior production. The occasions may consist mainly of linguistic items. By

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15 Sometimes a laughable is first produced and laughter then follows; at other times both a laughable and laughter are produced almost at the same time.
following theses signals, the listener orients to the laughable through laughter, even though the speaker has produced a non-explicit laughable. These occasions may appear in the speaker’s initiation of laughter as well as in the listener’s. These items will be considered in the following analysis. Laughter that is relevant to the listener’s initiation of laughter occurs as follows: when the listener’s laughter appears alone; and when the listener’s laughter first appears and the speaker’s then follows (consecutive or overlapping laughter). In addition, simultaneous laughter between the participants can be also related to the listener’s initiation of laughter.

In the following, I shall illustrate how each of the initiation of laughter (either the speaker’s or the listener’s) influences the invitation, and that turns become constituted as laughable by their response. I first present the circumstance of the speaker’s initiation that produces a laughable. I then present the listener’s initiation. In relation to this examination, I describe certain details about the occasions. These include quotation, strength of voice, laughter particles, and surprise evaluations. Another aspect of the listener’s initiation (which involves the listener’s activity) will be dealt with in the response section.

1. Speaker’s Initiation of Laughter

It may be easier to identify a laughable if the speaker laughs after producing a laughable. The following shows this case. L describes a surprise when she went to a retail market and found the underwear called “NuBra” (line 3):

(5)

1L:  \[ \text{kinoo \ (/.)suggoi yasui omise ni itte yoofuku toka ippai utten dake [do,} \]
    \[ \text{“yesterday I went to a super discount shop and it sells lots of clothes and.”} \]

2R:  \[ u : n \]
    \[ \text{“yeah”} \]

3L:  \[ \text{nuubu(h)ra ga u(h)tte ((h)te hhh,} \]
    \[ \rightarrow \text{“I found ‘NuBra’ ((the bra without straps)) and hhh,”} \]

4R:  \[ e(h) : hhh chotto are wa doo nano} \]
    \[ \rightarrow \text{“oh hhh hey! how is that like?”} \]
This linguistic item “NuBra” can be workable as part of the laughable. Immediately after production of this linguistic item L’s laughter appears (line 3) and R’s following laughter occurs (line 4). She invites laughter by producing the laughable, then starts laughing and includes laugh particles (line 3). R’s laughter immediately follows (line 4). In line 3, the speaker’s immediate laughter (following the production of the linguistic item “NuBra”) and the listener’s immediate laughter together constitutes it as laughable that the linguistic item served as a laughable. This shows that after producing a linguistic item (“NuBra”) the speaker’s follow-up laughter and the listener’s immediate laughter both contribute to identifying “NuBra” as a laughable in the surprise story. The speaker’s follow-up laughter can play a role in the listener’s recognition of the linguistic item as the laughable, and this may lead to the speaker’s invitation of laughter. The listener’s laughter may also confirm the above laughable and invitation. In the following example, R shows a laughable that is contained in the fact that the woman was brushing her teeth in the café (line 3):

(6)
1R: =arigatoo gozaimaasu tte itte patto mita [raa, “I said, ‘thank you’ and, when I looked up,”
2L: [un
“yeah” (. )
3R: nanka so(h)no(h)hito ne hh aruki nagara tennai de haa(h) mi(h)gai ten nohhh [da(h)ka(h)ra(h)ne he ↑ to omotte, “it’s like, that person hh while leaving, she was brushing her teeth in the café hhh”
“so I thought, ‘what!??’ and,”
4L: [huh hah asa ↑
“huh hah in the morning?!”

The laughter between the speaker and the listener is significant. R’s laughter appears and signals that the line contains something laughable (line 3). L’s immediate laughter (line 4) confirms that the line included the laughable element and that she recognised this as the laughable. The speaker’s laughter in the moment of producing a laughable suggests that the laughable appeared at an appropriate time. The listener’s following laughter may also support the recognition of the laughable.
To sum up, a laughable and the participants’ laughter (particularly the speaker’s follow-up laughter) contributes to constituting a laughable. After producing such a laughable element, the speaker’s follow-up laughter comes into play. Through this process the speaker signals that he/she showed a laughable and thus offered an invitation. The listener’s immediate laughter confirms that the speaker’s invitation was appropriately noticed.

2. Listener’s Initiation of Laughter

The listener’s laughter sometimes plays a role in helping participants to recognise a laughable. In relation to this examination, the invitation is also discussed. In order to constitute a laughable, I shall describe occasions that consist of linguistic items. I will first shed light on certain linguistic items such as quotation, strength of voice, laughter particles and surprise evaluations.\(^{16}\)

Quotation is one of the easy items for recognising a laughable in my data. Since quotation in Japanese has particular characteristics, I will briefly give an account of them and move on to analysing the data. Quotation in Japanese basically consists of three items in order of: direct quotation, postpositional particles (to, tte, toka) and quotative verbs (iu (‘say’), omou (‘think’) and the like) (Kamada, 2000).\(^{17}\) Those three items can be observed in that order in the following figure:

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\(^{16}\) Surprise evaluations are observed not only in conclusion but also the other parts of the conversations.  
\(^{17}\) The previous studies in Japanese often use the notions: reported speech and quotation. They tend to argue about the difference between them (Sunakawa, 1989; Kamada, 2000). Since my focus is not on such a discussion, I briefly introduce the quotation form in general.
Figure 5.1 Quotation in Japanese

T: "KONO ko wa atashi no jugyou wa hanbun sabotte(.)TABE ni ittetanda to omotte
------------------------- direct quotation ---------------------------
P18 thought

“(I) thought, ‘this boy left my class and went to have lunch’”

T: "kondo mata anna koto shitara : mou isshou tani tore nai kara ne
---------------------- direct quotation ------------------
P say and

“(I) said, ‘if (you) leave my class again, you’ll never get a credit for this class’”

Although these basic forms tend to appear in a sentence (sometimes can be observable in a conversation), the quotation that typically appears in conversations, especially in telling a story tends to appear in a slightly different way. When the teller uses quotation in the midst of describing the detail of a story, he/she must push the story along by indexing how the story is being continued. This signal can be produced through a quotative verb inflection and a non-finite form ‘and’ functioning a “clause chaining” (Hasegawa, 1996ab; Morita, 2001; Watanabe, 1994; Myhill and Hibiya, 1988):

Figure 5.2 Continuation of storytelling

T: "KONO ko wa atashi no jugyou wa hanbun sabotte(.)TABE ni ittetan da omotte
------------------------- direct quotation ---------------------------
P think and

“(I) thought, ‘this boy left my class and went to have lunch and’”

T: "kondo mata anna koto shitara : mou isshou tani tore nai kara ne itte itte
---------------------- direct quotation ------------------
P say and

“(I) said, ‘if (you) leave my class again, you’ll never get a credit’ and”

Direct quotations, postpositional particles to in figure 5.1, tte in figure 5.2 and quotative verbs inflections and non-finite forms, omotte (‘think and’) in figure 5.1 and itte (‘say and’) in figure 5.2 appear in that order. In figure 5.1, T shares how surprised she was when her student left the class without her noticing. T describes her inner feeling through a direct quotation: konoko wa atashino jugyou wa hanbun sabotte tabe ni ittetannda, (‘this boy skipped my class and went to a cafeteria to have lunch’). The postpositional particle to and a verb inflection and non-finite form, omotte (‘think and’),

18 P refers to a postpositional particle.
then follow. In figure 5.2, T produces a direct quotation, which is found in a dialogue that she had directly with the student: *kondo mata anna koto shitara mou isshou tani torenai kara ne,* (‘next time, if (you) did the same thing again, (you) would never get a credit’). A postpositional particle *tte,* and a quotative verb inflection and non-finite form, *itte* (‘say and’) then follow. These extracts thus display how the Japanese quotative form consists of three elements: direct quotation, quotative postpositions and quotative verbs in order.

When informal conversations such as friendly conversations appear, a quotative verb can also be omitted. For instance, a conjunctive *mitaina* (‘as if’ or ‘like’) following a direct quotation is a typical example of the omission:

**Figure 5.3  Omission of a quotative verb**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L:</th>
<th>=a toshokan mushi iru da</th>
<th>mitaina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“like (I thought), ‘oh there is an insect even in a library’”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L:</td>
<td>DQ</td>
<td>mitaina huhu hh hh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“like (I thought), ‘what!?’ huhu huh hhh”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two examples consist of two items, a direct quotation and the conjunctive *mitaina* without a quotative verb.

Given this background, I consider how such a quotation can be an occasion that can relate to an invitation to laugh. In order to solve this relationship, the notion of *projectability* seems important. Projectability refers to “features of the unit which allows participants to anticipate or predict where an instance of the [preceding] unit will come to an end” (Tanaka, 1999:27; based on Sacks et al., 1974). When examining the following two extracts, the listeners’ responsive (or reactive) laughter starts at the completion point of the quotation (line 2 in both extracts). A crucial signal of the completion point can be recognised by the production of a postpositional particle. In extract 7, when T describes her surprise story about the student leaving her class, she

---

19 C refers to a conjunctive.
20 DQ refers to a direct quotation.
uses a quotation to express her inner feelings to indicate that his behaviour was unexpected. In extract 7, T imitates and recalls what she told the student. She uses a quotation in order to express how and what she did:

(7)  
1T: \[\text{KONO ko wa atashi no jugyou wa hanbun sabotte(), TABE ni itetan da toomo(h)tte},\]  
\(\Rightarrow\) “(I) thought, ‘this boy left my class and went to a have lunch’ and,”  
2S: \[\text{hu hu hu huh huh}\]  
“hu hu hu huhuh”  

(8)  
1T: \[\text{kondo mata anna koto shitara : mou isshou tani torenai kara ne itte itte},\]  
\(\Rightarrow\) “(I) said, ‘if (you) leave my class again, I’ll never give you a credit’ and,”  
2S: \[\text{huhahahaha}\]  
“huhahahaha”  

3T: \[\text{o- odoshi te, hhhh},\]  
“(I) scared (him) and, hhhh”  

4S: \[\text{KO(h)wai,huhhh}\]  
“(you are) scared hhhhh”  

In both extracts, S’s laughter occurs just before the postpositional particles to and te. It is obvious that this laughter appears without delay from the previous quotation in each extract. After the speaker uses the postpositional particle to signal the end of the preceding quotation, the listener laughs in order to signal that the content in the quotation involves the laughable. The speaker also signals that the quotation contains the laughable through laughter. These extracts suggest that the quotation format can serve as an occasion that signals something laughable. The laughable can actually be the content of the quotation. The listener’s laughter, together with the speaker’s signal, can indicate that the laughable (the content of the quotation) is included in this format. This co-production between the speaker and the listener may play an important role in revealing the laughable and constructing the invitation.

The form of onomatopoeia is quite similar to that of quotation (Kamada, 2000). A postpositional particle follows onomatopoeia. The square in the extract refers to onomatopoeia. In the next extract, T produces onomatopoeia in order to express the way in which someone presses a mobile’s buttons: puchipuchi. Following this onomatopoeia,
a postpositional particle, *tte*, appears (line 1). Given this basic form, I will illustrate how onomatopoeia works as the occasion. Following this quotation form, the listener can notice that the occasion contains a laughable. In this case, that laughable is onomatopoeia:

(9)  
1T: =*minna ga keitai denwa de puchi puchi [puchi puchi] tte(h)yatte ta node hhh*  
→ “because everyone was texting a message, like ‘puchi puchi puchi’ hhh,”  

2S: *[ahahahahaha hh wakaru]*  
→ “ahahahahaha  hh (I) know”  
((producing onomatopoeia, T expresses how someone presses a mobile’s buttons through gestures))  

3T: =*suugoku bikkuri shimashita*  
→ “(that) surprised (me)”

Motivated by T’s producing the onomatopoeia *puchi puchi* that follows the quotation form (line 1), S offers laughter without delay (line 2). S’s laughter signals her recognition of a laughable through the preceding quotation form (onomatopoeia) while T also immediately laughs to signal the onomatopoeia as the laughable (line 1). S’s immediate laughter (whilst producing the onomatopoeia) and T’s own laughter together can confirm that T produced the laughable in order to create the invitation.

The quotation form can be related to jokes. Throughout the literature related to laughter dealt with the interaction between the speaker and the listener (Sacks, 1974; Jefferson, 1979; Glenn, 2003; see also the discussion of causes of laughter in Chapter 3), the quotation form works as the occasion, and the jokes (teasing) in the form can be a laughable:

(10)  
((In the previous turns, teller R described her surprised experience when she stayed at her host family’s flat in Canada. Her surprise was that a host-mother put a whole carrot in her packed lunch box.))  
1R: =*hajimete mita toki wa honto bikkuri shita*  
→ “when (I) first saw (that), (that) really made (me) surprised”  

2L: =*sorya bikkuri suru yo ne*  
→ “that’s surprising isn’t it?”  

3R: =*watashi wa usagi kai [mitaina,*  
→ “like ‘am I a rabbit?’ ”
After describing R’s surprise, she uses the quotation form through a conjunctive mitaina (‘like’) and makes a joke: watashi wa usagi kai mitaina (‘like “am I a rabbit”?’) (line 3), using the fact that her host-mother put in a whole carrot. Without delay, L then gives a laughing response (line 4). The quotation form through the item mitaina (‘like’) can serve as the occasion. In fact there is also a joke in this form. Following these signals, L’s immediate laughter may confirm that the preceding joke is a laughable.

In addition, the occasion can appear in the speaker’s initiation of laughter as well as in the listener’s one. The next extract shows more onomatopoeia in the quotation form:

(11)
1T: DEE uchi shujin gaa anou shinai o motette ita de [kendou no] [shinai o mottetan de] “AND my husband, uhm, had a bamboo sword for playing kendo so,”
2S: [hai] [hai] “yes yes”
3T: sore(h)o da(h)shite kite, “(he) brought it and,”
4T: [TSUN] [tsu(h)n] ite tsuite tsu huhu “(he) pricked the person with it like ‘TSUN tsun,’” ((the onomatopoeia expresses his way of picking the person, with the gesture))
5S: [tsu(h)n tsun] HUHAAHAAHAHA “tsun tsun ahahahahahahah”
6T: sumimasen okite kudasai [tte hh i (h)tan desu(h)] [ke(h)do(h), huhu] “huhuh (I) said “excuse me, please wake up” though huhu”
7S: [huhuh] [huhuh] [hai] “huhuh yes”

T produces onomatopoeia in the quotation form that expresses the way of jabbing a person’s body with a bamboo stick (sword), tsun tsun (line 4). Although laughter has already appeared from line 3, S’s laughter (line 5) occurs during T’s production of the onomatopoeia. This fact suggests that the laughter can be triggered by the preceding quotation and that this item can serve as an indicator for finding the laughable. In fact, this occasion may include onomatopoeia working as the laughable. In addition to the
laughter, S’s repetition of the onomatopoeia, *tsun tsun*, shows that it may trigger laughter and can work as the laughable. As mentioned above, the form of quotation can play a role in recognising the laughable as the occasion. In addition, onomatopoeia can be regarded in this form as the laughable. It is motivated by the speaker’s immediate laughter and by the listener’s following laughter.

In describing a surprise, the speaker may sometimes raise or strengthen his/her voice and this can be workable as an occasion to find the laughable. For example, the speaker in extracts 7 and 11 strengthened her voice when describing her surprise as is shown by capital letters, *Taben ittettanda to omotte* (‘(I thought he) went to HAVE lunch and’), in line 1 in extract 7 and *Tsuntsun* (onomatopoeia) in line 4 in extract 11. The speaker in the former example expresses her complaint by strengthening her voice *Tabe ni* (‘to HAVE (lunch)’). The speaker in the latter example does the same in order to talk about her husband’s behaviour. Both of the quotation forms can work as the occasion. In the former case, a laughable may be contained in the quotation. In the latter case, a laughable is found in the onomatopoeia in the quotation. In addition, the strength of the speaker’s voice also works as an occasion that indicates a laughable.

With the above items, laugh particles that “appear within a word, between words, or freestanding and independent of words” (Glenn, 2003: 43), also tend to occur as the occasion when a laughable is displayed in the speaker’s action. For instance, in extract 6, the speaker’s invitation (line 3) contains laugh particles, and they help locate the laughable. Another example can be observed as follows:

```
(12)
1L: yasu: i ne : (.)nanka futsuu no kyami sooru ga:(h) (0.2)
   → hyaku ju [kyu(h)en to(h)ka hhhhhh .hh
      “there were (.) it’s like a normal camisole (0.2) costs ¥119 hhhhhh .hh” ((1pound))

2R:  [HAHAHAHAHA hh hh hh hh
      “HAHAHAHA hh hh hh hh”
```

L produces a laugh particle that acts as the significant item for recognising the fact that a laughable will soon appear. Such a laughable contains several laugh particles, and
these particles can be useful items that create an occasion for recognising the laughable. I have observed how quotation, voice strengthening, and laugh particles can be occasions for recognising the laughable.

Another type of occasion can be a surprise evaluation, particularly when someone is telling a surprise story. When the speaker produces a surprise evaluation *bikkuri* (‘surprise’), the listener’s laughter might be related to the expression of surprise (Sacks, 1992, see also Chapter 3). In my study, laughter could be one of the expected reactions to surprise story-telling — especially when primed by a laughable. The occasion can be relevant for identifying such a laughable. A surprise evaluation is my primary concern. Laughter that is caused by the speaker’s action can appear in the following extract. The speaker produces a surprise evaluation in the course of the storytelling:

\[13\]

1R: *dodonpa no hayasa ni bi(h) kukri(h)shita ahaaha hahuhu huh*  
→ “(I) was surprised by the speed of Dodonpa (the rollercoaster’s name) ahaaha hahuhu huh”

2L: *uhuhuhuh nan(h)ka hanamizu deru tte iu kedo deta*  
→ “uhuhuhu like (I) heard people had a runny nose though, you too?”

L immediately joins in laughing (line 2) when R signals a laughable through laughter and when she provides a bit of content that includes a surprise evaluation (line 1). R’s laughter (line 1) starts when she utters a first element ‘*bi’* in the surprise evaluation (*’Bikkuri’*). Due to this, the listener can recognise that the speaker is providing a laughable. Such a surprise evaluation (in this case, the initial element) may work as the occasion. In addition, R may signal the invitation through laughter. The listener immediately notices this invitation and signals it through laughter. The speaker’s laughing action may thus trigger the following laughter. In the context of surprise story-telling, R’s production of a surprise evaluation can also work as the occasion and help one to recognise a laughable. Furthermore, a laugh particle (line 1) corroborates the occasion.
A surprise evaluation may typically appear when concluding a story because the conclusion is likely to contain a laugable. When the speaker concludes her story with a surprise evaluation it can be an occasion for recognising the laughable. In the next extract, T enters her conclusion of a story with a surprise evaluation:

((T tells a surprise about her son’s surprising behaviour (when he was one year old).))

1T:  

ano : (.hanashi(.)konde itatoki ni : (.jano ki ga tsui tara(.tsukue ni notte(.)

2  tsukue no ueni(.)ano oite atta(.)ano : : (0.3)tabemono o(.)tsukue no ue ni suwatte hitori de

3  ta(h)beteta(h) tte(h)iu(h)ko(h)to(ga(h) atte sore wa bi(h)kkuri shimashita
→ “uhm (.) while I was talking by phone (.), I found (he) was on the table and(.) I put something to eat on the table uhm (0.3) (he) was sitting on the table and eating (this), so that was surprising”

4S:  

[uhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhu
one. To summarise these points:

Laughables

- Laughables may appear in the ongoing interactional process. They are linguistic items (sometimes including non-vocal/non-verbal features such as gestures);
- Laughter may signal laughables:
  1. The speaker signals it through laughter and the listener follows it up through laughter (the speaker’s initiation of laughter);
  2. The listener signals it through laughter following the speaker’s preceding production without laughter (the listener’s initiation of laughter);
- Laughables contain occasions. The occasion may appear in close proximity to the laughable. The occasion is not always obligatory;

Occasions

- Linguistic items: quotation, strength of voice, laugh particles and surprise evaluations are relevant;
- Occasions can appear both in the speaker’s and the listener’s initiations of laughter;
- It is possible to have laugh invitations without occasions;

The speaker’s initiation of laughter

- The speaker produces a laughable and his/her laughter immediately may follow it. The listener’s laughter may then support the laughable as his/her reaction;

The listener’s initiation of laughter

- If laughables are not followed by the speaker’s laughter, then the listener, by laughing, signals to the speaker that he/she has recognised a laughable and is responding or reacting to it;
- The listener recognises and may signal laughables by laughing without any preceding occasions (This issue will be discussed in the section of response).

The next section will consider the listener’s contribution based on the above invitation.
5.2.2 Response

Focusing on the listener’s side, I explore the patterns of laughter in relation to the preceding invitations. In the following analysis I will consider two patterns: acceptance, and declination. Acceptance consists of the listener’s laughter following the speaker’s invitation, whilst declination consists of the absence of the listener’s laughter following the speaker’s invitation. Declination indicates that the listener is pursuing a non-laughing utterance. I first describe the pattern of acceptance and then move on to that of declination.

Firstly, two kinds of acceptance are described: the immediate and delayed acceptance. The immediate acceptance of laughter is produced in response to the preceding invitation. For instance, the listener’s acceptance of laughter in extracts 7 and 8 is produced immediately following quotations that serve as the occasions in order to recognise a laughable (line 2 in both extracts). On the other hand, since the delayed acceptance relates to the listener’s inability to understand the speaker’s laughable points, the listener expects to account for the speaker’s point and may need to provide another invitation. When the listener finally understands it, acceptance laughter is then produced. These points are considered in the following extract:

(15)
((R describes her surprise humorously when she stayed in Australia and behaved badly by drinking too much alcohol. L at first treated this story seriously, but began to treat it non-seriously after listening to R’s further explanation.))

1R: kontakuto renzu mo naku [shi:],
“(I) lost my contact lenses and,”

2L: [un]
“yeah”

3R: de : (.).nanka(0.3) kizuitara karada juu ga azadarak e da [tta ahhahahahahaha h h h]
“and (.3) after my waking, (I) found lots of bruises in (my) body ahhahahahaha hhh”

4L: [EE kowa e: (.). sore yabain jan =

5R: =a demo().nanimo nakatta rashii ke [do:nanka atashi ga(.).sugoit.].kaeri takunai toka itte
“oh but (. my friends) told me nothing happened though, like (they) said, (I) said ‘I don’t wanna be back (to Japan)’ and went on a rampage,
Following the conclusion of the story (lines 1 to 4), R invites laughter by laughing (line 3). Because L treats R’s story as a trouble first, she gives a verbal comment without laughing in response (line 4). This treatment could display “troubles-resistance” (Jefferson, 1984b). Once R receives the troubles-resistance, she further qualifies her point by indicating that the incident was not a trouble and turns it into a funny story by describing how her friends were struggling to care for her, watashi ga kaeritakunai toka itte abareteru no o osaete (‘they held me down, while I got drunk and went on a rampage’) (line 7). Through this more detailed explanation as repair, R provides a more obvious invitation to laugh and L’s laughter is thus immediately produced (line 8). This example suggests that stories can be transformed from troubles-telling to funny stories through moment-by-moment interactions. The listener’s response through laughter can play a role in this transformation.

Moreover, acceptance is achieved through two responses: laughter on its own or laughter with verbal responses. The listener’s acceptance in the joke considered above (line 4 in extract 10) was accomplished by laughter on its own. The one in the onomatopoeia example was achieved through laughter and verbal responses that displayed understanding and agreement, wakaru (‘I know’) (line 2 in extract 9) and that showed some appreciation for the speaker’s description by repeating preceding onomatopoeic laughables, tsuntsun (line 5 in extract 11). Such responses, either laughter or laughter plus verbal cues should be produced without delay.

Next, I consider the acceptance pattern in detail. When a listener laughs in response to the invitation, it may show a high level of responsiveness to the speaker. As I mentioned in my discussion of occasions and laughables, the identification of an invitation can be
highly motivated by two initiations of laughter: either the speaker’s initiation of laughter or the listener’s initiation. In the speaker’s initiation the speaker produces a laughable and his/her laughter immediately follows. The laughter between the participants includes consecutive laughter and overlapping laughter. In the listener’s initiation, if a laughable (including an occasion) appears when the speaker’s laughter is absent, the listener may then be expected to initiate laughter. Furthermore, the listener’s initiation consists of two possibilities. First, the laughable (including occasions) may be inferred by the person in the listening role (who laughs) and implied by the person in the speaking role (who may subsequently laugh). In this case, patterns of laughter between the participants may include consecutive, overlapping and simultaneous laughter. Second, the laughable may be inferred by the listening person alone through laughing.

The acceptance pattern is directly influenced by these two initiations of laughter. In the speaker’s initiation, the listener laughs in response to the speaker’s invitation that includes a laughable and laughter. In the listener’s initiation, the listener laughs in response to the speaker’s invitation that includes a laughable without laughter. This involves two possibilities: (1) the listener’s laughter may appear alone, or (2) the listener’s laughter may appear while the speaker’s laughter either follows, overlaps, consecutively or simultaneously occurs.

Generally speaking, the listener’s acceptance is delivered immediately. The acceptance (which is relevant to the speaker’s initiation of laughter) indicates that the speaker’s laughter (and the laughable and occasions that are produced) precedes the listener’s laughter (as seen in the extracts above: 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, and 14). In addition, the laughter series between the speaker and the listener has no distance. The acceptance (which is relevant to the listener’s initiation), on the other hand, shows that the listener’s laughter is initiated following the speaker’s laughables and following occasions without laughter (as shown in the above four extracts: 7, 8, 9 and 10). The laughter and the occasions should be produced quite near to one another. Although extracts 7, 8, 9 and 10 show that the listener laughs in response to the speaker’s preceding signal, the listener may sometimes endeavour to discover the laughable in the speaker’s preceding production. This identification of a preceding laughable can be the listener’s contribution: she
recognises it through laughter. Following this recognition, there are two possible scenarios for the speaker’s next activity: she may also signal the laughable through laughter, or she may keep talking. The former means that the listener’s laughter first appears and the speaker’s laughter then follows, while the latter means that the listener’s laughter appears by itself. Here are examples of the former:

(16)

2R:  “wow great”

3L:  ουjichan gaa (0.2) koo obaachan (0.2) kaette toki ni doa o akeru tokaa , “like, the elderly gentleman like this way, opens the door for his wife,”

4R:  “hee : : ↑”

5L:  “wow”

6R:  “great”

7L:  “huhuhu .huh that sort of thing (is) really (different) from that of Japan,”

In the first example, although the speaker may fail to signal a laughable by including an occasion (lines 1 and 5), the listener may signal the laughable through laughter and positive evaluation (including the meaning of ‘surprise’) (line 2 and 6). The speaker then joins in laughing (lines 1 and 7). Giving more details, L then expresses how surprised she was when her host-father in Canada treated his wife according to the

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21 As mentioned above, this includes overlapping, consecutive and simultaneous laughter.

22 Since laughter appeared from both participants at almost at the same time, it was difficult to determine whose laughter came first. However, my study regards this kind of ‘simultaneous laughter’ as laughter that is relevant to the listener’s action.

23 This case, however, may show simultaneous laughter.
traditional formula of: ‘ladies first’. This surprise seems relevant to a Japanese culture that is unfamiliar with such a western custom. R immediately reacts to ‘ladies first’ (line 1) with laughter and with a verbal evaluation, sugoi (‘great’) (line 2). The teller then joins in the laughter as well (the end of line 1). Likewise, when L gives another example of ‘ladies first’ (when opening a car-door (line 5)), the listener may immediately react with laughter and with a positive evaluation, sugoi (‘great’ or ‘amazing’) (line 6). The speaker then joins the laughing in the next turn (line 7). These sequences suggest that the listener’s reaction through laughter and her immediate positive evaluation show that she treats it as a laughable in the speaker’s preceding utterance. The speaker’s next laughter without delay (line 7) may confirm this recognition. In the second example, following R’s story that she had a ride on the roller coaster at an amusement park, Fujikyu, L says that she wants to try it (line 1). Following L’s expression of interest, noritai kara (‘I want to try it, so’), R immediately reacts through laughter and verbal agreements, un un un wakaru wakaru (‘yeah yeah yeah (I) know (I) know’) (line 2). Overlapping with this reaction, L joins in the laughter at the end of line 1. R’s reaction through laughter and verbal agreement can indicate the recognition of the laughable; L’s laughter then confirms this recognition. Such a case shows how acceptance can be related to the listener’s action.

Laughables may be inferred by the listener through repeating an item in the speaker’s prior turn. The speaker’s following repetitions after the listener’s repeating signal the laughable. The following extract also shows how acceptance can be relevant to the listener’s action (the listener’s laughter appears and the speaker’s laughter then follows):

(18)
1L: un(1.1) sou(0.5) dakara ne(.) mou yokohama wa ikanai
“yeah (1.1) yeah (0.5) so (.) (I) I’ll never go to Yokoyama”
(0.2)
2R: /un ikana/ [—huhu hu hhh hhh hhh ‘hah hhh
⇒ “Yeah (you) won’t huwhu hhh hh .hah hhh”
3L: [—yo(h) ko(h) hma wa ikanai] hh ZEittai densha de ikanai eHUHUHUHAH
⇒ “(I) I’ll not go to Yokoyama hh never by train (I) won’t eHUHUHU HAH”

24 The square indicates the place of repetition.
In the first example, L concludes her story (line 1) and R provides laughter (line 2). The pause (line 1) creates a gap (a kind of search) in the conversation. R repeats part of the preceding production: *ikanai* ‘(I) never go to (Yokoyama)’ (line 2). L then repeats this production twice (line 3). These repetition-sequences suggest that the listener may infer the first production (line 1) as the laughable and accept the invitation. Furthermore, this laughable can trigger the following repetition sequence (lines 2 and 3). The speaker’s repetition (line 3) may also play a role in implying the occasion. To sum up, this example illustrates that the listener may discover the laughable by repeating the preceding linguistic item.

In the second example, R shows an interest in L’s surprise story about lingerie, *kyoumi aru* ‘(I) have an interest’ (line 1). This production influences the next laughter turns at lines 2 and 3. L’s laughter occurs (line 2) following a gap created by a pause (line 1) and R then provides laughter without delay (line 3). In addition to that, there is no gap between the laughter sequences. L’s repetition of a preceding production, *kyoumi aru* ‘(I) have an interest’ (line 2), shows the fact that this production works as the laughable. Motivated by a repetition of the preceding item, the listener can notice that the item is the laughable. Such recognition can be signaled by laughter. The listener’s response may trigger the next laughter. Such a case may relate to the listener’s initiation of laughter. In this case, the listener’s laughter first appears and the speaker’s laughter then follows. Through these two excerpts it becomes clear that while a gap appears in the course of interaction, the listener is still able to find and infer a laughable by repeating the preceding item. Laughter and repetition can play key roles in accomplishing such joint laughter sequences between listener and speaker. These extracts thus show that the listener may contribute to constituting a laughable in the
speaker’s production, and this triggers the speaker’s following laughter by inferring the laughable. Such a collaborative work accomplishes a co-production of laughter between the participants.

In addition to these situations, there is another case of the acceptance that is relevant to the listener’s initiation of laughter when the listener’s inference only appears and the speaker’s following laughter is absent. Although the above cases (extracts 7, 8, 9 and 10) show the roles of both the speaker and the listener, the following cases may be largely determined by the listener’s activity. This is because the speaker’s following laughter (as an implication) is absent. In short, the former case constitutes a co-production of laughter between the participants as I examined above, while the latter in the following may lack this action and the listener laughs only:

(20)
1L: ano zei- hara kara ochiru waza ga aru no ne, = “uhm there is a skill to jumping on a trampoline which involves falling of the belly”

2R: =un “yeah”

3L: ma uchi shii> kou yatte nobite<< (with the gesture) “well --- (1) stretch, like this, and”

4R: [waza(h) nanda= “(it)’s a skill” ((R’s understanding))

5L: =sou “yeah”

6L: waza nano yo chan to <hara ochi tte waza ga anakedoo>, “(it’s) a skill, properly (it’s) called hara ochi (falling off by the belly) though,”

7R: [haha ee ↑ “haha  wow”

8L: ano you suru ni “uhm to summarise,”

R gives single moments of laughter (lines 4 and 7) without delay in response to L’s story about jumping on a trampoline. Without an occasion in L’s description (line 1), R may show her understanding (line 4) when she infers a preceding item and repeats it, waza (‘strategy’) (line 1). This repetition of the preceding production waza (‘strategy’) may
confirm that this item is the laughable. The listener R infers the one through laughter (line 7) following L’s repetition. These cases show that the listener may endeavour to discover or constitute a laughable while the speaker does not explicitly present a laughable and its occasions, and such constituting function can show the listener’s spontaneous and active activity for achieving a co-production of the ongoing interaction and suggests the display of listenership. In addition, they are likely to be observed during the teller’s description of a story.

The following examples show the listener’s acceptance of the occasion item (quotation):

(21)

1S:  =de sono otokono ko ga [mou ikkai. okawari] [ite iu koto o yuttan desu] [yo “and that boy said again, ‘can I have another one?’” and”

2T:  “huhaha “oh oh (he’s) great”

3S:  ↑ shitaraa(.) mata(.) [DOON te(.) kite(.) manka(.) okama ni nokotte ru(.) gohan zenbu iretekure-. kuda sattee , “then, again, the chef served another curry (for my friend), and gave the rest of rice in a rice cooker and,”

4T:  [huh “huhuh

5T:  ” “oh (he’s) kind”

(22)

1L:  = de anotoki ni mou [DOUSHIYOU] te ne o moi masu yo nee ((with smile)) “and, at that time, (we) think, ”oh my god,” don’t we?”

2S:  “yes (I) do hhh”

3T:  “yeah”

In the former extract, T provides laughter without delay (line 2). She is motivated by the quotation as the occasion, mou ikkai okawari (‘(can I have) another one?’) during S’s describing of a surprise (line 1). T’s laughter is also observed when S produces an onomatopoeia DOON, a laughable in the quotation (the occasion) in order to express
how big the rest of rice was (line 4). In the latter excerpt, S’s laughter appears without delay (line 2). It can be motivated by the quotation and tone-emphasis as the laughable, *doushiyou* ‘(what) should (I) do?’ (line 1). In addition to this solitary laughter, there is agreement *omoima*(su) (‘I think (so)’) (line 2). These two extracts thus illustrate how the responsive laughter can be motivated by preceding occasions, such as quotations. They show that the acceptance can be motivated by the listener’s initiation of laughter.

The listener’s acceptance of the occasion without any clear signals may appear while the speaker is describing a surprise story. In contrast to the sequences that appear above, the listener’s laughter alone (inferring the preceding occasion) appears in the following examples:

(23)
1T: *anou(.)nanka kou(.)chotto shiawasena* [kimochi ni mo naru shii,
“uhm(.) like this(.) (I) feel happy, a bit and,”
2S: *aa(h)aa(h) ha(h)ì*
→ “right right yes” ((T’s story continues.))

(24)
((T is in the course of describing her surprise about her son’s surprising behaviour when the speaker was chatting with someone on the telephone.))
1T: *yoku tsukoe no ue toka ni(.).noccha* [(.)nobo(.).cchatta n desu ne(.).nobote tan desu ne(.)
“(my son) often climbed up to the table (.)he was climbing up to the table”
2S: *[uhuhuhuh  huhuhuh huh]*
→ “uhuhuhuh”

In the first example, the listener’s laughter (line 2) appears during T’s utterance and infers that the laughable can be discovered during the speaker’s talk. Although the first turn lacks an occasion (e.g. laugh particles, quotations, voice strengthening, and surprise evaluations), the listener’s laughter immediately following the speaker’s production may suggest that the listener infers the laughable. Likewise in the second example, while T is describing a surprise, S’s laughter (line 2) can be produced so as to overlap with a previous turn (line 1) and her laughter may suggest that some laughables are inferred in the speaker’s preceding talk. The simplest way for the listener to recognise them is through laughter as immediately following the preceding talk. The listener’s laughter may thus work as constituting the laughable element. In other words, the
listener may contribute to the accomplishment of the co-production by signalling appreciation for the speaker’s contribution and by supporting the participants’ affiliation through laughter. In addition to the laughter, verbal activities *aa aa hai* (‘right right yes’) in the former extract can confirm the listener’s understanding, agreement and appreciation.

Following the speaker’s invitation to laugh, the listener may sometimes fail to provide laughter. The *declination* of laughter is thus achieved when responsive laughter is absent. As Jefferson (1979) suggests, the declination is when the listener produces non-laughing speech following the speaker’s laughing invitation. She explains that the listener has to actively decline the invitation in order to perform this. She suggests that this is done by not laughing at the moment of the speaker’s laughing (providing laugh particles) (Jefferson, 1979: 57; see extracts 3 and 4 in Chapter 3). The extract below shows the listener’s declination following the speaker’s invitation of laughter. Speaker R told how a strange customer surprised her when she worked part-time in a CD shop. Following the conclusion including a surprise evaluation (line 1), listener L pursues a non-laughing utterance by recalling a similar experience when she saw a strange customer in another CD shop called *Tsutaya*25 (from line 2). She changes her listening role to the telling role in the non-laughing utterance:

(25)

1R: *soremo suggoi bikkuri shitahh* [h] 
“That really surprised me too hhh”

2L: *[a demo nanka (. ) kono mae]*
“oh but like (.) a few days ago”

3 *tsuta-shibuya no tsutaya tte kekko* [shichou dekiru jan †]
“tsuta… Tsutaya in Shibuya, there are lots of CD- listening sections you know?”

4R: *un un un*
“yeah yeah yeah”

5L: *de nanka soshitara…*  
“and like, then…”

---

25 This shop is similar to Blockbuster in the UK.
L immediately starts pursuing a non-laughing utterance (line 2) in response to R’s laugh particles that include the invitation (line 1). At the same time, L changes her listening role into the telling role in order to tell her similar experience as a second story (from line 1). In response to R’s surprise story about a strange customer, L begins a similar story recalling a strange customer in the CD shops. L’s non-laughing utterance may show the declination pattern following the speaker’s invitation. Here is another example of the declination. S provides a surprise story about meeting her friend in the city (line 1). She then provides the invitation including an occasion (quotation) and laughter (line 3). Listener T pursues a non-laughing utterance (line 4):

(26)

1S:  guuze,n atta, toki to [ka
   “like, (I) coincidentally met (my friend)”

2T:  [un un, sou desu yo ne
   “yeah yeah that’s right”

3 S:  [mou, nanka, hatte [h]u [h]u [h]uh [h]uh
   “(I) just, like, ‘wow’ huhuhuh”

4T:  [ne, omoi gakezu auto [, un:@
   “yeah, when (we) coincidentally meet (friends somewhere we will be surprised), yeah”

5S:  [@hai,
   chotto, bikkuri shimashita@=
   “yes, a bit, (that) surprised (me)”

6T:  =@sou desu yo ne@
   “that’s right”

Speaker S signals a laughable by including an occasion which is a quotation (line 3) that provides an invitation of laughter (line 3). T immediately shows her understanding without laughter as the declination (line 4).

In line with such declination, a non-laughing response may not necessarily indicate that the participant is declining an invitation of laughter (Glenn, 2003: 58). Glenn argues that two other features may indicate this matter: seriousness or playfulness in the utterance, and smiling. In his argument (Glenn, 2003: 58-59), Glenn mentions several examples in the previous literature that “show recipients disattending humorous or playful aspects of laughter-invitation turns and taking up their serious import” (Glenn,
The listener could maintain a playful stance by not laughing in response to the invitation. By presenting one example of the conversation between the doctor and patient (Haakana, 1999: 59), Glenn shows how the doctor keeps continuing playfulness in response to the patient’s comment. He suggests that the doctor’s joking response played a role in ‘getting along’ with the patient even without laughing. In addition to such playfulness, smiling plays a role in maintaining a playful stance. In their argument, Lavin and Maynard (1998) suggest a third option between accepting and declining (qtd. in Glenn, 2003: 59). This option presents the possibility that a smiling voice or pseudo-laugh can indicate “recognition that mirthful response is relevant, yet withhold an unambiguous form of such a response, which might constitute an unduly affiliative display” (Glenn, 2003: 59). He explains that the interviewer’s response — not through laughing along but through a smiling voice — helped maintain his/her affiliative stance. In line with those discussions, declination patterns appeared in my data that could possibly connect to a third option between accepting and declining, what I call ambivalence. The listeners in my data could pursue this third option by displaying understanding, acknowledgment, agreement and smiling — not rather than by awkwardness. In the above two extracts, the listeners showed her shared stance towards the speaker by talking (without laughter) about a similar experience, by understanding the speaker’s surprise, and by smiling (presented by a transcription symbol, ‘@’ as the meaning of smiling). Those responses show that such ambivalence may play a role in sustaining non-awkwardness following the speaker’s invitation (including laughter). Here is the last example of the ambivalence that includes a display of understanding, acknowledgment and smiling following the speaker’s invitation (including laughter). S invites laughter including her laughter (line 3) and T produces a non-laughing utterance by overlapping with S (from line 4). T presents ambivalence (from line 4) by showing her understanding:

(27)
1S:  @de okitara a yabai mi  [taina]
     “and when (I) woke up, (I found), like ‘oh my god!’”

2T:    [aa]
     “right”
Motivated by S’s invitation through a surprise evaluation “(it’s) really surprised”, and laugh particles (line 3), T then overlaps S’s laughter and shows ambivalence through the absence of laughter and through a display of understanding and agreement (lines 4 to 7). T shares S’s experience through such a display and then describes a similar experience as a sharing stance (from line 7). The ambivalence presented in those extracts follows the pattern of declination in my data. Such examples showed that listener produces ambiguity and indirectness through a display between accepting and declining. This third option might possibly connect to politeness and to avoiding embarrassment and face-loss. Because my research has to investigate laughter as part of listenership in general, culturally specific aspects should be treated as a byline to my overarching study. However, such ambivalence could possibly be linked with politeness and face issues, including those implications that exist when dealing with Japanese contexts (ideology and social conventions, as touched upon in Chapter 2). Such implications will be mentioned in the final chapter, Conclusion.

Despite these examples of ambivalence, there are just a few examples of the listener pursuing her response through verbal disagreement. At the end of this declination, however, the listener presented laughter in order to mitigate her declination. Such laughter was distant (the end of line 4) from the point when the speaker laughed (line 2). In the extract, S pursues her disagreeing response by not laughing at the point when the
Following T’s invitation (indicated by laughter and a surprise evaluation) (line 2), S immediately starts a non-laughing utterance and shows disagreement with T (line 3). She laughs at the end point of this disagreement (the end of line 4). However, this laughter may be distant from the invitation. This laughter may possibly work not as the acceptance but as the mitigation after the negation bikkuri shinai (‘not surprised’), in order to lessen the direct and negative effect of the disagreement (and also to be connected with T’s following laughter (line 6)). As I described above, the display of such a direct disagreement is rarely observed in my data. Therefore there is a further need to consider such a case by considering the other data. The declination pattern followed by non-laughing utterance, however, could be related to some mitigating

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26 It may be an unrelated matter to this chapter because it does not deal with power relations, but this example showed the single case when the student directly disagreed with the teacher in my data. Likewise, in terms of teasing, there were several examples when the teacher teased the student or the student teased the other student. However, there was no example of the student teasing the teacher.
laughter that is not related to acceptance. Such laughter may possibly serve to maintain a non-awkward mode. Again, however, there is a need to consider the other data. Since mitigation can be related to trouble management, this will be illustrated in the later discussion.

Considering the listener’s declination in greater detail, it seems verbal activities may possibly backup the non-laughter. The data shows that verbal responses or reactions, acknowledgement, agreement, and understandings, and some supportive utterances might possibly play a role in displaying ambivalence by connecting laughter and verbal activities.\footnote{27}

I have discussed the patterns of laughter as they appear in the invitation to laugh. I have considered the speaker’s invitation and the listener’s responses through acceptance and declination. In the next section, I will present the patterns of laughter in a context of trouble management.

5.3 Laughter in Contexts of Trouble Management

As Glenn (2003: 64) suggests, “not all laughs invite shared laughter”. There are certain situations relevant to the issue of this quotation. The above laughter patterns triggered by the invitation are based on a non-problematic context that comes into existence by telling a surprise story. However, when problematic circumstances happen in the ongoing process, the listener’s laughter may play an important role in dealing with such a problematic or trouble situation. In my study, a problematic or trouble situation includes moments when the speaker failed to do something in conversation such as making speech errors, or failed to tell a good surprise story; when certain embarrassing

\footnote{27 There were some cases in my data when the listener showed a non-laughing response through acknowledgement and understanding following the speaker’s conclusion of a story without laughter. Such cases could be regarded as controversial because it would appear that laughter is not necessarily the default reaction in surprise story-telling. However, it might be possible that the listener does not really \textit{find} what she has been told is surprising, but is motivated by politeness or trouble-avoidance to \textit{agree} that it is surprising. I would not like to claim that the normal response to a ‘surprise story’ is laughter (in the same way that it is for a joke), such that the absence of laughter is always noticeable. But rather, I would like to make a weaker claim that laughter can be the expected reaction to a surprise story when it is primed by a laughable in surprise story-telling.}
situations appeared; when the speaker was in a problematic situation such as searching for a surprise topic. In dealing with the listener’s contribution in such a problematic context, there could be three patterns of laughter: (1) the speaker may laugh first and then the listener (or vice versa), (2) the speaker’s laughter may be absent and yet the listener may laugh anyway, and (3) the speaker may laugh while the listener’s laughter is absent. I shall call the first pattern, *joint laughter*, the second pattern, *listener’s solitary laughter*, and the third pattern, *speaker’s solitary laughter*. The first one includes consecutive, overlapping and simultaneous laughter.

Here are some of the examples of the joint laughter:

(29)
1R: 「tairyoo hassei shiteru(0.5)koto(.)gurai ka(h)na(.)」『bikkuri shiteru no tteh』
→ “appear (0.5) (this) may be only one surprise hh”

2L: 『hhhh ① bikkuri shita [yo ①]』
→ “hhhh (you)surprised me”

3 『sore BIKKURI nano ka yo』
   “is (that) SURPRISING?”

(30)
1L: 『zettai gome nuu bura no ① ha(h)na(h)shi(h)de hu』
→ “absolutely – sorry about the story of NuBra hu”

2R: 『hu ha ha ha ha ha hh ee hoka nimo nanka yasu katta ①』
→ “hu ha ha ha ha ha hh well was there anything cheap?

In the first extract, R is having trouble finding a surprise topic. She presents a small surprise topic by including self-denigration through laughter (line 1). L teases R by laughing and saying that the topic is not surprising (line 3). This series displays how the joint laughter between the participants is consecutive (speaker-listener) and overlapping (lines 1 and 2). The second example nearly involves simultaneous laughter. R laughs (line 1) in response to L’s apology for telling a surprise story that might be embarrassing (line 1). This simultaneous laughter also shows the joint laughter (lines 1 and 2). In addition, the next extract shows the consecutive laughter — as appears when the listener laughs first and then the speaker:
When L is having trouble determining how to tell her story appropriately (line 1), R laughs in order to add her sympathy (line 2). L’s laughter then follows (line 3). This laughter series is regarded as the joint laughter that is consecutive (listener-speaker) and overlapping. I regard the joint laughter in these awkward contexts as shown above: as overlapping, simultaneous, and consecutive (speaker-listener or listener-speaker). In addition, the listener’s solitary laughter may appear in such a trouble context:

(32)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1S:     | bikkuri shita koto tte iwareru to | “the topic is a surprise, but,”
| 2T:     | “huhuh” |
| 3T:     | (you) don’t remember |
| 4S:     | “(I) will be, ‘oh!’ but,” |
| 5S:     | “and(. obligation) just before, uhm(.) when waiting and sitting, (I) thought,” |
| 6T:     | “huhu right yeah” |
| 7S:     | “uhm(.) I’m working a part-time job and,” |

While S is having trouble finding a surprise topic, listener T provides laughter (line 2 and 6). This laughter is performed by the listener alone. I treat this kind of laughter as the listener’s solitary laughter in a problematic context. Contrary to these examples that
are relevant to the listener’s participation, the following extract involves the speaker’s laughter in particular. T tells a surprise about Kobe earthquake that happened to her:

(33)  
1R:  *mou yappari shi- ichiban bikkuri shita(.,)tte iuka(.,)wasurerarenai tte iu ka,=* 
“you know, the most surprising thing (.,)or(.,)unforgettable one, like”

2L:  =fuun [n] 
“huun”

3T:  [*un(.,) sore wa yappari(.,) uun anojishin no toki no ano (0.8) [shougeki uuhuhuhuuhuhh] 
> “yeah(.,)that was, you know(.,)uhm the impact of the earthquake(0.8)was (tremendous) huhuuhu”

4S:  [hee ee]  
“wow oh”
*kagu toka taorete(,)taoretari shitan desu [ka ]
“did the furniture fell down?”

5T:  [un sore wa (.) un ano taorete kitan desu yo]  
“yeah it (.yeah (it) fell down”

6  *uchi wa ne sono manshon de,*  
“my home is, like apartment,”

7S:  *un*  
“yeah”  
(0.4)

8T:  *anoo : : choudo ju kkai:: dattan desu ne (0.5) dakara yure mo hidokute(1.4)
> “uhm (my room) was on the 10th floor (0.5)so the apartment was tremendously shaking and,”
(1.4)

L laughs when R tells her that she was surprised during the earthquake (line 3). S’s laughter seems absent due to the serious nature of the story. She gives a non-laughing response and asks for further information (line 4). T then pursues the story (from line 5). T’s laughter (line 3) could be related to “troubles-resistance” (Jefferson, 1984b; see also Chapter 3), which shows how she avoids trouble through self-control laughter. This case may not be regarded as the invitation because the speaker laughs for her, and a laughable may be unrelated to this problematic context. The listener’s non-laughing response could also be connected to “troubles-receptiveness” (Jefferson, 1984b), which might be a response that takes the speaker’s trouble as problematic. This laughter indicates the speaker’s laughter alone and I regard this as the speaker’s solitary laughter in the context of trouble management.
I have considered three possible types of laughter patterns: joint laughter, the listener’s solitary laughter and the speaker’s solitary laughter in trouble management. In order to investigate the listener’s role in such a context, the later discussion will shed light on the functions of laughter by specifically dealing with the joint laughter that was likely to appear in the context of trouble management. The listener’s solitary laughter (such as the case of extract 32) seemed unlikely to be found. I have thus decided to shed light on the joint laughter.

5.4 Functions of Laughter

In relation to the above patterns of laughter, I consider the functions of laughter by dealing with listenership in the interactive process.

In a generally conversational context, all of the above acceptance patterns could be linked to certain communicative functions. I claim that there are two functions: responding/reacting and constituting. When the speaker invites laughter through the speaker’s initiation (including laughter and laughable), the listener is expected to join in laughing. The listener, by laughing, responds/reacts the speaker’s contribution. Such a function also may include the meaning of appreciation, acknowledgement, agreement, and the like. In the above examples (extracts 12, 13 and 14), the listener laughed in response to the speaker’s invitation (including laughter and a laughable). The listener responded/reacted the speaker’s contribution through laughter. The responding/reacting function can be highly motivated by the speaker’s initiation of laughter. On the one hand, if a laughable (including an occasion) appears when the speaker’s laughter is absent, the listener may then be expected to initiate laughter. This type of listenership behaviour can be seen when one constitutes a laughable, or when one constitutes a funny element in the other’s production. Such a constituting function may be highly motivated by the listener’s initiation. In the above examples (extracts 16 to 24), the listener might contribute to constituting a laughable or a laughable element during the speaker’s preceding utterance; such a constituting was achieved through laughter.

Moreover, these two functions can create affiliation between the participants. In short,
these two functions can be related to the acceptance patterns, and may indirectly fulfill certain contributions to listenership behaviour and to the achievement of a co-production of conversation.

In a context of trouble management, I consider functions of the listener’s laughter in the patterns of joint laughter as mentioned above. I present the functions of the listener’s laughter such as sympathy/understanding, humorous treatment, mitigation, and evasion, in order to resolve, fix or coordinate a trouble situation.

The first function of the listener’s laughter is sympathy and understanding. This function appears in certain trouble situations such as when the speaker loses track of how best to arrange a story, or apologises for her surprise story. In the course of such circumstances, the following examples show the listener’s contribution of laughter by adjusting, fixing or resolving such a trouble situation and maintaining mutual relations through a display of sympathy or understanding. The first extract shows the listener’s sympathy in response to the speaker when she loses track of how to best tell a story. The joint laughter between the participants is consecutive, overlapping or simultaneous (listener-speaker). The listener responds or reacts through laughter when the speaker’s problem becomes apparent. She here starts telling a surprise and has just provided background information for the story:

(34)

1L:  =sorekara shiriatta n dake  [do,
“then I met (her) but,”

2R: [un
“yeah”

3L:  dene, ee: douiu fuu ni hana sou,  [ee tto ne
“and, oh how I should tell (the story), well, yeah”

4R:  [huhu  [huhu@ yuikkuri de @
“(you can get to start) slowly ”

5L  [huhuhu sou
“huhuhu yeah”

(0.2)

6L:  de onaji jiki ni  [, shiriatta, ano, kare ga ite =
“and, at the same period, I met my boyfriend and,”
L hesitates to proceed with the details of the story because she is losing the arrangement of the story (line 3). R provides laughter and sympathy with a verbal response (line 5). L’s joins in with some laughter (line 5) and then proceeds with the story in line 6. The listener’s laughter may play a role in understanding the speaker’s situation, resolving this awkward situation, and in maintaining mutual relations.

The listener’s laughter may contribute to her expression of appreciation for the speaker’s story. The following extract shows how such a case takes place when the speaker concludes her story with self-deprecation and an apology. The joint laughter between the participants (simultaneous laughter) occurs:

(35)

1R:  
\[
\text{demo sore ga hada ga doonano kana tte iu =} \\
\text{“but I wonder whether that seal is good for the skin, or not”}
\]

2L:  
\[
\text{ne (.)hada da } \quad \text{[mon ne} \\
\text{“yeah(.) it sticks to the skin, you know”}
\]

3R:  
\[
\text{[soo soo soo huhuhuh} \\
\text{“yeah yeah yeah huhuhuh”}
\]

4L:  
\[
\text{zettai gome nuu bura no } \quad \text{(ha(h)na(h)shi(h)de hu} \\
\text{“absolutely sorry about the story of NuBra hu”}
\]

5R:  
\[
\text{[hu ha ha ha ha ha hh ee hoka nimo nanka yasu katta } \\
\text{“hu ha ha ha ha ha hh well was there anything cheap?”}
\]

Following L’s apology (line 4), R starts laughing (line 5) and L then also provides some laughter (line 4). They almost laugh simultaneously. R’s immediate laughter in response to L’s apology reveals a certain amount of appreciation, sympathy and understanding for L’s situation. Such laughter may bring about a non-awkward circumstance instead of a possible face-loss.

These two examples display how the listener’s laughter resolves a possibly awkward situation, displays sympathy, understanding and appreciation, and maintains a human relationship between conversational participants.
Another listenership behaviour that resolves a trouble or embarrassment is humorous treatment of the subject. I will consider how such a function works when the speaker makes an error in her speech, especially when she is struggling to find a surprise, or notices that she has somehow strayed from her surprise topic. In such circumstances, the listener may treat the speaker’s situation as funny, or may tease the speaker.

Firstly, I will examine listenership behaviour in the case of error correction. In the following extract, the speaker makes an error when giving background information. The listener treats this as a humorous situation. The following laughter shows joint laughter that is consecutive (listener-speaker) and overlapping:

\[(36)\]
((Since R is from Yamagata prefecture (the north of Japan), L asks R whether one place exists there. But she makes a mistake of the name.))

1L: \textit{yoneyama} \textit{tte aru} \textit{“is (it called) as ‘Yoneyama’?”} \\
2R: \textit{a yonezawa} \textit{uhuhuhuhuh} \textit{“oh (you mean) Yonezawa? uhuhuhuhuhu”} \\
3L: \textit{a yonezawa} \textit{uhuhuhu huhuh itta koto aru} \textit{“oh Yonezawa? uhuhuhuhuhuh (I’ve been (there)”} \\
4R: AA hontoo \textit{“OH really?”} \\
5L: =un \textit{“yeah”}

In line 2, R corrects L’s error and laughs in order to treat the mistake as humorous (line 2). R’s laughter appears in line 3, after she has confirmed the right name of the place. Although speaking errors are emergent and may sometimes lead to the speaker’s loss of face, the listener’s laughter may serve as the speaker’s possible face loss (line 2) and as an example of non-serious or humorous treatment. The listener’s laughter then plays a role in resolving the speaker’s awkward situation, and maintaining a relationship between them.

The listener may tease the speaker following an awkward situation. In the following excerpt, R provides a short summary of her surprise at the very beginning of her story. L
teases R and her teasing brings about a humorous effect even though R lacks a surprise topic and is self-deprecating at the end of the conversation. The following laughter is joint laughter that is consecutive (speaker-listener) and overlapping:

(37)
1R:  = EE.: bikkuri shita koto da yo ne(1.0)uuuun(.) [to ne.
   “oh:: (the topic) should be a surprise? (1.0) uhhhhm (.). OK”
   (1.0)
2L:  [ ʰita ʰ]
   “ouch” (L bangs her leg on the chair)
3R:  nanka(0.8)jimoto no kooen ni::(.) karasu ga (0.6)
   “like(0.8)in (my) local park (.). lots of crows (0.6)”
4   tairyou hassei shiteru(0.5)koto(.)gurai ka(h)na(.)
   “appear (0.5) (this) may be only one surprise hh”
5L:  [ hhhh ʰbikkuri shita [yo ʰ]
   “hhhh (you) surprised (me)”
6   sore BIKKURI nano ka yo
   “is (that) surprising?”
7R:  [chigau no(.)((smiling))
   “no(.)”
   “no(.)”
8   nanka:: bikkuri nan da yo nanka ne(.)hisashiburi ni(0.9)
   “like (this) is a surprise listen (.). after a long time (0.9)

R shows her trouble since she only has a trivial surprise, gurai ka(h)na, ‘(this) may be only one surprise’ (lines 1 to 3). She then laughs in order to downplay this circumstance (line 4). L provides laughter and a verbal reaction (line 5). She teases R by saying that she is surprised that R brought up such a trivial surprise-topic, bikkuri shitayo, sore BIKKURI nano ka yo ‘you surprised me, is that SURPRISING?’ . The former reaction (line 5) is produced ironically, while the latter reaction, in particular the item, ka yo (line 6), includes rudeness but is allowed in close-knit groups. This rude item, ka yo (the question particle ka plus final particle yo) displays the listener’s role of the tsukkomi ‘the sharp man’ in Japanese humorous communication (Oshima, 2006; Inoue, 2006).

According to Oshima, “Japanese people are highly aware of the roles they are playing in humorous communication” (Oshima, 2006: 105). Such roles include the relationship between the boke ‘the fool’ and the tsukkomi ‘the sharp man’. The fool’s role (meaning ‘vague’, ‘confused’, ‘addled’, or ‘fuddled’) is to make stupid or out-of-context statements and to engage in cognitive misunderstandings, whilst the sharp man’s role
(meaning ‘to thrust’, ‘to poke’, ‘to be sharp’, ‘aggressive’) involves making statements in order to correct or put down the fool (Oshima, 2006:105). The fool’s production always precedes the production of the sharp man (Oshima, 2006). The sharp man’s response is quite significant for creating a humorous frame based on the contradictions between the roles. Furthermore, the in-group relationship is important for achieving humorous communication between the roles of the fool and sharp man. Since the participants in this extract are mutual friends, L first plays the fool by self-deprecating her awkward situation, and R then plays the role of the sharp man by teasing or poking. The use of the item *ka yo* can be one of the typical items produced by the sharp man (particularly among young generations) and can bring about a sharp response. Following such a sharp response, R then explains and provides the details of the story (from line 7). In order to accomplish such a humorous communication, the production of laughter and the listener’s ability to play the role of the sharp man is pivotal. In this sense, the listener’s immediate humorous treatment and the production of laughter following the speaker’s self-deprecation may serve to save the speaker’s face loss and coordinate a possible trouble or embarrassment.

Likewise, in the in-group communication, the listener’s sharp response or reaction may be observable at the end of the surprise topic. In the following example, L notices her failure that her talk was not a surprise in the end. She then self-deprecates this awkward situation and laughs it off. R teases L by agreeing about R’s failure and providing a sharp response in reply. The laughter series (lines 4 and 5) displays the joint laughter that is consecutive (speaker-listener) and overlapping:

(38)  
1L: *nte ka nande kenka shiten noka mo yoku* [wakannai kedo],  
“anyway (I) have no idea why we (I and my boyfriend) argued through.”  
2R: [uhuhuhuhu]  
“uhuhuhuhuhu”  
3L: [UHHH teiuka biikurishita koto ja naishi ne,] [zenze(h)]n hhh hhh hhh  
“UHHH anyway (this) is not a surprise at all hhh hhh hh”  
4R: [h]h  
“hh”
5R: [un(.)de tashit(h)ka ni
“yeah (that)’s true”

6 hhh choo soreteru(.)hanashi ga hah huh
“hhh (your) talk really strays away from the theme hah huh”

7L: nanka nai no /
“What about (you)?”

After concluding a story (line 1), L notices that her story was not about a surprise but about a complaint to her boyfriend — and that she failed to tell a surprise. She then self-denigrates through laughter (line 3). L immediately provides agreement by playing the role of the sharp man and teases R, *choo soreteru hanashi ga*, (‘the story really strayed away’) (line 5). In particular, the item *choo* (‘very’ or ‘really’) emphasises R’s agreement. Since an expected response to self-denigration (deception) should be denial (Pomerantz, 1984ab), agreement may indicate the listener’s criticism and bring about a possible problem or embarrassment. However, laughter here can bring about a non-serious and humorous outcome, and play a role in fixing a possible problem. In addition, by playing the role of the sharp man, L creates certain humorous and ‘bonding’ effects. As reviewed in the discussion of teasing in Chapter 3, teasing may sometimes be connected with ‘biting’ (Boxer and Cortés-Conde, 1997). The bonding effect described in the above examples may be emphasised due to the close interpersonal relationships of the in-group.

I will describe the third function of laughter in trouble management as mitigation. As introduced in the last section, ambivalence (5.2) is related to some of those moments when the listener disagrees with the speaker’s perspective. Laughter may be produced in order to lessen and mitigate the negative effect. Such laughter is not the norm in my data because the listeners could be expected to accept and appreciate the speaker’s surprise story. However, when the listener fails to show her appreciation, the speaker may be confronted with face-loss. At such times, a possibly awkward or embarrassing situation might occur. In such awkward situations, the listener’s laughter as mitigation may coordinate, resolve, or fix such trouble or embarrassment by bringing about a non-serious effect. In the following example, S shows her disagreement with T’s
surprise story. After discussing their viewpoints, T finally ends with self-denigration, suggesting that the participants’ different perspectives may lie in the generational difference between younger and older. S then shows some agreement and laughter is produced. The laughter (lines 17 to 19) shows the joint laughter that is consecutive (listener-speaker) and overlapping:

(39)
((T tells a surprise that her foreigner student directly asked T about the score in the class. S then lacks to show appreciation for the story because that is not surprising and makes sense to her. ))

1T: aruna da naa nante bi(h)kkuri shi mashita hh

“I was surprised, like ‘(such) a thing could happen’”

2S: [aa demo watashi tomodachi ni onaji hanashi saretara]

“oh, but if my friend told me the same story, I will not probably surprised at (that) hahaha”

3T: [un]

“yeah”

4T: [EE hhhh sore wa jaa hh @ ja ariuru to iw koto @ desu ka]

“OH, does it mean, oh my god, is that possible?”

5S: hee mitaina ka(h)nji [de huh huh hai]

“like ‘wow’, yeah”

6T: [uHUH huh @ demo demo gojibun ga sensei ni sore o iw ka tte iuto, sore wa (. ) [arie teacher?”

8S: [AA] [sou desu ne sore wa chottou,

“oh that’s right, that is (not possible)”

9T: [uun, uun]

“yeah yeah”

10S: anmari kangae rare nai kana

“I can’t believe that”

11T: [uun@]

“yeah”

12T: [ano]

“uhm”

13: [a demo, sou shi(h)you kana toka ittara ta(h) bun anmari bi kkuri shinai desu=

“oh but, if (my firend)say, ‘I’ll directly ask the teacher,’ probably (I’ll not) be surprised.”
14T: 

“HUH oh, is that so?”

15S: 

“yes”

16T: 

“well that is not because the student is from a foreigner and has a different culture,”

17S: 

“huhuhuh”

18T: 

“but because we are in a different generation, is that right?”

19S: 

“yeah (I think) so, oh, but”

20T: 

“yeah yeah yeah”

21T: 

“have you been to foreign countries?”

Following S’s disagreement to T’s surprise story, T lastly concludes with self-denigration and indicates the extent to which her surprise story is related to a generational gap between younger and older. T shows self-denigration and laughs off her misunderstanding (lines 16 and 18). S then agrees with T’s misunderstanding and produces laughter in order to mitigate the verbal agreement (line 19). Since agreement in response to the speaker’s self-denigration may bring about the speaker’s face loss, the listener’s mitigating laughter can fix the ongoing trouble or embarrassment and can involve a non-serious and humorous treatment.

The function of mitigation in the listener’s laughter could be observed when she shows disagreement or produces a negative comment such as self-denigration. Following the speaker’s laughter in the self-denigration, mitigation may also contribute to fix or recover a trouble or embarrassment and creating or maintaining mutual relations.

The fourth function of the listener’s laughter in trouble management is evasion. The listener may avoid revealing her own perspective in certain awkward situations. When the speaker chooses a surprise topic including complaints about her classmate, the listener may avoid joining in the complaint and laughter may instead bring about an
ambiguous effect by supporting the ongoing interactional process. In the following extract, R begins telling a story about her classmate and employs laughter as mitigation in order to lessen her complaint. L knows the detail of the story and responds with laughter. This laughter (lines 1 and 2) starts with consecutive laughter (speaker and listener), and then with overlapping laughter:

(40)

1R: \(=\text{kono a(h)i(h)da hh} \quad [(.) \text{ mokuyoo no saa ronsakuu=}]\)
“the other day (.) an English writing class on last Thursday,”

2L: \([\text{un huh}]
“yeah huh”

3L: \(=\text{aahaHAHA[HAHA .hah}}
“aahaHAHAHAHA .hah”

4R: \([\text{HUHU/nishuu} \quad \text{[renzoku da(h)]yooohh .huhuh .huh}}\)
“HUHU (they cancelled their presentations) twice in two weeks .huhuh .huh”

5L: \([.huh]
“.huh”

6L: \([\text{nee hehehehehe}}
“yeah hehehehehehe”

7R: \(\text{are wa choo bikkuri shita} \quad [\text{yo ne}}
“that really surprised us, didn’t it?”

8L: \([.huh uum]
“huh uhm”

Following R’s story (lines 1 to 7), L reacts with laughter (lines 5 to 8; one exception is the final particle nee ‘yeah’ in line 6). Without joining in the complaint, the listener’s laughter (in particular lines 5, 6 and 8) may serve as one means of evading a direct response and might help the listener to keep an ambiguous stance.

Firstly, I have explored the listener’s two functions in the acceptance pattern, and have examined them in the context of two different patterns: immediate acceptance and delayed acceptance. Following a discussion of the two types of acceptance patterns, it becomes clear that the listener’s laughter can mainly be associated with the speaker’s invitation. This invitation, however, may be highly motivated by one of two initiations
of laughter: the speaker’s initiation or the listener’s initiation. The acceptance patterns can also be related to these two initiations. In line with these acceptance patterns, two functions can be seen to exist: responding/reacting and constituting. Hence, it is most appropriate if the listener’s contribution either appreciates such invitations or responds to them. On the other hand, responsive laughter that comes about after constituting the preceding laughable (including occasion) can be highly related to another display of listenership. The listener’s laughter through these two functional contributions (responding/reacting and constituting) supports the participants’ affiliation. In one sense then, the listener’s accepting laughter may show that the listener’s important contribution is to appreciate the co-participant’s contribution. It may also show that such work is what causes the participant to accomplish co-production of the interaction.

Secondly, in an awkward or problematic context as trouble management, the specific functions of laughter (sympathy/understanding, humorous treatment, mitigation and evasion) might play a role in resolving, fixing, recovering or recovering the ongoing problem or embarrassment, and maintaining mutual relations. Hence I claim that the main function of the listener is maintaining mutual relations by resolving the ongoing problem or embarrassment. The maintaining function could also serve to lessen the negative effect and create affiliation between the participants. The responding/reacting and constituting functions in a generally conversational context could have a positive effect on each other. However, the maintaining functions (for instance, understanding/sympathy, and humorous treatment) might result from a shift from the negative to the positive effect. The other functions such as mitigation and evasion could also relate to maintaining the psychological balance between the self and the other whilst still bringing about the group affiliation. Since such aspects can be related to interpersonal issues (such as politeness and face), they will be discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

I have discussed patterns of laughter in the speaker’s invitation and response (reaction). Based on certain occasions of invitations, I have demonstrated the listener’s acceptance and declination patterns. The acceptance patterns could be highly motivated either by the speaker’s initiation or by the listener’s initiation. The declination was the absence of
the listener’s laughter and involved moments when the listener pursued a non-laughing utterance. By considering the detailed activities of laughter in the acceptance patterns, I have argued that the listener primarily fulfilled two functions, responding/reacting and constituting, in order to achieve the co-production of conversation in generally conversational contexts. These two functions played a role in displays of affiliation in the ongoing interaction. By contrast, the declination (or absence of laughter) may fail to support such displays, and may result in displays of disaffiliation. However, the ambivalence might work to avoid such a problem or embarrassment. In contrast, laughter also appeared in trouble management. The patterns of laughter in such a context were the joint laughter, the listener’s solitary laughter, and the speaker’s solitary laughter. I described various functions of the listener’s laughter when there are problematic circumstances in the joint laughter interaction. The above functions show how the listener’s contributions can help to recover, fix, resolve or recover (a possible) trouble or embarrassment — in order to bring about affiliative effects. This aspect of maintaining in laughter may reveal another side of listenership behaviour. Here are the main points of the patterns and functions of laughter that I discussed above:

Patterns of the listener’s response in general (in generally conversational contexts)

- Acceptance (consecutive, simultaneous and overlapping laughter)
  (1) Laughter following the speaker’s invitation (+laughter);
  (2) Laughter following the speaker’s invitation (-laughter);
    - Listener’s laughter - Laughter between the participants (listener-speaker);
- Declination
  The absence of laughter following the speaker’s invitation (-laughter);
  - Ambivalence: the third option between accepting and declining.

Patterns of the listener’s response/reaction in troubles management

- Joint laughter (consecutive, simultaneous and overlapping laughter)
  (1) The speaker expresses trouble through laughter and the listener then laughs;
  (2) When the teller is in trouble (without a signal of laughter), the listener initiates laughter and the teller then laughs;
The listener’s solitary laughter
The speaker expresses trouble without laughter and the listener laughs alone;

The speaker’s solitary laughter
The speaker expresses trouble through laughter but the listener’s laughter is absent;

The listener’s laughter functions

Responding/Reacting (in general)
The listener laughs following the speaker’s invitation of laughter and the creation of a laughable (including occasions)

Constituting (in general)
The listener recognises/signals a laughable (often motivated by the occasion) by laughter following a speaker’s production (without laughter):
There are two possibilities: either the listener laughs alone, or the listener laughs and then the speaker laughs;

Maintaining (troubles management)
The listener recovers, fixes, or resolves the ongoing problem or embarrassment through understanding/sympathy, humorous treatment, mitigation and evasion, and maintains mutual relations.

5.5 Conclusion

In order to examine the first and second research questions, this chapter explored the patterns and functions of laughter as part of listenership behaviour in the ongoing interactional contexts (laughter in general and that in troubles management). I dealt with patterns of the listener’s laughter as appear in responses (or reactions) to the speaker’s invitation to laugh (such as exist when telling a surprise). The patterns were acceptance and declination following the speaker’s invitation of laughter. I also focused on cases when such invitations were not allowed because of problems or troubles management. Three patterns were involved: when the speaker laughs and the listener also laughs (the joint laughter); when the speaker’s laughter is absent but the listener’s laughter appears (the listener’s solitary laughter); and when the speaker’s laughter appears but the listener’s laughter is absent (the speaker’s solitary laughter). Focusing on patterns of the joint laughter, I claimed three main functions as contributing to listenership:
responding/reacting, constituting and maintaining. These functions might be related to support for displays of affiliation. All of the listener’s contributions, responding/reacting, constituting and maintaining show the co-production of conversation between speakers and listeners at the micro-level of conversational routines. Based on the patterns and functions of laughter, the next chapter will consider the relationship between such patterns/functions and the macro-structure of surprise story-telling.
Chapter 6
Laughter as Part of the Macro-Structure of Surprise Story-Telling

6.1 Introduction

Based on the patterns and functions of laughter examined in Chapter 5, I will explore the third question: how the laughter patterns and functions (as described in the micro-analysis) relate to the macro-structure of the surprise story-telling genre. Based on the patterns and functions examined in Chapter 5, I will show how the patterns and functions of a listener’s laughter appear in three phase boundaries: first, in the preface to the story; second, in the boundary between the telling and the response; and third, in the response to next phase. It may be possible to observe some active engagement between the teller and the listener at these boundaries. The listener may produce a response or reaction that is motivated by the teller’s contribution or story — and this must be significant in order for the speaker to proceed with the storytelling. The negotiation that enables participants to proceed into the next phase can be expected at these boundaries. In such an active engagement, laughter may indirectly be associated with a listener’s contribution at the boundaries. I will thus explore how the listener’s laughter (as an active display of the listenership function) is related to each phase boundary and to the achievement of the surprise story-telling. In this chapter, I will review particular literature about story-telling structures in order to determine the macro-structure of a surprise story for my data. I will determine the structure of a surprise story (6.2), consider laughter and listenership by constituting functions and patterns in the boundaries (6.3), and provide a relevant conclusion (6.4).

6.2 Story-Telling Structure

In this section, I first describe two accounts of the story-telling structure in order to set out the structure of a surprise story. I first mention the model of the narrative structure (Labov and Waletzky, 1967/2003; Labov, 1972/1999) and then consider the model of
the joke-telling structure (Sacks, 1974). I then determine the structure of the surprise telling.

6.2.1 Narrative Structure

Focusing on the Black English vernacular culture, Labov and Waletzky (1967/2003) and Labov (1972/1999) reveal the structure of a narrative. They define narratives as “one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which [it is inferred] actually occurred” (1967/2003). Such a narrative consists of several parts: abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, result or resolution, and coda (1967/2003: 227) although all of these are not always obligatory. To summarise these important aspects, the abstract summarises the whole story in one or two clauses and this is set up before a story. In the subsequent orientation, the teller provides background information about of the event, including the time, place, persons, and behavioral situations (Labov and Waletzky, 1967/2003). This section identifies “what was going on before the first event of the narrative occurred or during the entire episode” (Labov, 1972/1999: 229). The complicating action is the part of the narrative sequence that relates to a series of events that are reportable. This action mainly consists of narrative clauses that provide, “a series of temporally ordered clauses” (1972/1999: 226). An evaluation is defined as “the part of the narrative that reveals the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative by emphasizing the relative importance of some narrative units as compared to others” (Labov and Waletzky, 1967/2003: 97). Evaluation can basically appear in various places. The resolution is regarded as a “termination of that series of events” (Labov, 1972/1999). The boundary between the complication and the resolution can be identified by “locating the placement of the evaluation” (Labov and Waletzky, 1967/2003: 100). Since the evaluation can occur in various places, such an evaluation is [often] merged with the final action or resolution (Labov, 1972/1999). Although most of the narratives end with some sort of resolution, another section sometimes occurs and is called the coda, “a functional device for returning the verbal perspective to the present moment” (Labov, 28 However, not all narrative orientations, and not all of these sections, possess these four functions (Labov and Waltzky, 1967/2003).
In the coda, the narrator can extend the effect of the narrative connecting to the present (Labov, 1972/1999: 99). Based on these features, I will identify characteristics of the narrative structure with reference to an example collected through my data (extract 1) below. As Labov (1972/1999) mentions, the abstract (that appears before the story) is uncommon and the coda is optional because it is disconnected from the main narrative. I primarily focus on the four other functions. In the following extract, the following four functions were observed in my data: orientation, complicating action, evaluation and resolution:

(41) ((After L’s surprise story, R starts telling her story from line 3.))

1L: sore o mite bikkuri shita(.)kowai(.)kowakatta(.)un(0.5)soo
“when I saw that I was surprised(.)scared(.) I was scared(.)yeah(0.5)yeah”

2R: [fuun
“uh huh”

3L: [sore(1.2)bikkuri shita koto tte nanka akkana
“that’s it(1.2) I wonder I have anything surprised”

(4)

4R: towatashi wa mae itta kamo shire nai kedo, =
“uhm(,) maybe I told you this story before,”

5L: =un
“yeah”

(6)

6R: kanada ni itteta toki ni::, =
“when ((I)) went to Canada,”

7L: =un
“yeah”

(0.3)

8R: ano obentoo tsukatte kuru wake yo ne(0.6) [hosuto famirii ga ne
“my host counselor made a lunch box for me”

9L: [un un un un un
“yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah”

(4)

10R: soshitara sa [a::;
“then ::;”

11L: [un
“yeah”

(0.2)

12R: ninjin ippon pon [to dete kita no
“that was a whole carrot”

132
13L: “uHUHUHU”
   (0.3)
14R: "hajimete mita toki wa honto bikkuri shita"
   “when (I) first saw (that), (that) really made (me) surprised”

15L: “sorya bikkuri suru yo ne =
   “that’s surprising isn’t it?”

16R: "=watashi wa usagi kai [mitaina,"
   “like ‘am I a rabbit?’”

17L: “uhahahaha”
   (0.5)
18R: "demo tabeta yo"
   “but I ate it”
   (0.5)
19R: “mazukatta"
   “it was awful”

20L: [soo nan da (0.6)he [e::
   “I see (0.6) wow”

21R: “[un"
   (0.6)
22L: “sorya bikkuri suru"
   “that is surprising”

23R: “bikkuri desho ↑
   “yeah it was”

24L: “bikkuri shita koto ato(.)nandaro"
   “I wonder another surprise”
   (0.8)

This extract offers orientation by providing some background concerning R’s stay in Canada (lines 3 to 8). The complicating action is described when telling how the host mother put a whole carrot in her lunch box (lines 10 to 12). R then provides an evaluation of the story and expresses her surprise (lines 14 to 16). After this series, R then resolves the story by saying that she finally ate the whole carrot (lines 18 to 19). This extract shows how these components played a role in making a narrative story.

To sum up, I have described what characteristics all of the parts have in a narrative structure. This narrative structure provides us with details concerning how it is systematically ordered and how each element effectively contributes to building a
complete narrative. Whilst the Labovian structure mainly focuses on dealing with the
teller’s side, I now need to shed light on the interactional dimensions that exist between
the speakers and listeners when setting up the surprise telling structure. The above
extract contains the listener’s responses during the speaker’s telling a story. Such
responses seem contribute to the whole story making. In the next section, I will look at a
model of the other structure as it deals with various interactional dimensions.

6.2.2 Joke -Telling Structure

Next, I introduce the structure of joke telling that is built into the form of a story (Sacks,
1974). I then show the related characteristics through an example of the whole story.
Sacks examines the sequential organisation of the telling of a dirty joke in relation to the
sequential organisation of the storytelling in conversation. The joke-telling structure is
divided into three parts: *preface*, *telling*, and *response sequences* (Sacks, 1974: 337).
These are serially ordered and adjacently placed sequences. I will provide details about
these parts by mentioning the above extract 1. The preface phase covers lines 3 to 8, the
telling includes lines 10 to 12, and the response shows lines 13 to 22 in the extract.

The preface sequence is constructed before the teller’s storytelling. Sacks characterises
this sequence as “tak[ing] a minimal length of two turns, the first involving talk by the
intending teller and the second by an intended recipient” (Sacks, 1974: 340). Such a
caracteristic indicates that the structure of joke telling involves interactional
dimensions between speakers and listeners. Prefaces also subsume the following
components: “an offer to tell or a request for a chance to tell the joke or story, an initial
characterization of it, some reference to the time of the story events’ occurrence or of
the joke’s reception […] and a reference to the person from whom it was received if its
prior teller is known or known of by recipients” (Sacks, 1974: 340). By describing these
components, the listener can show either acceptance or rejection, especially to the prior
offer. In addition, the teller can provide the listener with some background for the
ensuing story. Such a description of the background can be equivalent to the feature of
Labov’s orientation that includes event information such as persons, times and
situations. In extract (41), the preface sequence relates to lines 3 to 8: the teller’s offer (line 3), a possible recurrent story that L has heard the same story in the past from R (line 3), the time reference, when R stayed in Canada (line 6), the content of the event that is about a packed lunch her host family mother made (line 8), and the listener’s acknowledgement “un” (yeah) in (lines 5 and 7). These conversations in the preface phase suggest the interactional dimensions between the teller and the listener.

After completion of the preface, a teller starts the storytelling through the *telling sequence* (lines 10 to 12 in extract 41). The teller mainly takes the floor in this sequence. The telling sequence can include one turn at a minimal length. In Labov’s narrative structure, both the complicating actions (lines 10 and 12) and the evaluations (lines 14 and 16) can be relevant to this story-telling structure. Labov and Waletzky, (1967/2003) mention that the boundary between the complicating action and the resolution can be found by identifying the teller’s evaluation. Such a boundary in the joke telling is often related to the punch line. In addition, the complicating action and the teller’s evaluation are often included in the telling sequence. The listener’s response or reaction within the teller’s description of a story (the joke telling) should be minimally expressed in the telling sequence (Sacks, 1974). In such an instance, the listener’s participation may appear primarily through continuers (Schegloff, 1982). In extract 1, the listener produces a continuer “un” (yeah) (line 11) showing her participation in the teller’s story. The teller pursues the ensuing story and finally provides a punch line. In extract (41), R describes in detail the story about how her host mother made a packed lunch for her that consisted of a whole carrot (lines 10 to 12). The fact that the packed lunch was a carrot reflects R’s surprise — and this line works as the punch line of the story. The participants’ ensuing evaluations cover the response sequence.

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29 The preface sequence can also be related to the abstract (Fujii, 2007). There is a similarity: both of the structures are set up before a story. However, the preface sequence lacks a short summary of the story in Labov’s abstract.

30 Since evaluations can be flexible (Labov, 1972/1999), they may appear in the other preface and response sequences.
The response sequence (lines 13 to 22 in extract 41) appears following a punch line that indicates the completion of a joke. Such a sequence relates to three options: (1) laughing, (2) delayed laughing, and (3) silence. The first option is a general response or reaction to a previous joke, as mentioned above. Such laughter should be produced without delay following the previous completion of a joke. In contrast, the second and third options can indicate a problem with turn-organisation, especially since conversation is designed to minimise gaps and silences. In order to minimise such gaps, a certain remedy (such as an expanded response sequence) is provided. In order to produce the delayed laughter, the listeners decline to laugh at the first possibility. The second opportunity for laughing (when the first is delayed) can often cover a developing silence. Any listeners who decline laughter can also produce delayed laughter. When even the delayed laughter does not appear, gaps or silences can occur at the same time. However, as a fourth possibility, the listeners’ silence can also be managed by turning the silence into a non-laughing response or reaction to the previous telling or utterances. As a remedy, the participants may extend further sequences. In extract 41, the response sequence starts from line 13 and ends at line 23. L’s immediate laughter following the punch line (line 13) indicates option 1 as mentioned above: the participants moved into the response phase and the story was then successfully delivered in relation to the listener’s contribution. In Labov’s narrative structure, resolution and coda can be connected with this response sequence. In extract 41, the resolution may appear when R describes the ending of the story that she finally ate a whole carrot (lines 18 and 19). As mentioned above, the distinction between the complicating action and the resolution can be located through the evaluation (Labov and Waletzky, 1967/2003). Following the complicating action (lines 10 and 12 in extract 41) and the teller’s evaluation (line 14), the resolution (line 18 and 19) can be identified. In joke telling, the above complicating action and the teller’s evaluation may relate to the telling sequence, and the response sequence may include the listener’s evaluation (from line 15) and the teller’s resolution (lines 18 and 19). In addition, the participants may sometimes extend the sequence in order to offer clarification when there is misunderstanding, or when there is delayed laughter and silence. This extension can be related to the coda in Labov’s narrative structure. Since the coda is sometimes disconnected with story, it is possible that extract 41 will lack this component.
To summarise, I have considered the structure of joke telling as a form of storytelling. The preface sequence consists of background information to the story and the listener’s acceptance or rejection of the teller’s offer. In the telling sequence, the teller mainly takes the floor and proceeds to present a detailed description of the story. The listener participates in the story through minimal responses or reactions such as continuers. The teller’s punch line can indicate the moment in which the story is completed. The listener can proceed with the response sequence at the teller’s completion of the story (by producing the punch lines). Laughter could be one of the expected reactions to the story (e.g. when a punch line is provided). By contrast, delayed laughter and silence can also occur within this sequence. In order to minimise such gaps, an extended sequence can appear as a remedy.

I have described the Labovian narrative structure and Sacks’s structure in this section. The above observations showed how each part constructed the narrative or joke-telling structure. With respect to my current interest in a surprise story, Sacks’s structure can be relevant for setting up the ensuing surprise telling. This is because Sacks’s structure deals with interactional dimensions between tellers and listeners. Sacks’s structure would seem to be useful for observing interactional aspects between the teller and the listener in the surprise story-telling. However, surprise stories do not always relate to such jokes. In addition, a distinction between surprise stories and jokes is that they may be oriented to as “funny” but are not necessarily told as funny stories from the outset. Despite such differences between them, some components of the narrative structure may be beneficial for understanding the three phases of surprise story-telling as they line up with Sacks’s structure. Hence, I still need to set up the structure for surprise story-telling. I will primarily make use of Sacks’ structure (preface, telling and response phases), supplementing his formula with some additional points that focus on the characteristics of a surprise story-telling, and in reference to components of the narrative structure (Labov, 1972/1999).
6.2.3 Surprise Story-Telling Structure

In relation to Sacks’s joke-telling structure, I will determine the structure of the surprise story as it takes shape in three phases: preface, telling and response. My analysis of the surprise story-telling structure will largely draw on Sacks’s structure as it relates to the general form of telling a story. When looking at the components of each phase, some of the components of the narrative structure may prove to be connected. In addition, I will need to add certain distinctive features of a surprise story (these features will be addressed in the following analysis). The three phases appear in the conversational flow as shown below (Figure 6.1):

Figure 6.1 Phases of surprise story-telling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conversational flow</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Next</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teller A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teller B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Firstly, I need to characterise the preface phase as something that is flexible. As described in Sacks’s structure, the preface phase consists of certain aspects such as the teller’s offer to tell a surprise story, the negotiation of the teller’s and listener’s roles, and the background orientation of the story in Labov’s structure (time reference, persons involved, the event place, the source of the event, and so on). It may be possible to determine the teller’s role and the listener’s role through a process of negotiation. The teller may offer to tell a story, or either participant may request to tell the other a story. In the orientation, the teller starts by asking several questions that are relevant to the ensuing story, such as “Have you seen the film, the *Lord of the Rings*?”, or “Have you been to Disney Land?” . The teller may sometimes start a story by evaluating the story first, “this was really surprising though” or by characterising the event, “this (story) happened recently though”. Furthermore, the teller may provide information about the person’s character or about event characteristics that are related to the ensuing story.\(^{31}\) In Japanese, when providing information for the ensuing story, a linguistic item, *kedo* (*‘though’ or ‘but’*) is typically observed (as seen above). In addition, the teller may

\(^{31}\) Sometimes the abstract in the narrative structure may appear before such information is provided in the surprise story-telling. This component will be referred to in the preface phase.
sometimes include a surprise point (a laughable) in the orientation. Following the orientation, listener B shows some response or reaction (e.g. acceptance of the story) and the participants then move into the telling phase. If the story ends at this stage, then the participants will lack the willingness to proceed with the details of the story and the story will end. The participants will start searching for a new surprise topic. In relation to the narrative structure, the preface phase may consist primarily of the orientation.

In the telling phase, A describes the ensuing story. Such a description may be related to the complicating action and to evaluations of the narrative structure. In addition, listener B then joins in the teller’s description by giving a minimal response such as continuers — or other responses and reactions. The teller then closes the story at the end of this phase. This closing is likely to include certain laughables and surprise evaluations. The distinction between the closing and the beginning of the response phase might sometimes be blurred. Although the listener may speak in the response sequence of the joke-telling, the listener’s reaction or response will still be included in the telling. With reference to the joke-telling and narrative structure, therefore, it would seem that these complicating actions and evaluations are both involved in the telling phase.

The response phase in the surprise story-telling may be characterised more flexibly, although the listener seems more likely to contribute to creating this phase in Sacks’s structure. In this phase, B takes on a teller’s role and proceeds with each phase. Or, A may keep speaking by presenting the incident followed by the present situation. In the very end of this phase, the teller may conclude the whole story by providing a laughable or another surprise evaluation. The listener may then display some reaction or response

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32 Most of the listeners tend to accept or appreciate the story, though some of them may give a sharp response or ask for descriptions in greater detail. In this case, the teller may describe the story as the explanation in the telling phase.

33 When the story ends at the orientation of the preface phase (including a surprise point), it is counted as one story in my study. However, when there is no surprise point it is not counted as one story.

34 And also, sometimes the abstract may be included in this phase.

35 This detailed description may involve Labov’s complicating action (Labov, 1972/1999) as described above.
such as agreement/acknowledgement/or positive reaction. Following these steps, the participants may move on to next topic. In relation to the narrative structure, the response phase may possibly be related to components such as the resolution and coda. In relation to the joke telling and narrative structure, the response phase in the surprise story-telling may involve the resolution, the coda, and certain extensions.

Although this order is a basic one, not all of the conversations always follow this order. Sometimes a teller may skip the preface, or she may stop the story by providing only the orientation (by including a surprise point) in the preface phase. At other times, the participants may extend the telling phase or the response phase. In addition, after A’s telling of a story, A may keep providing another story according to the interactional process. Or the participants may stray from the topic. I am aware that the boundary between each phase is not always distinct. It can often be quite ambiguous.

To sum up, the surprise story-telling can relate to the three sections of the joke-telling structure. In addition, some points are flexibly shared, while other points are coordinated and added. First, both surprise story-telling and joke telling reflect Labovian orientation that includes the background of the story. Surprise story-telling sometimes contains a laughable in the orientation. Second, the closing section of the telling phase in the surprise story-telling is likely to contain both the teller’s conclusion (laughable and evaluation) and the listener’s reaction or response. The complicating action and the teller’s evaluation are often both relevant to the telling phase. Third, although the listener mainly speaks her comment in the response sequence of joke telling, there is a bit more flexibility in the surprise telling. The roles are negotiated by the participants. Either the listener or the teller may become the speaker in the response phase. In the former the listener may take a speaking role and give comments (including evaluations) in response to the preceding story (e.g. whether or not the story is surprising), while the teller in the latter may keep talking about her story as well as giving comments. This aspect may be associated with the resolution in the narrative structure. In addition, the participants may stray from the story topic that is partly

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36 The abstract may also be relevant in this phase.
related to the current topic, or the teller may add to the present situation. Following these extensions, the teller may be likely to conclude her story through a laughable and an evaluation in the ending. Such an ending may be related to the coda in the narrative structure.

Based on the basic background of the macro structure, I will now explain the details of each phase through extract 41 above. I will look at the surprise story-telling structure through this extract. After ending L’s story, R offers to tell a story and the participants enter the preface (lines 3 to 8), telling (lines 10 to 17), and response phases (lines 18 to 23) in order.

In the preface phase (lines 3 to 9), teller R provides some orientation about the events with her host family (and the packed lunch) in Canada. Listener L then expresses the listener’s role through acknowledgement (lines 5 to 9). Following the mutual engagement between the participants, R moves into the telling phase (lines 10 to 17). R then tells what happened to her packed lunch box (the whole carrot) (line 12) and proceeds to close the story with a surprise evaluation (line 14). Around this closing, the teller may provide surprise points (laughables) and evaluations. In this case, the laughable is the fact that there was a whole carrot in the lunch box; this point was characterised with an evaluation, bikkuri (‘surprise’). The listener may then be expected to show her response or reaction to the teller’s closing. She here reacts with laughter to the laughable (line 13) and appreciates the story with a surprise evaluation (line 15). In the closing, the listener reacts to the teller’s preceding contribution.

In the response phase (lines 18 to 23), the listener may play a main role by speaking and giving a comment in this phase, or the teller may speak of the present situation or the continuation of the story. In this story, R speaks of the final result when she says that she ate the whole carrot (lines 18 and 19). L then shows her response (line 20). This may relate to the resolution in the narrative structure. Following some silence, both of the participants complete the story by giving a surprise evaluation (lines 22 and 23) and moving into next topic (line 24). In the very end of the story, the participants may be
likely to provide such an evaluation as the ending of the story, and may reach the final achievement through such a mutual agreement or conclusion (in this case, giving a mutual evaluation).

Here is another example. L offers R to take a teller’s role (line 1). The preface phase then begins (lines 4 to 15), and the participants proceed with the telling phase (lines 16 to 45) and the response phase (lines 46 to 52):

(42)
1L:  
"well(.) you are first"

2R:  
"oh me?"

3L:  
"huh huhuhuhuhu"

4R:  
"listen"

5L:  
"yeah"

6R:  
"at a part-time job,"

7L:  
"yeah"

8R:  
"uhm(.) I’m working at Starbucks coffee"

9L:  
"oh are you working at Starbucks?"

10R:  
"yeah"

11L:  
"yeah yeah yeah"

12R:  
"and, it’s like, a customer(.) when a customer leaves.”

13L:  
"yeah"
14R:  = minna arigatou go zai masu tte iu [ja nai ↑]
“everyone says, ‘thank you’ (to the customer), you know”

15L:  [un un]
“yeah yeah”

16R:  de an toki ni ne(.), arigatoo gozaimaasu tte ittee,
“and at that time(.) I said, ‘thank you’ and,”

17L:  =un =
“eyah”

18R:  de koo(0.3) demo nanka sagyoo o shitetee, =
“and like this(0.3) but it was like, I was working and,”

19L:  =un un =
“yeah yeah”

20R:  =de nanka tootta karaa,
“and like, she passed me, so”

21L:  =n =
“yeah”

22R:  [honto wa nee(.), kao o mitte iwanakya ikenain = dakedoo,
“actually(,) we should say, ‘thank you’ looking at her face, but,”

23L:  =n n =
“yeah”

24R:  nanka son toki isogashi kute sagyoo o shite tee <,
“it was like, at that time I was busy so was working and,”

25L:  =n =
“n”

26R:  = ari gatoo gozai- nanka tootta no ga wakatta [karaa,
“(I said)‘thank you,’ it’s like, I noticed she passed me, so,”

27L:  [un=
“yeah”

28R:  = arigatoo gozaimaasu tte itte patto mita[r]aa,
“I said, ‘thank you’ and, when I looked up at her,”

29L:  “yeah
(.)

Entering telling phase
“it’s like, that person hh, while leaving, she was brushing her teeth in the café hhh, so I thought ‘what?!?’ and,”

“huh hah in the morning?”

“no no(.) as usual(.) around lunch time”

“oh ---”

“everyone(.) was eating their lunch(.), you know”

“I see”

“in the cafe”

“I see”

“other customers”

“oh”

“But that(.)person was ‘she’ but,(.) she left the café, brushing her teeth”

“But that(.)person it was ‘she’ but,(.) she left the café, brushing her teeth”

“oh what is the person doing? hhh huhuhuhu”

“I don’t know, so I was surprised and,”

“it’s surprising hh huhuh huhuh”
In the telling phase (lines 16 to 31), the listener participates in the teller’s description through several responsive activities. The basic method offers a minimal response through backchannelling, un (‘yeah’) and through laughter that shows listenership and understanding (Sacks, 1974; 1992). The other method questions the teller’s description so as to indicate that there is some confusion with understanding (Sacks, 1974). Triggered by the listener’s questioning of the event, the teller then responds and can proceed with the description in greater detail. For instance, the listener asks R to give more details, asa ‡ (‘in the morning?’) (line 31) and kakko wa ‡ (‘what did she look like?’) (line 41).37

37 In some dialogues between friends in my data, they co-construct a story by this questioning
In closing, the teller concludes through a surprise evaluation (line 44). The listener’s evaluation marks the end of this phase (line 45) and is the boundary line between the telling phase and the response.

Finally, in the response phase (line 46 to 52) the teller still adds some relevant points to the story (line 46 and 49). The listener then demonstrates his/her agreement with the preceding story by giving a surprise evaluation. The teller finally concludes her story through a surprise evaluation (line 51) and the listener’s reaction (through laughter) then appears (line 52). Such an engagement may indicate that the whole story has finished. This kind of ending may be related to the coda in the narrative structure (Labov, 1972/1999: 229). Once the participant introduces another topic, it is another indication that the story has ended (line 52).

In terms of the response phase as mentioned above, the participants sometimes extend the phases that are partly related to the preceding story. The following fragment shows the extension:

(43)
1L:  zettai gome nuu bura no  (ha(h)na(h)shi(h)de hu

→ “absolutely – sorry about the story of NuBra hu”

2R:  [hu ha ha ha ha ha hh ee hoka nimo nanka yasu katta †

→ “hu ha ha ha ha ha hh well was there anything cheap?

(0.2)
3L:  yasu:i ne(.)nanka futsuu no kyami sooru ga:(h) (0.2)hyaku ju  (kyu(h)ento(h)ka hhhhh .hh

“yeah (.) it’s like, a normal camisole (0.2) costs ¥119 hhhhhh hh” ((1pound))

4R:  [HAHAHAHAHA hh hh hh hh

“HAHAHAHAHA hh hh hh hh”

Listener R asks L to provide further information about a previous story (line 2). Following this question, the participants begin to extend the response phase.

method. For instance, during the listener’s questioning, the teller proceeds with the ensuing story. They keep questioning and explaining and this results in co-constructing a surprise story.
To summarise the whole structure of a surprise story-telling:

**Preface phase**
- Participants flexibly determine the teller’s role. The teller’s offer to tell a story, or the participant’s request to tell the other a story, and the response, are exchanged;  
- The teller provides the orientation (the background of the story) and she may sometimes provide a laughable;  
- The prospective listener shows her response or reaction;  

**Telling phase**
- The teller proceeds with the ensuing story;  
- The listener shows her participation with various responses and reactions (backchannelling, questioning, evaluation, repetition, and the like);  
- The teller provides a laughable or surprise evaluation, and they typically appear in the closing;  
- The listener may react to the teller’s preceding contribution or to the story in closing. (Appreciation: the teller may end the topic or extend the topic; the participants will proceed to the response phase);  

**Response phase (Expansion)**
- There are two possibilities. (Extension: the teller adds another detail e.g. the present situation, explanations and so on):  
  (1) The listener may react to the teller’s preceding contribution or story mainly by speaking in the phase;  
  (2) Or the teller mainly becomes the speaker in the phase by keeping her talk about the preceding story, and the listener responds or reacts to it;  
- The teller’s conclusion with a surprise evaluation and silences after completing the conclusion can signal the end of the topic;  
- The listener may react to the teller’s conclusion in the ending.

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38 Sometimes, a participant may spontaneously take a teller’s role without an offer. This case indicates that there is no problem in determining the teller’s role, and that the preface phase is smoothly constructed. This case will be mentioned later.  
39 Or the participants may move back to another exchange of offer and the response. A few cases are observed in my data.
The table below shows the process of the story:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teller (potential)</th>
<th>Listener (potential)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Preface</strong></td>
<td>(1B) Response/Reaction to 1A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1A) Orientation (sometimes including a surprise point)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Telling</strong></td>
<td>(2B) Response/Reaction: backchannel, evaluation, question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2A) Details of the story: detail, evaluation, surprise point</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3A) Closing: surprise point (laughable), evaluation</td>
<td>(3B) Response/Reaction to 3A: ENDING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Response</strong></td>
<td>(4B) Response/Reaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4A) Extension: detail, present situation, relevant topic (listener may introduce it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5A) Ending: conclusion with surprise evaluation</td>
<td>(5B) Response/Reaction to 5A: ENDING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>positive/negative, agreement/disagreement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Focusing on the boundary between the phases, the listener’s response or reaction can be expected when the teller intends to move the current phase into the next phase. Although the listener’s responses or reaction can be seen in other places, these boundaries could be an important point for proceeding with the ensuing story, and includes some active negotiation between the teller and listener for achieving a co-production. Given a response or reaction from the listener, the teller may be able to proceed to the next phase. Such a response or reaction may relate to the phase boundary between the current phase and the next. As the table shows, the listener’s reaction or response (1B, 3B and 5B) may be expected and may indirectly relate to creating the boundary between the present and ensuing phase e.g. the preface to the telling (1B), the telling to the response (3B), or the response to the next topic (5B). In my ensuing analysis, I will investigate these three phase boundaries in order to look at the

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A few cases end the story at this stage. This happens only when either participant prefers to end the story when providing a surprise point.
negotiation and co-production between the participants, and in order to consider the listener’s role. The first boundary is from the preface to the telling phase (1AB); the second boundary is from the closing of the telling phase followed by the move into the response phase (3AB); and the third boundary is from the very end of the response to the next topic (5AB). By looking at the listener’s response and reaction in these boundaries, I will consider how laughter (patterns/functions) could be related more generally to the listener’s responses or reactions in each boundary.

6.3 Laughter in Phase Boundaries of Surprise Story-Telling

Based on the ideas examined in Chapter 5, I examine the relationship between patterns/functions of laughter and the structuring of a surprise story. As described above, the listener’s response or reaction to the teller may be expected at each phase boundary in order for the story-telling to continue. In dealing with the listener’s contribution, I shed light on the three phase boundaries, and examine how laughter could be linked with a listener’s contribution. Laughter could appear in other places (other than these phase boundaries). However, since these three boundaries can be essential to building up the whole story, the interaction between the participants could be quite active and could enable me to consider the listener’s participation in achieving the co-production of a surprise story. It may thus be worthwhile to explore the listener’s relationship to laughter at each phase boundary.

Focusing on the three phase boundaries (1B, 3B and 5B in table 6.1), I thus investigate how the patterns and functions are distributed in each boundary of the structure in accordance with a conversational context (e.g. with/without troubles) that relates to the listenership behaviour. Dividing the conversational context into two, general/problematic, I consider the patterns/functions of the listener’s laughter in both contexts. Since the listener’s response or reaction to the teller’s production is inevitable in order to proceed with the storytelling in each phase boundary, I shall focus on the listener’s response and reaction in each boundary and examine how the patterns/functions of laughter relate to his or her role.
As we have seen in Chapter 5, laughter can have the following patterns and functions. In the patterns of laughter that relate to a humorous context there is acceptance (immediate/delayed laughter), either by the teller’s action or the listener’s action, and declination (ambivalence). In troubles management there are three patterns of laughter: joint laughter, the listener’s solitary laughter and the teller’s solitary laughter. Since the joint laughter in this context is quite likely to appear, I will shed some light on it throughout this chapter.\textsuperscript{41} I will present three functions of the listener’s laughter that may contribute to listenership behaviour in relation to these patterns: responding/reacting, constituting and maintaining. The former two functions are relevant to a conversational context in general, while the last function is relevant to troubles management.

6.3.1 First Phase Boundary

I will now identify the listener’s laughter when considering the first phase boundary from the preface to the telling phase (1AB in table 6.1). The boundary is divided into two contexts: when a trouble context emerges and when there is no trouble. I will show how the listener’s laughter will be able to relate to a place of boundary.

I here discuss how laughter tends to be absent when providing the orientation and how laughter tends to appear whenever the teller contains a surprise point (laughable) in the orientation (1A in table 6.1). The listener tends to use backchannelling in order to acknowledge the orientation. The teller then describes particular details in the telling phase. For instance, in response to R’s production of the orientation (about her part time job at Starbucks coffee bar in lines 4 to 14 of extract 2), L mainly employs backchannelling (lines 5, 7 and 11).\textsuperscript{42} Likewise, in the following extract R provides the orientation by characterising the story as an old one that the listener might already have heard (line 4). L acknowledges this (line 5), and R’s detailed description launches into

\textsuperscript{41} I will now shed light on the listener’s laughter as the maintaining function in the trouble context (though I described the speaker’s laughter in Chapter 5): the listener’s involvement may be less affected by the speaker’s single laughter (such as by his/her self-controlling laughter), than by the speaker’s invitation of laughter in general.

\textsuperscript{42} Except for an inserted question and answer sequence (lines 9 and 10).
These two extracts suggest that laughter is absent when providing an orientation. This is often due to the absence of surprise points and laughables.

By contrast, some of the orientations may contain surprise points leading to laughables. Laughter is often observed in this part. When the teller provides an orientation of the story and contains a surprise point in it, the listener’s response (either positive or negative) can be related to laughter. The following extract shows the listener’s positive comment (lines 8 and 9) in response to an earlier orientation (lines 4 to 7). In the orientation the teller contains a laughable. The listener shows her interest (line 8) following the teller’s invitation by her action (laughter and a laughable: “NuBra” in line 7). This response implicitly indicates that her positive comment is a good surprise topic:
(45)

1L:  
$huhuh uhhuhuh^{13}$  
“huhuh uhhuhuh”

2R:  
$aru : {sai}kin bikkuri shita [koto]$  
“did you have anything surprising happen recently?”

3L:  
$[bikkuri shita koto \uparrow 0.4]anmari (1.1)$  
“surprise ? (0.4) not really (1.1)”

4L:  
$etto : (. \text{ kono mae : demo(.)} a : \uparrow 0.4 \text{ chigau .(.)}$  
“well (. some time ago, but(. oh (.) it’s not(.”

5L:  
$kinoo \uparrow (.\text{sugoi yasui omise ni itte yoofuku toka ippai utten dake [do,}$  
“yesterday I went to a super discount shop and it sells lots of clothes and,”

6R:  
$[u : n$  
“yeah”

7L:  
$nuubu(h)ra ga u(h)tte [(h)te hhh,$  
“I found ‘NuBra’ (the bra without straps) and hhh,”

8R:  
$[e(h) : hhh \text{ chotto are wa doo nano}] \uparrow$  
“oh hhh hey! how is that like?”

9R:  
$[chetto kekkoo atashi mo tameshite mitain da \text{kedo}$  
“actually I wanna try it too”

10L:  
$[uHAHAHAHA \uparrow$  
“uHAHAHAHA”

11L:  
$[e : (. \text{ zettai } \uparrow.)$  
“well (. absolutely(.”

((Moving back onto the telling phase))

There is a phase boundary between the preface (till line 10) and the telling (from line 11) in this example. The teller’s orientation characterises the background of the story (that she went to the discount shop and found “NuBra”) (till line 7) and the listener’s reaction (lines 8 to 9) shows a positive one or interest in the topic.

Following the invitation by the speaker’s action through the use of laughable and laughter (line 7), R’s laughter immediately appears and the verbal response or reaction (line 8) indicates her acceptance for the preceding orientation (lines 4, 5 and 7). Such laughter is meant to support the participants’ affiliation relevant to the listener’s positive

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43 Laughter appears because of starting the video recording (lines 1 and 2).
interest in the surprise topic. In addition, there is a phase boundary (between lines 10 and 11) as mentioned above. R’s acceptance of the response to the preceding invitation appears before shifting the conversation into the telling phase (line 11). Such an acceptance can be related to the phase boundary from the preface to the telling phase. In this acceptance, the listener’s laughter functions as responding/reacting and the teller may move into the next stage after receiving such a response/reaction. In the next example, R starts describing the background of the story as the orientation by characterising her ensuing story as surprising (line 8). L’s response or reaction is pursued as follows (line 7) and R then moves into the telling phase (line 10):

(46)

1R:  hh nanka [nai no kana(.),atashi saikin bikkuri shita koto wa (0.5)
“hh I wonder I have anything surprised(.) my surprise is (0.5)”

2L:  [hh ((L keeps smiling))
“hh”

3 bikkuri / shita koto(.),a maa odoroitan dakedo,
“surprise? (.) well (this) was surprising though.”

4L:  un “yeah”

5R:  jitensha ga [ne] mae karat,.yatte ki [te](0.2)futsuu ni tsuitotsu sareta no
“(the man) riding a bicycle approached me and(0.2) hit (me)”

6L:  [@un@] [un@]
“yeah” “yeah”

7L:  uso [·hhh ·hhh]
→ “you are kidding .hhh .hhh ”

8R:  [so da yo ne hhh]
→ “I know hhh ”

9L:  (h)arui tete?
→ “(h)(you) were walking?”

(.)

10R:  sou saka o kou nobotte tara, = ((the right hand up))
“yeah when (I) was going uphill,”

11L:  =@un@
“yeah”
Motivated by R’s invitation of laughter (which includes a surprise point in line 5 about the old man hitting her on a bicycle), L immediately signals her acceptance through laughter. L had noticed a laughable in R’s preceding surprise point (expressed without laughter). L’s verbal response, *uso* (‘you’re kidding’) may also suggest that she is really surprised and is interested in the story. Under the acceptance pattern, this laughter functions as the discovery in order to signal her recognition of a laughable. L then keeps continuing laughter (line 9) and asks R to explain the story in detail (line 9). L’s questioning displays her interest in the event (line 9) and causes R to proceed with the telling phase (line 10). R also signals her laughable through laughter (line 8) when motivated by L’s immediate acceptance (line 7). Motivated by the listener’s constituting laughter, R’s laughter comes into the conversation and they achieve a co-production of laughter. The listener’s immediate acceptance may work in such a co-production. In addition, the listener’s constituting laughter shows recognition of the proposed story as one that is interesting – and it indirectly calls for the boundary that exists from the preface to the telling. The listener’s constituting laughter may indirectly support the affiative process between the participants.

In contrast with cases of the listener’s laughter, it seems unlikely that the declination of laughter will appear in response to the invitation. However, a few examples are the exception. The following extract shows the ambivalence between accepting and declining in response to the speaker’s invitation. S presents the orientation about her story event (lines 8 to 16) and T then shows understanding and gives positive feedback to the event (lines 17 to 19). The participants then move into the next telling phase (from line 24):

(47)  
1T: *eto, bikkuri shita koto tte, atashi, dou desu ka, sai* [kin arimasu ka  
“well, surprise, what about you? Do you have anything recently?”

2S: *bikkuri shita koto wa*  
“surprise”

3T: *[mae demo iito omoun desu kedo, un*  
“something in the past should be OK but,”
e, futsu, nichijou [no koto dehhh
“oh usual, (is it OK) about daily life?”

sou desu yo ne, nichijou no koto, sou ne, atashi mo yappa nichi jou no koto kana

[itte, omoun desu kedo
“right, about daily life, yeah, I also expect something about daily life but,”

sou desu yo ne
“that’s right”

ejee
“yes”

ano, are desu, ano, i [kkai
“uh, (I have something, uh, once”

[un
“yeah”

okiru toki ni mezamishi o to me [te
“when (I) wake up but stop the watch and,”

[un [n
“yeah”

mata, nete shima [itte
“again, (I) have slept and,”

[un
“yeah”

de okitara a yabai mi [taina
“and when (I) woke up, (I found), like ‘oh my God!’”

[aa
“right”

nanka@ su(h)goi bikkuri [toka (h)tte dou desu ka
“like (I thought) ‘(it’s) really surprising’, how about (this surprise)?”

[@sou desu yo ne, tashi ka ni bikkuri tte no waa,

bikkuritte sono shunkan [teki na koto dakara@
that’s right, probably a surprise means, that moment (something) happened, so,”

[@aa, aa, aa, aa, hai@ =
“right right right right yes”

[@sou desu yo ne a [a arimasu arimasu@
“that’s right oh I have (the same experience), I have”

[@hai@
“yes”
In the orientation (lines 8 to 16) S characterises her surprise event about oversleeping by including a time reference (morning) and an event place (her room). The surprise point can be found through the occasion (quotation in line 14) and through a surprise evaluation (line 16). S invites laughter through such signals and through laughter (line 16). T immediately offers a non-laughing response (lines 17 to 19) that describes her understanding and overlaps with S’s laughter. In the patterns of declination, T’s response and reaction show some ambivalence as to whether the verbal understanding may work to fill the non-laughing response and maintain the affiliative process. In addition, smiling could also support such a third option. As S then pursues the telling phase (from line 24), S’s invitation and T’s response or reaction may be indirectly related to the boundary between the preface and the telling. As briefly mentioned in Chapter 5, ambivalence could be relevant for avoiding trouble and for maintaining politeness in dealing with face matters. Such a relation will be mentioned in Chapters 7 and 8.

The joint pattern of a listener’s laughter may appear in a problematic context. The humorous treatment in this maintaining function appears in a trouble situation. This may be connected to the phase boundary. In the following extract, R starts telling the background of her story in the orientation (lines 1 to 10) and then moves into the next phase (from line 12). She makes a mistake remembering the name of the place where she stayed over the summer (line 7). Listener L treats this as funny (line 8). Following this series, R moves into the next stage:
(48)
((Since R is from Yamagata prefecture (the north of Japan), L asks R whether one place exists there. But she makes a mistake of the name.))
1R:  "a soo. jatashi chihoo shusshin nan [dakedoo, "oh I am from the country though,"

2L:  [e doko ‥ "oh where?"

3R:  to yamagata nan [dakedoo, "uhm from Yamagata prefecture though,"

4L:  ![AA soo itta koto yo yama] [gata "OH you are, (I)’ve been there"

5R:  ![E !USO (.) nande ‥ "OH (YOU’RE KIDDING) why?"

6L:  nanka mae gasshuku dee yoneyama ‥ "like previously for a club camp, Yoneyama? ”

7L:  yoneyama [tte aru ‥ "is (it called) as ‘Yoneyama’? ”

8R:  [a yonezawa ‥ iuhuhuhuhuhuh "oh (you mean) Yonezawa? uuhuhuhuhuh "

9L:  [a yonezawa ‥ iuhuhuhuhuhuh itta koto aru "oh Yonezawa? uuhuhuhuhuhuh (I)’ve been (there)"

10R:  AA hontoo ‥ "OH really?"

11L:  =un "yeah"

12R:  de sore dee, = "and then,"

13L:  =un "uh huh"

14R:  nanka (.) ichiban saishoo, "like (.) first of all, ”

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17R:  natsu o kou keiken shita [toki waa, "when(I)experienced summer in Tokyo"
When L makes an error about the name of place, Yonezawa (line 7), R corrects this and treats it as funny through laughter (line 8). L also confirms this correction through laughter (line 9). The participants then achieve the joint laughter (lines 8 and 9). Following this series, R proceeds with her story and enters the telling phase (from line 12). Although R may have some embarrassment due to her error, the listener’s laughter may help her to avoid a trouble, and to fill this embarrassment. In addition, such laughter in the maintaining function can be indirectly associated with the phase boundary.

Evasion as the maintaining function is found in the phase boundary. R gives some background to her story in recalling that the presenters were absent in her class and that they had trouble engaging with a class activity (lines 1 to 10). Both R and L were there. Although R slightly shows her complaint to their classmates (third party), listener L is likely to join this through laughter without any comment. The joint laughter between both participants appears in the laughter series (lines 4 to 10), and R then enters the telling phase by stating the incident in detail (from line 12):

(49)

1R: >bikkuri< soo ieba sa [(. ) bikkuri shita koto] [to ieba, “surprise(. ) you know(. ) speaking of a surprise,”

2L: [un

“yeah”

3 L: [un un =

“yeah yeah”

4R: =kono (h)iti(h)da hah [(. ) mokuyoo no saa ronsakuu= “the other day (. ) an English writing class on last Thursday,”

5L: [un huh “yeah huh”

6L: =ahahaHAHA[HAHA .hah “ahaHAHAHAHA .hah”

7R: [HUHU nishuu [renzoku da(h)yoohh .huhuh .huh “HUHU (they cancelled their presentations) twice in two weeks .huhuh .huh”

8L: [ .huh “.huh”

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L keeps reacting through laughter (lines 5 till 11) to R’s description of the background including what briefly happened in the incident (till line 10). Since this description may slightly involve some complaint to the third party (classmates), L just laughs without any comments. By joining through laughter, she may be able to keep non-serious circumstance and the laughter may be workable as evasion to cope with this circumstance including complaint. After this brief description, R then moves to the telling phase (line 12), and the above laughter series may indirectly be related to the phase boundary.

Following R’s story (lines 4 to 10), L responds or reacts with laughter (lines 5 to 11; one exception is the final particle nee ‘yeah’ in line 9). Without joining in the complaint, the listener’s laughter may serve as one means of evading a direct response and might help the listener to keep an ambiguous stance.

In this section, I examined the relationship between these patterns/functions and the boundary from the preface phase to the telling phase. My analysis revealed the following information. When there was a surprise point (or laughable), laughter was likely to be present. When there was a surprise point, then immediate acceptance patterns were often found. In these patterns, the listener’s laughter might work through functions such as responding/reacting and constituting. When there was an awkward
context, then the joint laughter appeared. In this pattern, the listener’s laughter (the maintaining function) was displayed through humorous treatment and evasion. Although a non-laughing response or reaction seemed unlikely, ambivalence in the declination pattern could support and maintain the non-problematic stance. The listener’s response and reaction, particularly the display of some positive stance or interest in the presented surprise topic, might be important for proceeding with the telling phase. In such a response and reaction, laughter might be indirectly associated with the first phase boundary.

6.3.2 Second Phase Boundary

Focusing on the second phase boundary from the telling to the response (3 AB in table 6.1), I will now discuss the patterns and functions of laughter with/without troubles and humorous/non-humorous situations, and their relation to the boundary signal. In this boundary, the teller is likely to proceed with the ensuing story and to enter the closing with certain signals such as a surprise point (laughable) and a surprise evaluation. The listener’s response or reaction is likely to be provided after the closing.

I describe the three patterns that appear in the second phase boundary during the listener’s response (or reaction) to the teller’s invitation: immediate and delayed acceptance, and declination. First, the immediate acceptance may be available following the teller’s laughter invitation in the closing section. In the following extract, T invites laughter (line 3) through a surprise evaluation, a laugh particle and laughter. S then laughs (line 4) in response:

((T tells a surprise about her son’s surprising behaviour (when he was one year old).))

1T: ano : (.)hanashi(.)konde itatoki ni : (.)ano ki ga tsui tara(.ıtsukue ni notte(.)

2 tsukue no ueni(.)ano oite atta(.)ano : : (0.3)tabemono o(.)ıtsukue no ue ni suwatte hitori de

3 ta(h)betai(h) tte(h)iu(h)ko(h)joga(h) atte sore wa bi(h)kkuri shimashita

“uhm (.) while I was talking by phone (.), I found (he) was on the table and(.)
I put something to eat on the table uhm (0.3) (he) was sitting on the table and eating (this), so that was surprising”
At the close of T’s story (line 3), S immediately reacts with laughter (line 4). This immediate acceptance shows the listener’s contribution to the teller’s story. Likewise, the following example shows another immediate acceptance that is motivated by the speaker’s closing. In the extract, T tells a surprise story about visiting some island in the United States. She invites laughter (through laugh particles, a surprise evaluation and laughter) in the closing (line 4). This may signal that a surprise point is in this line. S provides immediate acceptance when T laughs (line 5):

(51)
1T: *sonomise no, mise ni, eeta, cho, ano nanka chotto tobi[83]omi de*
2  *aru mise ni chizu o motte michi o kiki ni ittan desu ne* ((S’s nodding))
   “to the shop, uhm, --- uhm like a bit, suddenly, (I)went to ask something with my map to the shop ”
3T: *soshitaraa aite ga watashi no kao o mite*
4  *Owarai shi(h)ite h sugo(h)ku bikku(h)rishta hh=
   “then (the person) saw my face and”
   burst into laughter and h (that) really surprised me hh”
5S:  *[↑ EE]*
   “wow”
6T:  *((inhlation))= *kocchi mo [h nanka konna kao mita koto ga naitte iu*
   “he seemed like, ‘(I) have never seen such a face’”
7S:  *[huh]*
   “huh”
8T:  *[↑ PUU to ka tte fukidasare cha(h)ttee]*,
   “he burst into laughter, like ‘PUU’ and,”
In the closing (line 4), the teller describes how the person she met suddenly burst into laughter when looking at her face. Such a description seems to include a surprise point and such a point may be signalled through the invitation of laughter (through laugh particles, surprise evaluations and laughter). S immediately notices this signal and provides acceptance (line 5). After this series, T proceeds with the next phase in which she further extends her story-telling (from line 6). These two extracts show that the teller’s surprise point and the listener’s immediate acceptance may both be involved in the closing. In the immediate acceptance, the listener may show her appreciation for the teller’s preceding contribution.

In the following example, the listener’s delayed acceptance appears after the teller’s closing. L enters the close of a story about a weird man at a CD chop. The participants here show mutual understanding (lines 4 and 5) that is motivated by L’s closing point (line 3). This is signalled by a surprise evaluation (line 3):

(52)

1L: =nanka chotto henna hito datta
   “like (he) was a bit weird”

2R: [nanka
   “like”

3L: [sugoi odoroita kedo,
   “(he) really surprised (me) though”

4R: yada ne =
   “he is weird isn’t he?”
Although R’s reaction can be expected at the closing point (line 3), it is delayed and the acceptance appears (lines 6) after the mutual understandings (lines 4 and 5). In this acceptance, R laughs to show that she recognises or ‘discovers’ L’s preceding contribution (till line 3). As shown in Chapter 5, this laughter may function to help participants identify a preceding laughable. L also signals this by joining in laughter at almost the same time (line 7). This constituting function thus builds up the participants’ bonding process.

The delayed acceptance is sometimes produced when a misunderstanding is involved. In the following extract, the listener regards the speaker’s story as serious (line 4) following the teller’s invitation of laughter including a surprise point (bruises in R’s body in line 3). After listening to the explanation (lines 5 to 7), the listener finds out that the story is non-serious. The delayed acceptance appears in line 8. They move into next topic after this response (from line 9):

(53)

1R:  kontakuto renzu mo naku  [shi : , “(I) lost my contact lenses and,”

2L:  “yeah”

3R:  de : (.)manka(0.3) kizuitara karada juu ga azadarake da  [tra  ahahahahahaha h h h “and (.) like (0.3) after my waking, (I) found lots of bruises in (my) body ahahahahaha hhh”

4L:  [EE kowa e; (.) sore yabain jan = “OH scary of (.) that’s serious isn’t (it)?”

5R:  =a demo: (.) nani mo nakatta rashii ke  [do : nanka atashi ga(.)sugo(.)

kaeri takunai toka itte abareru
“oh but (.) (my friends) told me nothing happened though, like (they) said, (I) said ‘I don’t wanna be back (to Japan)’ and went on a rampage, so (they) held me down and
The listener’s non-lauging and serious response (line 4) causes the teller to explain that her story was meant to be non-serious (line 5). When this explanation is successful, the listener’s delayed acceptance is then produced (line 8). This case shows how the listener’s acceptance laughter can be negotiated during the course of ongoing interaction. R signals through laughter that she notices the laughable (line 8) following L’s invitation. In such a delayed acceptance, laughter can work to show appreciation and can play a role in achieving the co-production. In the closing section, the listener’s response or reaction may be expected when the teller provides the closing (including surprise points and evaluations, and other occasions leading to a laughable). In such a situation, laughter might be indirectly connected to such a listener’s contribution and related to the boundary between the telling phase and the next one.

Ambivalence — which indicates the absence of laughter but the third option between accepting and declination — is also collected in the second phase boundary (though not as frequently). As noted in Chapter 5, ambivalence involves non-laughing utterance including verbal acknowledgement, understanding and appreciation. In extract 26 of Chapter 5, the listener shows her understanding (lines 4 and 6) even though she does not laugh in response to the preceding closing (lines 3 and 5).

Although the declination seemed unlikely to appear in the second phase boundary as it did at the first phase boundary, there were a few cases when ambivalence appeared in the declination. In the following extract, R pursues the closing and invites laughter including a surprise evaluation (line 7). This occasion may show that a laughable seems
to signal a surprise point in the earlier turn (line 5). L then reacts through a non-laughing utterance (a similar experience) at the point when R laughs (from line 8):

(54)
1R:  
\[ \text{de sono naka nine,=} \]  
“and one of the customers”

2L:  
\[ =un= \]  
“yeah”

3R:  
ikinarine,  
“suddenly”

4L:  
\[ un \]  
“yeah”

5R:  
\[ \text{utattari ne(.)odottari suru[hito ga itene,} \]  
“(he)started singing and (.dancing and,”

6L:  
\[ EE:: \]  
“WHAT!??”

(0.3)
7R:  
\[ \text{soremo suggoi bikkuri shitahh} \]  
“that really surprised me too hhh”

8L:  
\[ \text{a demo nanka (.) kono mae} \]  
“oh but like (.) a few days ago”

9  
\[ \text{tsuta-shuuuya no tsutaya tte kekko} \]  
\[ \text{[shichou dekiru jan]} \]  
“tsuta… in Tsutaya in Shibuya, there are lots of CD- listening sections you know?”

10R:  
\[ un un un \]  
“yeah yeah yeah”

11L:  
\[ \text{de nanka soshitara…} \]  
“and like, then…”

Following R’s invitation of laughter (line 7), the declination appears when L pursues a non-laughing utterance at the point of R’s laughter (line 8). In this pattern, L starts describing her similar surprise story and this may be related to ambivalence as the third option between accepting and declining. This option may indirectly support the listener’s non-laughing and the maintenance of a non-serious mode. In addition, the speaker’s surprise point and the listener’s response or reaction in the closing could be connected to the boundary between the current phase and the new phase.
In contrast to patterns/functions of laughter that respond to the preceding invitation, laughter in trouble situations sometimes appears during the second boundary. The listener’s laughter may indirectly contribute to such situations as are described in Chapter 5. In the pattern of joint laughter, I will consider the maintaining functions of laughter that appear in the boundary. First, I examine the functions of appreciation/understanding/sympathy, and humorous treatment. For instance, when the teller’s self-denigration and apology appear because of her surprise topic about “NuBra” (underwear), the listener’s laughter plays a role in the display of understanding/sympathy (line 5) in the second phase boundary:

(55)  
1R:  
   [atashi teki ni wa, nanka furoba to ka de]  
   “for me, like in the bathroom”

2L:  
   [un, un =]  
   “yeah yeah”

3R:  
   = nanka kakeru jan =  
   “like (we) hang a hook you know?”

4L:  
   = un un u [n un]  
   “yeah yeah yeah”

5R:  
   [aa iu no noXXX i no ka to omotta nakedo]  
   “like that XXX (I) thought NuBra is like that but,”

6R:  
   [demo sore ga hada ga doonano kana tte iu =]  
   “but I wonder whether that seal is good for the skin, or not”

7L:  
   [ne (.)hada da [mon ne]  
   “yeah(.) it sticks to the skin, you know”

8R:  
   [soo soo soo huhuhuh]  
   “yeah yeah yeah huhuhuh”

9L:  
   [zettai gome nuu bura no (hat(h)na(h)shi(h)de hu]  
   “absolutely – sorry about the story of NuBra hu”

10R:  
   [hu ha ha ha ha ha hh ee hoka nimo nanka yasu katta /]  
   “hu ha ha ha ha ha hh well was there anything cheap?”

11L:  
   [yasu i nee. nanka futsuu no kyami sooru gaa;]  
   “yeah cheap like a normal camisole costs…”

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44 The teller might think that the topic about underwear was inappropriate.
Following R’s apology about the story concerning “NuBra” (underwear) (line 9), R then laughs by herself in order to fix her embarrassment. L’s simultaneous laughter may show understanding/sympathy (or appreciation) towards R through laughter (line 10). The participants may then achieve joint laughter. R’s laughter may work to fix R’s embarrassment. It may also preserve a non-serious atmosphere and show their bonding. Through this laughter series, R offers a question that is relevant to the topic and thereby extends the response phase (from line 10). The laughter series may be directly related to the phase boundary.

Mitigation may be indirectly related to the function examined in the declination of laughter above (extracts 28 in Chapter 5). Following the listener’s laughter, the participants enter a (possible) trouble situation and the listener’s delayed mitigating laughter can bring about a non-serious effect and compensate for the ongoing trouble or embarrassment:

(56)
1T: arun da nna nante bi(h)kkuri shi [mashita hh
⇒ “I was surprised, like ‘(such) a thing could happen’”

2S: aa demo watashi tomodachi ni onaji hanashi saretara
⇒ [@tabun bikkuri shinai@ desu ne [hehe hahahaha
“oh, but if my friend told me the same story, I will not probably surprised at (that)”

3T: [un
“yeah”

4T: [EE hhhh sore wa jaa hh @e ja ariuru to iu koto / desu ka@
⇒ “oh hhh, does it mean, oh my god, is that possible?”

5S: hee mitaina ka(h)nji [de huh huh hai
⇒ “like ‘wow’, huhuhuh yeah”

6T: [uHUH huh @demo demo gojibun ga sensei ni sore o iu ka tte iuto@,
⇒ “uhuh , but, but, (if you were in the situation), isn’t it possible to say that to the teacher

Following S’s disagreement (line 2) to T’s surprise, the circumstance may be involved in embarrassment. When S’s response that also shows disagreement (line 5) includes laughter, this can be workable as mitigation to compensate her response. T’s laughter then follows (line 6). S’s laughter may be able to lessen the effect of the disagreement,
and to keep non-seriousness. Such laughter may fill or coordinate the ongoing embarrassment. After this laughter series, T then extends the response phase in order to discuss their ideas (from line 6). This laughter series may indirectly be associated with the second phase boundary.

To summarise, I have described the patterns of laughter that are offered in response to preceding invitations in the second boundary — and that relate to the teller’s closing of the story. Both patterns of laughter (listener acceptance or declination/ambivalence) appeared in this boundary. Most listeners pursued acceptance. There were two functions that appeared in relation to this acceptance: appreciation and discovery. These functions were to support the ongoing bonding process. Whilst the declination was not the norm, ambivalence might indirectly enable the listener to fill the absence of laughter with other verbal cues, thus helping to rectify a possible embarrassment. Sometimes, trouble or problematic situations would appear when the teller’s story was going to be unsuccessful. In order to deal with such awkward and emergent situations, the listener’s laughter in the pattern of joint laughter, understanding/sympathy and mitigation each appeared so as to resolve, fix or coordinate the ongoing trouble or embarrassment. Those findings may show that the listener’s reaction such as laughter could be one of the expected reactions when the teller provided a surprise point (laughable) and evaluation in the closing section. This co-production between the participants, could be directly related to the second phase boundary.

### 6.3.3 Third Phase Boundary

As mentioned above, the teller may conclude her story with a surprise evaluation or surprise point. By focusing on this ending, I consider how the listener’s reaction or response could be associated with the boundary. I shed light on laughter in the third phase boundary (from the response phase to the next topic) by focusing on responses to the invitation and reactions to trouble, non-humorous or serious contexts (5AB in table 6.1). The third boundary consists of the very end of the response phase. For instance, when the participants extend the phase (because they have strayed away from the topic),
they generally move back to the end of the original topic by concluding the story a second time. In addition, when the listener shows declination in response to the preceding invitation, she may provide her final comment following the teller’s explanation at the end of the response phase. First, I explore the responses of the invitation on the basis of a non-serious context. In the third boundary, immediate acceptance and declination (ambivalence) were observable responses. Here are two examples of the immediate acceptance. In the first example, T keeps expanding her story (lines 1 to 6) after extending the response phase. T reaches the end of the story with a conclusion (line 7). In the second example, T enters the ending by providing a conclusion (line 1), by describing her feelings about the experience (lines 3 to 7), and by then moving onto a new topic (line 9):

(57)  
1T:  
    “I said, ‘if you did the same thing again, I will not give you’re a credit’ and,”

2S:  “huhahaha”

3T:  “I threatened (him) and, hhhh”

4S:  “S(h)ary hhhhh”

5T:  “I said though hhhh”

6S:  “ye(h)s hh”

7T:  “that(.) was my recent surprise”

8S:  “I see”

9T:  “yeah what about you? huh”

In contrast, the second transition considered above does not contain such extensions, and the response phase thus contains shorter sequences.
1T: ねえ：あたしの後からびっくりはそうい　

“yeah my surprise was like that hh”

2S: あはは　

“a haha hh”

3T: さっぱり若いものをつけさせてくれる　

“as I expected (.)like this um (.) (my son) let me provide a new discovery”

4S: はい　

“yes”

5T: 悪戦苦闘(0.2)なんかもう(0.2)なんかもう(0.2)なんかもう(0.2)

“(I could experience) that kind of thing (.) um like(0.2) uhm(.)”

6 もうよっていいようね、時間がね(.)　

“was, as I expected(.) that was one of (0.8) the interesting (surprises) in this spring”

7 うん”　

“(.)yeah”

8S: よっ　

“yeah”

9T: あなたのつつきなんいかせかい（）かわったよ(0.3)またないものかさせ　

“in your case, do (you) have that sort of thing, like (your) world has been changed? ”

In the first example, S gives acceptance (from line 2) in response to the preceding occasion (quotation) and T indicates this by the following laughter (from line 1). Following this laughter series (till line 6), T ends the topic by concluding with a surprise evaluation (line 7) before moving onto the next topic (line 8). Likewise, in the second example, S provides immediate acceptance (line 2) following T’s invitation of laughter (including a surprise evaluation as an occasion in line 1). At this point, T enters the very ending of the story. She moves into another topic (line 9) after stating her feeling (line 3 to 6). In the listener’s immediate acceptance pattern, this laughter functions as discovery because her laughter is motivated by the occasion and by her recognition of the laughable (the quotation for the first extract, the surprise evaluation for the second extract). T also uses laughter to signal when she has recognised or discovered a laughable. Such a constituting function also shows the co-production of laughter and supports the bonding between the participants. In addition, the listener’s laughter
motivates the following laughter series and is related to a display of the boundary from
the current topic to next.

Although immediate acceptance in response to the invitation is mainly observed in the
third boundary, there are a few examples of delayed acceptance. This delayed
acceptance seems to be motivated by the listener’s response or reaction in the second
phase boundary. When there are questions or uncertainties in the second phase boundary,
then the participants may pursue clarification or explanation in the response phase. After
offering an explanation, the teller may then provide another invitation of laughter in the
third phase boundary. When such a clarification, explanation, or misunderstanding
becomes clear, the listener can then present laughter as a sign of acceptance (delayed
acceptance). The participants may then move into another topic. Such an example was
observed in extract 13 when I discussed laughter in the second phase boundary. The
listener’s laughter was absent when she believed the story to be serious (line 4). The
teller explained that the event was non-serious and invited laughter in the end of the
response phase (lines 5 to 7). In line with this explanation, the teller invited laughter
(line 5) and the listener noticed her misunderstanding and provided laughter as a delayed
acceptance (line 8). The participants then moved into a new topic. Such a series may
show that the listener’s delayed acceptance was actively involved in the response phase,
particularly the end of it, and that the co-production of laughter and story-telling might
be indirectly related to the third phase boundary.

In terms of the absence of laughter, ambivalence was another observable response
pattern. The following can be seen in my data. In the first example, teller R finally asks
L to appreciate the fact that the preceding story was surprising. She invites laughter (line
2) and L immediately shows appreciation — but through an absence of laughter (line
3):
Although laughter is absent in L’s response to R’s invitation, verbal agreement resolves the absence and serves as the ambivalence between accepting and declining (line 3).

Another example shows the absence of laughter. It also shows her request for S to provide more information about the event following her surprise story (surprise point and evaluation in line 1), and her quick acknowledgement following S’s explanation. Acknowledgement (lines 10 and 11) and the pursuit of a similar story (from line 11) may be related to ambivalence. T’s story is about hearing some sound at her back — and her concern that there was a bug (e.g. cockroach) behind her:
9S:  =iya na mono souki shite  sugoi bikkuri shimashita
   “(the sound) made me recall something I don’t like (cockroaches) and I was really surprised.”

10T:  @un un@
   “yeah yeah”

11T:  demo watashimo ((T’s similar story starts.))
   “but I also…”

T asks S to provide more information (line 4) following S’s first invitation of laughter at the closing of the story (expressed through surprise evaluations, laugh particles and laughter in lines 1 and 3). T’s acknowledgement follows (lines 6, 8 and 10) in response to S’s explanation and second invitation (expressed through quotation and surprise evaluation in lines 7 and 9). T’s continuous smile may usefully emphasise her ambivalence. T’s similar story (line 11) may then show that she understands S’s preceding story. Her ambivalence could play an indirect role in filling the absence of laughter through other activities. In addition, the teller’s surprise point and the listener’s absence of laughter in the second phase boundary (during the closing) might relate to the extension of the story and affect the third phase boundary.

In contrast to those humorous and non-serious contexts, I shed light on trouble situations and explore three functions found in my data: understanding/sympathy, mitigation, and filling space in order to deal with trouble or non-humorous situation. The function of humorous treatment appears at the end of the response phase. In the following example, the listener shows some understanding/sympathy function of laughter (line 5) in response to the teller’s self-denigration (line 4). This allows them to then move into the next topic (line 6):

(61)
1R:  choo teinei na  [kotoba zukai iihihihi]
   “(her language) was super polite iihihihi”

2L:  [uun
   “yeah”

3L:  n(h)hehe  [he =
   “yeah hehehe”
After R strays away from her story topic (line 1), she notices the tangent and becomes self-denigrating (line 4). L conforms herself to R by repeating the preceding item 'surprise story' without adding any positive or negative responses (line 5). L's laughter in the repetition might display understanding or sympathy and might bring about non-seriousness. R’s laughter confirms this effect (line 4). The listener’s understanding or sympathy may serve to save R’s face and to coordinate or resolve a possible trouble. This laughter series also relates to the boundary from one response to the next.

The following extract shows the humorous function. After extending the response phase, L self-denigrates through laughter when she says that she strayed from a surprise story (line 3). R shows agreement with L and laughs in order to show that she thinks this self-denigration is humorous (line 5). This series is achieved through joint laughter:

(62)

1L:  
“anyway (I) have no idea why we (I and my boyfriend) argued though, ”

2R:  
“uhuhuhuhuhu”

3L:  
“ UHHH  anyway  (this) is not a surprise at all hhh hhh hhh”

4R:  
.“hh”

5R:  
“yeah (that)’s true hhh choo soreteru(.)hanashi ga hah huh hhh (your) talk really strays away from the theme hah huh”
6L:  \[nanka nai no \] =
“what about (you)?”

The joint laughter between the participants appears (lines 3 to 5) at the very ending of the response phase (lines 3 to 6). R admits that L strayed from a surprise topic and takes the situation as humorous. R includes laughter (line 5) in response to L’s self-denigration (line 3). In such a laughter pattern, R’s laughter can support L’s embarrassment by usefully fixing or coordinating the situation. After such a laughter series, L moves into the next topic. The above laughter could slightly be connected to the third boundary.

Here is another example that shows mitigation as the maintaining function. After S shows her disagreement in response to T’s story, they extend the response phase and S shows disagreement at the very ending of the phase (line 3). T then finally self-denigrates through laughter (lines 6 and 8)) and S shows her agreement (line 7):

(63)
1T:  \[@uun@\]
“yeah”

2T:  \[ANO\]
“uhm”

3S:  \[a demo, sou shi(h)you kana toka ittara ta(h)bun anmari bi \ [kkuri shinai desu= \]
“oh but, if (my friend)says, ‘I’ll directly ask the teacher’, probably (I’ll not) be surprised”

4T:  \[HUH sou desu \ [kaa\]
“HUH oh, is that so?”

5S:  \[ha [I\]
“yes”

6T:  \[jaa sore wa\]
\[gaiokujin dakara toka souu bunka no chigai \ [@janakute@\]
“well that is not because the student is from a foreigner and has a different culture,”

7S:  \[huhuhuhuhu\]
“huhuhuhuhu”

8T:  \[se(h)dai no chigai ()deshou ka nee\]
“but because we are in a different generation, is that right?”

9S:  \[soo desu ne \ [” a demo “ ([nodding])\]
“yeah (I think) so, oh, but’
Following S’s disagreement through laughter (line 3) and her acknowledgement (line 4), there is joint laughter (lines 7 to 9). T believes that S’s disagreement may come from the generation gap between them and self-denigrates herself through laughter (line 6 to 8). S agrees with this view and laughs in order to mitigate this agreement (lines 7 and 9). S’s mitigating laughter may help both participants to avoid seriousness, may fill or coordinate the awkward situation, or may maintain the relationship between the self-and the other. After this laughter series, the participants move to next topic (line 11). Such a laughter series appeared at the end of the response phase, and may thus be related to the phase boundary.

To summarise, I have considered the patterns and functions of the listener’s laughter in dealing with emergent or possible trouble situations in the third phase boundary. After the second boundary, the participants were likely to extend their engagement in order to explain the story in more detail or to resolve some misunderstanding. Following this procedure, the participants seemed to enter into the ending of the story. Since this phase boundary involves ending the current topic, the teller was likely to conclude her story with a surprise point or evaluation. The listener’s reaction or response through laughter might be related to this ending. The patterns and functions of the listener’s laughter might each play a role in achieving the whole story-making. In the listener’s contribution, laughter might indirectly be associated with the third phase boundary and might signal a move into the next topic.

6.4 Conclusion

In order to examine the third research question, I have discussed how the patterns and functions of laughter can (indirectly) relate to the structure of the surprise story, and how they relate even more particularly to the structure of the three phase boundaries. In
these three phase boundaries, the analysis suggests that the listener’s immediate or
delayed acceptance is the most likely response, and declination is likely to be avoided.
In the acceptance pattern, laughter is performed in order to show appreciation or to
discover something laughable in the teller’s story. This responding/reacting and
maintaining laughter may also support the group-bonding between the participants.
When the declination appears, then ambivalence may be a preferred response to trouble
or embarrassment. When awkward situations appear in the ongoing process, however,
then trouble may be resolved, fixed or coordinated through the joint laughter. In these
patterns, laughter generally results in resolving and maintaining non-humorous or
embarrassing situations. By maintaining the relationship between the self and the other,
this maintaining function might also be related to the group-bonding between them. In
addition, the patterns and functions of a listener’s laughter may indirectly be associated
with the three phase boundaries. The contributions suggest a close association between
laughter and the macro-structure of surprise story-telling.

Focusing on each phase boundary, the first boundary has indicated that the listener’s
reaction is inevitable if the story-telling is to proceed. In this reaction, laughter
happened when there was a surprise point (laughable). The above patterns and functions
were discovered in relation to this surprise point. The listener’s immediate acceptance
was particularly necessary for proceeding with the story.

Since the second boundary involved the closing of the story, the listener’s appreciation
to the teller’s contribution was the most expected. Such a closing was thus likely to
include a surprise point. Although there should have been various kinds of verbal
responses and reactions, laughter might indirectly be one of the expected reactions to a
surprise story when primed by a surprise point (laughable). The listener’s immediate
acceptance was preferred in a non-problematic context. Declination was unlikely and
ambivalence was more likely to appear. After the closing, the listeners were likely to
appreciate the teller’s story and move into the next topic in a couple of turns. When the
listener’s laughter was absent due to some misunderstanding, the teller might then
extend his/her explanation in the response phase, and invite laughter a second time.
The participants sometimes extended the response phase in order to change the topic, or to offer explanations that were relevant to the story. The third phase boundary indicated the very end of this extension and the move into another topic. The teller was likely to give another conclusion (by including a surprise evaluation) at this point. The listener was then likely to offer an immediate acceptance. When the absence of laughter appeared at the second phase boundary, the listener’s acceptance tended to be delayed. In such a conclusion, the listener’s reaction was expected and laughter might be indirectly associated with the third phase boundary.

We see that the construction of a surprise story is not the work of a single participant but the co-production of both narrator and listener. The listener’s laughter might indirectly play a role in dealing with such a construction. The above findings show that laughter could be one of the expected reactions to a surprise story when it is primed by a funny or humorous element (a laughable). They also show that it could be associated with each phase boundary and with the surprise story-telling more generally. Based on the findings above, I will explore laughter and social contexts in greater detail.
Chapter 7

Laughter as Part of Social Organisation

7.1 Introduction

Based on the findings described in Chapters 5 and 6, I will consider my final research question: How are the laughter patterns and functions affected by the social relationships that exist between/among participants? In order to answer this question, I will examine the frequency of laughter patterns and functions by comparing two types of interactions. I will then discuss the influence of social variables on laughter as listenership behaviour and interpret the findings in relation to interpersonal relationships through politeness theories. I will compare student-student (solidary) interactions with teacher-student (non-solidary) interactions. I will then look at the teacher-student data (in different power relations) in order to compare ‘teacher-telling-student’ interactions with ‘student-telling-teacher’ interactions. The laughter patterns and functions in these two different interactions will be considered in the three phase boundaries: the preface to the telling phase; the telling to the response phase; and the response phase to a next topic. As I described in Chapter 6, the listener’s participation may play an essential role in proceeding to the ensuing phase. Such participation can serve as a bridge or boundary connecting the current phase with the next phase. Laughter could also be related to this boundary. In addition, in order to look at laughter as listenership and at social variables, I have decided to consider this relationship by focusing on the three boundaries. The organisation of this chapter is designed to outline the background about social variables (7.2); to examine a quantitative analysis of laughter patterns/functions and the above interaction types (7.3); and to provide a conclusion (7.4).
7.2 Social Variables

To deal with social organisation, I shall start by describing some of the underlying designs behind my data collection as follows:

- Dyads in which A is asked to tell a story of a surprising event to B, and B to do likewise to A;
- The participants are all female members, consisting of university teachers and students;
- The dyads are of two types: [Teacher with Student (T+S)] or [Student with Student (S+S)].

Following these aspects, there are three variables:
- A role variable: Listener/Teller;
- A status difference variable: no difference [S+S]; difference [S+T];
- A role/status variable: [Teller=S, Listener=T]; [Teller=T, Listener=S].

When looking at this experimental set-up in terms of theory, politeness may come in, because of, for instance, the term *face* (Goffman, 1967). The listener may appreciate and save the other’s face following her contributions such as telling a good surprise story, and the listener may maintain her own face when facing with some problem. To set out to tell a surprise story involves imposing on the listener a duty to spend some of her time and mental energy being attentive and showing appreciation. To justify this imposition, the teller has to come up with a story that is worth listening to, as an instance of ‘something interestingly surprising’. This is the contract: the teller’s duty is to tell a good story; the listener’s duty is to be attentive and show appreciation. Trouble or embarrassment may arise when either party fails to fulfill their side of the bargain. It is part of my argument that certain kinds of laughter afford a means of reacting to the teller’s contribution and to dealing with this kind of trouble.
7.3 Laughter and Social Variables in Phase Boundaries

Focusing on the three phase boundaries found in Chapter 6: first (from the preface to the telling), second (from the telling to the response), and third (from the response to a next topic), I shall look at each of the three phase boundaries and at the following frequencies:

1. Frequency of all instances of laughter;
2. Frequency of laughter by the teller;
3. Frequency of laughter by the listener;
4. Frequency of the listener’s laughter in relation to the patterns and functions of laughter described in Chapter 5.

The patterns and functions of laughter are characterised as follows:

Patterns of the listener’s response in general

- Acceptance (consecutive, simultaneous and overlapping laughter)
  (3) Laughter following the speaker’s invitation (+laughter);
  (4) Laughter following the speaker’s invitation (-laughter);
    - Listener’s laughter - Laughter between the participants (listener-speaker);
- Declination
  The absence of laughter following the speaker’s invitation (-laughter);
  - Ambivalence: the third option between accepting and declining.

Patterns of the listener’s response/reaction in troubles management

- Joint laughter (consecutive, simultaneous and overlapping laughter)
  (3) The speaker expresses trouble through laughter and the listener then laughs;
  (4) When the teller is in trouble (without a signal of laughter), the listener initiates laughter and the teller then laughs;
- The listener’s solitary laughter
  The speaker expresses trouble without laughter and the listener laughs alone;
- The speaker’s solitary laughter
  The speaker expresses trouble through laughter but the listener’s laughter is absent;
The listener’s laughter functions in general and in trouble management

- **Responding/Reacting**
  The listener laughs following the speaker’s invitation of laughter and the creation of a laughable (including occasions)

- **Constituting**
  The listener recognises/signals a laughable (often motivated by the occasion) by
  laughter following a speaker’s production (without laughter);
  There are two possibilities: either the listener laughs alone, or the listener laughs and then the speaker laughs;

- **Maintaining (as trouble management)**
  The listener recovers, fixes, and resolves the ongoing trouble or embarrassment,
  and maintains mutual relations between the participants through
  understanding/sympathy, humorous treatment, mitigation and evasion.

### 7.3.1 First Phase Boundary

As mentioned in chapter 6, the first phase boundary functions as a shifting point from
the preface to the telling phase. Following the teller’s background information for a
forthcoming story, the listener mainly shows either a positive or negative response, and
his/her positive response is quite significant for proceeding with the details of the
teller’s story. The following analysis examines the frequency of laughter patterns and
functions in the first phase boundary.

First, the number of instances of laughter is considered in 79 preface phases\(^{46}\) out of 83
stories as follows:

---

\(^{46}\) In more detail, most of the preface phases proceed to the following telling and response phases (75/79), except for the 4 phases not including them. These 4 phases consist of the stories themselves by including a surprise point.
Table 7.1 Frequency of laughter in the preface phase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Laughter (+)</th>
<th>Laughter (-)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40 (50.63%)</td>
<td>39 (49.37%)</td>
<td>79 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that laughter occurred in 50.63 percent of the 79 preface phases, and did not occur in 49.37 percent of them. Although these percentages indicate that laughter occurred in a ratio of nearly one to one, laughter occurred slightly more frequently than the absence of laughter.

Next, I looked at the distribution of laughter occurrences between the teller and the listener (out of 40 total instances of laughter) in both humorous and non-humorous contexts. The teller’s laughter (T in the table below) shows the teller’s single laughter – when the teller laughs but the listener’s laughter is absent. The listener’s laughter (L) consists of three types of laughter: (1) the listener’s solitary laughter and (2) laughter between both of the participants (including overlapping, consecutive and simultaneous laughter):

Table 7.2 Frequency of teller’s and listener’s laughter in the preface phase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 (25%)</td>
<td>30 (75%)</td>
<td>40 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that the listener’s laughter amounted to 75 percent of the 40 instances of laughter in total, while the teller’s laughter amounted to 25 percent. The listener’s laughter outnumbered the teller’s by almost a ratio of three to one. This result suggests that the listener’s laughter played a more significant role than the teller’s laughter in the first boundary.

Based on the above figures, I shall look at patterns of laughter in general and in troubles management, specifically in relation to interaction types. As discovered in Chapter 5, laughter in general divides into two primary patterns: acceptance and declination in response to the teller’s invitation. As I characterised these patterns, the acceptance indicates that the listener’s laughter follows the teller’s invitation with/without laughter, while the declination (including ambivalence) indicates the absence of the listener’s
laughter following the teller’s invitation with laughter. There are three patterns: the joint laughter, the listener’s solitary laughter, and the teller’s solitary laughter. The joint laughter includes two possibilities: (1) the teller may first laugh and then the listener may next laugh or (2) the listener may first laugh and then the teller may next laugh. These two possibilities include consecutive, overlapping and simultaneous laughter. The second type indicates that the listener only laughs without the teller laughing first. The third type primarily means that the teller laughs alone without the any laughter from the listener afterwards. Considering the total number of instances of laughter (40 instances: 50.63 percent of whole 79 phases), the following table shows the distribution of laughter patterns between non-solidary (S-T) and solidary dyads (S-S) in 79 preface phases:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>79 preface phases</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S-T (34)</td>
<td>S-S (45)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acceptance</td>
<td>4 (11.76%)</td>
<td>20 (44.44%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declination</td>
<td>2 (5.88%)</td>
<td>4 (8.88%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint</td>
<td>1 (2.94%)</td>
<td>3 (6.66%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listener’s solitary</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teller’s solitary</td>
<td>5 (14.7%)</td>
<td>1 (2.22%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12 (35.29%)</td>
<td>28 (62.22%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of instances of laughter indicates that laughter in the SS dyads outnumbered instances of laughter in the ST dyads by almost twice as much (SS: 62.22% of the 45 phases; ST: 35.29% of the 34 phases). This may suggest that the appearance of laughter was affected by the degree of solidarity in relationships.

Focusing on the generally conversational context, the table shows that the acceptance amounted to 11.76 percent of the 34 ST dyads, and the declination amounted to 5.88 percent, while the acceptance amounted to 44.44 percent of the 45 SS dyads, and the declination amounted to 8.88 percent. These figures suggest that the acceptance is more frequent than the declination in both of the dyads. Comparing the acceptance in the two dyads, it seems that the acceptance in SS dyads outnumbered that in ST dyads (SS: 44.44%; ST: 11.76%) by a ratio of almost four to one. These figures indicate that the acceptance pattern was more likely to occur in the solidary dyads than in the
non-solidary dyads.

Although the patterns of laughter were far fewer, the joint laughter and the teller’s solitary laughter appeared in both dyads. The table shows that the joint laughter amounted to 2.94 percent of the 34 ST dyads, and the teller’s solitary laughter in the ST dyads amounted to 14.7 percent, while the joint laughter amounted to 6.66 percent of the 45 SS dyads, and the teller’s laughter in the SS dyads amounted to 2.22 percent. There is one notable finding following these figures. Although the teller’s solitary laughter can be unrelated for computing to the listener’s contribution, this laughter in the ST dyads outnumbered the SS dyads (ST: 14.7%; SS: 2.22%) by a ratio of almost seven to one. Since such laughter to self-control may lack the listener’s involvement (see also Chapter 5), this result may suggest that the ST dyads may have more flexibility in choosing the laughter pattern. To sum up, the degree of solidarity may be related to the occurrence of acceptance patterns. In addition, lower solidarity in relationships may have more flexibility when choosing the patterns of laughter.

Far fewer instances of laughter patterns were collected from the different status interactions (in power relationships) than from the different solidary interactions in the first phase boundary. I will thus mention two findings: the gap in the total instances of laughter between the student and the teacher, and the teacher’s flexibility to choose the laughter pattern. S shows that the student is a listener (lower-status listener), while T shows that the teacher is a listener (higher-status listener) in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7.4 Frequency of patterns of laughter in power</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34 preface phases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acceptance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listener’s solitary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teller’s solitary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of the total number of instances of laughter, the teacher’s amount of 23.52 percent of 34 phases was twice as much as the student’s of 11.76 percent. This figure
may suggest that the higher-status listener is more relevant to the laughter than the lower one. In particular, focusing on the invitation patterns (acceptance and declination), the higher-status listener may have more flexibility in choosing his/her laughter pattern than the lower-status one, as shown in the acceptance and declination patterns.

Next, I consider three main functions of the listener’s laughter: responding/reacting, constituting and maintaining (as argued in Chapters 5 and 6). As discussed above (see Chapters 5 and 6), I found that the acceptance pattern of laughter in general involves responding/reacting and constituting. The two patterns as troubles management (joint laughter and the listener’s single laughter) involve maintaining. The responding/reacting function basically indicates ‘response’ or ‘reaction’ through laughter to the teller’s laughter in the invitation, and includes the meaning of positive effects such as agreement, acknowledgement, understanding, appreciation and the like. The constituting function puts forth the idea that the listener’s laughter appears following an invitation without laughter. This function indicates that the listener spontaneously ‘identifies’, ‘notices’ or ‘constitutes’ something funny or laughable during the teller’s story-telling (without laughter). There are two cases of laughter: either the listener’s solitary laughter appears by itself, or the listener’s laughter appears first and the teller’s laughter then follows. The maintaining function includes the two patterns (joint and listener’s solitary laughter) mentioned above, and involves certain sub-functions such as understanding/sympathy, humorous treatment, mitigation and evasion.

I shall now start examining the responding/reacting function in the two interaction types. The following table shows the frequency and percentage of the responding/reacting function of laughter. It looks at the first boundary in the ST dyads (34 phases) and in the SS dyads (45 phases) respectively. Since the participants move into the telling phase after using laughter, the laughter in the preface phase is also considered:
Table 7.5 Frequency of laughter in the preface phase: responding/reacting function (solidarity)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preface phases</th>
<th>Total (79)</th>
<th>S-T (34)</th>
<th>S-S (45)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laughter</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughter as % of responding/reacting</td>
<td>18.98%</td>
<td>2.94%</td>
<td>31.11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The responding/reacting function totalled 18.98 percent of 79 phases. The SS dyads amounted to 31.11 percent of the responding/reacting function of 45 phases, while the ST dyads amounted to 2.94 percent of the responding/reacting function of 34 phases. The result suggests that the solidary dyads relatively outnumbered the non-solidary dyads. This shows that the responding/reacting can be related to the degree of solidarity in the relationships between the participants. The next table shows the frequency of the responding/reacting function for higher-status listeners and lower-status listeners:

Table 7.6 Frequency of laughter in the preface phase: responding/reacting function (power)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preface phases</th>
<th>Total (34)</th>
<th>S (34)</th>
<th>T (34)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laughter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughter as % of responding/reacting</td>
<td>2.94%</td>
<td>2.94%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the total number of instances of laughter (2.94 percent of 34 phases), S amounted to this number.

I next examine the constituting function in the ST dyads and the SS dyads:

Table 7.7 Frequency of laughter in the preface phase: constituting function (solidarity)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preface phases</th>
<th>Total (79)</th>
<th>S-T (34)</th>
<th>S-S (45)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laughter</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughter as % of constituting</td>
<td>11.39%</td>
<td>8.82%</td>
<td>13.33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total figure for instances of laughter amounted to 11.39 percent of 79 phases. The ST dyads amounted to 8.82 percent of 34 phases, while the SS dyads amounted to 13.33 percent of 45 phases. This shows that the SS dyads slightly outnumbered the ST dyads. It suggests that the degree of solidary relationships slightly affected the occurrence of the constituting function. In terms of the figure of the ST dyads, the following table shows the frequency of the function by the lower and higher-status listeners:
Table 7.8 Frequency of laughter in the preface phase: constituting function (power)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preface phases</th>
<th>Total (34)</th>
<th>S (34)</th>
<th>T (34)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laughter</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughter as % of constituting</td>
<td>8.82%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8.82%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total figure of the function amounted to 8.82 percent of 34 phases, and T amounted to this figure. This suggests that the higher degree of status listener affected the occurrence of the constituting function.

I examined the last function by maintaining the ST and the SS dyads. The following table shows the details of this maintaining:

Table 7.9 Frequency of laughter in the preface phase: maintaining function (solidarity)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preface phases</th>
<th>Total (79)</th>
<th>S-T (34)</th>
<th>S-S (45)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laughter</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughter as % of maintaining</td>
<td>5.06%</td>
<td>2.94%</td>
<td>6.66%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total figure of the maintaining function amounted to 5.06 percent of 79 phases, and this figure was the least frequent in the three functions. The ST dyads amounted to 2.94 percent of 34 phases, while the SS dyads amounted to 6.66 percent of 45 phases. The SS dyads slightly outnumbered the ST dyads, by a ratio of two to one. This suggests that the degree of solidary relationships slightly affected the occurrences of the maintaining function.

The following table shows the frequency of the maintaining function in non-solidary interactions:

Table 7.10 Frequency of laughter in the preface phase: maintaining function (power)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preface phases</th>
<th>Total (34)</th>
<th>S (34)</th>
<th>T (34)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laughter</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughter as % of maintaining</td>
<td>2.94%</td>
<td>2.94%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in table 7.9, the maintaining function in the non-solidary interactions was infrequent. The total number of instances of laughter was 2.94 percent of 34 phases. S amounted to this figure.
All the instances of laughter functions are tabulated in the ST and the SS dyads as follows:

**Table 7.11 Frequency of laughter in the preface phase: three functions (solidarity)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preface phases</th>
<th>Total (79)</th>
<th>S-T (34)</th>
<th>S-S (45)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responding/Reacting</td>
<td>15 (18.98%)</td>
<td>1 (2.94%)</td>
<td>14 (31.11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constituting</td>
<td>9 (11.39%)</td>
<td>3 (8.82%)</td>
<td>6 (13.33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintaining</td>
<td>4 (5.06%)</td>
<td>1 (2.94%)</td>
<td>3 (5.06%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28 (35.44%)</td>
<td>5 (14.70%)</td>
<td>23 (51.11%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of three functions of laughter shows that the responding/reacting was the most frequent in the three functions (18.98% of 79 phases), while the maintaining was the least frequent (5.06% of 79 phases). Since the responding/reacting and constituting were likely to occur in general, this shows that the listener’s function was more closely related to the conversational context in general than the troubles management.

Comparing the ST with the SS dyads, all of the three functions in the SS dyads outnumbered those in the ST dyads. The total number of functions in the SS dyads amounted to 51.11 percent of 45 phases, while that in the SS dyads amounted to 14.70 percent of 34 phases. This suggests that the degree of solidarity in relationships would seem to be affected by those functions of laughter.

The following table shows figures of the three functions as used by different-status listeners:

**Table 7.12 Frequency of laughter in the preface phase: three functions (power)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preface phases</th>
<th>Total (34)</th>
<th>S (34)</th>
<th>T (34)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responding/Reacting</td>
<td>1 (2.94%)</td>
<td>1 (2.94%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constituting</td>
<td>3 (8.82%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (8.82%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintaining</td>
<td>1 (2.94%)</td>
<td>1 (2.94%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5 (14.70%)</td>
<td>2 (5.88%)</td>
<td>3 (8.82%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since all of the functions in the solidary dyads outnumbered those of the non-solidary dyads, all functions in the non-solidary dyads were infrequent. In terms of the total number of the functions, S amounted to only 5.88 percent of 34 phases, while T amounted to 8.82 percent. T slightly outnumbered S. Although S only showed the
responding/reacting (1.26 percent of 34 phases), T appeared in constituting and maintaining functions (Discovery: 8.82% of 34 phases). These findings suggest that the degree of a higher-status listener might be slightly related to the listener’s functions, in particular to the constituting functions even though the occurrence of laughter in the power relationships was infrequent.

To summarise, the listener’s laughter seemed effective in the first phase boundary. Comparing the non-solidary with the solidary interactions, the analysis suggests that the acceptance pattern and the three functions were affected by the degree of solidarity in a relationship. The responding/reacting and constituting functions were more likely to occur in this boundary, whilst the maintaining function was less likely to occur. In solidary and non-solidary interactions, my analysis shows that the acceptance pattern was likely to be followed by solidary interactions, and that the three functions (responding/reacting, constituting and maintaining) were related to the solidary relations. Such patterns and functions can be affected by the higher degree of solidarity in relationships. In the higher-status and lower-status interactions, my analysis suggests that three functions under the acceptance pattern were affected by the higher degree of social status in relationship. Although the declination pattern was less frequent, it seemed relevant to the use of a higher-status listener. In addition, the responding/reacting and constituting functions by the higher-status listener were more frequent in the three functions. The higher-status listener in general showed more flexibility in choosing the pattern and functions of laughter. All of these findings show that the patterns and functions of the listener’s laughter tended to be associated with the social variables, solidarity and power in the first phase boundary. In addition, the more frequent occurrence of the responding/reacting and constituting function supports the idea that the listener’s laughter tended to relate to a generally conversational context. As I mentioned above, the first phase boundary is the moment in which the teller provides a brief background of his/her story and shifts into a more detailed description. In order to move into the next phase successfully (which contains the main issue), the listener’s contribution is important. The findings may show the relationship between the listener’s laughter patterns/functions and the influence of solidarity and power in such a negotiation between participants.
7.3.2 Second Phase Boundary

The second boundary serves as a bridge between the telling and the ensuing response phases. This place is a significant turning point in surprise story-telling. It reveals the listener’s primary contribution to the teller’s surprise story and conclusion. As shown in Chapter 6, the teller may provide a surprise point and evaluation at the close of the story. The listener’s response or reaction can then be expected. The listener’s laughter is an expected reaction to the teller’s laughable. In line with this background, I will examine the frequency of laughter in the second boundary.

First, the total number of instances of laughter is examined in 79 telling phases, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L (+)</th>
<th>L (-)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>67 (84.81%)</td>
<td>12 (15.19%)</td>
<td>79 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Laughter amounted to 84.81 percent of 79 telling phases. This result suggests that laughter played a relatively significant role in this boundary. Next, considering the distribution of laughter between the teller and the listener, the following result was obtained:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14 (20.89%)</td>
<td>53 (79.11%)</td>
<td>67 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The instances of the listener’s laughter amounted to 79.11 percent of the total 67 instances of laughter, while those of the teller’s laughter amounted to 20.89 percent. Those of the teller are outnumbered by those of the listener, in a ratio of four to one. This result shows that the listener’s laughter is pivotal in this boundary.

---

47 The 79 telling phases consist of two types: (1) the telling phase following the preceding preface phase (75 phases), and (2) the telling phase following without the preceding preface phase (4 phases).
Following such contributions of laughter, patterns of laughter in non-solidary and solidary interactions are also considered. I will point out gaps in laughter between the ST and SS dyads by focusing on three responses to the preceding invitation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>79 telling phases</th>
<th>S-T (34)</th>
<th>S-S (45)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acceptance</td>
<td>20 (58.82%)</td>
<td>30 (66.66%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declination</td>
<td>8 (23.52%)</td>
<td>3 (6.66%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>3 (6.66%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listener’s solitary</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teller’s solitary</td>
<td>2 (5.88%)</td>
<td>1 (2.22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30 (88.23%)</td>
<td>37 (82.22%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that the total number of instances of laughter in both the ST dyads and the SS dyads was almost equivalent, but that laughter in the non-solidary interactions was slightly more related to laughter in the solidary ones (ST: 88.23% of 34 dyads; SS: 82.22% of 45 dyads). Although there was no prominent gap in the amount of laughter between the two interactions, this result suggests that the role of laughter was significant in both of the interactions.

When looking at each pattern of laughter, acceptance was most frequent in both of the dyads, though the SS dyads slightly outnumbered the ST dyads (SS: 66.66% of 45 phases; ST: 58.82% of 34 phases). On the other hand, the frequency of declination in both interactions was low in both dyads, though the ST dyads outnumbered the SS dyads (ST: 23.52% of 34 phases; SS: 6.66% of 45 phases). These results suggest that the acceptance was followed by the solidary interactions (held by SS dyads) as well as by the degree of solidarity, and that the non-solidary interactions could flexibly choose the pattern of either acceptance or declination. In contrast to this conversational context in general, the patterns of laughter in troubles management scarcely appeared in both dyads. The ST dyads only showed the teller’s solitary laughter (5.88% of 34 phases), while the SS dyads showed three patterns of laughter (Joint: 6.66% of 45 phases; Teller’s single: 2.22%). In particular, (and focusing on the listener’s contribution through the joint laughter), this result shows that the contribution of the SS dyads might be more likely than the contribution of the ST dyads. Since instances of laughter in such
a context were quite infrequent, this might not be a strong support, but the degree of solidarity might be related to the listener’s contribution in a trouble context.

Given more details about the non-solidary dyads, the following table shows the laughter patterns used by different-status listeners:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7.16 Frequency of patterns of laughter in power</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34 telling phases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acceptance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listener’s solitary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teller’s solitary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was less significant gap in the total figures of the patterns of laughter in both listeners (S: 41.17% of 34 phases; T: 47.05%). The figure of the acceptance was significant in both listeners (S: 29.41% of 34 phases; T: 29.41%), while the declination was the other way around in a generally conversational context (S: 8.82% of 34 phases; T: 14.70%). These results suggest that there was no significant gap in the figures of acceptance (S: 29.41% of 34 phases; T: 29.41%) when comparing the higher-status listener with the lower-status one. The declination by T was slightly more frequent than that by S (S: 8.82% of 34 phases; T: 14.70%). The patterns of laughter in troubles management were infrequent compared with those in a generally conversational context. The teller’s solitary laughter was the only pattern to be used in both types (S: 2.94% of 34 phases; T: 2.94%). This result showed that there was little difference in the figures revealing patterns of laughter in both types. The fact that the declination by T slightly outnumbered that by S, however, may indicate that the higher-status listener had more flexibility in choosing the laughter patterns.

I now examine the frequency of the responding/reacting function in the non-solidary/solidary interactions of the 2nd phase boundary (the telling phase):
Table 7.17 Frequency of laughter in the telling phase: responding/reacting function (solidarity)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Telling phases</th>
<th>Total (79)</th>
<th>S-T (34)</th>
<th>S-S (45)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laughter</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughter as % of responding/reacting</td>
<td>37.97%</td>
<td>38.23%</td>
<td>37.77%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the total number of instances of laughter (37.97 percent of 79 phases), the ST dyads amounted to 38.23 percent of 34 phases, while the SS dyads amounted to 37.77 percent of 45 phases. Both of the figures were almost equivalent, though the figures in the ST dyads slightly outnumbered those in the SS dyads. This result suggests that the responding/reacting function was slightly affected by the degree of a non-solidary relationship. The responding/reacting function in the different status listeners was considered as follows:

Table 7.18 Frequency of laughter in the telling phase: responding/reacting function (power)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Telling phases</th>
<th>Total (34)</th>
<th>S (34)</th>
<th>T (34)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laughter</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughter as % of responding/reacting</td>
<td>38.23%</td>
<td>20.58%</td>
<td>17.64%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the total number of instances of laughter (38.23 percent of 34 phases), S amounted to 20.58 percent of 34 phases, whilst T amounted to 17.64 percent. Although the difference in the figures was not discovered for this table, the figure in S slightly outnumbered the figure in T. This result shows that the degree of the lower-status listener was slightly related to the occurrence of the responding/reacting function.

The constituting function is now analysed in the non-solidary/solidary dyads:

Table 7.19 Frequency of laughter in the telling phase: constituting function (solidarity)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Telling phases</th>
<th>Total (79)</th>
<th>S-T (34)</th>
<th>S-S (45)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laughter</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughter as % of constituting</td>
<td>25.31%</td>
<td>20.58%</td>
<td>28.88%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ST dyads amounted to 20.58 percent of 34 phases, while the SS dyads amounted to 28.88 percent of 45 phases in the total number of instances of laughter (25.31 percent of 79 phases). The figure of the SS dyads was slightly more frequent than that of the ST dyads. This supports the fact that the use of the constituting function was a little affected
by the degree of solidary relationships. Following the figure of the ST dyads, I examine
the frequency of the function by different status listeners:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Telling phases</th>
<th>Total (34)</th>
<th>S (34)</th>
<th>T (34)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laughter</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughter as % of constituting</td>
<td>20.58%</td>
<td>8.82%</td>
<td>11.76%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S amounted to 8.82 percent of 34 phases, while T amounted to 11.76 percent in the total number of instances of laughter (20.58 percent of 34 phases). The figure of T slightly outnumbered the figure of S. This shows that the function was slightly affected by the degree of a higher-status listener.

I move to the third maintaining function in the non-solidary/solidary interactions. The total number of the instances of laughter was the least frequent in the three functions (3.79 percent of 79 phases):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Telling phases</th>
<th>Total (79)</th>
<th>S-T (34)</th>
<th>S-S (45)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laughter</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughter as % of maintaining</td>
<td>3.79%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>6.66%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The functions in the SS dyads only appeared (6.66 percent of 45 phases) in the telling phases. This figure is exactly equivalent to the total number of instances of laughter (3.79 percent of 79 phases). This shows that the degree of the solidary relationship affected the occurrence of the maintaining function.

To sum up, all of the three functions are tabulated as follows:
Table 7.22 Frequency of laughter in the telling phase: three functions (solidarity)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Telling phases</th>
<th>Total (79)</th>
<th>S-T (34)</th>
<th>S-S (45)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responding/Reacting</td>
<td>30 (37.97%)</td>
<td>13 (38.23%)</td>
<td>17 (37.77%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constituting</td>
<td>20 (25.31%)</td>
<td>7 (20.58%)</td>
<td>13 (28.88%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintaining</td>
<td>3 (3.79%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>3 (6.66%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>53 (67.08%)</td>
<td>20 (58.82%)</td>
<td>33 (73.33%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table suggests that the responding/reacting and constituting functions were quite frequent in the telling phase in both types of dyads (ST: 38.23 percent of 34 phases for responding/reacting and 20.58 percent for constituting; SS: 37.77 percent of 45 phases for the responding/reacting and 28.88 percent for the constituting). The figure of the maintaining function in both dyads suggests that it was the least frequent in the three functions, and that SS only appeared in this function (SS: 6.66 percent of 45 phases). These figures show that the listener’s laughter was more involved in a generally conversational context than in troubles management in the second phase boundary.

Comparing the ST with the SS dyads, all of the three functions in the SS dyads outnumbered those in the ST dyads (The total number of instances of laughter in ST: 58.82 percent of 34 phases; that in SS: 73.33 percent of 45 phases). Since the teller was likely to conclude her story in the second boundary, and since laughables and surprise points could be quite relevant at this point, the listener’s contribution could be expected during this conversational moment. In such a context, the findings support the idea that the degree of solidary relationship seemed connected with the frequent uses of such functions in order to show the listener’s contributions.

The laughter in the different status listeners is considered in this boundary (the total number of instances of laughter: 58.82 percent of 34 phases). The figures of the three functions is tabulated as follows:

Table 7.23 Frequency of laughter in the telling phase: three functions (power)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Telling phases</th>
<th>Total (34)</th>
<th>S (34)</th>
<th>T (34)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responding/Reacting</td>
<td>13 (38.23%)</td>
<td>7 (20.58%)</td>
<td>6 (17.64%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constituting</td>
<td>7(20.58%)</td>
<td>3 (8.82%)</td>
<td>4 (11.76%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintaining</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20 (58.82%)</td>
<td>10 (29.41%)</td>
<td>10 (29.41%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was no gap in the total number of instances of laughter between S and T (S: 29.41% of 34 phases; T: 29.41). Neither listener showed the maintaining function. The
responding/reacting and constituting functions used by higher-status listener, however, were more frequent than those used by lower-status listeners (S: 20.58% of 34 phases in responding/reacting and 8.82% in constituting; T: 17.64% of 34 phases in responding/reacting and 11.76% in constituting). These results suggest that both of the listeners were more likely to use responding/reacting and constituting in a conversational context in general. In addition, the higher-status listeners were more likely to use these laughter functions than the lower-status listeners. Such findings may suggest that the different degree of status in a power relationship was slightly relevant to the second phase boundary.

All of these analyses show that the listener’s laughter may be associated with the second phase boundary. In the non-solidary/solidary interactions, the acceptance pattern, together with the responding/reacting and constituting function in a generally conversational context, was more likely to appear in solidary interactions. Compared with the acceptance, the declination pattern was less likely to occur. In addition to this generally conversational context, the listeners in the solidary interactions also showed the patterns of joint laughter in troubles management. Such patterns closely related to the maintaining functions as revealed in the last chapters. These findings may possibly show that listenership through laughter was likely to be associated with solidarity in a relationship, and that it can be relevant to the second phase boundary.

The patterns and functions used by the higher-status listener were more frequent than those used by the lower-status listener in the different-status interactions. The analysis may suggest that the higher-status listener showed more flexibility in using the patterns and functions. This may indirectly show the higher-status listener’s leadership through such laughter patterns and functions in the second phase boundary. The higher-status listener could even manipulate listenership through a display of leadership. Since the second boundary was related to the conclusion of the story, the teller was likely to provide a surprise point and evaluation in this section. The listener’s laughter could be an expected reaction to the teller’s preceding story. At this point, the listener’s reaction also seemed important in achieving the co-production of story-making and shifting into the next stage of conversation. When such a co-production was successfully achieved
through laughter in the second phase boundary, the participants were likely to complete the story-telling and move into a new topic. If the co-production was not achieved, then the participants often pursued an extension of the story in the next phase. In order to achieve a co-production, the listener’s contribution through laughter could be essential at the close of the story (the second phase boundary). Within this context, the findings may enable us to see the close association between the patterns/functions of the listener’s laughter and particular social contexts — especially solidarity and power.

7.3.3 Third Phase Boundary

I will examine laughter in the third phase boundary from the very ending of the response phase to the next topic. In order to complete and shift the current topic into another one properly, the participants provide a couple of signals in this ending, as described in chapter 6. One of the signals may be laughter. To remind us of the nuts and bolts again, the response phase is likely to be related to extend the story-telling. As mentioned in the last section, the participants might complete their story-telling at the second phase boundary when the interaction between the participants was successfully achieved. However, they were likely to extend their conversational engagement in the response phase when the preceding closing was unsuccessful, when there was some misunderstanding, when they got off track or when the listener asked clarification in detail. The teller may explain her story in detail or try to resolve some misunderstanding through such an explanation. The listener may also keep continuing her comment to the teller’s story. Following all of the process, the third phase boundary is the very end moment that accomplishes the co-production of the whole story creation. In this ending, the teller provides a conclusion and the listener’s reaction may be expected. Laughter can be embedded in such a reaction. Such laughter can also be relevant to the final phase boundary. Based on this background, I will provide a quantitative analysis of the patterns and functions of laughter in the two interaction types.
First, the total number of instances of laughter is collected in 49 response phases\(^{48}\) including the ending as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L (+)</th>
<th>L (-)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33 (67.34%)</td>
<td>16 (32.66%)</td>
<td>49 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The instances of laughter amounted to 67.34 percent of 49 phases; the amount is more than twice as much as those of non-laughter. Along with the other transitions, this evidence supports that laughter contributes to the phase boundary from the current place to next. The distribution of laughter between the teller and the listener is listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 (21.22%)</td>
<td>26 (78.78%)</td>
<td>33 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The listener amounted to 78.78 percent of the 33 instances of laughter, while the teller amounted to 21.22 percent. The listener’s amount is more than three times as much as the teller’s. This data suggests that the listener’s laughter plays a role in the final phase boundary.

On the basis of these findings, the patterns of the listener’s laughter are tabulated in terms of the non-solidary and solidary interactions:

---

\(^{48}\) As mentioned above, the 49 phases involved such extensions and resulted in a longer response phase. One of the reasons why the number of phases in this phase (45 phases) is lower than in the preceding two phases (79 preface and telling phases), is because the participants completed their telling at the second boundary when the joint interaction between them was successfully achieved.
Table 7.26  Frequency of patterns of laughter in solidarity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S-T (29)</th>
<th>S-S (20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acceptance</td>
<td>14 (48.27%)</td>
<td>8 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declination</td>
<td>1 (3.44%)</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint</td>
<td>2 (6.89%)</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listener’s solitary</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teller’s solitary</td>
<td>3 (10.34%)</td>
<td>2 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20 (68.96%)</td>
<td>13 (65%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total figures of laughter in both dyads suggest that laughter plays a role in this boundary (ST: 68.96% of 29 phases; SS: 65% of 20 phases). Although the total number of instances of laughter between them was almost equivalent, the degree of solidarity in the relationships was related to the total figure of laughter.

Both of the dyads in a generally conversational context showed that the acceptance was more frequent (ST: 48.27% of 29 phases; SS: 40% of 20 phases) than the declination (ST: 3.44% of 29 phases; SS: 5% of 20 phases). This shows that a non-solidarity relationship seemed to slightly affect the number of these laughter patterns in a generally conversational context. In troubles management, all of the patterns were less frequent. The ST dyads showed the joint and the teller’s single laughter (Joint: 6.89% of 29 phases; Teller’s solitary: 10.34%), likewise the SS dyads showed the co-production and the teller’s laughter (Joint: 10% of 20 phases; Teller’s solitary: 10%). As to the listener’s contribution, the joint laughter played a role in both the ST and the SS dyads.

Focusing on the patterns of laughter in the higher-status and lower-status listeners, the following table shows several differences between them:
Table 7.27  Frequency of patterns of laughter in power

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>29 response phases</th>
<th>S (29)</th>
<th>T (29)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acceptance</td>
<td>10 (34.48%)</td>
<td>4 (13.79%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Declination</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (3.44%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>2 (6.89%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listener’s solitary</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teller’s solitary</td>
<td>2 (6.89%)</td>
<td>1 (3.44%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12 (41.37%)</td>
<td>8 (27.58%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of the total figures of laughter, S amounted to 41.37 percent of 29 phases, while T amounted to 27.58 percent of 29 phases. This result supports the conclusion that laughter in the lower-status listener was more frequent than laughter that in the higher-status listener. In each pattern of laughter, the acceptance pattern was the most frequent pattern to be used by both listeners (S: 34.48% of 29 phases; T: 13.79% of 29 phases). However, there was a difference in the figure between them. In contrast, the declination was relatively infrequent and only T showed it (T: 3.44% of 29 phases). In troubles management, T showed two patterns of laughter: the joint laughter and the teller’s solitary laughter (Joint: 6.89% of 29 phases; Teller’s solitary: 3.44% of 29 phases). S only showed the teller’s solitary laughter (6.89% of 29 phases). This result supports the fact that T’s use of the joint laughter could contribute to the listener’s role in this context. As mentioned above, the total number of laughter patterns for the lower-status listener was higher than for the higher-status listener. However, the higher-status listener showed four types of laughter patterns (acceptance, declination, joint laughter, and the teller’s solitary laughter), while the lower-status listener showed only two patterns (acceptance and the teller’s solitary laughter). This may support the fact that the higher-status listener was more likely to have flexibility in using laughter patterns in a generally conversational context and troubles management. To sum up, the lower-status listener showed the acceptance pattern as his/her contribution of listenership. This suggests that laughter could be affected by the degree of social status in a power relationship. In addition, the higher-status listener was likely to have more flexibility in choosing laughter types in both a generally conversational context and troubles management.
I consider the frequency of the three functions in two interaction types. The following table shows the frequency of the responding/reacting function in the non-solidary/solidary interactions:

Table 7.28 Frequency of laughter in the response phase: responding/reacting function (solidarity)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response phases</th>
<th>Total (49)</th>
<th>S-T (29)</th>
<th>S-S (20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laughter</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughter as % of responding/reacting</td>
<td>26.53%</td>
<td>27.58%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the total number of instances of laughter in the ST and the SS dyads (26.53% of 49 phases), the ST dyads amounted to 27.58 percent of 29 phases, while the SS dyads amounted to 25 percent of 20 phases. This result suggests that the function of the ST dyads was slightly more frequent than that of the SS dyads. It shows that the degree of non-solidary relationship was slightly related to the display of this function. The frequency of the function in a higher- and lower- status listeners is reflected follows:

Table 7.29 Frequency of laughter in the response phase: responding/reacting function (power)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response phases</th>
<th>Total (29)</th>
<th>S (29)</th>
<th>T (29)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laughter</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughter as % of responding/reacting</td>
<td>27.58%</td>
<td>20.68%</td>
<td>6.89%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table suggests that S amounted to 20.68 percent of 29 phases, while T amounted to 6.89 percent in the total number of instances of laughter (27.58 percent). This result shows that the lower-status listener showed this function more frequently than the higher-status one, by a ratio of almost three to one. This indicates that the lower degree of status in a power relationship was related to the occurrence of the responding/reacting function.

The frequency of the constituting function is considered in the non-solidary/solidary interactions:
Table 7.30 Frequency of laughter in the response phase: constituting function (solidarity)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response phases</th>
<th>Total (49)</th>
<th>S-T (29)</th>
<th>S-S (20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laughter</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughter as % of Constituting</td>
<td>18.36%</td>
<td>20.68%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that the function in the ST dyads was slightly more frequent than that in the SS dyads (ST: 20.68% of 29 phases; SS: 15% of 20 phases) in the total number of instances of laughter (18.36 percent of 49 phases). The non-solidary dyads slightly outnumbered the solidary dyads, by a ratio of four to three. This suggests that the occurrence of this function was slightly affected by the degree of non-solidary relationships. With reference to this figure in the non-solidary dyads, I investigated the frequency of this function in the different status interactions:

Table 7.31 Frequency of laughter in the response phase: constituting function (power)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response phases</th>
<th>Total (29)</th>
<th>S (29)</th>
<th>T (29)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laughter</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughter as % of constituting</td>
<td>20.68%</td>
<td>13.79%</td>
<td>6.89%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table suggests that the function by S was slightly more frequent than that by T (S: 13.79 percent of 29 phases; T: 6.89 percent of 29 phases) in the total number of instances of laughter (20.68 percent of 29 phases). This result supports the fact that the constituting function was slightly related to the lower degree of status in power relationships.

The third maintaining function was considered in the non-solidary/solidary dyads:

Table 7.32 Frequency of laughter in the response phase: maintaining function (solidarity)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response phases</th>
<th>Total (49)</th>
<th>S-T (29)</th>
<th>S-S (20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laughter</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laughter as % of maintaining</td>
<td>8.16%</td>
<td>6.89%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the total number of instances of laughter (8.16% of 49 phases), the ST dyads amounted to 6.89 percent of 29 phases, while the SS dyads amounted to 10 percent of 20 phases. This result suggests that the function in the solidary dyads slightly outnumbered that in the non-solidary dyads and that the higher degree of solidarity
relationships was slightly related to the occurrence of this function. Based on this result, I compared the frequency of this function between the lower- and higher-status listener:

| Table 7.33 Frequency of laughter in the response phase: maintaining function (power) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Response phases | Total (29) | S (29) | T (29) |
| Laughter | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Laughter as % of maintaining | 6.89% | 0% | 6.89% |

As the table shows, the number was infrequent and only T showed this function (6.89 percent of 29 phases). Although this result was infrequent, the table suggests that the higher degree of status in a power relationship was a little related to the occurrence of this function.

To consider all of the functions, the following table displays the relationship between the functions and the solidary relations:

| Table 7.34 Frequency of laughter in the response phase: three functions (solidarity) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Response phases | Total (49) | S-T (29) | S-S (20) |
| Responding/Reacting | 13 (26.53%) | 8 (27.58%) | 5 (25%) |
| Constituting | 9 (18.36%) | 6 (20.68%) | 3 (15%) |
| Maintaining | 4 (8.16%) | 2 (6.89%) | 2 (10%) |
| Total | 26 (53.06%) | 16 (55.17%) | 10 (50%) |

The table suggests that the responding/reacting function was the most frequent in both interactions (ST: 27.58% of 29 phases; SS: 25% of 20 phases), while the maintaining function was the least frequent in both interactions (ST: 6.89% of 29 phases; SS: 10% of 20 phases). This shows that the laughter relevant to the listener’s side in a generally conversational context was more likely to be used than the laughter in troubles management. Comparing the ST dyads with the SS dyads, the total number of instances of laughter in the ST dyads was slightly more frequent than that in the SS dyads (ST: 55.17% of 29 phases; SS: 50% of 20 phases). Given more details, the two functions, responding/reacting and constituting in the ST dyads, outnumbered those in the SS dyads (responding/reacting and constituting in ST: 27.58% and 20.68% of 29 phases; responding/reacting and constituting in SS: 25% and 15% of 20 phases). The maintaining function in the SS dyads outnumbered that in the ST dyads (ST: 6.89% of 29 phases; SS: 10% of 20 phases). This suggests that the lower degree of solidary
relations can be more related to the laughter functions in both a generally conversational context and troubles management. It also shows that the lower degree of solidary relations was slightly more related to laughter in a generally conversational context, while the higher degree of solidary relations was slightly more related to laughter in a troubles management.

The three functions of laughter in the different status interactions were considered as below:

| Table 7.35 Frequency of laughter in the response phase: three functions (power) |
|--------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Response phases               | Total (29)| S (29)    | T (29)    |
| Responding/Reacting           | 8 (27.58%)| 6 (20.68%)| 2 (6.89%) |
| Constituting                  | 6 (20.68%)| 4 (13.79%)| 2 (6.89%) |
| Maintaining                   | 2 (6.89%) | 0 (0%)    | 2 (6.89%) |
| Total                         | 16 (55.17%)| 10 (34.48%)| 6 (20.68%)|

In terms of the total number of instances of laughter, S outnumbered T (S: 34.48% of 29 phases; T: 20.68% of 29 phases). In total, the lower-status listener was more related to use of the three functions. Focusing on each function, the responding/reacting and constituting functions in the lower-status listener were slightly more frequent than those in the higher-status listener (responding/reacting and constituting by S: 20.68% and 13.79% of 29 phases; responding/reacting and constituting by T: 6.89% and 6.89% of 29 phases). The result shows that these two functions were slightly more related to the lower degree of a status listener. However, only T showed the maintaining function (T: 6.89% of 29 phases). This suggests that the maintaining was related to the higher degree of a status listener although there is a need to support this with more evidence. These show that the lower-status listener was slightly more related to laughter in a generally conversational context, while the higher-status listener was more flexible in dealing with laughter in both a generally conversational context and troubles management.

As described above, the third phase boundary involves the achievement of an extension of conversation as well as an achievement of the whole story-telling. Thus it is the ‘mopping-up’ stage of the surprise story-telling. Such extensions are motivated by certain circumstances such as when the participants divert the relevant topic away from
the surprise story, when the listener provides more comments to the story, or when the
teller tries to explain his/her surprise point following the listener’s preceding response
or reaction. Such circumstances can be related to the frequency of laughter because the
laughter in the non-solidary dyads (including patterns and functions) was more frequent
than that in the solidary dyads. In addition, the patterns and functions of laughter used
by the lower-status listener were more frequent than those used by the higher-status
listener. This result shows that the lower-status listener’s laughter might contribute to
completing both an extension of the response phase and the whole story-making. The
higher-status listener used the declination pattern more frequently. The maintaining
function was more likely to be used by such a listener. All of these findings reveal that
the listener’s laughter tended to associate with solidarity and power in the third phase
boundary, and that it might play a role in achieving a co-production of the whole
story-telling completion.

All of the findings can show the relationship between laughter and the surprise
story-telling. As I suggested, the listener’s contribution seemed essential in order to
move the current phase into the next stage in each boundary. In order to consider how
laughter can be related to his/her contribution, the above quantitative analyses were
carried out. There are three supportive findings as a whole. First, laughter was likely to
be present in all boundaries by more than half the frequency of laughter in each phase.
Second, laughter was more closely associated with a conversational context in general
than with troubles management in all of the boundaries. Third, the acceptance pattern
was the most frequent pattern to occur in all of the boundaries, whilst the declination
pattern was likely to be avoided in all of boundaries. Since laughter functioned as a
means of showing responding/reacting and constituting in such acceptance patterns, the
second finding may show that listenership behaviour through laughter played a role in
each phase boundary. The listener’s laughter in all boundaries played a role in shifting
the conversation from the current phase into the next, and in making the surprise story
through a joint production of laughter between the participants. These three findings in
general may suggest that laughter as part of listenership played a role in those
boundaries.
The above analysis may also suggest the association between laughter and social variables such as power and solidarity in the three phase boundaries. In the first and second boundaries, the acceptance pattern and three functions of laughter were more likely to be associated with the higher degree of solidarity in relationships, whilst they were more likely to be related to the lower degree of solidarity in the third boundary. In addition, since the higher-status listeners might show more flexibility in choosing the laughter patterns, they might show leadership in mutual interactions by manipulating the display of listenership in all three boundaries. In particular, such a tendency was likely in the first and second boundaries due to the many acceptance patterns and laughter functions in play. The higher-status listener’s leadership still seemed to be followed by the flexible choice of laughter patterns in the third boundary. The lower-status listener might also play a role in creating the whole story by frequently using patterns and functions of laughter. These findings may support the fact that the listener’s laughter (patterns and functions) could be associated with power and solidarity in each phase boundary.

In line with such an association, it could be possible to discuss how the listener’s laughter involved in the above social variables could be related to the whole surprise story-telling creation. The listener’s contribution might be related to proceed the ‘pre-story’ to the ‘main issue’ immediately because the whole picture of the story will be presented in the telling phase (to do so, the immediate acceptance was likely to be used in this boundary as described in Chapter 6). In order to achieve this procedure, the higher degree of solidarity in a relationship might be effective through the frequent use of acceptance patterns and three functions of laughter. The higher-status listener’s leadership by the frequent uses of such patterns and functions, and flexibility in choosing the laughter pattern, might be also effective in dealing with this procedure.

The listener’s contribution was expected to the teller’s story (including surprise points) in the second phase boundary because it may result in the accomplishment of the co-production of surprise story-telling. Laughter could be related to such a listener’s contribution (in particular, the immediate acceptance was likely to be used in this boundary as mentioned in Chapter 6). Just revealed in the first boundary, the higher
degree of solidarity in a relationship and the higher-status listener’s leadership through the frequent use of laughter patterns and functions might be beneficial in the achievement of the co-production.

The listener’s contribution in the third boundary might be slightly differentiated from his/her contribution in the preceding two boundaries. It was present here in order to deal with (or compensate for) the extension of the mutual interaction between the participants. It helped to achieve the ‘mopping-up’ stage of the story-telling (either by fixing the misunderstanding, providing a clarification, or getting the conversation back on the track, etc.). Following this procedure, the listener’s contribution was likely to follow the teller’s conclusion (with a surprise point or evaluation). In this circumstance, the lower degree of solidarity in a relationship might be more closely associated with an attempt at compensation or a repair in the final boundary. While the higher-status listener’s leadership was effective thanks to his/her flexibility in choosing various patterns of laughter, the lower-status listener also seemed to support the final achievement of the story by offering more frequent laughter patterns and functions.

All of these findings may support laughter as a part of listenership and may be associated with social variables in the macro-structure of the surprise story-telling.

As a result, these pattern and functions can be indirectly connected with interpersonal relationships such as politeness theories and face matters in relation to power and solidarity. As I mentioned above, the three main functions of the listener’s laughter could contribute to creating a co-production of conversation between the participants. The responding/reacting and constituting functions under the acceptance pattern may serve to enhance the co-participant’s face (due to laughter’s positive effect) in order to achieve a joint activity (see Chapter 3 for the discussion of politeness and laughter). They could also be associated with some of the politeness theories such as positive politeness strategy (Brown and Levinson, 1987). In particular, because the responding/reacting function includes the listener’s acknowledgement, agreement,

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49 As mentioned in Chapter 6, the delayed acceptance was likely to be associated with the third boundary. This may be related to an extension of the conversation.
appreciation and the like, they can be closely connected to tact, approbation and agreement maxims under the politeness principle (Leech, 1983). Due to their relevance for encouraging the participant’s positive face, the responding/reacting and constituting functions are able to support the group-bonding and may contribute to the establishment of solidarity. The finding that the solidary relationships were more related to these two functions in most of the phase boundaries may support affiliation in such a solidary relation.

In addition to such functions, the maintaining function may be related to both positive and negative politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson, 1987) (due to troubles management). For instance, laughter as understanding/sympathy and humorous treatment when the teller is involved in troubles management could support and save the teller’s face. Mitigation and evasion in the same context might connect, save and maintain both the teller’s face and the listener’s negative face. Such maintaining functions were also likely to appear in the solidary relation in all of the three boundaries, and it could also support affiliation. Moreover, this function was more likely to be used by the higher-status listener in the most of the boundaries (except the telling phase), as seen in the tables above. This may show that the maintenance of face between the self and the other through such a maintaining function can be closely related to the leadership of the higher-status listener.

Contrary to these functions of laughter, the listener’s absence of laughter, such as in the declination pattern, may fail to support affiliation and instead bring about disaffiliation. This may affect the co-participant’s negative face, and possibly bring about a FTA. Thus, participants were less likely to use the declination in all three phases. In addition, the maintaining function of laughter (through mitigation and evasion) might lessen a negative effect, as Leech’s maxim suggests, by turning the conversation away from disagreement, dispraise and antipathy. This maintaining function is likely to link up to a power relation. This link may be supported by the fact that the higher-status listener had more flexibility in choosing the patterns of laughter, either acceptance or declination. Such a finding supports the idea that the absence of a listener’s laughter could link up to power relations.
7.4 Conclusion

Considering the fourth research question, I explored the quantitative analysis based on the listener’s laughter patterns and functions by comparing the different interaction types in the three phase boundaries of the surprise story-telling. The above quantitative analyses revealed that the listener’s patterns and functions were affected by specific interactive realities, such as whether or not the interaction was based on the solidary/non-solidary relations, and whether or not the listener was a higher/lower-status listener in different status interactions. In addition to the qualitative analysis in Chapter 6, the findings first supported the relationship between laughter and the macro-structure of the surprise story-telling. Secondly, the findings supported the fact that such patterns and functions could link up to social variables such as the degree of solidary relations in solidarity building and status differences in social power relations. In relation to such social variables, I have pursued the association between the patterns/functions of laughter and politeness theories. The laughter patterns and functions were possibly associated with face treatment in order to either enhance or maintain the other’s face as well as the self, and they were aimed at achieving a co-production of conversation. I have considered the way that such a negotiation between the participants could be associated with solidarity and power through the patterns and functions of the listener’s laughter. These findings can be served for revealing the interconnection between the listener’s laughter contributions and social contexts in surprise story-telling.
8.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews my overall research (8.2). It also shows the particular significance and limitations of the research (8.3 and 8.4); provides a number of possibilities for future study (8.5); and offers a brief conclusion (8.6).

8.2 Overview of This Study

This thesis has contributed to the body of research on listenership. It has explored this through an investigation of the functions of laughter in the listening behaviour of participants in Japanese interaction. In the following, I will review my research and discuss my findings.

I found that the listener’s laughter was important for displaying listenership and for accomplishing a co-production at the micro-level of conversation. This became clear through a consideration of specific patterns and functions of laughter. In general, the listener’s response (reaction) was motivated by the speaker’s invitation of laughter and expressed itself in two patterns: laughter indicating immediate or delayed acceptance, and non-laughing indicating declination. At times, acceptance was motivated by the speaker’s initiation of laughter. This occurred when the speaker provided an invitation to laugh through a laughable and then followed it up with laughter. The listener then laughed upon recognising the laughable. At other times, acceptance appeared when the listener started laughing (the listener’s initiation of laughter). The listener laughed at the recognition of a laughable following the speaker’s invitation without laughter. A declination of laughter showed that the listener’s laughter was absent following the speaker’s invitation. The listener decided to produce a non-laughing utterance. In this pattern, ambivalence, which is a third possible option between accepting and declining,
also appeared.

In relation to the acceptance pattern, there were two functions of the listener’s laughter: responding/reacting and constituting. Responding/Reacting indicated that the listener ‘responded’ to or ‘reacted’ to the speaker’s contribution (which included a bit of laughter) by laughing afterwards. Constituting meant that the listener ‘discovered’ or ‘constituted’ something laughable or funny through a laughable that was expressed (notably without any laughter) in the speaker’s contribution; the listener signaled this constitution through laughter. These two functions of the listener’s laughter played a role in supporting mutual understandings and affiliative processes between participants. In the declination pattern, there was an absence of laughter that might signal the listener’s lack of support for the speaker. Ambivalence was used, however, in order to avoid this situation.

When a trouble context occurred, three possible patterns of laughter were noticed: joint laughter (the speaker’s laughter together with the listener’s laughter), the listener’s solitary laughter, and the speaker’s solitary laughter. In the former two patterns, the listener’s laughter revealed the listener’s third contribution: the maintaining function. In this function, the listener expressed sympathy/understanding, humorous treatment, mitigation and/or evasion, thereby helping to ‘resolve’, ‘fix’ or ‘recover’ an ongoing interactional trouble or embarrassing situation, and to ‘maintain’ mutual relations.

At the macro-level of the surprise story-telling (based on the three phases in a surprise story – preface, telling and response), I found that laughter indirectly related to specific phase boundaries (1st: preface/telling; 2nd: telling/response; and 3rd: response/next topic). I found that laughter could be one of the expected reactions when primed by a laughable. The laughter patterns and functions appeared in each boundary. The acceptance pattern mainly appeared in all of the boundaries. The responding/reacting and constituting functions were quite likely to occur in the acceptance. The patterns of laughter in a trouble context appeared when trouble situations occurred, e.g. when a
I discovered the association between the patterns/functions of laughter and social contexts by comparing different interaction types. In the acceptance and declination patterns of laughter, the acceptance in the solidary dyads was more frequent than that in the non-solidary dyads. Although the declination was infrequent in both of the dyads, this pattern was more frequent for the higher-status listener than for the lower-status listener. The higher-status listener also showed more flexibility when choosing a response pattern. In contrast with patterns of laughter in general, laughter was comparatively infrequent in trouble management. The joint laughter between participants, however, could equally be related to listenership behaviour. Such a pattern was more likely to be used in the solidary dyads.

In addition to these patterns, I examined the three main laughter functions: responding/reacting, constituting and maintaining. I found some association between the laughter functions and social variables by comparing the two interaction types. The above acceptance patterns involved two functions, responding/reacting and constituting. The context of troubles management involved the maintaining function. The responding/reacting and constituting functions in the solidary dyads were more likely to be used than those in the non-solidary dyads. While the maintaining function was less likely to be used in both dyads, the function for the higher-status listener was more frequent than for the lower-status listener. These findings revealed that the patterns/functions of the listener’s laughter could be indirectly affected by the degree of solidarity and by different power relations in the three phase boundaries.

The findings also enabled me to interpret the existence of a relationship between laughter patterns/functions and politeness in general. The responding/reacting and constituting functions under the acceptance pattern could be linked with
face-enhancement, with positive face strategies, and with aspects of the politeness principle, i.e. tact, approbation, and agreement maxims. The maintaining function existing in problematic contexts (under joint laughter) could be related to both face-enhancement and face-maintenance in order to resolve any trouble or embarrassment. Such face-treatment could be linked with negative politeness strategies employed for avoiding FTAs. These functions might be involved in affiliation when establishing solidarity. On the other hand, the absence of laughter under the declination pattern might relate to a lack of support for such an affiliative function, and might bring about disaffiliation instead. Ambivalence, however, might enable the listener to avoid such disaffiliation, and might be a suitable third option. The fact that the higher-status listener was likely to use the ambivalence might be linked with unequal power relations. In short, by presenting the association between laughter and social contexts, the analyses revealed that these three functions support the creation, negotiation and maintenance of human relationships between the self and the other.

8.3 Significance of This Study

This study is significant in that it reveals the close association between laughter and listenership. The previous literature primarily focused on the speaker’s contribution in interaction. This study concentrates on demonstrating the listener’s contribution in interaction. Motivated by a research gap in the association between listenership and laughter, I demonstrated that laughter as part of listenership played a role in achieving a co-production of conversation. I presented the idea that laughter offered three primary contributions to conversation: responding/reacting, constituting and maintaining. I also presented the idea that the listener’s laughter could be an expected reaction — primed by a laughable and indirectly related to the phase boundaries in the macro-structure of surprise story-telling. I showed that listenership contributed to negotiating, creating, and maintaining human relationships between the self and the other in conversational interactions.

It is also significant to emphasise the fluidity of conversation and the way in which both participants flexibly negotiate their joint interactions. The nature of stories can be
continually transformed and renegotiated as I presented in the previous data analysis. A troubles-story can thus be shifted into a funny story. These findings show that participants take a stance towards them in their telling.

In addition, previous studies of laughter have addressed laughter as a general interactional phenomenon. I looked at it more specifically, however, in surprise story-telling. Previous studies focused on the micro-level of general laughter activities. This study connected laughter at the micro-level of conversational routines to laughter at the macro-level of discourse – with a focus on surprise-story telling. This study further associated such laughter phenomena with higher-level social contexts such as social variables (power and solidarity) and interpersonal relationships (politeness and face).

In line with the above significance, I shall address some implications about laughter and listenership in Japanese contexts. Aspects of Japanese listenership (as considered in Chapter 2) might be connected with the present findings, particularly with functions of the listener’s laughter.

A specific aspect of Japanese conversational practice such as “Other-Centered Interdependence” and “Listener Talk” (Yamada, 1997) might be interconnected with three functions of the listener’s laughter: responding/reacting, constituting and maintaining. In Japanese conversational practice, I have mentioned that implicit or indirect communication due to silence and modesty were essential for establishing mutual understanding (Ito, 1989; Kunihiro, 1976; Lebra, 1976). In line with this, I have also explained that “nonconfrontational communication” (Watanabe, 1993) and wa “harmony” (Lebra, 1976; Yamada, 1997) (in relation to an emphasis on group bonding and distinction – in-group vs. out-group) were significant for deepening understandings in Japanese practice. The literature (Yamada, 1997) mentioned that these aspects might derive from ‘interdependence’ that is related to the term, amae (‘sweetness’) (Doi, 1971). In his discussion, Doi (1971) explained that such a view of amae (‘sweetness’) provided us with the importance of both mutual understanding and a consideration for others (‘omoiyari’). In line with the importance of interdependence and consideration
for others, the term “Others-Centered Interdependence” is also brought into play (Yamada, 1997). This aspect, “Others-Centered Interdependence” might further be related to some aspects of Japanese communicational practice, such as “Listener Talk” (Yamada, 1997). Such characteristics of Japanese communication are described as “the responsibility of communication rests with the audience, making listener interpretation not only key, but the main mode of communication” (Yamada, 1997: 38). This may support the importance of the listener’s contribution in Japanese conversational practice. In order to address the relationship between laughter and listenership, I have addressed the three main functions of laughter as primary contributions of listenership. Such functions might thus be interconnected with the emphasis on Listener Talk in Japanese conversational practice. One of the listener’s primary activities in Japanese practice is *sasshi* (‘guesswork’) (Yamada, 1997), which refers to “a strategy where players try to understand as much as possible from the little that is said” (Yamada, 1997: 37). Such guesswork can be related to the three main functions of laughter. The listener might notice that she/he will be expected to respond/react to and appreciate the speaker’s contribution. For instance, she/he will be able to ‘guess’ or ‘anticipate’ that ‘laughing’ (in appreciation) may be the expected response/reaction following the co-participants’ contribution through laughter. The listener might spontaneously ‘guess’ or ‘constitute’ something funny or laughable, and then laugh following the speaker’s contribution during his or her talk. The listener might ‘guess’ or notice some trouble during the speaker’s (trouble) talk, and might show some understanding and cheer up through laughter. Or, he or she might show an indirect or mitigating attitude through laughter in order to avoid confrontation. These listener functions might be interconnected with such guesswork under an emphasis on Listener Talk. These functions might also be related to guesswork that is motivated by another aspect of Japanese practice: the desire to “avoid embarrassing both themselves and others”. This can be because Japanese individuals are highly sensitive about ‘face’ interactions (Hirokawa, 1987: 146-147).

The sensitivity to face might also be reflected in the listener’s laughter activity, particularly when her/his laughter is absent following the speaker’s invitation, or in relation to the declination pattern. Contrary to the acceptance pattern, the quantitative analysis in Chapter 7 shows that the declination pattern was infrequent in the three
boundaries. This could be because an absence of laughter might indicate a lack of affiliation, or because it might bring about the disaffiliation that I mentioned in Chapter 7. In terms of this declination, I mentioned in Chapter 5 that the pattern involved some ambivalence between acceptance and declination. Ambivalence indicates that the listener’s laughter is absent but that verbal utterance may still fill this absence. The declination pattern indicates that it does not simply indicate non-laughter (Jefferson, 1979), but something that goes beyond that (Jefferson, 1979). In this pattern, the listener should have immediately pursued topical-matters at the moment when the speaker laughed (Jefferson, 1979). In my data, the listeners, by failing to laugh, were likely to give an acknowledgement/or positive reaction (including understanding). Such responses might usefully fill communicational gaps in order to avoid politeness or trouble avoidance. This could also be linked with one particular aspect of Japanese practice, which is the preference for indirect or implicit communication as described above (in Chapter 2). In addition, Yamada (1997) explains that Japanese individuals prefer to say “Yes” even when thinking “No” in any given situation—because it is “an explicit statement of [the] individual” (Yamada, 1997:44). Such a response preference in Japanese practice could be connected with an emphasis on indirectness or ambiguity in conversation. This preference may also be connected with the sensitivity to face. In short, ambivalence can be a response or reaction that is interconnected with Japanese social convention.

Moreover, the above patterns and functions might be related to social variables, power and solidarity in Japanese practice. In relation to the group orientation (out-group vs. in-group), the solidarity dyads used responding/reacting and constituting more frequently (under the acceptance pattern) in order to build affiliation. The finding that the absence of laughter under the declination pattern (potentially due to a lack of affiliation) was more frequent in the higher-status participant than in the lower-status participant might show the particular flexibility of the higher-status listener when choosing the response pattern (either acceptance or declination). Such flexibility could be related to power relations in the out-group in accordance with a Japanese social convention upholding the idea that superiors are generally expected to show leadership (see Chapter 2, e.g. Watanabe, 1993: 180). In short, although all of these implications should in future be
supported by more intense empirical analysis, the functions of the listener’s laughter could be interrelated with certain aspects of Japanese social conventions.

In addition, when it comes to applying my findings to English education for Japanese learners, there are several important implications to consider. As Japanese social conventions and identity (as mentioned above) are significant aspects of Japanese culture and language use, listenership is important for motivating Japanese students to improve their skills. In my teaching classes, one example can be found in English presentations for first and second year students at a Japanese university. Each term the students have to complete/experience oral presentations in a group or individual project. In order to emphasise their mutual and collaborative learning, the audience evaluates each student’s performance using an evaluation form (including such aspects as logic, visual effects, voice inflection, and positive feedback/advice). All of the students can then look through the other evaluations.

After observing student performances through these forms, I found that listenership was essential to giving students confidence in both speech and expression. When the presenters had a good reaction from the audience (e.g. laughter, smiling and nodding, and discussion) they left a comment saying that they had confidence to speak English spontaneously. On the other hand, when the above reactions from the audience seemed insufficient, the presenters left a comment saying that it was difficult to give the English presentations. These observations suggest that active displays of listenership from the audience play a role in motivating speakers to study English. In presentation classes it thus seems significant to highlight the positive aspects or effects of “listenership”. It is also essential for teachers to show their own active listenership when responding or reacting to student performances — this encourages students to express themselves. Moreover, as described in the literature of Japanese identity above, the importance of the display of listenership in an English classroom discourse in Japan can be linked up to aspects of “Listener Talk” in Japanese communications.
8.4 Limitations

Despite the significance of the current research, this thesis still remains limited. In order to consider more solid evidence of the relationship between laughter and social variables, a larger corpus of data may reveal how functions of laughter are affected by different social variables according to gender and age difference. In dealing with these social variables, another dyad (such as in-group conversations based on the first encounter) might be available for comparing conversations: friend-friend listeners in the first encounter with those in the non-first encounter.

Another limitation of this study involves the nature of the data used. Since the study conducted interactions based on controlled data, there is now a need to look at laughter (as part of listenership) in naturally occurring interactions. In addition, because the data involves Japanese participants, further study is needed in order to examine laughter in other contexts. A comparison of data from different contexts would allow us to recognise whether the observations in this thesis are universal, or whether they are specific to the Japanese context. Although this thesis mainly investigates laughter as part of listenership in general, dealing with Japanese aspects, a more detailed focus on such aspects is necessary in order to consider the association between laughter and listenership to social contexts. Moreover, although I focused on the surprise story-telling, examinations of laughter as part of listenership in other interactional episodes would enhance our understanding of laughter and listenership as an interactional activity. In addition, although this thesis concentrated on laughter as an aspect of listenership behaviour, other behaviour that relates to listenership (such as nodding, smiling and verbal backchannelling) needs to be explored in order to deepen our understandings of listenership.

8.5 Possible Future Research

Future research will be able to deepen this study of listenership. Although I shed light on laughter as one of the main contributions of listenership, it might also be valuable to explore other activities in listenership behaviour (such as smiling, backchannelling,
nodding) and the relationship of these behaviours to each other and to laughter. For instance, Haakana (2010) mentions that smiling tends to appear before laughter. This suggests that smiling might help identify the place of laughter or a possible laughable more precisely. In relation to this, the listener’s smiling activity can be a clue that reveals the conversational atmosphere. Moreover, as I mentioned in Chapter 2, smiling, nodding and laughter can work as backchannelling and can be closely connected with the listener’s role. It is thus worthwhile to examine their relation to listenership. It might also be beneficial to collect naturally occurring conversations rather than controlled data, including such natural occasions as dinner table conversations (Tannen, 1989) and service encounter interactions. These conversations could illustrate ‘real’ engagements through daily interaction, and offer a useful point of comparison. For example: participants in this study sometimes exchanged a sequence of requests before providing the background of the story. This negotiation subsequently revealed how the participants proceeded with the task in order to complete it successfully and cooperatively. It might be useful in future research to consider whether more naturally occurring interactions include similar aspects of negotiation (e.g. Sacks, 1974). In addition, it would be possible to examine the way of listenership behaviours by focusing on the telling phase, particularly when recounting a story. Though this study focused on the listener’s roles in the place boundary, the listeners may show listenership through laughter in the midst of the teller’s description of a story. To discover laughter and listenership in this part may enable me to discover another insight into the relationship.

There is yet another possibility that might broaden this study. This would come through comparing Japanese with other languages. Although I concentrate on Japanese spoken interaction, it would be interesting to compare aspects of laughter and listenership in two different languages, thereby revealing both the similarities and idiosyncrasies of cultural and interactional motivations in different social structures. In addition to this comparison, a consideration of gender is yet another possibility that might broaden this study. For instance, the previous studies surrounding female discourse show that females tend to be indirect and cooperative, providing supportive feedback in conversations (Tannen, 1994; Holmes and Stubb, 2003). Such aspects of female discourse might affect listenership. Comparing the discourse between males and
females might enable one to corroborate this idea or to discover useful contradictions.

All in all, there are many issues that need to be developed in future research. There are many other areas that might qualify my study of listenership.

8.6 Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to contribute to the body of research on listenership and to accomplish this through an investigation of the functions of laughter as part of listenership behaviour in Japanese conversational interaction. Most of the research on spoken discourse was likely to focus on the speaker’s activity. However, the listener can actively contribute to the process of achieving mutual interaction. Despite early research on the listener’s role and laughter (considered separately), there are few studies so far that deal with the association between listenership and laughter. This thesis has thus examined the association between the two by exploring it from three different angles: laughter at the micro-level of conversational routine; the association between listenership and laughter at the macro-level of the surprise story-telling; laughter and social relationships between participants at the higher-level of social contexts.

Throughout the investigation of these three dimensions, I claimed that the three main functions of laughter — responding/reacting, constituting and maintaining — are pivotal contributions to listenership. I believe that these three functions play a dynamic role in creating, negotiating, and maintaining the relationship between the self and the other, in everything from micro-conversational routines to macro-discourses and social structures.

There is no end of pursuing this study. The study has provided some initial findings on the phenomena of listenership and laughter. Many problems and issues should be further investigated as mentioned above. However, it is my hope that this study has provided new insights into how laughter plays a pivotal role in the display of listenership and into how it enriches human relationships and mutual-understandings in those discursive interactions that are embedded in daily life.
References


Fujii, Yasunari. 2007. Tell me about when you were hitchhiking: The organisation of story initiation by Australian and Japanese speakers. *Language in Society* 36: 183-211.


Appendices

Appendix A

Transcription Conventions

A:     code for name of speaker
·hh     inbreath or inhalation
h (or h)) aspiration, breathiness
AAA the length of laughter
↑↓ rising and falling intonation
> < increase in tempo, as in a rush-through
[ ] overlapped speech in contiguous lines
[ ] The point where overlapping talk starts
] The point where overlapping talk ends
= ‘latched’ utterances
( .7) the length of a pause or silence in tenths of a second
( .) unmeasured micro-pause
( ) ellipsis
(( )) commentary by transcriptionist
::: sound stretch, e.g. Ah ::: 
CAPITALS a louder voice than surrounding talk
Underlining The parts produced in a louder or more emphatic tone than surrounding
talk
° ° Portions which are delivered in a quieter voice than surrounding talk is
enclosed between degree signs
- cut-off
, continuing intonation
! animated tone

(e.g. Hayashi, 2003)
Appendix B

I describe the data sets that were used in this research. Details include information about the recording time/place and about the participants. I consider gender, age, residence and the relationships that exist between them. Moreover, I present each first name and year of birth in each dyad below:

Recording terms: March to May in 2004
Place: Japan Women’s University

The number of participants: 12 teachers, 22 students.

The relationship between the participants:

(1) teacher and student (non-solidary relation),
(2) student and student (solidary relation/friends)

Gender: Female

Age: University teachers (30s to 50s), University students (early 20s)

Residence: Living around Tokyo (Kanto) area
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pair</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year of birth</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Year of birth</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Masumi</td>
<td>1983</td>
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<td>Natsuko</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Solidary</td>
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</table>
T: bikkuri shita koto =
“surprise”
S: = 'u huhuhuh
“uh huhuhuh”
T: nan desu ka nee
“(I wonder) anything (I) have”
S: = u huhuhuh
“uh huhuhuh”
T: nan desu ka nee? (.) chisana koto ookina koto”
“(I wonder) anything (I) have (.) a small surprise or a big surprise”
S: “gosh”
T: uun chisana koto de areba (0.7)
“uhm”
ano kaando wa nan dattanda(?) roo tte (.) bikkuri shita kamoshirenai .huhuhu
“(I) might be surprised by the cards (which we used in the goal-oriented task)”
S: “hh bikkuri shita hh”
T: desu yo nee (.) nani o suru no “kanaa to omotte (.)
bikkuri shi chai mashita (kedo nee”
“yes (.) (I) wondered what we were going to do and (.)
(I) was surprised though”
S: = e (1.4) ano(o),ja-(0.6) sensei(,) desu
“oh (1.4) uhm (0.6) are you a teacher(,)?”
T: “eh (.) yes”
S: “oh”
(0.7)
T: are you helping with this project?”
S: “yes (I) am (.) (I) am”
T: “a”
“oh”
(0.7)
T: “are you helping with this project?”
S: “yes (I) am (.) (I) am”
T: “oh”
S: “oh”
(0.7)
T: “are you helping with this project?”
S: “yes (I) am (.) (I) am”
T: “oh”
S: “oh”
(0.7)
T: “are you helping with this project?”
S: “yes (I) am (.) (I) am”
T: “oh”
S: “oh”
(0.7)
T: “are you helping with this project?”
S: “yes (I) am (.) (I) am”
T: “oh”
S: “oh”
(0.7)
T: “are you helping with this project?”
S: “yes (I) am (.) (I) am”
T: “oh”
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(0.7)
T: “are you helping with this project?”
S: “yes (I) am (.) (I) am”
T: “oh”
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T: “oh”
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T: “are you helping with this project?”
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(0.7)
T: “are you helping with this project?”
S: “yes (I) am (.) (I) am”
T: “oh”
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S: “oh”
(0.7)
T: “are you helping with this project?”
S: “yes (I) am (.) (I) am”
T: “oh”
S: “oh”
(0.7)
アケミチタァ ビックリってяんじで
"when (I) came here now, I was surprised and,"
⇒
"desu yo neσ"  "right"
⇒
"nee:↑=
"yeah"
⇒
"bikkuri h  "surprised"
⇒
"honto [ni .]ki -kinchou suru shi  "(it's) really (.)(I'm tense and,"
⇒
"bikkuri  "surprise"
⇒
"soo bikkuri tte iu yori kinchou shicha masu yo [nee]
"(I)'m not surprised but rather tense, you know?"
⇒
"bikkuri suru koto  "surprise"
⇒
"uun saikin bikkuri suru koto tte ari- bikkuri shit a koto tte ari masu ka↑
"uhm recently did you have any surprises?"
⇒
"densha no naka to ka  "like on trains,"
⇒
"bikkuri suru koto  "surprise"
⇒
"e(.) haru no yooki de oka(h)i toka ---
"oh(.) like because of the spring season?  "
⇒
"bikkuri shi masu  "(I) am often surprised (by something)"
⇒
"e nande bikkuri suru n desu↑ka  "oh why are (you) surprised?"
⇒
"okashii hito toka masen↑ka nanka=
"like (don't you think) there are people who are weird like?"
⇒
"saikin desu↑ka  "recently?"
⇒
"densha no naka to ka  "like on trains,"
⇒
"yopparai toka=
"like drunk men,"
⇒
"ato nanka yappa chotto suoresu desu ka↑nee  "and like you know (they) might be a bit stressed?"
⇒
"hai  "yes"
⇒
"saikin(.) henna hito ooi na [tte,  "these days (.)(I thought) there are many weird people and,"
⇒
"hai hai hai↑  "yes yes yes"
⇒
"nanka(.)zutto shabetteru hito tokaa  "liket, the person who keeps talking to him/herself "
63T: hai
"yes"
(0.6)
64S: nanka=
"like"
65T: ＝“haa”
"wow”
66S: un (.), bikkuri shi masu (.) densha no naka yoku
"Yeah (.) (I’) m surprised (.) like frequently on trains’
67T: ↑EE [demo
"OH but"
68S: [ororo ki masu (.) densha=)
"(I’)m surprised (.) on trains”
69T: =↑AMARI (.) soo ii no aita koto na [i desu ne
“(I’)ve RARELY seen that sort of thing”
70S: [nai desu]ka
“you haven’t?”
71S: densha tsukaware masu?ka
“do (you) use trains?”
72T: (.) tsu- tsukai masu kereDOMO
“oh (.) (I)--- (I) use them THOUGH,”
73T: n tada hitogoto no yooni butsabutsu itteru hito toka wa (.) [i masu ne
“but there are people like who speak to themselves”
74S: [imasu yo ne demo ne
“(yes) there are but”
75T: soo sore wa nannan daroo tte nanka bikkuri tte ii yori
"right (I) wondered what (a surprise) is and like (this) maybe, not like ‘surprising’
but rather ‘weird’”
76S: [AA sooka sooka sottu(h)ka
“oh (I) see (I) see (I) see”
77T: (a)to bikkuri
“another surprise”
78T: (a)to bikkuri
“another surpsie”
79T: [e : : :
“oh”
80S: [bikkuri
“surprise”
81T: bikkuri tte iware chau tot(0.4) nani ga aru deshoo ne
“when (we) talk about a surprise (0.4) (I) wonder what we have”
(0.4)
82S: [h)e z:=
“oh”
83T: =bikkuri
“surprise”
84T: totsuzen nanika okotte,
“suddenly something happens and,”
(0.7)
85S: “totsuzen”
“suddenly”
(0.5)
86: soo
“yeah”
(1.6)
87T: nanikaa okite bikkuri nani ga aru [de shoo ne
“something happens and (we)’ll be surprised, (I) wonder what we have”
88S: ["ari masu ka"]=
“do you have (anything)?”
89T: =kangaechai masu ne nan de shoo
“(I)’ve been thinking about something, (I) wonder what (I) have”
(0.5)
90T: uu : : n
"uun"
(1.2)
91T: "nan desu ka ne"
"(I) wonder what (I) have"
(1.8)
92T: bikkuri
"surprise"
93S: tanjoobi datta to- tanjoobi no chikaku toka dee.
"about a birthday, around a birthday:"
94T: =ee
"uh huh"
95S: nanka tomodachi gaa,
"like when friends,"
(0.6)
96S: sono wazato damatteee,
"(they) keep it from (me) on purpose and,"
97T: =ee
"uh huh"
98S: nanka iwattekureru toki
"like celebrate (it),"
99: bikkuri
"surprising"
100S: bikkuri
"surprising"
101T: ['yaa" sokkanaa : :
"no is it?"
102S: [e(e):
"no : ? "
103T: aa : soo kamoshirenai
"oh : it maybe"
104S:="suunanka` sapuraizu [tte ii ja na desu kaa
"-- like (we) should say, 'surprise?'"
105T: ['UN imasu imasu yo nee [: :
"yeah (we) do (we) do"
106S: moo masa ni odoroki de(h) su yo nee

be be haha
"(that) is really surprising, isn't (it)? he he haha"
107T: [soo kamo
shirenai ((smiling))
"it may be"
108T: uun demo sonna koto ga nai dake nii : :
"well but (I) have never had such a thing so ;;"
109S: AHAHAhahahah
"AHAHAhahahah"
110T: [haha hhhh
"huhu hhhh"
111S: soo honto no attara ne (.) urashii kamo shirenai desu kedo nee : : ,
"right if that really happened, that might be nice though : ;"
112S: ["AA hai" ((nodding))
"oh yes"
(0.6)
113S: gasshuka ga choodo atta to [ki ni,
"just when (I) stayed on a camp,"
114T: [ee
"uh huh"
115T: tomodachi : ni minna de damatte sono ko : no(.).keeki toka o mottette te, =
"(we) kept a secret from the girl and brought a cake and"
116T: =ee
"uh huh"
117S: sapuraizu o shita n desu [yo
"(we) had a surprise party"
T: "Oi, have you experienced it?"
S: "Yes (I) have"
T: "Was (she) really surprised (by your plan)?"
S: "She was"
T: "Oh"
S: "She was crying a bit"
T: "WOW! Huhuhuhu"
S: "Huhuhu"
T: "Was (she) really surprised (by your plan)?"
S: "She was"
T: "Oh"
S: "She was crying a bit"
T: "WOW! Huhuhuhu"
S: "Huhuhu"
T: "You know that is crucial"
146T:  bikkuri shita koto  
"surprise"  
(1.1)
147T:  soo desu ne (0.5) nan daro=  
“let me see (0.5) (I) wonder what I have”  
148S:  =nan daro  
149T:  bikkuri shita koto  
(1.4)
150T:  unn  
(1.3)
151T:  [ato wa nani ga ari masu ka nee : :  
“wonder if there is anything else”
152T:  tatoebat. jyungyouchuu kyuu ni aterarete bikka[ri shicha te] ehehehehe  
“for example(.) in a class, a teacher points (to me) and (I) will be surprised and ehehehe”
153S:  [!AA bikkuri desu ne  
“oh (that’s) surprising”
154S:  [hon(h)to ni bi(h)kkuri de(h)su(h) ne  
“(that’s) really surprising”
155T:  “soo desu ne”  
“so (it) is”
156T:  yoki shinai toki wa nee ari masu yo nee  
“(we) have an unexpected incident, don’t (we)?”
157T:  ato wa nani ga ari masu ka ne  
“wonder (if I) have anything else”  
(1.2)
158T:  saikin bikkuri shita koto nante (.) na [i kamoshirenai  
“(I don’t) have a recent surprise (.) (I) may not have one”
159S:  [koo iw arete miru to(,)wakannai mon desu yo ne=  
“when we are told to talk about it (.) (we) don’t notice it, you know”
160T:  =nee=  
“yeah”
161S:  =bikkurishita koto omoidasoo to shi temoo, =  
“though (I) was thinking about my surprsie”
162T:  =soo dokara chi shina koto wa saki itta mitai ni
nanika doa o akete kyuu ni hito ga ite bikkuri toka wa arandesu kedo nee  
“yeah so, a small surprise is, just as I said, something like, when I open a door, suddenly I have noticed there was someone there”
(.)
163T:  soo iu,]isapuraizii paathii mitaina kanji det(0.6) yuu no tte(1.0)*so”(0.9) nai desu nee  
“that sort of(.)like a surprise party (0.6) (I) don’t have”
(2.3) ("S’s nodding))
164T:  nanka odorita koto(.)bikkuri shita koto  
“something surprising(.) surprise”
(0.8)
165S:  “odoroitai koto”=  
“surprise”
166T:  =”hai”  
“yes”
(2.3)
167S:  “nanka naka [ta kana”  
“(I wonder if I have”
168T:  [”nan daro ne”  
“(I) wonder if (I) have anything”
(1.1)
169S:  “huuu”  
“huuu”
(0.8)
170S:  ihhu hh =  
“huh hh”
171T:  =nanka aratame te iwareru to kangae chai masu [yo nee : :  
“like when (I)’m going to remember this, (I) will think about (it)”
“yes that’s right yeas that’s right”

“that’s right”

“is there anything?”

“what about bumping into a celebrity?”

“(that’s) a surprise, a nice surprise isn’t (it)?”

“Well (we) went (somewhere) and met (them), (that) is OK though, uhm do (you) have any experience such as, (you) bumped into them in an unexpected place?”

“do (you) know like the TV commercial for ‘Joojia’ ((the brand name for instant coffee))?”

“like ‘Down town’ and like ‘Otoha,’” ((Japanese comedians and actress))

“(the names of celebrities who appear in the commercial))

“well (we) went (somewhere) and met (them), (that) is OK though, uhm do (you) have any experience such as, (you) bumped into them in an unexpected place?”

“do (you) know like the TV commercial for ‘Joojia’ ((the brand name for instant coffee))?”

“like ‘Down town’ and like ‘Otoha,’” ((Japanese comedians and actress))

“(the names of celebrities who appear in the commercial))

“yes”

“(they) seemed to record the commercial at Ariake and,”

“like (.) (I) was just there and,”

“uh huh”

“like (.) (I) was just there and,”

“uh huh uh huh”

“Otoha looks like a bit plump, you know”

“yeah she is like yes”

“and like, I’ve got an image of her, like (she) is not really thin but,”

“oh right”

“when (I) directly say her, (she) was SO thin and,”

“is she?”

“her face is small and"
200T: =yappari terebi gamen tte kekkoo boochoo shite utsu [run desu ne
“you know on the TV monitor, people look plump”
201S: [desu nee
“yes”
202T: [hee kekkoo pocchari shiteru tte kanji ga,
“(I thought) (she) looks plump”
203S: [sugoi bikku-!A haa : ((S’s nodding))
“(I) was so surprised, like ‘OH’”
(.)
204T: shimasu [yo ne
“(I)”m surprised”
205S: [soo [de, dakara
“yeah, and... so”
206T: [jaa (.),motomoto soo pocchari tte kanji ga nai
Yoshioka Miho nante hontoni hosoi tte kanji desu ka?
207S: =sore ga nanka(.)yo- yo- patte koo yatte sure chigatta n desu kedoo [doo shitemo otoha no
[ho o michatte,
“that was like(,) (we) just passed each other quickly but I couldn’t help myself”
208S: [ee
“uh huh”
209T: [haha/hu-huh
“huhuhu huh”
210S: [eh
“eh”
211S: soo Yoshioka Miho [no koto annari mite nakute,
“yeah so (I )didn’t look at Miho Yoshioka and,
212T: [ee
“uh huh”
213T: hee : :
“wow”
214S: demo nanka sore ni wa bikkuri de [shita ne
“but (I) was surprised by that”
215T: [jaa kekkoo(0.4)terebitte sonna ni mi-
“then (she)'s not really…on TV”
216S: nee
“yeah”
217T: jaa terebi de hosoiite ittara,(.) HONtoni hosoi n de shoo [ne
“then, the person who looks like thin,(,)she’s REALLY thin, right?”
218S: [desunee tabun
“yes probably”
219S: nanka moderu san toka moo,
“like models are also ”
(0.7)
220T: nanka(.jissai ni miru to garigari toka te iimasen]
“like,(,) when looking at them actually, it seems (they) are much thinner”
221T: ee ii masu yo ne moto moto ga hosoi desu kara nee
“yes (I) heard it so, they are originally thin”
(0.6)
222T: hoo
“wow”
223S: sore ni wa bikkuri (.) kana
“(I) was so surprised by that(,).”
224S: ato hama chan moo,
“and also, for Hamachan”
225T: ee
“uh huh”
226S: sure chigatta [ato ni kizui tte,
“after passing each other (I)’ve found (him) and,”
227T: [ee
“uh huh”
S: pa [tte ko-
“…”
T: [mottai nai koto o [shi ma(h)shita(h)ne hh sore wa
“(you) must have lost a (precious) chance”
S: [nee : : honto desu yo ne ([smiling])
“yeah, (I) must have, you know”
T: dare yori no mitakatta kamo shire [nai no ni, =
“maybe he was the best person (I) wanted to see but”
S: [hee : :]
“waw”
T: =nanka sugoi(0.5)ushiro sugata wa ojisan deshi ta
“like very(0.5) (he) looked middle aged”
T: [haya-pari[huh]=
“eh as expected huh”
S: =[hu-hu]
“huhu”
T: datte moo(.)yonjuu gurai?
“cause (he)’s going to be in his 40s?”
S: =sanju
“30s—”
S: soo[desu ne, sore kurai
“yes sort of”
T: [sanjuu dai koo han ka yonjuu gurai desu yo nee : :
“(he)’s late 30s or 40s, right?”
(0.6)
S: =[hbah-a]
“is (he) like a middle man? Haha .hah”
S: [nee : : deshita
“yeah he is”
T: [hee : :]
“waw”
T: [desmo sure chigau toki geinojin tte kanji wa nakatta desu ka]=
“but when passing each other, did (you) feel he’s a sort of ‘celebrity’?”
S: =[sure]
“passing—”
S: = ?hah=
“hah!”
T: =geenojin [oora (.) tte iun deshoo ka
“how can I say, it’s like a special aura”
S: [A
“OH”
(1.1)
S: nakatta kanaa
“maybe not”
T: moo futsuu no tanbaru o [yaji tte kanji
“(be) was like, just normally simply, like a middle-aged man?”
S: [soo [nanka tooku no hou dec,
“(I) noticed at that time and there was a bus shooting for location”
T: [ee
“uh huh”
S: [dakaraa,
“so”
(1.0)
S: [na nanka no roke kanaa tte ki ni wa shitetan desu kedoo,
“(I) remembered like ‘oh like there is a shooting for location but’”
T: ee
S: [dakara otoha o mitsuketee (.) [o- AA otohada tte natte,
“so (I) found Otoha and (.), and noticed like ‘OH Otoha and,’”
258T: [ee]  
“uh huh”

(2)

259S: sorede hamachan mitsu(h)goshi eh(h)ih[mashita  
“and (I) had overlooked Ha(hu)mazzhan hu”

260T: [hahahahaha um]  
“hahahahah yeah”

261T: “naru(hodo ne) sore saikin no koto desu kaa”  
“I see. Is that recent experience?”

(0.9)

<J2>

1L: nanka(.) ari masu ka  
“like(.) do (you) have anything?”

(1.2)

2R: “ee”  
“oh”

(1.0)

3R: kono mae ehuh [·huh hahu habu  
“a little while ago ehuh .huh huhu huhu”

4L: [huhuhu ·huh hh  
“huhuh .huh hh”

5R: kono mae(e) fujikyu nii itta no ne hahu[hah  
“a little while ago (.) (I) went to Fujikyu huhuluh”

6L: [ah(h)m  
“yea(h)h”

7R: saakuru de fujikyu ni itta toki nii(0.6) fujikyu ittako- itta↑  
“when (I) went to Fujikyu (0.6) did (you) go there?”

8L: itta itta  
“(I) did (I) did”

9R: obake yashiki haitta↑  
“did you go to the fun house?”

10L: haitta .ybyooin no yatsu↑ =  
“(I) did(.) is that like a hospital?”

11R: =so(h)jo  
“yeah”

12L: a demo kekkoo mae datta kedo  
“oh but (I) went quite a long time ago though”

13L: [zutto mae=  
“a long time ago”

14R: [soo  
“yeah”

17R:= nanka kono mae i- itta no  
“like a little while ago,”

18R: de kono mae itta toki nii oba(.) jobakeyashi haitta koto naka te  
“obake yashiki ni haitte saisho saa shashin toru to(h)konō aru jan  
“when you entered, first, there was a place to take a picture, you know?”

19L: a ja chi- kawatta kamo shirenai =  
“oh then, (it) might be changed”

20R:=a ja >ichi ga kawatta kurai kanaa<  
“oh then the place might be changed”

(1)

21R: nanka( .) ne shashin- nanka ne hontoo ni byooin mitai node=,  
“like (.) a picture like, you know, (it) was really like a hospital and,”

22L: [an  
“yeah”

23R: [saisho haitta toki gaat,j)nanka(machi(0.6)aihitsu mitaina [kanji na no  
“when (I) came in(.) like -- (0.6)(it) was like, the sort of a dark room”

24L: [un un un un =  
“yeah yeah yeah yeah”
“and then, after that like (1.0) like (we) took a photo and (.).”

“(the stuff) said, like ‘OK now (we) take a photo,’(we) know (it) and (.)like like this, on the seat”

“like this (we) sit down and (.) and, in front of us, as if (we) will see a radiograph.”

“(it) was really like a personal photo, there was a place to take a photo and (.)

“(I) was really surprised and huahahahahaha .haha . huhu”

“(it) looks like scary (.) was there any trick on the photo?”

“(I) thought like, ‘wow’ and,”

“(it) was sneak raid”

“(I) was really surprised”

“like, didn’t it really smell like a hospital?”

“yeah (it) smelled like a hospital”

“(I) was surprised”

“(I) was hounded, like, it was not serious, but (I ) was hounded and,”
(I) went to the haunted mansion in *LaQua*.

“really? was it scary”

“yeah, (it) was scary”

“(I) don’t really like the sort of ghosts”

“oh I see I see I see”

“roller coaster is all right but,”

“Fujiyama (the name of a roller coaster) is such fun, isn’t it?”

“(I) had a ride on Fujiyama”

“(it) was fun, but not a surprise”

“anyway, so (it) was really”

“(I) was shouting so much and surprised and,”

“oh, what happened to the picture taken?”

“(we) will be photographed when (we) are surprised?”

“oh, (we) will be photographed when (we) are surprised?”

“oh, like, finally, like you know in the case of a roller coaster or Fujiyama (we can see the photo, you know)?”

“like, when I went there, it was quite a long time ago,”

“(it’s) not a film but, how can I say, hospital—”

“like it was like, like, unhm, like (I) looked at the sort of film and.”

“oh is that so?”

“(it’s) not a film but, how can I say, hospital—”

“probably the building should be in the middle (of the place), right?”

“probably the place is not changed, I think, it’s a hospital and,”

“probably the place is not changed, I think, it’s a hospital and,”

“probably the place is not changed, I think, it’s a hospital and,”

“Yeah, probably maybe yours is different”

“it was like, like, in a problematic hospital”
(I) was scared to look at some problematic part

“oh”

“that’s it, just kidding”

"(hoka wa nai no)"

don’t (you) have another (surprise)?"

1.

another (surprise) is, as (I) said before,”

“yeah”

“like aren’t (you) often surprised on a train?”

haven’t (you) met a surprising person?”

(0.2)

"a-, o-, bi-, ((stammering)) yeah (I) have"

(0.8)

“do (you) have another (surprise)?”

“like aren’t (you) often surprised on a train?”

haven’t (you) met a surprising person?”

(0.2)

“a-, o-, bi-, ((stammering)) yeah (I) have"

(0.8)

“another (surprise) is, as (I) said before,”

“yeah”

“like aren’t (you) often surprised on a train?”

haven’t (you) met a surprising person?”

(0.2)

“a-, o-, bi-, ((stammering)) yeah (I) have"

(0.8)

“like when (I was) once on the train with my friend,”

2.

“yeah”

“when she is with me, it’s really, like, (she) is always slapped (by others)"

“why? Oh, like (do you mean) by others?”

“yeah, others regard her as a fool and,"

“yeah, yeah yeah yeah”

“(she) is the person, like a fool but”

“yeah”

“yeah like on a train”

“yeah”

“uhm, a bit, how can I say, the brain is…”

“(I) know yeah yeah yeah”

“by the handicapped, like (she) is always slapped"

“and, (it) is really serious,”

“how can I say, at the pinpoint, (they) slap her like this and,”

“scary”

“it’s scary, you know”

“and, (it)’s scary but, like (I) was sitting with her like this;”

“yeah”

“in front of her, a young guy passed her”
“at that time, like, (he) had something in his hand, it’s like a shopping receipt cut up”

“(he) threw the paper at her”

“(we) were so staggered by and surprised and,”

“(I) thought , ‘what?’ and, ‘why?” and the person went away and,

“yeah”

“(I) was so irritated and,”

“yeah”

“(I) was like ‘why?’ and,”

“yeah right”

“(I) was surprised”

“(have) you been sexually molested?”

“like a sexual molester, oh”

“(I) never had such a thing

“no, me neither”

“oh, haven’t you?”

“no, no”

“isn’t Saikyo line terrible?” ((the train line))

“da, I don’t use Saikyo line”

“Sayuri uses Saikyo line”

“I see”

“yeah yeah yeah”

“and, (I) wonder about another surprise”

“another one is, just a little while ago, (I) told this to Sayuri and she was really (surprised) but,”

“like, the other day in the class on English essay writing, F teacher, like

“she said, some fourth year students have a job at Dentsu” ((advertising company))

“right”

“and, (she) has a job at Dentsu”
“that is surprising, just now”

“I was also so surprised”

“there is the person who’s got a job at Dentsu and, and, (we) were talking ‘I’m so surprised’ and ‘wow’”

koto ga hakkaku shite, chou bikkuri shite saa:
“and then, (L)’m surprised and then, like
“(L) found that (L) know her and (L)’m so surprised and,”

nan no shiriai
“why do (you) know her?”

nanka, na=
“like”

nanka ne, nyugaku, sayuri mo soudashi, ato wa, ato watashi mo oiwai naika, aa,
“like, at the entrance ceremony, Sayuri was also there, and me,

Asuka toka mo sou dakedo, nyugaku maeni, ma, gocchan tokamo,
“(Asuka was also there but, before the entrance, Gocchan was also…”

when there was the tea party,”

“see”

sono tokini, nanka sono ko ha hennyu shite kitete, chigau daigaku kara hennyu shite kitete
“at that time, like the girl’s changed uni and, (s he) came from another university and,”

do, nanka no toki ni taoreta ko ja nai yo ne
“(she) might have fallen over at some event”

chigau ka
“maybe not,”

chigau, chigau, chigau, tabun
“no, no, no, probably”

“it was her and.”

nanka taoreta ko ja nai yo ne
“like, is it she who fell over?”

“(she) might have fallen over at some event”

a, sou sou [sou sou sou
“oh, yeah yeah yeah yeah”

is she the one?”

nan no toki da[kke, are
“when was that?”

when? (it) was quite a long time ago, right?”

igishi, ka nanka
“--- is it?”

he, a
“wow”

e, jugyou chuu dakke
“oh, was it during some class?”

Ichinen no toki da yo ne, tabun =
“(it) was probably in the first year”

sun
“yeah”

(taoreta yo ne,[nani ka de
“(she) fell over, because of something”
二重立直座

“yeah, she did she did, yeah right right right right”

“she actually did”

“oh, I’ve also chatted with her”

“I was so surprised, (she) did”

“oh, is she older than us?”

“yeah right”

“so, she transferred uni so, like us, (she) took various kinds of required classes, though she’s one year older than us”

“it’s a surprsie”

“like, (I)’m surprised she’s got a job at Dentsu”

“year it’s true, (I)’m so surprised but,”

“wow”

“Dentsu”

“what is (it) like?”

“(I) mean, everybody’s job hunting at our university”

“I don’t know”

“most of the (people) in our club circle have finished it”

“right, the people in the circle, especially the boys are great, you know”

“yeah they are”

“(I) know a person who got a job at Secomu”

“wow, great”

“another girl is, everybody’s got an informal appointment but,”

“oh but the people in my circle are like that”

“H and another one, who? some bank? where? a person got a job at some bank”

“yeah, (we) want to know how the people at our uni are, you know?”

“huhu” isn’t it a surprise? huhuhu he

“SURPRISE that surprised (me)”
190 L: dentsu
“Dentsu”
191L: e. sore ha nande F sensei itta no?
“oh, how do you know that? from F sensei?”
192 R: Nanka, sore wa tabun ronsaku no toki, wakannai kedo nanka hanashi kake raretan datte,
“like, it is because probably during the English essay writing class, (I) don’t know but, she was talked to by the person.

<J03>
1T: yorosika[onegaihimasu
“nice to meet you”
2S: [yoroshiku onegai shi(h) masu
“nice to meet you”
3T: bikkuri shita koto(.) o kou ma hanashi ma[]shou tte koto nan desu keredomo;,
“surprise(,)like this, well, we will talk about a surprise,”
4S: [aat,)sou desu yo nee:: =
“right(,)yes”
5T: =ja maazut,)dou desu ka nanka bikkuri shita koto(.)nan [ka ari masu ka[.]nan demo
“then first(,)what about (you)?like surprise(,) do you have anything?(,)anything is OK”
6S: [ee::
“oh”
7S: [na(h) bikkuri shita(.)to ia ka::;
“wha(h), maybe not a surprise.”
8T: =ee
“uh huh”
9S: [aaa(.)niuto:: (0.9) ni nen sei no [kouki no kimatsu shken no toki ni::;
“like(0.9)when(0.9)when (I) was in the term of the Autumn examination period,”
10T: [ee ee ee ee ee
“uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh “
(0.6)
11S: sugoi tetusa ya de repouto[o shiagetee::
“(I) finished my essay”
12T: [ee ee ee
“uh huh uh huh uh huh
(0.3)
13S: dec: gakkou ni tei [shatsu shite kaeru toki nii;
“and when (I) was going home after handing in my essay,”
14T: [ee, ee ee
“uh huh uh huh uh huh”
(0.6)
15S: sugoi nanka boo tto aruite ita no ka wakannai n desu {kedo::;
“very like, (I) don’t know maybe I felt half awake but.”
16 R: [nn. =
“mm”
17L: =kaidan o mejiro eki de humihazushi [te::;
“(I) lost my footing on the steps at Mejiro station and,”
18T: [aa(h)n::
“ohhh”
19 S: ashi o kuijite(,) [sugeo naku natte shimattee::
“I had a twisted ankle and (,) couldn’t move and,”
20 T: [ee ee ee ee
“uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh”
(.)
21S: DEE:: (.) [u- doushite iika wakannakutee::;
“AND (,)I had no idea what to do and,”
22T: [ee ee =
“uh huh uh huh”
23S: =sou shitara ano chugakusei, nanka irona hito ga atsuma[te kudasatte,
“then uh, many people came to (me) and”
24T: [ee ee, ee
“uh huh uh huh uh huh”
(.)
25 S: nanka(0.3)DEE::
   “like(0.3) AND”
26 T: ee
   “uh huh
   (0.5)
27 S: ano ekiin san o yo[n de kudasattee,
   “(they) called a station staff member and,”
28 T: [ee [e:e ee]
   “uh huh uh huh uh huh”
29 S: [ekiin ni:: (0.3)onbu sare [e(h)e:: -h,
   “on his back(0.3) I was carried hh”
30 T: [EE
   “OH”
31 S: [uh]e made agatte{;
   “(we) climbed the stairs and,”
32 T: [ia
   “right”
33 S: de takashii [de: (0.4)mejiro(0.3)† byoain{]toka iu tokoro ni.
   “and by taxi(0.4) to Mejiro hospital,”
34 T: [ee
   “uh huh”
35 T: [A(.)womani:: (.)ja [hidoku kujii chattan de{su ka†
   “Oh(.) so (terrible)(.) then (did) you have a badly twisted ankle?”
36 S: [i- itee::
   “(we) went there and,”
37 S: [nanka(.).kou
gurugurumaki]ni natEE::,
   “like(.).like this, (my ankle) was swathed in bandages AND,”
38 T: [a:: : : : :
   “oh”
39 S: betsu ni nen- (.)[hone wa betsuniit,]daijoubu dattan desu kedoo::;
   “not so…(.) the bones were not so(.) they were all right but,”
40 T: [a:: : : : n.  ee ee ee ee ee ee ee
   “yeah uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh”
41 S: ite nanka (0.3)[pan (0.3) hinettee::,
   “like (0.3) ~ (0.3) (my ankle) was twisted and,”
42 T: [ja kou hinet{.ite kanari hidoku hinette shima tta no]kashira ne.
   “then like this (it) was twisted and was badly twisted maybe
43 S: [so: : (.) demo honto ni na-a

[to(.) ichi ni dan no [tokoro dee:: ,
   “yeah(.) but indeed,(.)
   (it) happened in the first one or two steps and,”
44 T: [ee [EE
   “uh huh UHHUH”
45 S: dee:: (0.3) no[ttee:: ,
   “and (0.3) (it) was twisted and,”
46 T: [n:: : : =
   “I see”
47 S:=de nanka{.)tomodachi toka [ni mo: : ,
   “and like(.) to”
48 T: [ee ee
   “uh huh uh huh”
49 S: tesuto toka repou [to ga aru node ikanakya ikenai ja na'i desu ka gakkou nimo,
   “(I) still had exams and needed to hand in essays so, (I) had to go there you know,”
50 T: [ee ee ee ee ee ee ee ee ee ee ee ee ee
   “uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh”
51 S: so:red:: (.).manka 'doushi ta no! mitaina [kan ji de(h) hehehe::hh ,
   “and(.) like (my friends said when looking at me) ‘what happened to you?!’ and hehehe .hh”
(1) didn’t really need crutches, it was not so serious but,

"right right uh huh uh huh uh huh"

(0.3)

"did you say) was (.) before the exams started?"

"exam"

"the examination of;"

"at the time of (.)the examination, or"

"at the time of (examination )"

"at night (.) there was a reunion party and;"

"right(.) (you) might lose your footing"

"right(.)(you) were tired"

"right!(:) you might lose your footing"

"oh (.) but everybody was kind"

"yeah that’s right (.) so like"

"like I imagine like (the staff member) carried you on his back and,"

"yeah a bit(0.4) and at that time a bit, (I) thought ‘thank you (to them)’"
“uh huh uh huh uh huh”

“and like (0.3)”

mitaina kanji de kite kurete: .

“in addition, junior high school students also came to me and said, like ‘are you all right? what happened to you?’ and,”

“uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh”

“at first, (I) felt pain, like ‘Ooh’ and then couldn’t move, and see the front and,”

“OH uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh”

“and after a while (.) (I) thought ‘oh my God, oh my God and’,”

“uh huh”

“and like (0.4)”

“(I) said like that but (0.4)”

“oh but (he) let (you) get to a hospital, just in case”

“yeah,(.)like the staff member also (.)like”

“uh huh”

“(I) didn’t have much money so (.) like the medical service fee”

“uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh”

“so 10000 yen (50 pounds)”

“as usual (0.4)like”

“uh huh”

“(0.2)

“that stuff member’s (.)like money”

“uh huh right”

“nakute (.)poketto manee kara dashite kurete (.)

“that was not like the money of the station but…(.)”

(h)e gave me his own money and,

“uh huh uh huh uh huh I see”

“(0.3)

“and, (he said) like ‘it’s OK after you get back to (me)’ and,”
oh! (.) he’s so kind

“probably, like coffee
“(he)made a cup of coffee too and .hh,”
“i see”
“and like (.) it was like that”
“right like when such a thing happened, like this, like kindness of people”
“yes that’s right”
“(we) go straight to our heart”
“yeah”
“yes”
“and but you know, like, the steps at the station”
“uh huh uh huh uh huh”
“there is an escalator upwards but,
many of the stations don’t have the one to go downward and,”
“nn, uhhuh uh huh uh huh right right yeah uh huh uhhuh”

“oh(.) now you are nervous? (.)are you all right? huhuhuhuh   huhuhuhuh"
“oh(.) you seem nervous so I’ll tell you (.)
well(.) most of them are good students but,
“as expected(.) uhm, when I’m obserbing my students and, ”
“uhm then(.) you seem nervous so I’ll tell you (.)”
“oh(.) yes
“a surprise story”
“yes”
“huhu”
“uhm then(.) you seem nervous so I’ll tell you (.)”
“uhm.”
“well(.) most of them are good students but,”
“good surprise story”

“as expected(.) uhm, when I’m obserbing my students and, ”
“uhm.”
“well(.) most of them are good students but,”
“good surprise story”

“as expected(.) uhm, when I’m obserbing my students and, ”
“uhm.”
“well(.) most of them are good students but,”
“good surprise story”

“as expected(.) uhm, when I’m obserbing my students and, ”
“uhm.”
“well(.) most of them are good students but,”
“good surprise story”

“as expected(.) uhm, when I’m obserbing my students and, ”
“uhm.”
“well(.) most of them are good students but,”
“good surprise story”

“as expected(.) uhm, when I’m obserbing my students and, ”
“uhm.”
“well(.) most of them are good students but,”
“good surprise story”

“as expected(.) uhm, when I’m obserbing my students and, ”
“uhm.”
“well(.) most of them are good students but,”
“good surprise story”
“this year (0.6) in this month (.) in this month (.) for the first time (.) I had a surprise during a class and,”

13S:  "oh(. )yes"

14T:  "and (.) that is (.) I always (.) it might be a classic idea but (.) (I) call each student’s name according to the registered number and”

15S:  ""at(. )hai”

16T:  "and (.) I always (.) it might be a classic idea but (.) (I) call each student’s name according to the registered number and,”

17T:  "and (.) that is (.) I always (.) it might be a classic idea but (.) (I) call each student’s name according to the registered number and,”

18T:  "and (.) that is (.) I always (.) it might be a classic idea but (.) (I) call each student’s name according to the registered number and,”

19T:  "and (.) that is (.) I always (.) it might be a classic idea but (.) (I) call each student’s name according to the registered number and,”

20S:  ""hai”

21T:  "‘I’m going to toilet’ and,

22S:  "aha ha hh"

23T:  "‘I’m going to toilet’ and,

24S:  "aha ha hh"

25T:  "‘I’m going to toilet’ and,

26S:  "aha ha hh"

27T:  "‘I’m going to toilet’ and,

28S:  "aha ha hh"

29T:  "‘I’m going to toilet’ and,

30S:  "aha ha hh"

31T:  "‘I’m going to toilet’ and,

32S:  "aha ha hh"

33T:  "‘I’m going to toilet’ and,

34S:  "aha ha hh"

35T:  "‘I’m going to toilet’ and,

36S:  "aha ha hh"
I didn’t say anything because he might have been going to the toilet.

Then that boy never came back to the class.

“uhuhu”

Then that boy never came back to the class.

“yes yes”

“oh”

“ye(h)s”

“I thought, ‘oh my god, this boy pretended to go to toilet and left the class and, skipped the class’ and,

“huhu hh”

“I thought ‘THIS boy left the half of my class and went to EAT (lunch)’ and,”

“hu hu hu huh huh”

“yes hhh”

“in my recent class though”

“I’m sorry but I started talking first h”

“no () oh after that like this() didn’t you say anything to him?”

“Oh(,) after that() at that time() I didn’t say anything and,”

“Oh yes”

“the NEXT week”

“yes”
T: ano: shusseki o totta toki ni, 
  "uhm when I took the register,"
(0.2)
T: a: shusseki totta tochuu de sono ko no name o yonde kara,
  "uhm in the middle of taking the register, (I) called his name and,"
(0.5)
T: kondō mata anana koto shitara: mou isshou tani tore nai kara ne
  "said ‘next time if (you) do the same thing, (I)’ll never give you credit and,’"
S: [huhahaha]
T: ō-odoshi te, hhhh.
  "(I) threatened him and hhh"
S: [KO(h)]wai huhhh
T: yutto i tan: dakeredomo hhh
  "said so to him but hhh"
S: [huh(h)i.hh]
T: ye(h)s hhh
(0.3)
S: [huhh]h
T: sore gat,jatashi no saikin no bukiri deshita=
  "that (.) was my recent surprise"
S: =a(a)((sighing))
  "I see"
T: uan doudesu↑ "huh?"=
  "uhm what about (you)? huh"
S: =Ai(.) wa(tashi no bikkuri shita [hanashi desu ka]
  "OH, my surprise story?"
T: [bikkuri(,)]n: betsu ni gakkou demo gakkou ja naku temo,=
  "surprise(.)yeah either (something) about school, or (something) about others"
S: =hai=
  "yes"
T: =aa In huhuh
  "yeah huhuh"
S: [bikkuri]
T: "surprise"
(0.4)
S: naka(naka bikkuri suru(,)nanka kou teema ataatere (e ,
  "rarely (has) a surprise(.) like given a topic and,”
T: [uuhu]
  "uhuh"
S: bikkuri shita koto te iwareru to (gyaku ni :
  "the topic is a surprise, but,"
S: [huhuh]
T: "huhuh"
(0.2)
T: [onomi tsukanai
  "(you) don’t remember"
S: [e te na(,) narun desu kedo : ,
  "(I) will be, ‘oh!’ but,"
T: [def(,)]muriyari imai(,)sakki kan-an(,)suvatteru toki ni [kangaeta no gou,
  "and(.) obligatorily(.) just before, uhm(.) when waiting and sitting. (I) thought,”
S: [huhu]h
  "huhu .h right yeah"
T: =e to(,)]wata(hi arubaito o shiteite,
  "uhm(.) I’m doing a part-time job and,”
S: [kono chikaku ni kissaten ga arun desu kedo ,=
  "there is a café around here but,"
T: [aa]
  "right"
S: =aa=
  "right"
...sokoo de (.)soko no(0.2)koo(.)nanda ro(.)
↑suisen(.)
↑e(.)
↑suisen (.)

87S: =sokoo dee (.soko no(0.2)koo(.))nanda ro(.)suisen(.)e(.)suisen (.)

↑e (.)susumeteru menyuu no hitotsu [ga.
“there(.) ther(0.2) like this(.) what’s that? (.).) recommendation?(.) oh(.) recommendation?
“oh(.) one of the dishes (the café) recommends is;”

88T: [a [n]
“yeah”

89S: [karee raisu tte iu noga arun desu yo
“curry with rice”

90T: [a :
“right”

91S: [suri ranka kare : tte iu (.) kekkou zasshi nimo norun desu kedo.
“(it’s) called curry from Sri Lanka (.). it is often taken up in the magazines though,”

92T: hee =
“wow,”

88 S: =aa [mata kondo,
“next time”

89T: [tabete [mitai
“(I) want to try (it)”

90S: [>tabete kudasai ah [huh <
“please try it hu huh”

91T: [u(h)n huhuh hh
“u(h)n huhuh hh”

92S: [sorede : tomodachi o kono mae yondan desu
“and (I) took my friend (to the café)”
kedoo ,
“but”

93T: [un un
“yeah yeah”

(0.5)

94S: [taberu ryoo ga hanpa janaku tee (.).)so(ree.)GA maa, =
“(he) had a large amount of it so much and (.). that(.) is

95T: [huh
“huh”

96T: =ha [a
“wow”

96S: [maju.)bikkuri kana "tte iu kan ji"
“uhm(.) like a surprise“

(0.3)

97T: [Hh sono onna no ko]
“Hh is it he?”

98S: [motomoto-
“originally”

99S: [otokono ko nan [desu kedo,
“he, but”

100T: [otokonoko
“a boy”

101S: de taikaku mo sugoi(.).ragubii yattete . =
“and (he) also has a massive frame, really (.).he plays rugby and;”

102T: =af.]ua aa.
“oh(.) right right”

103S: [ko- konna nan desu
“like this” (she expresses his big body by a gesture)

(0.4)

104T: [ah huhu huhu hh h
“uh huhu huhu hh h”

105S: [mende bikkuri(.)suru hodo no mon demo nau desu (kedoo,
“so like umh (this) this is not the kind of a big surprise but,”

106T: [uan hahahah=
“yeah huhuhuh”

107S: = motomotoo (.).)kou masutaa tte ne- (.).)oomasaa [ga.
“originally(.) like this, the master-(.)the chef of this café,“
108T:  "yeah"
109S: sugoi ryou o iyou sa tte, de so re o mazu-
"right (the chef) thought (your friend) is a man so,"
110T:  "right that’s right"
111S:  "right that’s right"
112S:  "right right right"
113T:  "right wow"
115S:  "and (. )rice are separately served and,"
116T:  "and (. )rice are separately served and,"
117S:  "and (. )rice are separately served and,"
118T:  "and (. )rice are separately served and,"
119S:  "and (. )rice are separately served and,"
120T:  "and (. )rice are separately served and,"
121T:  "huhaha right right (. )he’s great"
122T:  "huhaha right right (. )he’s great"
123T:  "oh (he’s) kind"
124S:  "he is kind"
125T:  "he’s a kind chef"
126S:  "he is"
127T:  "right"
128S:  "and (he) easily ate that?"
129T:  "yes as expected, the whole-"
130S:  "that’s right like-
131T:  "his great (.) great (the person) who plays rugby is distinguished "
132T:  "his great (.) great (the person) who plays rugby is distinguished "
133S::
134T:  "he’s great (.) great (the person) who plays rugby is distinguished "
135S:  "he is distinguished (.) and,"
136T:  "wow"
“but like(.) (he) looked like he had eaten too much”

“as expected, (I)thought, (even he) sometimes feels pain(because of eating too much) uhuh”

“such(.) like(.) such a surprise(.) (I thought) how big his stomach is”

“and(.) is that curry hot? huh”

“because (it’s) hot(.)uhm (it’s) understandable that (he)left the curry but,”

“right that’s right(.) (he might) have eaten much rice and”

“that’s right”

“uhm”

“that’s right”

“wowl”

“(do you)eat(.) (are you) a big eater(0.4)(what about)your appetite?”

“(I) take long time (.) I take long time when eating so (.) (I’m) sorry to (my) friends but,”

“huhuhuhuh  yes”

“so as expected when (I) bumped into such a person(0.4) absolutely like you(.)(I’ll be surprised”

“uhaha”

“(he) eats fast and,”

“(I) take long time (.) I take long time when eating so (.) (I’m) sorry to (my) friends but,”

“huhuhuhuh  yes”

“probably that person plays rugby so (.)he may eat too much and (.)”

“uhaha”

“(he) eats fast and,”

“that’s right”

“(he’s fast) (I) think”

“so if I had directly seen that, probably (I) would have been surprised, I think  h”

“huhuh”
162T: h ee ↑ ↓
“wow”
163S: le ryoo ga sukenain desu ka itsumo taberareru toki wa
“oh (do you) always eat just a small portion?”
164T: A. demo sonna sukenai wake ja nain da keromo,
“Oh(.) but not a small portion but,”
165T: jikan o kakete (.)ma
“(l) take long time and (.) ”
166S: “A(.) ichio”,
“oh(.) just in case”
167T: “(and) eat a big portion”
168S: [aa aa]
“right right”
169T: uu n
“yeah”
169 S: yasete rasshai ma uyo ne te ii(h)ts(h)u wa(.)doo(h) nan,”
“(you) are slim (. ) actually, ---”
170 T: hahaha hh sore wa undo shiteru

(J06)
1L: [huhuh uuhuh]
“huhuh uuhuh” (the laughter arises because of starting video-recording)
2R: [aru : / saikin bikkuri shita koto]
“do you have anything surprising that happened recently?”
3L: [bikkuri shita koto / (0.4) annmarı (1.1)]
“surprise ? (0.4) not really (1.1)”
4L: etto : (;) kono mae : demot ja : (.) chigau (.)
“well (. ) some time ago, but(.) oh(.) it’s not(.)”
5L: kino / (;) suggoi yasui omise ni itte yoojitsu toka ippai utten dake / do,
“yesterday, I went to a super discount shop and it sells lots of clothes and,”
6R: [u : n]
“uh huh”
7L: nuu(h)ira ga u(h)itte (h)te hhh.
“I found the ‘NuBra’ ((a bra without straps)) and hhh,”
8R: [e(h) : hhh chotto are wa doo nano ↑]
“oh hhh hey! what is that like?”
9R: [chotto kekkoo atashi mo tameshite mitain da / kedo]
“actually I want to try it too, but,”
10L: [uHAHAHAHA] ≥
“uHAHAHAHA”
[r]

11L: 

“well (.).absolutely(.)”

12L: “soo ‘daitai- ‘hani‘(.).soobaa te de(re gurai /

‘—roughly- what? (.).jum(.).how much is the market price?”

13R: 

[e /(.). nanka kono mae tsuuhan de mitara

14R: ‘[.]hassen ropyaku en toka da [ta

“well(.).it’s like, when I found it through mail-order (.).it was like ¥8600”

((around £35-40))’

15L: 

“yeah”

16L: 

“yeah”

17L:

“I see”

18L: e(.). ‘noo ‘hanka(.).donki kana /(.). ‘donki toka ‘ichiman nisen en gurai(.).e /

“oh(.).it’s like(.).at Donki ?(the big discount shop)at Donki it was sold at around ¥12000(.”)

19R: 

“wow”

20L: 

“no(.).but is that right that it should be much cheaper at Donki?(.).basically”

21R: 

“oh but I heard that the cheap price is about ¥8600, so”

23L:

“oh then was it (NuBra)originally expensive?”

24R:

“i see”

25R: e 

“wow”

26L: 

“the one I found yesterday was, ¥950 a ha ha ha ha ha ha

27R: 

“oh how much was it ((there))?”,

28L: ZEttai dame da to omou(.).machigai naku (.).demo(.).mae no hito ga kattete (.).

29R: 

“absolutely I think it’s not OK(.).no doubt (.).but(.).the person in front of me was going to buy it and (.).I thought

‘wow (she’ll wear that)’”

29R: 

“well(.).did you buy that?”

30L: kawa [nai uhahahahahah

“no I didn’t uhahahahah

31R: [au kawa nain daa haha haha haha hhh =

“oh you didn’t . haha haha haha hhh”

32L: = [zettai(.).e] zettai ‘(o)chiru yo ne(0.2)‘ ‘hanka ne 9

“absolutely (not(.).)well(.).absolutely(.)it should come down? (0.2) somehow”

33R: 

 “hhh

34R: 

“but I have an interest”

35L: ‘hh kyo(h)i mi [aru hh son(h)]na ‘hhh

“hh (you) have an interest hh come on! hhh”

36R: 

“a ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha”
kyoo mi aru ↑
“you have an interest?”

↑hh ((the laughter continues from line 31))
(．)

“h well., but, it’s like (0.3) is (．) it (．) good?”

“do you want to wear it?”
(．)

↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai ↑
“it’s like, cause it should make us nervous?”

↑（nanka ano doonano ↑（jaa mosh i nanka atta toki ne
“it’s like uhm what do you think?(．) well, when something happened,”
(．)

nee
“yeah”
(0.3)

chotto nee
“slightly”

nee (．)ze (tsui ja-
“yeah(.) absolutely--”

↑（warai goto ja sumana i [yone he he
tsu kete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
“do you want to wear it?”

↑（tsukete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
(．)

↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai ↑
“it’s like, cause it should make us nervous?”

↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai
tsu kete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
(．)

↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai
tsu kete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
(．)

↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai
tsu kete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
(．)

↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai
tsu kete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
(．)

↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai
tsu kete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
(．)

↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai
tsu kete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
(．)

↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai
tsu kete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
(．)

↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai
tsu kete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
(．)

↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai
tsu kete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
(．)

↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai
tsu kete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
(．)

↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai
tsu kete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
(．)

↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai
tsu kete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
(．)

↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai
tsu kete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
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↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai
tsu kete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
(．)

↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai
tsu kete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
(．)

↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai
tsu kete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
(．)

↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai
tsu kete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
(．)

↑（nanka datte fuan ja nai
tsu kete mitaina tte omottari suru ↑
(．)
“but I wonder whether that seal is good for the skin, or not”

“yeah(.) it sticks to the skin, you know”

“absolutely – sorry about the story of NuBra hu”

“hu ha ha ha ha ha hh ee hoka nimo nanka yasu katta”

(0.2)

“there were () it’s like a normal camisole (0.2) costs ¥119 hhhhh hh” ((£1))

“HAHAHAHAHA hh hh hh

“HAHAHAHAHA hh hh hh absolutely we shouldn’t wear it? hehe no doubt hh hhhhhhhhh”

“oh, but did it looks good?”

“yeah yeah yeah(.)

“oh Ni(ppori) (.) oh but I’ve heard Nippori is the sort of place to sell clothes at a discount”

“it’s like(.), but it will break in a few days, I guess hh”

“oh it’s famous for selling textiles(.) yeah yeah yeah”

“doing something at Nippori means…hhhh hh”

“that’s not like -- that was my surprise”

“no !” that’s not like – that was my surprise”

“oh I see (.) do you have anything?”

“is there anything surprising?”

(0.5)
ettu bikkuri : / (. ) jamma nai ( . ) kedo ;
“oh surprise? ( . ) not really ( . ) but ,”

[ne(.),jamma(.)j warete na i yo ne
“no (. ) not much (. ) there is no surprise (even when asked) is it?”

nai yo ne :
“no”

“yeah”

“oh surprise? ( . ) not really ( . ) but ,”

ne(.)anma(.)iwarete na i yo ne
“no ( . ) not much ( . ) there is no surprise ( even when asked ) is it ?”

nai yo ne :
“no”

“yeah”

“uhm well but ( . ) I ’ m spending my life seeking excitement though, u hu hu hh”

“OHUHAAHA”

bikkuri na koto wa nai(.)to iuka
“like ( I ) don’t have a surprise. ”

shigeki ne : (0.2) chotto koko dewa ne ” huhh haha HA HA
“excitement (0.2) a bit ( I can’t say ) that here huhh haha HA HA”

“HUUHAAHA hh”

nanka ne : hh
“well you know hh”

u hu hu
“ u hu hu”

“uhm”

“you can’t say this here uhahahaha”

“uhuhuhuhuhuhu”

“but just a minute ago ( I ) was thinking about telling a story about ( our ) class though,”

“( that ’ s ) too risky so ( I ) quit—”

“huh then who - who observes ( this recording ) ? huhu no ( . ) ( I ’ m) afraid to say such a thing”

“uhm (. ) uhm well (0.3) ( this ) is not a recent ( surprise) though, ”

“uhm”

“right right right yeah yeah”

(0.6)

“uhm (. ) uhm well (0.3) ( this ) is not a recent ( surprise) though, ”

“uhm”

(0.6)

“( I ) went to Australia ( . ) as a homestay”

“yeah”

[ a : a : a : un un
“right right right yeah yeah”

“yeah”
at that time (.) like, lastly like, at the farewell party

at that time (.) we went to a pub and drank alcohol but (0.5) at that time (.) I drank too much and,"

"yeah"

"like- (I) couldn’t remember anything and, hhh"

"we) went to a pub and drank alcohol but (0.5 ) (I) drank too much and,"

"yeah"

"like- (I) couldn’t remember anything and, hhh"

"lost contact lenses and,"

"(I) lost my contact lenses and,"

"yeah"

"and (. ) when I woke up, (I) found lots of bruises all over (my) body ahhahahahahhh"

"oh scary of (. ) that’s serious isn’t (it)??"

"oh but (. ) (my friends) said nothing happened though like (they) said, (I) said ‘I don’t want to go back (to Japan)’ and behave badly, so (they) held me down and my body was…”

"oh but (.) there was nothing happened but, like (I) terribly (.) behaved violently, like saying ‘(I) don’t want to go back (to Japan)’ and was held by my (friends) and there were lots of bruises on my body”

"oh but (. ) there was nothing happened but, like (I) terribly (.) behaved violently, like saying ‘(I) don’t want to go back (to Japan)’ and was held by my (friends) and there were lots of bruises on my body”

"well (.) which part of Australia did you go to?"

"oh but (. ) there was nothing happened but, like (I) terribly (.) behaved violently, like saying ‘(I) don’t want to go back (to Japan)’ and was held by my (friends) and there were lots of bruises on my body”

"right (.) (that’s) a popular place"

"well (. ) which part of Australia did you go to?"

"right (0.4) hey is (that) a good (place)?"

"WELL(.) but so many Japanese(.) like Koreans”

"right so many Koreans everywhere"

"oh is that so?”

"a bit (. )Oh(.)many(.-)like weren’t there many (Koreans)”
“there were”

“yeah, the place is safe too (.) but (you) get many bruises hh”

“yeah that’s right”

“OK(.) then hh a surprising experience hh

“oh .hh a surprising experience (. ) then”

“what? what? do you have anything? hh ”

“oh let me see(.) this will be my personal story but”

“yeah OK”

“uhm I’m so close to my high school friend”

“yeah”

“uhm well, I’ve been to Tokyo from my home (in the countryside) but,”

“yeah OK”

“uhm I’m so close to my high school friend”

“uhm, (for him) (he) had some quarrel in many ways and (0.6)
like there was an emergent scion in (his family business) and”

“uhm”

“uhm well (we) both are living here and (.)”

“uhm without any scion (. ) like a holiday(.)(he) seemed he has decided to be a monk and,“

“wow! Hhh that is surprising hhh”

“uhm(.) his home is a temple”

“right right”

“and, uhm his oldest brother(.) died in an accident and,”

“yeah”

“the second one, he”

“yeah”
23S: もう一回き annunciou ni hairu to iu h(i) koto o kiki h(h) shugyou ni hairu to iu h(h)

“(I) heard suddenly (he) decided to be an ascetic monk and (he) went back hh”

24T: [uhuhuhuhuhuhu]

“uhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhu
sorede (I) found like, "oh as expected he is not my husband and."

and (I) woke my husband up and,

"and we uh, uh, (he) had a bamboo sword for playing kendo so"

"and then, uh, my husband called (the police) though."
83S: nanka, ochitsui ta koe de shujin ga, kou, denwa shiten de=
     "like, my husband called in a calm voice so,"
84T: =hai
     "yes"
85S: muko, keisatsu no hou mo amari kinkyuu denwa dewa nai te omotta mitaide,
     "the police also seemed to think it is not an emergency call so,"
86T: genkan ni hito ga neteru te ta no= "about the thing (a stranger) is sleeping at the entrance"
87S: [hai
     "yes"
88T: kanchigai shite genkan no sotogawa ni neteru te=
     "(the police) misunderstood that he was sleeping outside the entrance and,"
89S: [hai
     "yes"
90T: [omotta rashiku te, xoide, te no mawari de, zenzen konain de
     "(the police) misunderstood and didn’t come to our place at all, so"
91T: mou ikkai atashi ga kondo denwa o shite, [\(\)]
     "I called again and,"
92T: sakki kara denwa o shiterun desukedomo,
     "(I)’ve been calling (you) but,"
93T: keisatsu no kata omie ni naranain desu kedo te yuttara,
     "and said (I)’m still waiting for a policeman, and,"
94T: soshitara, anou, mi, mitakedo iou wa nakatta te iun de,
     "and then, uh, (he) said he looked at (our place) but there was no problem, so"
95T: [so(h)to hhgawa janaku te uchigawa desu tte itte
     "(I) said, ‘it's not outside but inside’ and,"
96S: [ha(h)
     "yes"
97T: =de, mou ikkai kire moratte=
     "and, (I) asked him to come again and,"
98S: [e
     "wow"
99T: [soide, anou manshon de, zenbu onnaji, anou, na, narabiteiuka, sotomi ga zenbu onnaji nande
     "and, uh, (my place) is an apartment, and all of the residences are, uh, aligned, like, the outlook is the same so,"
100S: [hai
     "yes"
101T: douno furoa o machigaeta kata [ga ite,
     "a person who is living in the same apartment maybe made a mistake about the floor and,"
102S: [hai
     "yes"
103T: tematama shujin ga tabun kagi o shime wasuretan da to omoun desu keredomo, n
     "accidentally, (I) think my husband forgot to lock the entrance but, n"
104S: [hee
     "wow"
105T: [ano, a, aite, nanka, sugoi, deisui shiite, sonomama bata to
     "uhm, the door seemed open and, like, (he) might got heavily drunk and fell over"
106T: ma, chotto, kichin to shita sararii man fuu no kata [deshita keredomo,
     "anyway, (he) looked like a neat white-collar worker but,"
107S: [hai
     "yes"
108T: bata te sokode nekonde shimatta you dattande,
     "(he) seemed to have fallen over and had fallen asleep there and,"
109S: [hai
     "yes"
110T: [son na ni, anou, aito de omoi kaeshi te miruto,
     "not so, uh, after recalling (it),"
111S: [hai
     "yes"
112T: [kowai koto de wa nakattan desu kedo
     "(it) was not such a scary thing but,"
113S: [uhuhhhhsoudesu ne=
     "yes right"
114T: =ano, tonikaku, sore wa taihen bikkuri shima shita [shi
     "uhm, anyway, (I) was so surprised and,"
“he [e
“wow”
“and also, I have a cat but, at that time,”
“yes yes”
“like, (I) was wondering why the cat didn’t behave badly and,”
“the cat’s hair got goose bumps and,”
“yes”
“and, at the heart of the closet, (the cat) was freezing and huhuh, something like, very uh”
“a kind of scary experience, (I) had such a surprising experience huhuh"
"a kind of scary experience, (I) was wondering why the cat didn’t behave badly and,"
“the cat’s hair got goose bumps and,”
“yes”
“the cat’s hair got goose bumps and,"
“yes”
“and, at the heart of the closet, (the cat) was freezing and huhuh, something like, very uh”
“a kind of scary experience, (I) had such a surprising experience huhuh"
“(Following T’s ending to narrate the story, S gives her feedback.)
“huhuhu but(it) was good that the person was not a horrible one, wasn’t it?”
“yeah, I think so yeah”
“but after that,”
“yes”
“(I) was reluctant to be asked many things by the police like ”
“oh (it’s) like a voluntary questioning yes”
“yeah a voluntary questioning, we-”
“(we) will have to have it and,”
“yes (that’s) right”
“yes, that’s right that’s right yeah”
“like, maybe that is the most surprising thing, yeah”
“oh, (I) see, wow”
“yes, (it) was a terrible mess”
“oh”
“yes”
"surprise"
“yeah”
“do you have anything surprising?”
“speaking of a surprise,”
“yeah”
“yeah yeah”
“the other day (. ) an English writing class last Thursday,”

“yeah huh”

“ahahaha”

“(.) an English writing class last Thursday,”

“(.) an English writing class last Thursday,”

“(.) an English writing class last Thursday,”

“(.) an English writing class last Thursday,”

“the other day (. ) an English writing class last Thursday,”

“the other day (. ) an English writing class last Thursday,”

“the other day (. ) an English writing class last Thursday,”

“the other day (. ) an English writing class last Thursday,”

“the other day (. ) an English writing class last Thursday,”
“huh”

“yeah, various…”

“(I) was surprised”

“(I) met Chika a little while ago and,”

“(I) was surprised”

“yeah, various…”

“(I) thought (they) seem to have various circumstances, they should be in a tough situation”

“oh really?”

“yeah”

“right right”

“yeah”

“(I’m sorry) for F teacher”

“(I’m sorry for (her) huhuhuhuhuh”

“(we) feel sorry for (her) huhuhuhu”

“yeah huh (I) think (we) have to get our communication intensively”

“yeah”

“yeah”

“oh did (you) get an email?”

“oh, what?”

“that mail”

“What’s that? yeah yeah yeah”

“English essay writing”

“yeah yeah yeah”

“(I) got (it)”

“yesterday, was it yesterday, right?”

“yeah yeah from F teacher”

“(I) got (it), got (it), got (it)”

“written, like ‘Dear Itoh’”
“yeah yeah yeah yeah”

“(her language) was very polite ihihihii”

“yeah”

“yeah hehe hehe”

“(his language) was not a surprise story uhuhuhuhu”

“I wonder what my surprise is”

“I wonder what my surprise is”

“I had a conversation about a surprise but,”

“right right yeah”

“it seems OK to talk about the same thing I talked about then, so, yeah”

“right right yeah yeah”

“right, then”

“list, like”

“right yeah yeah”

“(I) have a high school friend who was very close to me and,”

“yeah yeah”

“like”

“right”

“and, like his family are Buddhist monks”

“yeah”

“and, his grand father, his previous ancestor”

“yeah”

“all of the people were monks but.”

“wow”
de sono ko wa sannin kyoudai no uchi no jinan bou de =
“and, that boy is the second child of three brothers and sisters and,”
un:
“yeah”

nanka, ma, toriaezu daigaku de toukyou ni dete kiterun dakedo
“like, anyway, (he)'s in Tokyo to go to university but”

nanka chouan no =
“like his”

“yeah”

oniichan gaa: jiko de naku naccha
“oldest brother was died due to a traffic accident and, uhm”

lie no atotsugi no mondai de, iro iro mometa rashikutte
“(he) seemed to have an argument in terms of the scion of his family business and.”

(he) seemed to have an argument in terms of the scion of his family business and.”

“yeah yeah”

nankane, sono ko ga kondo shugyou no michi ni hairu toka i [tte daigaku o yameta no ne]
“rarely... that boy quit uni, like he said, he’ll be an ascetic monk”

“oh wow”

sugoi bikkuri shite =
“yeah, when (I) heard it, (I) was really surprised”

“(that’s) surprising”

“yeah, (he)doesn’t look the type”

“right”

pan(h)ku kei nano
“like, a sort of punk”

dene, sugoku
“and, very”

“(your) image of him has changed”

“yeah, (he)'s a floozy so,”

e [e:

“oh”

ano ko ga, sou,
“(I) was surprised that boy decided to be a monk and,”

“(I) wonder what made him change?”

“(I) don’t know, (I) don’t know but, nn”

“maybe he changed himself?”

“yeah”

“what is it?”

“un”

“(that’s) surprising”

“yeah”
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122R: =nan da rou, onachuu neta da toka [to
“what is next? (thinking of) like, the junior high school friend,”
123L: [un
“yeah”
124R: nanka, yoku saa:, shussan shiteru ko toka [mou inai
“like, don’t (you) have a friend who is already pregnant?”
125 L: [un un, iru iru =
“yeah yeah (I) have (I) have”
126 R: =nee, kodomo futari [me toka sa
“yeah, the second child”
127 L: [un
“yeah”
128 R: =nee:, futsuu ni, mama nanokaaz:, te omou to tonari de [kou futsuu ni shabette te mo
“Yeah, as usual, thinking of her, ‘oh she’s a mom, and talking with her’”
129 L: [un un
“yeah yeah”
130 R: a, okaa(h)san, mitai[na
“like, ‘oh, (she) is a mom!’”
131 L: [so(h)u sou sou sou =
“yeah yeah yeah yeah”
132 R: =ne, toki [wa aru yo ne
“and, such a moment, (I) have, you know”
133 L: [wakaru wakaru, un =
“(I) know (I) know, yeah”
134 R: =sun
“yeah”
135 R: =nee:
“yeah”
136 R: =nee:
“yeah”
137 R: bikkuri shita koto, a, ima ne
“surprise, oh now”
138 L: [nn:
“nn”
139 R: [gengo no saa:
140 L: n [n:
“nn”
141 R: [koosu ni haitta ja [nai
“(we) started the linguistics course, you know”
142 L: [nn:
“nn”
143 R: =dec., iroiro, shushoku no hanashi toka mo [saa:
“and, in many ways, like about job hunting,”
144 L: [nn:
“nn”
145 R: =suru you ni natte, [chotto kangaeru you ni natte
“(we) come to talk (about it) and, (I) start thinking about (it) a bit and,”
146 L: [nn nn
“nn”
147 R: atashi wa koukoku ni chotto kyouni ga a [tte
“I’m interested in commercial making and,”
148 L: [unn
“yeah”
149 R: =sono, kopi: raita:
“like, an advertising copywriter”
150 L: un
“yeah”
151 R: o, yousei suru kouza mitai na no, ginza [ni ne, kayotteru no, ima
“(I)’m attending the course to train such a writer at Ginza, now”
152 L: [hee: hee:=
“wow wow”
153 R: de, soko, ni, kuru hito wa, gakusei mo iru shi =
“and, the people coming there, are students.”

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otokono ko mo onna ko mo iru shi
"both boys and girls and,"

un
"yeah"

[un
"yeah"

ooeru san mo iru [shi
"office ladies, and"

[un
"yeah"

aji san mo iru no [ne
"old men"

un
"yeah"

kaisha ni tsutometeru hito mo iru shi
"there are also the persons working a full-time and,"

un
"yeah"

de, n, sou, ina tsutometeru kaisha ni naisho de [kouza ni kiteimasu toka, sou sou sou sou
"and, n, yeah, now there is also like a person coming there by keeping a secret to his/her company, yeah yeah yeah"

un, a, soumanda], hee:
"yeah, oh is that so? wow"

soshibe
	
tenshoku shita mitai na [hitomi iru dakedo
"and, there is also a person thinking of changing his/her job but,"

un un
"yeah yeah"

nn:, soko de, ironna saa:, nanka, hito ni yotte, hyougen no shikata ga, zensen chiga [ku te
"nn, there, in many ways, like, various people have various ways of expression so,"

un
"yeah"

nanka omoshiro i shiten te miteru naa: tte hito mo irushi sa
"like, there is a person looking at something with an interesting perspective and,"

[ironna aidea ga atte sugoi,
"there are various ideas and very"

aa:
"right"

@omoshirouii tte iu no to bikkrai (.) [to aru ne@
"there are two things involved, interesting and surprising"

 touched by aa aa aa aa iroiro shigeki ga@
"right right right various stimulus..."

sou [sou sou (.) omoshirou
"yeah yeah yeah, (it's) interesting"

un
"yeah"

@aa aa aa aa iroiro shigeki ga@

bikkuri (. un sou da ne
"surprise, yeah that's right"

nn there are various surprises you know"

iroiro ara yo ne
"yeah there are various (surprises)"

watashi saikin ne seken ga semai naa te kan jiru koto ga ooi [no ne
"recently I often feel ‘what a small world’"

un un
"yeah yeah yeah"

soukuru naka yoku shiteru ko ga iru dakedo, pon jo no ko de
"like, umh my junior fellow in the group activity, I know her very well and she is from our university and,"

[aa:, un, un
"oh yeah yeah"

de, nanka, sonoko, to wa, kotoshi ni shi, kotoshi, sono ko ga haiita kara =
"and, like, this year that girl, this year, this year, she joined in our group so,"
R: un un
“yeah yeah”
L: a kotoshi ja nai ya, kyo nen ka =
“oh not this year but last year?”
R: =un
“(she)’s one year my junior”
L: ikko shita daka [ra
“one year my junior so,”
R: [un =
“yeah”
L: =sorekara shiriatta n dake [do,
“then I met (her) but,”
R: [un
“(she)’s one year my junior”
L: ikko shita daka [ra
“one year my junior so,”
R: [un
“(she)’s one year my junior”
L: shiriatta, ano, kare ga ite =
“and, during the same period, I met my boyfriend and,”
R: [un
“yeah”
L: de onaji jiki ni =
“and, with him”
R: un un [n
“yeah yeah”
L: de, sono hito to =
“and, with him”
R: nn: =
“nn”
L: ma, ima wa chotto kazoku gurumi no tsukiai [ni natte kitete
“well, now (we)’ve begun to meet with our family and,”
R: [un un un un =
“yeah yeah yeah yeah”
L: =ouchi ni itari toka [suru no ne
“(we) go to each other’s homes”
R: [un un [un
“yeah yeah yeah”
L: =de, watashi, mukou no okaasan to sugoku naka ga [yoku te
“and, I have a good relationship with his mother and,”
R: [un un un.
“yeah yeah yeah good”
L: [un, iiroiro hanashi shitte, watashi ga
“yeah, (we)’re talking a lot and, I”
R: [un, un
“yeah yeah”
L: ano, kurashikku no saakuru ni haitteru ka [ra
“uhm, (I) belong to a classical music club so,”
R: [nn =
“nn”
L: =ensou kai ni kite itadaittari toka, [shite
“(she) comes to see my performance and,”
R: [hee:
“wow”
L: de, maa, sono tamatama, ensoukai no panfuretto o [mita ra
“and, well, uhm, accidentally, (she) looked at the booklet and,”
R: [un un un
“yeah yeah yeah”
L: tsu, konoko shitteru to
“-- (she said) she knows a person”
212 L: |de sono ko ga, watashi no nakayokashiteru kohai datta no [ne  
"and, that girl is my close junior fellow"
213 R: |un  
"yeah"  
214 R: |you  
"wow"
215 L: |deec, nande darou tte omo [ttara  
"and, (I) wonder why and,"
216 R: |un un  
"yeah yeah"
217 L: |ano, okaasan dou shi ga =  
"uhm, their mothers"
218 R: |un =  
"yeah"
219 L: |kou kou sannen kan onaji kurasa de =  
"attended the same high school in the same class for three years and,"
220 R: |hee [:  
"right"
221 L: |onaji gakkou, onaji kurasa de, sugoku nakayokattan [date  
"(she said) they were very close because of the same school, same class"
222 R: |nnnn  
"right"
223 L: |un, de, maa, chikaku ni sundetete, imamo  
"yeah, and, well, (they) are neighbours"
224 L: |de, ano, ano ko no masume san dattano ne tte natte  
"and, uhmm, she said like 'the person is my friend's daughter and,'
225 R: |hee: [(daughter)]  
"wow"
226 L: |[de, watashi mo. sono] kohai no  
"and, I also know the junior fellow well"
227 R: |sugoi ne =  
"amazing"
228 L: |sou, kouhai no ie nimo asobi ni ittari shite ta [kara  
"yeah, (I) have visited my junior fellow's home so,"
229 R: |aa =  
"right right"
230 L: |okaasan ni, ano, asoko no, dokodoko no tte in fuu ni [, setsumei shitara  
"when (I) explained, like this was, that was, ..."
231 R: |un un un un, un  
"yeah yeah yeah yeah"
232 L: |aa shitteru shitteru tte na [tte  
"(we) come to be like, 'oh I know I know' and,"
233 R: |hee [:  
"wow"
234 L: |[aa: seken ha semai [natte omotta  
"(I) thought 'oh what a small world'"
235 R: |khubuhusugoi ne  
"amazing"

<J09>
1T: |uuhuh bikkuri shita koto,jun douz(h)o nanika (.)saikin no keiken de arimasu ka  
"uhuhu surprise(.)yeah please(h) anything(.)do(you) have anything about your recent experience?"  
(1.0)
25: |sakin no kei [ken dan de bikkuri shita hanashi  
"surprise about my recent experience"
3T: |[un(.).]un(.).un.  
"yeah(.).yeah(.).yyeah"  
(0.5)
4T: |arui wa(0.2)sou desu ne(.)nanaka yonda koto(.)  
"or(0.2) le me see(.). something you read(.)  
"or something you saw in a film anything(0.8) do you have anything?"
5S: "oh"

6T: "watashi no hou kara sha- =

7S: "oh yes"

8T: "shabette ii desu ka"

9S: [o negai shi ma(h)su]

10T: [eeto ne(.),jano ne(.),moo ano(0.3)]

11T: "kooiu kyooshoku ni tsuite ne, “starting this sort of teaching job,”

12T: [moo nijugou nen gurai ni narun desu keredomo, (0.2)]

13S: [hai] "yes"

14T: [hajimete(.),daigaku ichinensei no kimochi ga(.),koo senretsu ni wagatta tte ii(0.5)]

15T: [taken o kono haru [shi tan desu n]

16S: [hai] "yes"

17T: [ee(.),moo puraibeeto na ohanashi na desu kedo, (0.6)]

18T: [ano musuko ga(.),daigaku ichinen sei ni na [tte,

19S: [hai] "yes"

20T: [sore de(0.4)daigaku(.),ni i- kayo i hajimete(.),ano asa itte kimasu tte itte

kaette kuruto(0.4)mou(.),yuu- yuu gata no kaette kimasu to ma yoru- yoru desu ne; “and(0.4)(I was at the university(.)(be)said like ‘I’ll go out’ and,

21T: [mou heto heto ni(.),tsukareteiru(0.5)det(.),hotondo(.),janou(.),nekonde [ran desu ne, hu hu]

(he)looks exhausted (0.4)and(.),almost(.),uhm(.),he/is falling asleep huu"

22S: [uhuh huh]

23T: [nande konna ni nekomu no kana (.),sorega mou nanshuukan ka tsuzuite,

(‘I wondered’why (he)’s been fallen asleep(.)(that has been for a couple of weeks and,”

24S: " "

25T: [det(.),ja daigaku ichinensei tte, konna ni tsukareru(.),seishin teki ni [ne,

“and(.)(I thought)’oh how terrible the first year is for a student’ I mean psychologically”

26S: [hai]

27T: "yes"

28S: [hai]

29T: [anou(0.3)ma: (.),ma: so- souia tokoro kara hajimatte(.)

daigaku ichinensei no seikatsu tte amari

kou ano ben- benkyou no men de wa ne,
“uhm(0.3)well(.).well (this story) has started from (such a situation) and,”
the life of the first year student is not really
“like this uh, for the study, you know”
30T: watakushi kou(0.3)otsukiai shite wakatteru tsunori dattan desu keredomo,
“I like this (0.3) I thought I know them but,”
(0.6)
31T: anoo(.).etto ironnna ano shinkan konpa [ite no ga arun(.)] desu tte ne,
“uhm(,) well (I’ve heard new students) have lots of social engagements?”
32S: [a hai]
“oh yes”
(0.3)
33T: de(0.2)ano gomma no ni(.)kyooin wa yobarera {koto mo nai node,
“and(0.2) we teachers have never been invited to such (parties) so,”
34S:⇒ [a ha haah h h]
“a ha haah h h”
35T: mukankei namode (,)moo makkaku a soo ia sekai ga attandato,
“(we) are irrelevant to (the events) (,) so (I’ve) never (noticed) such parties,”
36S: [a hai]
“yes”
(0.4)
41T: de(,)jyoun no, yoru(0.5)mainichi no yoo ni otsukiai o shitekite=,
“and (.). seriously, (he) goes out almost every night and,”
42S: = i h h h
“uh huh”
43T: jibun no kono sa- anoo mada sadamara nain deshoo ne (.) nani o yari tai ka,
“(I guess) (he) hasn’t found what (he) wants to do yet,”
44S: [h h h]
“aa hahah hh”
45T: = [daitai shootai ga(.) a uchi no kodomo ((the story continues))
“now (I’ve) noticed his real character…”
46S: [h h]
“ni kagiru no kana, to tomo omottan desu kedo,
“maybe (that)is just, my son, maybe, but,”
(0.5)
47T: sorekarat,.daigaku ichinen sei ya ninensei no kyoushitsu ni hate ni [ite,
“since then(.)when(I)go to a class for the first or second year and,”
48S: [h hai
“yeah”
(0.5)
49T: de anou gakusei tachi no kao o miru toki ni(0.2)kou mikata ga [kavarimashita h h h h]
“and uhm when(I)look at them (0.2)like this(I’ve changed my way h h h h”
50S: [ahahahaha h h h h h h h h]
“ahahahaha h h h”
51T: so(,)konnani(.)puraibeto na seikatsu mo isogashika=†=
“yeah(.),like this(.)(they)are so busy in their private lives?”
52S: = huhunnn:.uhuhh
“huhunnn huhu”
53T: demo jujitsu shiteiru sase you to shite ne,
“but (they)are trying to have a productive day and,”
54S: hah i
“yes”
55T: [nankan(.),daigakuseikatsu(.),suteki dana to(,)i omou hanmen.
“like(.)(I)thought college life looks great but at the same time,”
"(I) was surprised"

"about an unknown thing, and (I) could see the unknown world aha"

"after I started university,"

"uh huh"

"my life was relatively changed and,"

"that was (0.2) very surprising for me and,"

"yeah"

"oh"

"oh"

"you know (0.5) from high school (0.5) (you) step forward,"

"I think now I’ve had productive days (.) yes"
you na ne, jikan deshi ta ne. nan:.
“(I could experience) that kind of thing (.) um like(0.2) uhm(.)
was, as I expected(.) that was one of (0.8) the interesting (surprises) in this spring
aan
“yeah”

77S: anata ni tottara nanika soo iu sekai(.)kawatta yo(0.3)mitaina no arimasu ka^{1}
“in your case, do (you) have that sort of thing, like (your) world has changed?”

78T: ee to desu ne,
“well,”

77S: seki ga kawatta to iu ka =
“not like my world has been changed but instead,”

78T: [n]
“uhn”

79T: =un =
“yeah”

80S: =saike.,(chotto odoroi tan desu ke [do,]
“recently (.) (I) was surprised though,”

81T: [un =
“yeah”

82S: =atashi ima made anoof.,jeibunka nan desu ke [do,
“I belong to uhm the department of English though,”

83T: [ee
“uhuh”

84S: anou gogaku kenshu ni zutto ikitakattan desu kedo,: =
“uhm (I)was thinking to take (English)language studies but,”

85T:=uu: [n^{1}
“yeah?”

86S: =o ya ga kekkou hantai shite ite::,
“(my)parents rejected (it) and,”

87T:=uu:uu: [?
“yeah?”

88S: =anou::;
“uhhm”

89T: [n
“n”

90S: =ma kinsen teki na men mo sou nan desu {kedo,;
“well (this) was because of the financial aspects but,”

91T: [uu: uu: ]n
“yeah yeah”

92S: =ryokou dattara mada ii tte {.,}yu- ma yutte
“(they said) just travel is OK but,”

93T: =ee =
“uh huh”

94S:=sono nagai kikan iku nowa, =
“uhm for the long term”

95T:=“sou {desu ka”
“I see”

96S: =yuru shite ha kuete ina kate, =
“(they)didn’t say yes and,”

97T:=uu: [nn^{1}
“yeah yeah”

98S: =sou shitara kono mae: =,
“and then, some time ago”

99T:=n
“n”
100S: nanka(0.6)souiu hanashi o kekkou mae kara tan [desu kedo, "like(0.6)(we)were talking about the sort of things but," 101T: [n]
"n"
102S: kotoshi no natsuyasumi wa[fun]yurushite kurete, "for this summer, (they)say yes, and"
103T: [hun]
"hun"
104T: wa=
"wa"
105S:= iikagetsu kan ikukoto ga kimatte(h), = "(I)have decided to stay for a month and(h),"
106T:= wao[uhu][uhu]
"wow huhuhuhu"
107S: [sore wa sugo ku(.) odoroki desu [shi, "that was very()surprising and"
108T: [sou
"right"
109T:Aa:[sou
"right"
110S: ureshii koto deshita "amazing"
111T: aa sore wa anata ga ano mainichi[,]kou oyago san n[.] miseteru, "oh that maybe, everyday's(),like this"
112S: [uh]
"uh"
113T: un sono jujitsu kan te no ga tsutawatta no kana↑ "(your)sense of fulfillment made them say yes?"
114S: sou desu ka[ne]↑ "(do)you think so?"
115T: [nee]: oyago san ga a kor[.] nee: "yeah(.)(I)guess they thought 'now she will be OK'"
116S: [uhh]
"uhh"
117S: da to iin desu kedo [ah](0.4)
"if so, that would be great aha"
118T: [uu:. nee: ja[0.4]sore wa ookina,
"yeah then(0.4)oh that was big"
119S: [hai]
"yes"
120T: [okaasama: nee:: o-otousasma no henka ne
"your mother and father’s change"
121S: n.[h]hai
"n.()yes"
122T: [uu:n[.])sore wa[,]jaa jiou ku houkou de[,]de kono natsu ga[0.5]a- amereika desuka↑ "(un,),is that(),then(),in this summer(0.5)(you'll go)to the States?"
123S: etoo joosutoraria ni
"uhm(.),to Australia"
124T: [aa: [sou desu ka
"oh do you?"
125S: [hai
"yes"
126T: joosutoraria no[, jano natsu no kono jiki to iu no wa[0.5]ma fuyu↑ "the season in Australia now is, (0.5)in the winter?"
127S: [Nn: fuyu:: (): >mitai nan< [desu kedo, "nn winter(,) looks winter but," 128T: [desu ne [e
"yeah right"

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demo(.soko made sugokusaumitodewanai tokitandesu[ga]
“but(.)I heard it’s not that cold but,”
T: [aa, nakute
oh (it’s)not and.”
N:
yeah
13T: [n sou desu kahn I see
13S: [hai
yes
“uhm(.)Melbourne yes”
T: [haa chushin ni
oh to the centre
13T: de(.)shozoku sarerunow:i:daigaku
“and(.)you’ll go to (0.4)a university?”
13S: [eeto(0.2)kono nihon joshi dai no::,
“uhm(0.2)as this university’s”
13T:=[n
“yesh
14S: [kenshuu to shite ikan [desu kedo::,
“field trip but,”
14T: [aa: sou desu [kaa::
“oh I see”
14S: [hai(.nankai,] shougakkou de
nihongo o shieru(.)mitaina purugaramumitai[de::,
“yes(.like(.)at elementary school
like teaching a Japanese program and,
14T: [aa:so [ou (.)
“oh right”
14T:sore de(.jia anataqasouia koushi to shitemo oshigoto [mo, suru no kana]
“and(.)then (you)”ll teach (the students) as a lecturer?”
14S: [hai
yes
14T: [aa: sou n::n(0.7)sou desu kasa sou demo omoshiroi wa ne
“oh right(0.7)I see it looks interesting”
14S: [hai
“yse
14S: [uhuh
“yes uhuh
149T: [nee ikkagetsu(.)ikkagetsu
“right, for a month(.)a month?”
150S: Yaku,(.)sanshukan[gurai to wa itetandesukedo(.)hai
“I heard, about(.)three weeks but(.)yes”
151T: [sou nan desu ka aa sou desu kaa::
“is that so? I see”
<J10>
1R: [aru(,) bikkuri shita koto(.)uuhnuh)[saikin
“do you have anything(.)surprising(.)uhhn recently”
2L: [bikkari(h)shita koto(.)uhh(0.5)saikin(0.4)u::n
“surprise(.)uhh(0.5)recently(0.4)uhh”
3R: [uhuhuhu((chuckling))
“uhuhuhu”
4L:   [huhuh]
    “huhuh”
    (0.2)
5R:  a sou atashi ne†
    “oh yeah me”
    (0.3)
6L:  un
    “yeah”
7R:  ano : : (0.8) densha tsugaku nan[|dakedoo,
    “uhm(0.8)(I) go to school by train but,”
8L:  [un
    “yeah
9R:  yuraku chou {sen de
    “by Yurakucho sen” ((the one line of the Tokyo metro))
10L:  [un
    “yeah yeah”
    (0.6)
11R:  de soredee,
    “and then,”
12L:  un
    “yeah
13R:  sono hi baito dee,
    “on that day (I) had a part-time job and,”
14L:  un
    “yeah
15R:  you osokuttee, =
    “(I) was late going home and,”
16L:= un un
    “yeah yeah”
17R:  nanka () SUGOO i densha mo kondetee =
    “like(,) it was REALLY crowded on the train and,”
18L:=u [n un
    “yeah yeah”
19R:  [a tsukareta yadaa toka omoette =
    “(I) thought ‘oh I was tired, no way’ and,”
20L:=un[|huhuh]
    “yeah huhuh”
21 R:  de kondere naa : : to () sugoi nankaa (),sekimo suwarenai shii,
    “and (I thought) it was so crowded and (), really like(,) there was no seat and,”
22L:=un
    “yeah”
(.)
23R:  demo nanka tochu no|tsuuka eki de,
    “but like at some of the stations and,”
24L:  [uunnnnn=
    “yeah yeah”
    ((gesture))
25R:=((coughing))(:,|nanakae|atashi noo|,|kou (0.4)
    de- densha no tsurikawa ni tsukamatte [te atashi,
    “like(,) my(?), like this(0.4)”
    “and I was holding the strap and,”
26L:  [un un un
    “yeah yeah yeah”
(.)
27R:  de nanka sorede,
    “and like then,”
(0.3)
28R:  de (,) me no mae no hito ga [a (,) tatta no ne
    “and(,), the person in front of (me) stood up”
29L:  [un
    “yeah yeah”
“(I) thought ‘oh I’ve got a seat’ and,”

“(I) thought I’ve got a seat and was going to sit down and,”

“and like a woman,”

“a young, who looked like late twenties,”

“like, the seat I was going to sit down,

“suddenly she sat down and,

“like, ‘oh she’s got it’ and,“

“oh yes, I work part-time in a CD shop but,”
“and in the corner,
“yeah”
“suddenly
“yeah”
“there was one who was singing and dancing and,”
“WHAT!!

“that really surprised me too hh”

“oh but like () a few days ago”
“in Tsutaya in Shibuya, there are lots of CD listening sections you know?”

“yeah yeah yeah”

“like then when I was waiting to listen to music in Tsutaya, there was one person who had been listening for a long time and,”

“like all of them look like pop singers like”

“like (he/she) was holding so many CDs and, ((with a gesture))

“(he) had such kinds of the pop singers’ CDs and,”

“(he) was listening to them for a long time(.) in addition, like he was listening for half an hour”

“(he) was a bit of a strange person

“(he/she) was a bit of a strange person

“a bit”

“like

“like

“(I) was so surprised but,”

“that’s creepy
話者R: "like a surprise at the uni"

話者L: "surprise at the uni"

話者R: "like a surprise at the uni"

話者L: "surprise at the uni"

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話者L: "surprise at the uni"

言語: 日本語
“yeah”

“like one girl was making-up and I was a bit surprised by that ahahahan”

“oh but there are many, like at the back, aren’t there uhuhuhuhu”

“like one girl was making-up and I was a bit surprised by that ahahahan”

“right right right right”

“oh but there are many, like at the back, aren’t there uhuhuhuhu”

“yeah many”

“And another one is like after taking the register,”

“==uhuhuhuhu hh==

“==uhuhuhuhu hh==

“==um==

“==um==

“==um==

“==um==

“==um==

“==um==

(0.5)

“==um==

(1.2)

==um==

“==um==

(0.5)

“==um==

“==um==

“==um==

“==um==

(1.2)

“==um==

“==um==

“==um==

“==um==

(0.5)

“==um==

“==um==

(1.2)
137L: "uun"  "yeah"
138R: "sokkaa (0.5) ato nanda ro ((R says to herself.))  "right (0.5) what is next?"
139L: "uun"  "uhm"
140L: "nan da roo ((L says to herself.))  "what's (next)?"
141R: "bikkuri shita koto [uhuhuhu h]  "surprise  uhuhuhu h"
142L: "ehehhh"  "ehehhh" ((chuckling))
143L: "anmari ki nimo tomete nai yo ne[bikkuri shita koto  "(we) don’t really notice any surprises (in our daily life), do (we)?"
144R: "soo da yo ne  "no (we) don’t”
145R: "bikkuri shita koto tte nanda ro ((R says to herself))  "what is the (next) surprise?"
146L: "uun =  "uhm"
147R: "a soo(.),atashi chihoo shusshin nan [dakedoo,  "oh I am from the country though,”
148L: "e doko"  "oh where?"
149R: to yamagata nan [dakedoo,  "uhm from Yamagata prefecture though,”
150L: "[!A soo itta koto aru yama [gata  "OH you are, (I)’ve been there”
151R:  "[!E !USO (.) nande  "OH YOU’RE KIDDING why?”
152L: "nanka mae gasshuka dee yoneyama]  "like previously for a club camp, Yoneyama? “
153L: "yoneyama [tte aru]  "is (it called) ‘Yoneyama’? “
154R: "[a yonezawa][uhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhu  "oh (you mean) Yonezawa? uhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhu
“yeah yeah”
“like (I felt) hot in Tokyo and”

“oh is (the temperature between Tokyo and Yamagata) totally different?”

“is it?”

“(I) thought ‘I’m going to die seriously’”

“like (the heat) ---”

“(it’s) hot”

“(you) know like this way because of the heat made from a concrete (road), how can (I) say? That heat,”

“(you) are from Yamagata”

“(from) Yamagata”

“wow OH (do) you often go home like in the summer holiday?”

“oh did you?”
“wow, looks good”

“oh really?”

“yeah huhuhuhuhh”

“uhuhuhuh”

“nice to meet you huhuh hh”

“nice to meet you”

“then(.),surprise story”

“oh(.),then(0.2)I will go first”

“yes”

“oh(.),then(0.2)I will go first”

“yes”

“uhm(0.8) do (you) know The Lord of the Rings?”

“yes”

“have (you) seen that?”

“no”

“not yet though (.)(I) quite know (that)”

“oh hh right hh huhu”

“oh(.) I haven’t read the book and.”

“yes”

“(I)just saw the film though.”

“yes”

“one of the actors in that film”

(0.2)

“Orland Bloom was in the film and.”

“yes”

“he plays the role of Elf”

(0.4)

“oh yes”

(0.5)sugoit(0.9)kakko yoku te : hh de(0.5)sugoit(0.9)
a: kono hito, hoka ni donna eiga ni deterun da rou to omo tte।
"and, that actor is so cool and really.
I thought 'Oh, in what kind of other films does this guy play a role?'and,"

26T: [hai]
"yes"

27S: inta(h)anetto de shirabe mashi te(0.3)de(1.0)anof.)mitan desu yo ippon karite kite(0.2)

soshitara "huhu", manka hahu hu nanka h chiga [tte hh hahu hu hh
"(I) searched for him through the website and (I) borrowed (his film) and watched one and, then hahu hu like hahu hu like hh (he) was not good and hahu huuhu"

28T: [uh hu hu hu]

29S: bikkari te ti(ka,.)nanka(,):a : : (.).nanka(0.5)je[:.).mani kore mita(h)](h)na hhh=
"like a surprise like uh like (0.5) 'oh (.) that's this!?' hhh"

30T: [huh]
"bah"

31T: =e,.jouru ini de=
"oh (.) what do (you) mean?"

32S:=nanka(.)sugoi:
"like (.really)"

33T: =e =
"uh huh"

34S: =ka (.) de te tara(0.3)u : roodo obu za ringu ni deteta toki ga : sugoi hakkyo yokatta kara=: ,
"-- oh when he played a role in The Lord of the Rings, (he) was so cool,"

35T: =ee
"uh huh"

36S: motto hakk yo yoku deterun janaika toka onomote mono sugoi kitai o shitetara(h): hi (.).nanakat(,)

sugoi [hahu hu]
"I so expected like, maybe (he) played a cool role and hh (.). like, terribly hahu huhu"

37T: [kitai ni hanshi(h)te h=
"against (your) expectation h"

38S: =gyangu mitaina yaku toka yatte(,).bikkari shichatte,
"(he) was playing something like the role of a gangster and (.) that surprised me and,"

39T: [huh huh e]=
"huh huh uh hu hu hu"

40S: =hitori(0.2)atashi ima hiroti gurashi de hitori de yoru bideo mitete :
"alone (0.2) now I'm living on my own and (I) was watching the video by myself and,"

41T: =e : e :=
"uh huh"

42S: =E(.)mitai na hahu hu hh-bh h =
"like (.) 'what!?' hahu hu hh hh h"

43T: = uhole sonomamaci(.)fan [wa
"uh huh and continue to be his fan"

44S: ['nde',.]fan hat,.]ya- horyuu [ite u hahu hahu hahu hh hh]
"and (.) his fan (.) um (.) I am not sure (about this), and u hahu hahu hahu hahu hh hh"

45T: [hahahahahahahahah hah
"uh hu huh hu huh hu hu hu
(0.2)

46S: hat(.)koregai,jnanka(,)konogoro ichiban bikkari shita(,)koto desu hah[hhhh]
"yes(.) that is (.) something like (.) the most surprising thing (.)these days huh hhhhh"

47T: [sou desu ka :]
"I see"

48S:sui ma sen hahu hhu
"I'm sorry hahu huh"

49T: [uhuhuhuete hhh (.).to ne :(.).atashi wa :
"uh zuhu hu hh (.). well (.) my story is"

50S:=hai
"yes"

(0.3)

51T: ano : (.0.6)etto(.)hijouki(,)wo shite iru :=
"uhm (.0.6) well (.) at one university (I) work part-time(.)"
30S: n

"n"
(0.5)

52T: gakkou de : (.)soko de shika atta koto ga na i :=

54S: "n"  

55T: kata(0.3)nan desu keredomo- kata ga ite : (0.4)soko no(0.4)soko dewa wari to ohanashi o suru  
"there is a colleague (I) just met there and(0.4)there(0.4)there"

56 S:  

57T: kata nan desu kere domo(.),sono gakkou de shika ome ni kakatta koto ga  
"there (I)often chat with him/her but(.) just at the uni"

59T: nai (0.5)kata nan desu ne(0.4)ide : (.),sono kata to : (0.3)na ze ka(0.4)zen zen kankei nai tokoro  
de [battari huah atta koto ga [nikai(.)]jarima shite :,  
"(we)only meet(0.4) and(.),that person(0.3)(I)don’t know why(0.4)but in some place  
unrelated place (to the uni) (I)bumped into (him/her) a few times and,"

60S: [uhuh hh]  

61S: "right"
(0.2)

62T: de : (0.3)ikkai wa : (0.3)janou sono gakkou kara wa zenzen hanare te i ru :=,  
"and(0.3)once (0.3) uh m (the place) was quite far away from the uni,"

63S:=n  

64T: ano basho no : =

65 S:=n  

66T: chikatestu no naka [de : :]  

67S: [uhuhuuhu  uhuhuhu  uhuhuhu]  

68T: [uhuhuhu   huhuhu   huhuhu"  

69T: ato mou ikkai wa : (.),janou(0.8)etto(0.2)watashi fudan(.),riyou shite inai(.),gin [kou ni : ,  
"another time(.),uhm(0.8)well(0.2)at a bank that I do not usually use"

70S: [uhuhu]  

71T: tamatama, chotto(0.5)furikomi(.)[no you DAKE(.),de ittan desu kedo : (1.1)soshitara :  
(.),ma(0.6)mattaku(.),sono(0.2)fudan  
"accidentally, (I)ONLY went to send money but(1.1)then"

72S: [huhuhuhu]  

73S: [huhuun  huhuun]  

74T: de sono kata mo : fudan wa zenzen,(.)sonna toko riyou [shite naitte osshatte ta] no ni,  
"and that person said he/she has never (.)used the bank but,"
76S: "uh huh"
77T: *tamatsama* "accidentally"  
78S: "ha~" "wow"
(.
79T: riyou shita toki ni := , "when (we) used the bank"
80S: = a: [ sugoi huhhhh huhh  "oh great huhuhuhu huh"
81T: [ atte korede nidome desu ne(h) tte -hh sore wa sugoku h (. ) doushite kashira , toka [ tte "like 'this is the second time' and, hh that was really(.),like, 'how could this happen!? ' and,"
82S: "wow great"
83T: e [ : "yes"
84S: sore wa bikkuri desu ne : "that is surprising"
83T: ne := = "yeah"
84S: = nanka atashi bikkuri no neta ga[ ] nai- nakatta hhhhhhh hh "like I don't have, didn't have any surprising news hhhhhhh hh"
85T: [ ee huhuhuhu  "..uh huh uhuhuhu"
(.
86S: sooiu ohanashi no hoo ga ii desu [ yo ne huhuhuh hh hh hh  "that sort of story is better isn't (it?) huhuhuh hh hh hh"
87T: [ a sono koto wa nai hh to- omoi masu kedo hh "oh (I) think it's not hhh hh"
(.
88T: n : (. ) teiu koto ga(0.6) ee( ). )ari mashi tane : (. ) nanode(0.6) nanka( ) ne betsu ni fudan to- fudan( . ) sono kou dou [ hani ga isso no hito [ toka : ] "nmn( . ) that kind of thing(0.6) uhm( . ) I had and (. ) so(0.6) like( . ) you know if the person's activity is quite similar to me;"
89S: [ n n : [ n : 
[ n : [ n : [ n : [ n : [ n : [ n : "nn nn" (0.2)
90T: dattara := = "if that's so,"
91S: := n : "nn" (0.3)
92T: ne : (0.3) attari suru tomodo aru kamo shire nai kedo : (0.7) honto ni shau ni ikkai ] : (. ) hijoukin no gakkou de atteru [ dake no hito nano[ ] ni : hh "you know(0.3) we might meet somewhere but(0.7) just once a week at the uni (we) only meet but hh"
93S: [ n : [ n : [ n : [ n : [ n : [ n : "n"
94S: "n"
95S: [ E : ] "wow"
(0.3)
96T: zenzen kankei no nai toko de nikai mo atte shima tte : (0.3) te in koto ga arimashita :
"(I) was surprised that I met someone I know in an unexpected place"
97S: e[( ) ] ginkouwa := , "oh( . ) that( . ) bank"
98T: = e : "uh huh"
“that”

“oh (you) don’t know the place you met (him/her) at all”

“not at all (was that the place you didn’t know)?”

“yes”

“that’s AMAZING isn’t it?”

“yeah so”

“wow”

“like maybe (we) may have some destiny but”

“uhuhuhuhuhuhu that’s right”

“yeah”

“not at all was that the place you didn’t know?”

“yeah so”

“like maybe (we) may have some destiny but”

“uhuhuhuhuhu that’s right”

“yeah”

“another one”

“probably”

“uh huh”

“like when (I) listen to such a story, (I) also not like (I) was surprised by this sort of thing though,“

“uhuhuhuhuhuhu hh”

“uhuhuhuhuhu-hh”

“(I) understand (you) hh at that moment (we) are surprised by (something) but, hh,”

“(I) think like ‘oh (I) had that sort of thing’ but forget (it) and, huhu huh hhh”

“(I) understand (you) hh at that moment (we) are surprised by (something) but, hh,”

“(I) think like ‘oh (I) had that sort of thing’ but forget (it) and, huhu huh hhh”

“another ((surprise))”
123T: [ato wa]
“another (surprise)"
(1.1)
124S: “ato wa”
“another (surprise)"
125T: ["soo desu ne :\(2.1)n : n
“right uhhm”
(2.0)
126S: “hoka ni nanka arimasu ka :\[1.1^n
“do (you) have anything?”
127T: soo desu ne(.\(4)nma bikkuri(.\(4)tte in hodo dewa rai ino ka [mo shire masen kedo,
“well uhm (this) may not be a big surprise though,”
128S: [n : n
“nnn”
(0.5)
129T: watashi ga, anou, den, atashi, kodomo iru \(n\) desu keredo :
“I uhm, I, I have a child but,”
130S: [u(.)hai
“oh(.\(4)yes”
(0.2)
131T: sono kodomo ga\(0.5)issai\(0.4) karai datta to omou \(n\) desu kedo,
“that child \(0.5\) \(0.4\) I remember (he) was about a year old? but,”
132S: [n :
“\n”
133T: yoku tsukue no u toka ni(.\(4)n)occha \(t(.)jnoob\(.)\(4)chatta n desu ne(.\(4)n)obote tan desu ne(. nanka isu toka \(t\)suke toka ni,
“(he)often climbed onto the table(.) (he) climbed up”
134S: [uhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhu
3L: [huh huhuhuhuh]
   “huh huhuhuhuh”
4R: ano ne, =
   “listen”
5L: =un=
   “yeah”
6R: baiō de ne, =
   “a part-time job,”
7L: =un=
   “yeah”
8R: ano (.) sutaba nano =
   “uhm(.) I’m working at Starbucks cafe”
9L: =a sutaba yatten [no]^
   “oh are you working at Starbucks?”
10R: [soo]
   “yeah”
11L: un un, un
   “yeah yeah yeah”
12R: [denegokayusanganaiokayukasama gayskotoki [nii,]
   “and, it’s like, a customer(.) when a customer leaves,”
13L: [un =
   “yeah”
14R: = minna arigatou go zai masu tte ia [ja nai]
   “everyone says, ‘thank you’ (to the customer), you know”
15L: [un un]
   “yeah yeah”
16R: de an toki ni nel,arigatoo gozaimaasuu tte ittee,
   “and at that time(.) I said, ‘thank you’ and,”
17L: un
   “yeah”
18R: de koo(0.3)demo nanka saygoo o shiteitee, =
   “and like this(0.3) but it was like, I was working and,”
19L: =un un =
   “yeah yeah”
20R: =de nanka tootta karaa,
   “and like, she passed me, so”
21L: [n]
   “yeah”
22R: [hontowannei,kao o mite iwanakya ikenain [dakedoo,
   “actually(.) we should say, ‘thank you’ looking at her face, but,”
23L: [n n =
   “yeah”
24 R: >nanka son toki isogashi kute saygoo o shite tee <,
   “and it was like, at that time I was busy and was working and,”
25L: =n =
   “yeah”
26R: = ari gatoo gozai- nanka tootta no ga wakatta [karaa,
   “(I said) ‘thank you,’ it’s like, I noticed she passed me, so,”
27L: [un =
   “yeah”
28R: =arigatoo gozaimaasuu tte itte patto mita [raa.
   “I said, ‘thank you’ and, when I looked up at her;”
29L: [un
   “yeah”
30R: nanka so(h)no(h)hito ne hh aruki nagara tenmai de hua(h) mi(h)gai ten nohh
   “[ ... dah]kath]ra(h)nie he[to omotte,
   “it’s like, that person hh while leaving, she was brushing her teeth in the café hhh, so I thought what!??” and,”
31L: [huh bah
   “huh hah in the morning?”
32R: chigau chigau (. ) [futsuu ni (. ) o [hiru gurai,
   “no no (.) as usual( . ) around lunch time”
“oh ---”
“everyone(.)was having their lunch(.)you know”
“right”
“in the cafe”
“right”
“other customers”
“oh”
“everyone(.) was having their lunch(.)you know”
“right”
“in the cafe”
“other customers”
“oh”
“normal”
“oh how strange the person is hh huhuhuhuhu”
“I don’t know, so I was surprised and,“
“it’s surprising hh huhuhuhuhu “
“I couldn’t believe my eyes, I thought, ‘oh my God’ and thought ‘what?’ and,”
“hh huhuh ”
“that is surprising”
“uhuhu right”
“uhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhu
hanayome san ga sono MANMA no kakko de ka n no(.)
“and it was, absolutely for the first time, on Saturday(.)
a bride came to the café wearing a wedding dress without changing her clothes(.)
when I worked on Saturday or Sunday(.)”

weddingu dorestu kita manma dee,
“she kept her dress on and,”
(0.3)

58R: “a[.]ie karaa”
“oh(.) had she worn it from home?”

59L: [uchi no kafe ni (.) anoo(.) nanka(.) anoo
“to the café(.) uhm(.) it’s like(.) uhm”

60R: [ ahaahh aa [souiu koto ka
“ahahh oh I see”

aa hahahah hahahaha
“aa hahahah hahahaha”

61L: [ kekkon shiki jou kara kafe ni kuruno(.

62 >dakara<(.) minnaa kekkonshi no hirouen toka owattee

63 ochi nomini kuru noga uchi no bai to saki nanda [kedo,
“(they) come to the café immediately after the wedding”
so(.) everybody completes like, their wedding party and,“
“comes to drink tea, that is (the usual case) in my cafe but,”

64R: [ un un u [a
“yeah yeah yeah yeah”

65L: [ Sono manma
weddingu dorestu no man[ma kitee,
“STILL wearing the dress
(she)comes and,”

66R: [huhuh
“huhuh”

67L: de atashi wu choo hikkari [shite,
“and I was really surprised,”

68 R: [aa =
“right”

69 L: =de (.). gochuunom(.). naninshimasu ka tte ki[hij(h)]jaraa
“and(.).when (I) asked (her) ‘what would you like?’ ”

70R: [huhuhuh
“huhuuh”

71 L: jinja eeru [toka[h]iwarete huu h,
“(she) answered, like ‘ginger ale’ huhu”

72R: [huhuhuhuhuhul
“huhuhuhuhuhuhu”

73L: e chou futsuu jari[h]toka oomette hh hh
“(I) thought ‘oh (that’s) normal’ hhhh”

74R: huhu hahahah
“huhuh huhuhuh ”

75L: ko(.[) kon- konan nan da yo
“like (.).this” ((shows with hands how big her wedding dress is))

76R: [ ee[.] sou nanda
“wow is that so?”

77L: [nanka(.) sofa toka sannin gake no o kou hitori de suwa [tte choudo ii furai non ni,
“like(.). sitting on a sofa for two or three people was good for (her) but,”

77 R: [ un un sou da yo ne
“yeah yeah yeah that’s right”

78 L: suwatettee (.). de damana san wa shinseki to suwatte tee, =
“(she) was sitting and(.). and (her) husband was sitting with his relatives and,”

79R: = uh[.]hahahah huhuhuh huhuhuh
“huhuhuhuhuh (they) must be outstanding”
“huhuhuhuhu when (I) saw (that) for the first time, that really surprised me, that was”

“huhuhuhuhu oh is that normal?”

“like you know what(,) (that) has become normal now”

“right I see I see”

“like but(,”)

“at that moment there was just only the bride but,”

“yeah”

“and (. when several wedding ceremonies were held on one day (0.4) (so many) brides, like five brides, come to (our cafe) like clones huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu”

“huhuhuhuhuh like everybody wears soft, white dresses huhuhuhuhu huh”

“wow”

“I envy…”

“like matching well with a bride’s style huhu huhu”

“yeah ahuhuhuh" (L returns to her topic.)

“oh right”

“yeah but like, like”

“uhuhuhu (that) must be surprising”

“(that’s) surprising”

“(such people) have not generally been in cafes, right?”

“café! huh”

“in addition! huhuhuhuhuhuh she says like ‘iced coffee please’ huhuhuhuhuhuh”

“like huh huhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhuhu huhu huhuhuhu
107 R: [sou da yo ne]
   
   "haba haba toru yo ne (...)da [tte sugoi]
   "that’s right, space, (they should need)(enough)space to be seated"

108 L: ([gesture])
   
   "[sou!,] SUGGOIno, nanka ne tabun ne kono gu(h)rai ne"

109 hitori de koko ga atashitachi no ima

110 kono gu urai
   "yeah(.) SUPER(.) like probably like this, by one, here is my place now,
   “and, like this” ([by gesture, L shows the space they need])

111 R: [hee shikamo yogosenai]
   "wow in addition (you)can’t get the dress dirty, can you?"

112 L: ([gesture])
   "sou!(.) SUGGOIno(.) nanka ne tabun ne kono gu(h)rai ne
   "that’s right, space, (they should need)(enough )space to be seated"

113 R: "un un un
   “yeah yeah yeah"

114 L: [sou honto kina soto toki ni kinchou
   "no, when serving (food or drink)(I’m) nervous"

115 R:
   "un un =
   “yeah"

116 L: [sou shikamo saa(.) nanka uchide (.). jichiban yogoreruu (. =
   "and like (. )like in my café (. )the most risky…(. )"

117 R: =un =
   "yeah"

118 L: [orenji ga kou sasatteru (. ) no nano ne
   "the juice is served with the orange"

119 R: [n] "n"

120 L: [aa aa aa
   “right right right”

121 R: [fuan
   “right”

122 L: [heete
   "like ‘wow’"

123 R: [ne (.),kinchou] suru ne
   "yeah (.) should be nervous"

124 L: [sou shikamo saa nanka kou shibottari toka saa (. ) shichau jan [yappari, kou yatte,
   "yeah, in addition like this, (they) squeeze (the orange) (. ) (when you drink) you know, like this and;"

125 R: "un
   “yeah"

126 L: [tabetari toka dattara mada(h) ii kedo kou (. ) shibotteru hito toka miru to=
   “(it’s) still OK, just eating but, like this(.) looking at the person who is squeezing (the orange),”

127 R: =久久
   “right”

128 L: [tobasamaide tobasu na de tte omou huhuhuhuh huhuhuhuh huhuhu huhuhu
   “don’t spill the orange juice, don’t.’ (I) think huhuhuhuh huhuhuhuh huhuhu”

129 R: [huhuhuhuh hah hahhahahahahah nee honto shiroi mon ne
   “huhuhuhuh hah huhuhuhuh huhuhuhuh huhuhuhuh huhuhuhuh huhuhuhuh unh (the dress) is so white, isn’t ((it))?”

130 L: [ato bikkuri shita koto da yo ne
   “another surprise”

131 R: [ato bikkuri shita koto
   “another surprise”

132 L: [ato bikkuri shita no wa watashi wa ronsaku ni bikkuri shita
   “another surprise is, I was surprised in the English writing class”

133 R: [aa [huhuhuhuh sore wai(h)ne
   "uhuhuh huhuhuhuh that was”

134 L: [huhuhuh huhuhuh sora wa ne soi =
   “huhuhuh that was yeah”

135 R: =[suggoi bikkuri shita atashimo he to omotta asa ahhahaaha =
   "I was really surprised too, I thought, ‘oh my God’ that morning ahhaha”

136 L: [huhuhuh huhuhuh heh huhuhuhuhuh huhuhuhuhuh
   “huhuhuh huhuhuh heh huhuhuhuhuh”

310
“え？ねえ、（その時）は何か特別に驚いたな？

「うーむ、まあ、それが何よりの驚きだと思うな」

「うーむ、それはまあ、それはあなたが驚かれた時点で、それが驚きの第一段階になっていたかな？」

「うーむ、その通りだね。それが驚きの第一段階だったかな？」
“like ‘hyun’? huh huh”
((expressing the speed through onomatopoeia))

“yeah yeah”

“but that is interesting”

“oh really?”

“yeah”

“try (it)”

“oh”

“was surprised huh”

“like (.) (I) can’t try the haunted mansion (.) in the amusement park”

“me neither”

“uhh but”

“yeah”

“(I) wanna go to Fujikyu cause’ (I) want to try it uhuuhuhuhuh”

“uh huh yeah yeah yeah (I) know (I) know”

“(you) don’t like a haunted mansion though,”

“(I) really like (them) huhuh

“(you) like that sort of screaming machines (roller coasters) don’t (you), (I) know uhuuhu”

“(I) really like (them) huhuh”

“same as me uhuuh”

“uhh yeah yeah yeah”

“(you) don’t like a haunted mansion though,”

“right u uhuuh”

“wow is that so fast?”

“that’s) fast”

“it’s like when I went on a () high school trip(,) and we went to Fujikyu High Land and, ” ((amusement park))

“and it’s like (.) at that time, that place had just opened and,”

“uh huh uh huh uh huh”

“I’ve never been there since then”
195R: sokka [a
   “I see”
196L: [un
   “yeah”
   (1.0)
197R: sokka sokku u huhuhuhuhuhuh
   “I see I see u huhuhuhuhuhuh”
198 L: tanoshi katta?
   “was it fun?”
199 R: e’koukou n toki atashi mo fujikyu hairando ittakoto aru
   “oh, I had also been to Fujikyu when I was at high school”
200 L: maji de=
   “really!”
201 L: [un
   “yeah
202L: [uhuhuhuhuhuhu [na ju de]=
   “uhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhu
“in the group activity(,)there was a drinks party”

“yeah”

“and uh(.)AFTER the party,”

“like(,)they REALLY like W university”

“yeah”

“uh huh uh huh”

“and then”

“after the party,”

“yeah”

“like(.)they REALLY like W university”

“yeah”

“yeah

“uh huh uh huh”

“and then”

“after the party,”

“yeah”

“oh yes yes yes

“(they) sang their school song in the street”

“(I) was really surprised”

“OH were you so surprised? huhahahaha

“hahahahahaha”

“that sort of thing will not happen about (our)school, you know”

“like ‘what!?’ and,“

“no”

“yeah”

“I can’t sing the song so,”

“yeah”

“(1) thought, like ‘wow’ and,“

“Oh then what’s that? What in the street?((the train station))

“no(.)at Shinjuku”

“that sort of(.)in front of the pub(.)like (they)formed a circle, like this, and”
“WOW”
“like this(0.6)(they)put their arms on each other’s shoulders and,”
((gesture: hugging))
“YEAH’
“(they)were singing”
“WOW”
“(I)was thinking they really like their school and,”
“huhuhuhuhu oh”
“yeah that was surprising (for me)”
“oh by the way what kind of group circle is it?”
“(I)just participated only in the event but,”
“oh by the way what kind of group circle is it?”
“(I)just participated only in the event but,”
“that was(0.3)like there is the meeting of
“the spirit of (.)W and,”
“(0.2)
“that is a slightly strange name but,”
“(that is)indeed?”
“(that is)indeed?”
“everybody wears a school uniform and,”
“everybody wears a school uniform and,”
“(0.8)
“do they wear a SCHOOL UNIFORM?”
“(they)did”
“at the party too?”
“at the party too?”
70S: hai
“yes”

71T: sore mo bikkuri ja nai [desu ka] haan
“that is also surprising isn’t it? haan”

72S:
[ha/haba]

73S: anna ii, de- zutaishite[te,]
“with such a big body and,“

74T: [uh i i zu hihi hh]
“uh ii zu–hihi hh”

75T: cho- onna no ko qa inai desu yo ne (0.5) [ita]
“there is no girl?(0.5) right?”

76S:
[ha (.) inai desu ne =]
“ha (.) no”

77T: =u : n gakuran chotto aredamon ne onna no ko ja : [ne]
“uhm a school uniform may be a bit… for girls…”

78S:
[sou desu] [me]
“yeah right”

79T:
[u : n =]
“yeah”

80S: =nakanaka huhuhu=
“a bit huhuhu”

81T: =he : :
[f(.)] nanka i atashi ima sore o kite sugoi nita hanashi of(.) nomoidashite[.] jibanga
nanka gakusei no toki ni watashi eigo no saakaru niit tan de [su yo,] jiesesu ii esu esu tte,
“wow (.) like after I listened to it and remembered a similar story and (.)
when I was a student, I attended the English group circle[.] called ESS ESS and,”

82S:
[hai]
“yes”

83T: sore no toki ni(.) waseda ja nain desu kedo aogaku no ko [to : ]
“at the meeting (. ) it was not with W but with A’s students and”

82 S:
[hai]
“yes”

83T: xanatama soui kanji de yappari nomikai yattete(.) ide( .)
zenzen gakuran toka kiteru wake nakatte[.] mochiron,
“accidentally there was a party just like your case and(.)
“(they)didn’t absolutely wear a school uniform and, of course”

84S:
[hu/hahahahaha]
“huhahahahahaha”

85T: de(.) iftsau ni:[(.)] soui nomikai toka yatte(.) ide owatte detekitan desu yo
kekou minna ii kanji ni natte dete kimasu [yo ne owaru to ne,
“and(.) as usual(.) (we) had a part and(.) and we came out from the place
everybody nicely got drunk and came out and (that) will come after the party”

86S:
[hai]
“yes”

87T: sorede : nanka(.) asoko eki ga shibuya ja nai de [sukat.] aogaku tte,
“and like(.) A university’s station is Shibuya, right?”

87S:
[hai]
“yes”

88T: shibuyan toko made kitara ikinari minna de enjin kunidashi cha [tte huhahhh
“when we walked to Shibuya, suddenly everybody got a circle and huhahhh”

89S:
[hu/hahahahahaha]
“huhahahahaha”

90T: sore koso honto ni aogaku no ko wa kouka utaushi : sonoato,
Nanka wakaranai[.] teka iri[.] jiinikuin ne kedo : ↑.
“and indeed, they sang their school song and then,
LIKE I don’t know(.)(like(.)(it’s)hard to say but”
91T: nankane minna de ikinari,
“like everybody suddenly,”
92T: kou honto ni onna no ko mo joshidai no ko mo soukara chotto
“like this really, there were girls, girls at JWU, and A’s students and a few,”
93T: hoka no daigaku no ko mo ioto shite(.)
“other universities’ students and(.)”
94T: minna de enjin kumidashi cha
[ ]
“everybody began to form a circle and, suddenly like (they) began to exchange a shout-out and,”
95S: hahahahah
“huhuhuh huh
96T: honto ni(.)ano shibuya no hachikou mae de desu yo
“you know(.)(that) happened in front of HACHIKO in Shibuya”
97S: SU : [GOI]
“WOW”
98T: [sore hen de(h)isho↑
“that is strange isn’t it?”
99S: iyousu desu yo ne huhahaha
“yeah too weird huhahaha”
100T: un kanari iyousu datta hahahahahahhhhh
“yeah that was really weird hahahahahhhhh”
101S: he(.)ja : kono joshidai demo : , =
“wow(.) then even JWU also…”
104 S:=un
“yeah”
105 T: futsuu ni eeru o iin desu ka
“as usual do (you) give a shout-out?”
106T: iya,.futsuu ni yarana n de do sou iu tatoeba(.)
“no(.)(at JWU) we don’t, usually (we) don’t do that kind of, for example(.)”
107T: ma itesuus tte iu to sono eigo o tsukatte hoka no daigaku e itte iishoni kou (.)
“like in an ESS circle, uh using English, (we) go to other universities and like this(.)”
108T: nante iu no eigo o tsukatay susukashon [toka : .] supiichi toka tte ibento ga aru desu yo,
“how can I say? Like discussing in English(.) like speech, there is the sort of event”
109S: hau
“yeah”
110T: sono ibento no toki ni ma : tama ni eeru koukan te iu no o yarimasu yo ne(.)
“at the event, well, occasionally (we) exchange a shout-out(.)”
111S: nantoka [daigaku ganbaree mitaina kan ji de,
“like XX university, makes the best”
112S: hai
“hunun wah”
112T: dakedo sonna ekimae de yarimasen kara ahh hahahah be(h) ((chuckle))
“but (we) don’t do it in front of the station ahhahahh ahh”
113S: iya :
“no”
114T: korya bikkuri desho↑(.).mu : n
“this is surprising you know? yeah”
115S: nankai(0.6)nihon joshidai wa soko made(0.8)
“like(0.6)(I think) in JWU the group circle is not really(0.8)”
116T: un
“yeah”
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117S: saakuru ga, hattatsu shiteru to wa watashi wa omotte nain desu yo : =
“I don’t think (the group circle in JWU) is not really developed”
118T: [un
“yeah”
119S: [kono-. joshidai(0.5),
“this(JWU)(0.5)”
120T: [un
“yeah”
121 S: dake no :↑,
“the circle, only for JWU”
122S: [saakuru tte in no wa ne :,
“students,”
123T: [un
“yeah”
124 T: "right right right"
125S: [dakara-. sou in-. bunka ga zenzen nain de :,
“so,that sort of.(we)don’t have such a culture at all and,”
126T: un
“yeah”
127S: sugoi iyou(.), desu yo[ne
“(that)’s really weird(.)you know”
128T: [un attemo nankai, janmari eeru koukan toka [kouka toka
utawanai-. desu yo ne
“yeah even (we)had it like(.),exchanging shout-out or singing a school song”
“(we)don’t sing it you know”
129S: [n : n
“no”
130T: ma tashika ni sakki iware ta kedo : (. joshidai no kouka uteru tte ieba(0.4)desho↑ =
“well it’s true you just said but(.),like ‘can you sing a JWU school song?’(0.4)… right?”
131S:=n [: n desu yo ne :
“yeah right”
132T: [uhuh ne(. ) un un un
“uhuh yeah(.),yeah yeah yeah
(0.7)
133S:[sou sou sou
“yeah yeah yeah”
134S:[sou desu ne :
“that’s right”
(0.7)
135T: [ka :
“…”
136S: [joshidai no kouka wa nanka nyugakushiki ni,
“at the entrance ceremony of JWU,”
(0.7)
137T: un
“yeah”
138 S: gasshoundan ga,
“the choir,”
139T: un
“yeah”
140S: kou(.)., nankai(0.2)jatsushiku utattete,
“like this(.)like(0.2)(they) were singing beautifully and,”
141T: un
“yeah”
(0.2)
142S: zettai utaenai(. )[et(h)omosh[yte uhuhuhuh huhuhh hh
“(I) thought like, absolutely (I) can’ t ‘uhuhuhu huhuhhh”
143T: [ahahahahahahahahaha et(b) jo ima gaku- gakubu sei no okata[
“ahahahahahahaha oh then are (you) an undergrad?”
144 S: hai (. ) [sou desu
“yes(.) (I ) am”
145T: [yonen sei ni naru to utai masu yo. sotsugyoushi ki ni toki ni(.)]“when (you) are in the fourth year, (you)'ll sing (it) at the graduation ceremony (.)”
146T: [sou desho uahahahahaha datte sotsugyoushiki mata gasshou dan no hito dete kire : †(.)]“is that right? uhahahahahaha cause at the ceremony the choir appears and (.)”
147T: [de mata onaji you ni naru to otatte : †.]“and again sings (it) just like that and.”
148S: ["a souka sou[ka]"
“oh I see I see”
149T: [kuchi paku ja suma sare nai kara]“(we)can’t imitate singing it so,”
150T: [tabun utae koto ni naru to omotte.]“probably (I thought) (I)will have to sing it and.”
151T: [sore(ko)so bikkuri tte kao shi te hahahahahahaha]“it was indeed, surprising and hahahahahahaha .hhhh”
152S: [huhahahahahaha]“huhahahahahaha I see”
153T: [sou desu yo ne(.)nanka gasshoudan janai kagiri]“yeah right(.) like not as far as I’m a choir,”
154T: [sonna(.)mane(.)ºshibashiba ja nai desu kedo ;]“such a(,).imitation(,).not very often but,”
155S: [sou desu yo ne(.)ato(.)sa(.)kihodo hanashi sareta akira san wa, =]“that’s right(.and(.).my friend, Akira, just before, you talked to her,”
156T:=an
“yeah”
157S: [shougakkou(.)gurai kara]“from elementary school,”
158S: [zatto nihon joshidai nan de,]“(she)’s been to JWU so,”
159T: [an]
“yeah”
160T: [a(0.3)kissui nano ne (.)he :
“oh(0.3) (she)is a genuine (.).wow”
161S: [sou shita ra kitto uttaeru n ja nai ka nai to omoun [desu kedo,]“then (I) think (she)’ll be able to sing a song though,”
162T: [utatte moraokka]“why don’t (we) ask her to sing a song?”
163S: [huhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhu]“hua  hhh   hhh”
164T: [ya- ima- ima wa dame desu yo ne koko ni korareru kara ne huhuhu]“no now now it’s impossible right? here is, --- huhuhu ”
165S: [u hu ku ku hu ku hu hu ku hu hu ku hu ku]“no
uhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhu uhu hu huu”
166T: [demo chotto utatte morai taikamo shire nai]“but a bit (I)may want her to sing (it)”
167T: "so [kkau]"
“right”
168S: [sou desu ne :]“yes”
169T: [demo honto daigaku omoshiroi utaippai arun desu yo ne kita koto arimasu †]“but there are many interesting songs at this uni, have (you) heard of (that)?”
170S: [e nail]desu
“oh no”
171T: [nanka(0.2)atashi mo daibu mae da kedo shokujyu sai tte in ka(.)]“like(0.2) (it) was a really long time ago but like planting a tree (.).”
172T: [sonnai(.)shigatsu hatsuka tte .]nanka souritsu kinen (bitoka de]“umhm(.)on 20th April (.).like (it) is the school anniversary and,”
173S: [n]“n yes”
(．)
174T: de ichinensei toka de gakkou ni kitari shimasen [de shitar]
“and didn’t you go to school (on that day)?”
175 S: [ha]t
“yes (.)
176T: sore no toki ni : nanka gasshoudan no hito ga ka : (.ki : ueran desu yo maitoshi
shokuju surun de [su yo ikko zutsu
“at that time, like the choir (.comes and (we) plant a tree every year”
(we) plant each of them”
177S: [n]
“n”
178T: de sho- nanka ki ue no uta(.toka nantoka [tte hhh huhn huhn huhn]
“right? like ‘the song of planting a tree’ (.something like that hhh huhhh”
179 S: [huhuhu ha : n hhh
“huhuh huh hh”
180T: utawa uta- utatte shite : t'demo oboerarenai n desu yo [huhuhn
“(we)sang and planted a tree, but (I) couldn’t memorise it huhuh”
181S: [hh kiue no uta tte(.)
“hh the song of planting a tree”
sontoki shika utawanain de [su yo ne
182T: [sou(.) sontoki dake nano(.) nanoni :
darekaga : chanto sakashi sakkyoku shite tte tte kan ji [de
“yeah(.)just only for the time(.)but
“somebody properly made the lyrics and song and,”
183S: [a hahaha hhh =
184T: = "sou"
“yeah”

<14>1R: “bikkuri shita koto”
“surprise”
(1.5)
2R: bikkuri shita koto
“surprise”
(1.1)
3L: [h(1.0) saikin(0.4)wa bi(h)kakri (1.2) bikkuri shita kana (0.6)=
“hh(1.0) recently(0.4)surprised(1.2)(I)wondered if I was surprised(0.6)”
4R: “huhuhu”
5L: huhahahaha=
“huhuhuh a”
6L: “shte naif. jki ga suru”
“I feel (I)haven’t”
(1.5)
7R: i (1.5) ja sakki no ne neta de ikato,
“h(1.5)then speaking of a topic (I)just talked
8L: un
“yeah”
9R: nankane,
“you know”
10 L: un
“yeah”
11 R: komaidai Who sa, =
“recently ”
12L: =un
“yeah”
13R: atashi nomikai itte kita jan
“I went to a party, you know”
(,)
"oh yeah"

(at that time like(0.3)after the party, after the first"

(they)made a circle(.again"

"yeah"

"again(.)as expected"

"yeah"

"like this (1.1)hh (they)put their arms around each other’s shoulders

((gesture: expressing people's hugging each other))

"oh.(with Koyokai" ((this probably means those involved in the group activity))

"they(.sing (their school song) hh"

"like the song of W university"

"oh(.)han like ‘W----!’ is it?" ((L sings the song))

"yeah"

"hearing that, (I) thought ‘again!’ and, hh

((face expression: sighing))

"like (we said)’(it)is embarrassing(.)isn’t it?’ and,"

"cause(.)normal—in public you know?"

"yeah(0.2)and(.)anyway that’s OK(.)"
waseda wa sa (.) nanka sugoi uta en jan (.) [kouka ga,  
“they can(.)like sing their song you know(.)the school song “
45L: [un utaeru
“yeah yeah (they)can”
(0.8)
46R: de sa [.]ponjo,  
“and (.)our school
47L: [un
“yeah”
(.)
48 R:watashi utae nai [jan
“(I)can’t sing (our song) you know”
49L: [un
“yeah”
50R: utaeru no↑  
“can you?”
(0.8)
51L: E(.)ponjo no [uta]  
“Oh(.)our school song?”
52R: [un
“yeah”
(.)
53L: utaeru (0.7) sorya : utaeru  
“(I)can(0.7)of course (I)can”
(.)
54R: [u : : n  
“right”
55L: [u : n=  
“a little while ago (we)were saying maybe you can sing”
(0.2)
57L: DARE ni,  
“with WHO?”
58R: N(.) ano : (.)mouhitori uchida sensei tte ia hito ni  
“uh(.)uhm(.)U-teacher”
(0.8)
59L: NANDE,  
“WHY?”
60R:E sono wadai def(.)je nanka anoko wa utaeru rashii(.)
“tabun utaeru to omoun desu yone(.)ittu tara a ja utatte moraouka tte ia=  
“OH about the topic(.)we talked)like, ’oh (she)seems like (she)can(.)  
I think probably (she)can(.)’ and ‘then ask her’ h”
61L:=Demo dore darou (.)te omou.(0.3)sa hahaha  
“BUT (I)wonder which one.(0.3)ahahaha”
62R: Sonna ni ippai ano?  
(0.6)
63L: Unto(0.6)chugaku kara ; ,  
“uhm(0.6)from junior high school”
64R:=un  
“yeah”
65L: kouka ga- a: >shougakkou mo kouka [ga attan dakedo :  
“the school song, there was also a school song at elementary school but,”
“for elementary school, there was one song and,”
66R: [un un un un  
“yeah yeah yeah yeah”
(0.4)
66 L: chuu kou issho no kouka de ; ,  
“for junior and high schools, the song was the same and”
67 R:=un  
“yeah”
tabun, =
"probably"

yeah

for the uni (it)is the same but,"

yeah

there were so many songs and there were many songs for the ceremony and"

huhuhuhuhu I see I see I see

like(.)there were so many songs and there were many songs for the ceremony and (0.4)

hahahahah

right

right yeah

probably(1.3)yeah this one, ‘Kumoma o izuru’ I think

huhuhuhu I see I see I see

like(.)there were so many songs and there were many songs for the ceremony and (0.4)

huhuhuhu I see I see I see

absolutely (1)don’t know,(but (we)seem to sing a song at the graduate ceremony and(,))

WHAT!!?

we sing? h you see(h)? isn’t that surprising?(,)

we sing? (,)we can’t you know”

like(.)according to our talk

yeah

like(0.6)at the graduate ceremony,”

yeah

like(.)uhm there is a choir, you know?”

like(.)uhm there is a choir, you know?”

with it(.)not only with it,”

the teacher said ‘they can’t lip-synch(.)probably (we) have to sing the song’ and,”
94L: demo kitto oshiete kure nai desho, [daigaku wa]
   “but presumably the university doesn’t teach (the song), does it?”
95R: [an]
   “yeah”
   “yeah”
   (1.3)
96L: “Ettu”
   “What!??”
   (1.6)
97L: soudayo ne, jnanka nyugakushiki mo utattayo ne tashi [ka]
   “I know(.) like (we)have sung a song at the entrance ceremony? as far as my memory”
98R: [an (.)minna utatte. hahaha =
   “yeah(.)very(.)very(.)ka- how can I say it?”
99L: =ne(,) sugoka(0.3) sugoka : (0.3) ka- (.) nandarou(.) ne=
   “yeah(.)very(.)very(.)ka- how can I say it?”
100R: =sun(0.8)nantomo [ienai = uhh uhhuh]
   “yeah(0.8)(I) can’t say anything uhh huhuhh”
101L: =nantomo ienai, iyo ne :
   “(I)can’t say anything(.)you know”
102R: =un(0.8)nai uhh uhh uhuh
   “yeah(0.8)(I) can’t say anything uhh huhuhh”
103R: =nai uhh uhh uhh
   “I can’t say anything(.)you know”
<115>
1T: ha [yoroshiku onegai shimasuu ((bowing))
   “ha nice to meet you”
2S: [hajimemashite yoroshiku onegai shimasu ((bowing))
   “nice to meet you too”
   (0.4)
3T: eetoo =
   “well”
4S: =hai =
   “yes”
5T: =bikkuri shita koto =
   “surprise”
6S: =hai
   “yes”
   (0.6)
7T: too sakihodo iwarette ikutsuka kangaetan de [sa keredomo
   “uhm in the beginning I heard (we talk about a surprise) so (I) thought of a couple of things but,”
8S: =hai
   “yes”
   (.)
9T: a eetoo : : (.) koko soudesu [neet(,)doaiu (1.1) kai(,)nkei no koto(,)o(,)
   “well(.)right(.) (I) wonder what kind of (1.1)things(,)”
10 [hanaseba ii noka ga amari yoku wakarana [katte,
   “(I) should talk about and,”
11S: =ha ha h hah
   “ha ha h hah”
12S: =shuh hh = soudesu yo ne (,) ha [i
   “shuh hh that’s right(.) yes”
13T: =eetoo(,),maa(0.8)
   “well(.)uhmm(0.8)”
14 seijiteki ni ieba koizumi shuu(,)shou na=
   “speaking of politics
15S: =aa a
   “right”
16T: >shijiritsu ga nande ochi nani no ka to(h)kaa
   “like, why doesn’t Mr. Koizumi (the former prime minister) decline?”
17 [de o ochainai ni bikkuri shita tokatette iu no mo< arebaa ?,
   “and (that) made me surprised and,”
18S: =a hai
   “oh yes”
19S: =hai
   “yes”

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20T: kyou shi ano watashi joshu o shite itan [desu gaa (.)
“teacher uhm I was a teaching assistant but,”
21S: [hai
“yes”
22S: [hai
“yes”
23T: mejiro eki ga mono sugoku [kirei ni wattei(h)itte(h) iu no ga.
“(I) found Mejiro station was really renovated”
24 ichiban mijika ni [bikkrui shita koto
“(that) was the most surprising”
25S: “that’s right yes huhuhuhh”
26S: [un
“yeah”
27S: [hai
“yes”
28T: =te ia kanji nan desu keredomo,
“(mine) was like that but,”
29T: gakusei san [de wattei(h)de(g)arou.
“are (you) a student?”
30S: [hai ima yonensei de =
“yes now (I’m) in the fourth year and.”
31T: =a =
“right”
32S: =shushoku katsudou shiteimasu =
“(I’m) in job hunting”
33T: = [arabu] shushoku katsudou chuu naraa
“oh during your job hunting”
34S: [hai
“yes”
35T: bikkurii(h)suru(h)koto(h)iroiro(h)a [run(h)ja nai kashira hh
“(I guess you) have various kinds of surprises hh”
36S: [takusan ar(h)masu nee hh
“(I) have many hh”
37S: [hai (.) saki sono bikkuri shita koto te ia koto de (.)
“yes(.) in the beginning uhm about a surprise(.)”
38S: >sou desu ne< shushoku katsudou (.) mijika na koto nishimasuka (.) so [shitara
“right, during job hunting (.) shall we talk about the daily news, then?”
39T: = [soo desu ne
“that’s right”
39(0.9)
40S: [jaa mijika na koto de(.)
“then about the daily news(.)”
41S: =ano CHIBAN bikkuri shita koto de shushokatsudou de (0.4)
“(I) went to some careers fair which was held by a bank but.”
42S: =ano aru ginkou no setumeikai ni ittan desuke [redo,
“oh really?”
43T: [ee
“uh huh”
44S: sono toki nii (.).kou o sarete suwatta sek(i).inou kou tonrai no kata o mitaraa
“at that time(.) like this(.) (I) was sitting down and(.) (I) looked at the next seat and,”
watashi no (.) ano koukoujidae no kurasu mete de uhuhuh
“my(,)uhm (the person) was (my) high school friend and uhuhuh”
45T: = [a honto o?] =
“oh really?”
46S: =mono sugoku bikkuri(h)ri shitee [h::hh ha [i
“(I) was so surprised and . hhh yes”
47T: [e toukyoo (.). no shusshin no [kata desu ka
“(are you) from Tokyo?”
48S: [saitama desu
“(I’m) from Saitama”
49T: a(.jiaa ma [a demoo
“oh(.)well but”
50S: [hai
“yes”
(0.4)
51T: [ju”fushigi dewa nai to ieba [fushigi dewa nai no kashira hh
“(I wonder) (it) might not be rare hh?”
52S: =unan
to Tokyoo no(.)sori toshi de =
“but in Tokyo(.)in the city centre and”
53T: =unan
“yeah”
54S: shikamo kou(.)nannichi mo(.ji [kan mo kikan mo aru naka de,
“and like this(.)for a long time(.)we) had a blank and,”
55T: [sou desu nee
“That’s right”
56S: shikamo tonari no seki de(.)[chotto umee iki(dan)to hh omoi(h)i mashi ta [hh
“in addition next to me and(.)I thought (that) was destiny to some extent hh”
57T: [sore wa (.)
“is for me surprising too hhhh”
58S: [sou nan(h)desu kaa hh hai
“is that so? hh yes”
59S: wa sengetsu de [su
“last month”
60T: [sengetsu =
“last month”
61S: =hai
“yes”
62T: a(.) demo sonna jiki ni mou shushoku katsudou o shiteiru to iu [kotomo
“right(.)but (you) were already starting job hunting”
63S: [un
“yeah”
64T: watashi ni wa bikkuri [tte uu hhh
“I’ve never experienced job hunting”
65S: [a sou nan desu ka
“oh you haven’t?”
66T: uuin dakara gakusei san ga
“yeah so students”
67S: un =
“yeah”
68T: =a minasan kurou shiteru naa /[to omoi nagaraa
“while (I) think ‘oh the students are struggling with (job hunting)’.”
69S: [un = hai
“yeah yes”
70T: jibun wa kurou shita koto ga [naino dee annari yoku wakarazu uu hhh
“I’ve never had such a tough life so I don’t really understand (that) hh hhh”
71S: [uuuhhhuhuhuh [hh [sou desu ka
“uhuhuh .hhh yes(.)I see”
72S: [a sou de [suka
“oh I see”
73S: [hai
“yes”
74S: [sou desu [ka
“yes”
75T: hai
“yes”
76T: nanka (0.6) [a(n)no [shu shoku katsudou no jiki ni naru too (.).ma bikkuri shita kanren de ieba,
“like(0.6)uhm thinking that the time of job hunting approaches(.)uhm speaking of a surprise”
77S: [hai
“yes”
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78S: ‘hai’
  “yes”
79T: ‘minas an onnajii(,) youna suatsu o’
  “everyone (wears) similar (,) suits”
80S: ‘un’
  “yeah”
81S: ‘sou desu yo nee hai’
  “that’s right”
82T: ‘kite rashite douyatte kosei o’
  “(he/she) wears similar suits and” and how
83S: ‘un’
  “yeah”
84T: ‘dashite ikeraru no (ka tte iu nomo’
  “(I wonder)(how) does (his/her) originality”
85S: ‘hai’
  “yes”
86T: ‘watashi ni wa cho tto (,) fushigi na (,) kanji [nan(h)]da kedo’
  “for me a bit(.) sort of surprising(.) but”
87S: ‘un’
  “yeah”
88S: ‘hai tashika ni sou desu yo ne’
  “yes that’s right”
(0.5)
89T: ‘taihen desu kaa / mensetsu tokaa’
  “is that hard? like a job interview”
90S: ‘mensetsu wa (,) >sou desu ne< watashi wa sugoku hito to hanasu koto ga daissuki nano [dee,’
  “job interview(.right I really like to talk with people so,)”
91T: ‘[a(.)]sore wa ii desu ne’
  “oh(.) that’s good”
92S: ‘[he, mensetsuu : (0.5) DEMOO sono amari mensetsu tee koto ishiki shinai dee =’
  “ha, job interview(0.5)BUT(1)’m not really conscious about job interviews and”
93T: ‘=un un un=’
  “yeah yeah yeah”
94S: ‘like this (I) think (I) want to make much of having a conversation”
95T: ‘=aa =’
  “right”
96S: ‘=omotterun desu keredo yapparii(.)kinchoo wa shimasu=’
  “(I) should do so but as expected (.)(I) will get nervous’
97T: ‘=a a hon [too ni]’
  “oh really?”
98S: ‘hai’
  “yes”
(1.2)
99T: ‘hoka ni (,) bi(h)kukri(h)shita koto wa ari ma [su ka hhh shuushoka katsudoo no naka de hhh’
  “do ((you)) have another surprise hhh within ((your)) job hunting hhh”
100S: ‘[bi hhhhh shuu(h)shoku katsu(h)do desu ka hhh’
  “hhhhhh within my job hunting? hhh
101S: ‘soo soo desu nee (,)’
  “well (,)”
102S: ‘watashi no sono mensetsu kan gaa=’
  “that interviewer=”
103T: ‘nee’
  “uh huh”
(0.9)
104S: ‘sankai onaji datta tte toki waat(.) bikku [ri shimashi ta’
  “when ((I found)) ((he)) was (my interviewer) for the third time(.)(that) made ((me)) surprised”
105T: ‘[a a soo =] na(h)ka ura(h)de sousa ga aru no kashira hhh =’
  “I see, is there any manipulation (behind the interview)? hhh”
106S: ‘=souw wake de wa >nakatta n desu kedo tabun ano < sol,)mensetsukan no hoo [mo’
  “(it) was not like that but probably uhmm that(.)interviewer also”
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107T: 
"yeah"

108S: "=souieba mae ni ano saishuu mensetsu de =
"thinking of the last interview, uhm in the last interview"

109T: =ee=
"uh huh"

110S: = mae ni nido mou oai shite masu yo ne tte
"(he said) like'(we)met in the last two interview, didn’t we?"

111T: "º
"oh  I see"

112S: [osshararete ta node(.)]tabun(0.3)
"(he)said so (.)(probably(0.3))"

113S: [souo.]mensetsu kan no kata mo soutou bikkuri shite
"that, interviewer really looked surprised too and.”

114: mata koitsu(h)ka tte omotan ja nai (h) de shoo ka hh
"(he)might think, ‘oh it’s her again’ hh"

115T: [huuuuu huuhh]

116T: jaa demo nai saishu mensetu made itteru tteiu koto wa {sorosoro hongimari desu ka}↑
"then but assuming you had a final interview, (that)means that you) are going to take(the job?)”

117S: [hai]
"yes"

118S: = mae ni ao o to iu koto wa kyuu ni
"almost.(.)yes (I’m thinking) like'maybe it’s time to finish (my job hunting)’’"

119T: = a (.) jaa omedetou [gozaimasu yokatta desu nee
"oh(.)then congratulations, good for (you)"

120S: [haa ton demo nai hh desuu ?haya haa o]
"no not at all hh ---”

121T: = a subarashii watashi wa mada zutto anoo (.)(.)shiteiru node =
"oh great I had been a student for a long time uhm(.)(.)so”

122S: [hai]
"yes"

123S: =hai
"yes"

124T: =ee(.) =ano okane o kasegu kata wa {subarashii (h)} to omoo [tee
"uhm(.)(.)I thought ‘people earning money is amazing!’ and,“

125S: =ha
"yes"

126S: =yaa (.).tashii mo daigaku in ni sugokai(.)akogare to iimasuka
"no(.)I also envy (you) like going to university”

127T: [au
"right"

128S: =ikitasai na toui kimochi wa mada hanben arun desu keredo hhh
"(I)’m still thinking ’(I) want to go to graduate school’ but hhh”

129T: = mada(,)jano, natternkan ka kaseide kara(,)iku tettu kouhou mo arimasu kara
"still(,)(.)uhm after earning money(,)you can go there, so”

130: [hhhh too hoo soo deu ne hhh
"hhhh that hh that’s right hhh”

131T: = daijoubu desu yo hhh=
"(should) be all right”

132S: = hahh)
"yes(h)’s”

133T: = soo desu (kaa
"right”

134S: [nani ka kou mijika ni hikkuri sareta koto arimasu ka
“anything like this, do (you) have anything surprising in your life?”

135T: = uu : : n (0.6) sou desu [nee,
"uhhm(0.6)right”

136S: [ ‘un o

137T: watahji joshu o yamete kara yonenkan hodo ryugaku o shite itan [desu ga,
"after retiring from TA(I) studied abroad for around four years but,”

138S: = a sou nan de [suka hai
"oh did you? yes”
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139T: "(ee de (.) modotte kite ara,
"yes and(.)going there(.)and coming back,"
140S: "un"
"yeah"
141T: "modotte kite densha ni nottara,
"coming back, (I) took a train and,"
142S: "hai =
"yes"
143T: "=minna ga keitai denwa de puchipuchi[puchi puchipuchi tte(h)atte ta node hhh
"everyone took out a mobile and texted a message like ‘puchipuchi’ so hhh"
((with a gesture to express the way of texting a message))
144S: [ahahahahaha hh wakaru ]
"ahahahahahahhh (l) know”
145T: =suugoku bikkuri shimashita =
“(1)was really surprised”
“(that) really surprised (me)”
146S: [aa [naruhodo]
“I see”
147T: [un watashi ga shigoto o shiteita koro wa mainichi tsuuki wa shi [te itan desu kedo,
“yeah when I was working (in Japan)(l) took the train every day but,”
148S: [unun
"yeah"
149T: sono toki wa keitai denwa o ijitteiru hito tte amari ina (.) ttan desu yo ne
"at that time there were few people who were texting a message on a train"
"iimeeru saabisu sonomon ga,
"(there)was no texting service"
150S: [n soudesu hai
“yeah that’s right”
151T: [keitai denwa de wa ama [rii (.) ano() nai jidai de,
“there were no mobiles at that time and,”
152S: [un
"yeah"
153S: [an hai
"yeah yes”
154T: daitai hon o yondera ka manga [o yonderaka tte iu kanji datta noni,
“usually (people) were like reading novels or comics but;”
156S: [un
"yeah”
157S: [un un hai=
“yeah yeah yes”
158T: =min:na (.) puchupuchupuchu puchu [puchu puchu
“everyone(.) was texting like, ‘puchupuchupuchupuchu’”
nani ()saisho saisho nani shiterun darou to omotan desu yo
159S: [huhuhuhu h hh ] u : n hai
“huhuhuhuhu yeah yes”
(.)
160T: de (.) ano () ma intaanetto ga keitai denwa de dekiru you ni natte
“and(),uhhh() the time has come when (we)can connect to the Internet through a mobile,”
161 [fukyu shiteru tte iu nyausu wa kiitei ()ita node
“(l)’ve known through the news that (people) were usually doing so”
162S:[un
“yeah”
163S: [hai
“yes”
164T: minna intaa netto shiteru no kana / tte omo()tte ] fi te mitara,
“(1)thought ‘maybe (they)were browsing the Internet’ and looked at (them)”
165S: [hai
“yes”
166T: ano meeru [o soushin [shite ite
“(they)were sending an-email and,"
167S: [uhun sou desu yo ne ha [i
“uhun that’s right yes”
168T: [def._nanka soushin shite(.)]
“and(.)like sending (emails) and(.)”
mata pupupupupa tte yatte mata uketo(tte mata sugu kaeshi te tte
“again texting like ‘pupupupu’ and again, getting (a message), again texting back and,”
169S:
[un hai]
“yeah yes”
170T: nanka sonoo
“like uhm”
(1.0)
171T: ippai densha no naka ni hito ga iru no nii [MINNA koo]
“though there were so many people on the train, EVERYONE like this”
kojin no kuukan shika tsukutte nai tte iu no ni [bikkuri shimashita ne]
“(he/she) was just conscious of him/herself, (that) surprised (me)
172S:
[unun]
“yeah”
173S: hai
yes
<J17>
1S: n
“n”
2T: [a (. )huhuh yoroshiku onegai shimasu]
“oh(.)huhuh nice to meet you”
35:[ hu’ huhuh yoroshiku onegai shimasu hahah hah
“hu huhuh nice to meet you hahah hah”
4T: jaa teema ga bikkuri shita [koto to ia (h) koto de nanika sakini [huhuh]
“then the topic is a surprise and (you)’ll be first huhuh”
5S: [(hahh]
“huhh”
6S: [bikkuri shita kotoo (0.2) demo
annari nai desu yo ne [bikkuri shita koto tte,
“surprise (0.2) but
surprises rarely happen to (us), do they?”
7T:
[un]
“yeah”
(0.8)
8S: nanka toku ni agero tte iwaretemo(1.2) nanka komacchaun desu kedo

[(.)nanka ari(h) masu ka / h · hh
“like even though we need to tell some (1.2) like (I)’ll be in trouble but,”
“(,)like do (you) have anything? h .hh”
9T: [ahuhh un watashi wa ne (. ) watashi wa bikkuri shita koto tte (. ) chotto anoo (. )
teema ga omoku naru (. ) keredomo (0.6) watashi wa sono sono hanshin daishinsai no ne,
“uhuhh uhmm my my surprise is (.) a bit uhmm (. ) the topic seems serious but (. ) Hanshin (Kobe)
earthquake,”
10S:[un]
“yeah”
11T: [jishin ga ((inbreath)) aa (0.6) jishin o keiken shiteru kara(a),)yappari(.)
ichiban bikkuri shita (0.5) nanka yononaka ga(,)hikkruri kaettayouna (.
“the earthquake right (0.6) (I) had an experience of that so(,) you know(,) (it) was the most surprising (0.5) as if the world were overturned (.)”
12S: [un]
“yeah”
13T: [tte iu no wa (0.5) souiu sono souiu sugoi (. )mono sugoi reberu no bikkuri [shita tte koto wa ne
(. ) hanshin, un, daishinsai no
“because(0.5) that sort of, the sort of, very(,) the surprise at the highest level of surprise
(.) like Hanshin earthquake”
14S: [faun e
“huun oh”
Koubeno hou ni sunde tan [desu ka ]
“hunoh do (you)live around Kobe?”

15T: [sou nan desu yo .] [dakara koube ni sundettee,]
“yes I do(.)so (I)”m living in Kobe and,”

16L: [hee ]
“wow”

17R: [mada nete ,] [jasa makkura na ne mada(0.6) ano aekiranai uchi ni [.] atta kara]
“(I)was still sleeping (. and still in the dark morning (0.6)uhm before sunrise(.) (it)happened so”

18L: [un]
“yeah”

19R: [mou yappari shi- ichiban bikkuri shita(. itte iuka(. )wasurerenai tte iu ka. =
“you know, the most surprising thing (.or(.)unforgettable one, like”

20L: :=fuu [n]
“hun”

21T: [un (.) sore wa yappari (. )sun anoishin no toki no ano (0.8) [shougeki uhuuuuuuuhuuhuhu]]
“yeah(.)(that was, you know(.)(uhm the impact of the earthquake(0.8) was (tremendous) huhuhu”

21S: [hee ee]

kagu toka taoretet(.)taoretari shitan desu [ka ]
“wow oh did the furniture fall over?”

22T: [un sore wa (.) un ano taorete kitan desu yo]
“yeah it (.yeah (it) fell over”

23S: [un]
“yeah
(0.4)

24T: ano =: choudo ju kkai:: dattan desu ne (0.5)

dakara yure mo hidokute(1.4)mochiron(. jshokkidana mo taoretashi,
“umh (my room) was on the 10th floor (0.5)”
so the apartment was shaking terribly and (1.4)of course(. the crockery-shelf also fell down and,”

25S: [shokki to ka mo zenbu ware [chatte,
“all of the dishes were broken and.?”

26T: [un hon honto ni warete shima [tte un]
“yeah they really broke and yeah.”

27S: [hoo hono ntico nacchaan desu ne]
“wow (that)could really happen”

28T: [ka o]
“right”

29S: [e demo nanka (. ) taorete kuru kankaku ga wakaranai tte ka shi-sonna koto ga [okoru koto ga,
“oh but like(.)I(cant’t imagine the sense, like the furniture fell over, like that sort of things

30T: [un sore wa ne, =
“yeah that, (you)can’t”

31S: [zenzen souzhou tsukanai]
“yeah (I) cant’t imagine that at all”

32T: [yappa keiken shite minai tof.] [un sono kankaku tte noha ne wakaranai desu yo]
“you know without the experience(.)(nn that”
(0.6)

33T: [demonande sho (.] [futsuu ni, tatoeba futsuu nichijoutekina naka dene(1.1) ]androu (0.6)
“nanka sugoku sono shukudai of(0.8)yattekuruno o sono(. jwasurete(.)

demo aterarete bikkuri shita toka(h) [ne hehehe]
“but what can I say?(,usually, like in daily life (1.1)what can I say(0.6)
like (we)forget to do our homework(.) but were nominated to present (this)during the class hehehe”

34S: [uuhuhuuh huhu .hhh]
“uhuhuhu huhu ,hhh”
35R: sou(h)iu(h) (.) tokoro no bikuri to wa chotto are amari nimo chotto ne aredakara (0.3)
yononaka issin ni aruka naika(h) ka(h)ra(h)ii da(h)ka(h)ra(h) hahahah
chotto hhh ano teema ga omosugita(h) ka(h)na(h) to ha(h)jomo(h)un desu(h)kedo hhh
“(my experience) would be a bit (different) from that sort of things so,”

36S: [uhuhuhuhuhuhuhah] hh hh
“uhuhuhuhuhuhuhh .hh .hh”

37T: sooiu nichijoo teki kotoke(.),nanka nain desu [ka ↑
“do (you) have anything in (your) daily life?”

38S: [nichijoo teki na koto desu [ka ↑
“in daily life?”

39T: [un
“yeah”

40S: nichijooteki na koto datoo (0.9) sugoi nanka (.)
“in the case of daily life, really like”

41S: iya kore mo chotto omoi kamo shire nain desu kedo =
“Well this may be also a bit serious though;”

42T: =un
“yeah
43S: ima shuushoku katsudou [shitee,
“now (I)’m ”

44T: [aa aa
“right right”

45S: shakai ni deru koto [no,

46T: [un un [un un
“yeah yeah yeah yeah”

47S: [taihen sani bikkuri shita [te iuka ahhahann
“like I was surprised by the fact that getting a job is hard ahhahann”

48T: [aa
“right”

49S: sugoi (.)jae amakatta naa mi [tai na,
“like (I) really (thought) ‘oh (I) was easy-going’”

50T: [n a aa=
“uhuh right”

51S: =un tekitoo ni shiken toka uke[tetemoo(.),yappa zenzenn(.)otosarechaun desu yo (.).)kaisha toka,
“um even if (I) was given a job interview (.) as expected (.) the companies rejected (me)”

52T: [ee ee ee un
“uhuh uhuh uhuh yeah”

53S: dakara aa yononaka amakui miteta [naa ↑te bikkuri shite,
“so (I) thought and was surprised, ‘oh I regarded the world as easy’ and”

54T: [aa soo nano yo ne un
“right that’s right yeah”

(1.7)(S’s in breath))

55S: [sou desu ne uhuhuh hh

56T: [un dakara sou nnettekuru to ya(h)ppari (.) nan deshou (0.4)sakki itta youni sono (0.8) nete ano
>nemutaku te neta tokoro o sensei ni sasarete bikkuri shita koto ka teiu<

[SOUIU karui reberu dewa naku(h)tte hhh
“yeah so that sort of thing happens, you know(.)what can I say(0.4)as said above(0.8) sleeping
no(h) like the sort of surprise at the lighter level, like when (we)sleeping during the class the teacher nominated
(the student)and he/she was surprised, hhh”

57S: huhuhuhuhuhuhah
“huhuhuhuhuhuhah”
“a bit of life hhh”

“the sort of a surprise which intertwines with various kinds of serious problems”

“like the sense of life is changed (by the experience) hhhhh”

“THE SORT of the leveled (surprise), you know hhhhh”

“that’s right yeah”

“THE SORT of the leveled (surprise), you know hhhhh”

“(we) the couple maybe a bit serious haha hhh”

“that’s right yeah”

“uh, how is your college life?(0.5)uhm that sort of (.).something like, ‘oh?” (.)(you)don’t have?”

“uhm to the university”

“right (you)are in the fourth year, so not really yeah”

“may like about once a week”

“oh but like the photograph for the graduation”

“(we) took a picture but h”
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84T: "oh(.)yeah"

85S: sorenimo bikkuri (...)hayai(h)naa (h)to omo [tte,
"that was also surprise(.)I thought time goes fast and,"
86T: [haya in da ne
"yeah time goes fast"
(0.9)
87T: demo (0.3) yonen sei de sho /=
"but(0.3)(you)are in the fourth year, right?"
88 S:=yonen [sei nan desu yo
"(yeah)I am"
89T: [un (...) yappa jugyou wa mou tani sau wa tariteiru to shite [mo,
"yeah (.) you know even though (you)may have already got enough credit,"
90S: [un
"yeah"
91 T: anoo (...) sotsuron toka aru dsho /=
"yeah(.)you'll write a dissertation right?"
92S:=un =
"yeah"
93T:=nee dakara shuushoku to sotsuron [(0.8)desho /=
"yeah so, both job hunting and dissertation(0.8) right?"
94 S: [sou nan desu yo
"that's right"
95T: da souiu naka de (...) bikkuri suru koto tte  "dou nan (...) darou
"during that term(.) what can a surprise be like?"
96S: naka naka [nee /=
"not rare"
97 T: [nee /=
"right"
98S: un (0.5) ((in breath)) bikkuri suru yori kou,
"yeah(0.5)not a surprise but, like this"
99T: bi [kakri shuru yori mou tonikaku bhhh
"not a surprise but, anyway, hhhh"
100S: [ne
"yeah"
101 T: [nn
"yeah"
102S: nakanaka tsurai [jiki desu yo huhuhuh - hh huhuhuhu
"(it's)quite a hard time huhuhu .hh huhuhuhu"
103T: [unun sou desu ne mou touzen ukaru to omotte tano ni (.)aa kekka ga anmari
omowashiku nakute(,)bikkuri tte iu yori (.),jou[()]bikkuri bhh ka hhhhhhhhh
"yeah that's right (you)may have thought (you)'ll pass the job-interview but,(.) the result was unlikely
and,(.)you')may be surprised or disappointed hhh hhhhhhhhh"
104S: [huhuh bhhh sou (h) sou(h) - hh sonna kanji de =
"huhuhuhuhuhuhu yeah(,)yeah(,)h that sort of thing"
105T:= "ee ee sounan [(0.6)bi- sou yo net(.) bikkuri shite ru (.)
bikkuri tte iu no wa dou nandaro [(0.3)dou nan desho
"uh huh uh huh ---(0.6) I see(.) surprise(.) what is the like, surprise, (0.3) what is it like"
106S: [uun
"yeah"
107T: aa anou
"right uhm"
108S: [see
"yeah"
KOU: da to omotte ita koto gaa (0.5)sou ja nai tte mo sono kekka ga annari juudai janai

tedo KURAIAI ga bikkri [suru te kan(h)ji ka(h)] shi(h)/ra(h) hhh
“(the thing)(we) thought (0.5)that was not and, the result might not be important
That KIND of thing might be a surprise? (not serious one) hhh

110T: [hahaha]
“hahahaha
111T: kyoton to shichau (h) toka ne hhhhhh
“like maybe overwhelmed by (something) hhhhhh
112S: [hh hahaha]
“hh hahahaha
113T: annari rakusa ga(.)ha hageshi to(0.5) dou [nan desho nee
“The big gap for the surprise may be (not good?)”
114S: [(in

<118>
1R: huhuhuhuhu
“huhuhuhuhu
(0.4)
2L: hh "hh"
3L: teka (0.3) sakki hana shita(h)yo ne
“(it)seems(0.3)(we) already talked, you know ”
4R: [hh "hh"
(0.3)
5R:[ hanashi to ne(1.1)ne- ne- neta ga nai huhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhuhu hhh;-
“we did(1.1) there is no topic huhuhuhuhuhuhu hhh”
6L:[ huhuhuhuhu
“huhuhuhuhu
((Her body sinks down.))
7L:= [k ga
“-"
8R: (laughter)
9R:= huhuhuhuhu “huhuhuhu
10L: huhu hahahahah (Bikku rie shita hanashi dayo ne
“huhuhuhuhuhuhu the topic is a surprise story, is it?”
11L: [ee(1.0)jun(1.7)un dakara(j)toria[zu, “uhm(1.0)yeah(1.7)yeah so(1.7)in the meantime”
12R: “yeah”
13L: taka in [da uhu hu hu hu hu hu hu hu hu h hh
“(that’s) expensive huhuhuhuhuhu .hh”
14R: [Taka i no ne huhuhuhuhu hhh
“right expensive huhuhuhu .hh”
15R: ya- me- wata [shi ni, “-- to me”
16L: [j onto ni bikkuri [shita no ne
“I was really surprised”
17R: [un un “yeah yeah
(0.3)
18L: date: ima made sa yo- shibuya kara sakuragichou made nihyaku kyuu ju en datta no ni::, =
“cause, until now, -- the cost was 290 yen (around £1.50) from Shibuya to Sakuragicho but,”
19R:=un. un. “yeah yeah”
(0.8)
20L: ne “yeah”
(0.3)
un = “yeah”
“now it costs 440 yen, you know”

“yeah expensive”

“huh”
“like (we)didn’t have any money at all and(0.6) and(1.4)like(0.6)we had an argument and,”

“huh”
“we had an argument .hh .hh”

“we went to go out as usual .hh”

“yeah yeah yeah”

“she that’s funny HU HA”

“seriously from Yokohama(0.5)can you walk from Yokohama to Minatomirai?”

“(for you) impossible”

“you know? (0.2)in that case, we should have gone to Odaiba, I thought and(0.5)(I)really regretted it and,”

“(continue laughter from line 42)”

“oh I really understand”

“yeah yeah”

“right?”

“yeah right”
48 L: Un(1.1) sou(0.5) dakara ne(1.1), mou yokohama ha ikanai
“yeah(1.1), you(0.5) still, I’m never going to Yokohama”
(0.2)
49 R: ↑ En ikanai iru hah hahaha
(‘you’) I’ll not huhuhuh hahhaha
“Yeah(1.1), so(0.5) then I’ll never go to Yokohama”
50 L: Zettai densha de ikan ai e HUHUHU HAH
“I’ll Never go to Yokohama HUHUHU HAH”
51 L: Op (1.1)
(‘you’) I’ll never go there”
(2.1)
52 L: Sou(0.5) sonna kanji(0.5) > teiuka < rokugatsu futsuka ni::,
“yeah(0.5), that kind of thing(0.5) anyway on 2nd June”
53 R: un
“yeah”
54 L: hanabi yaru yo
“there are fireworks”
(0.6)
55 R: Maji de↑
“really?”
56 L: Yokohama de
“in Yokohama”
(0.8)
57 R: Gee sonna kisetsu dakke
“wow now we are in such a season”
58 L: A nanka ne(1.1), itsumo(1.1) no tanjoubi hanabi ya ru no
“oh you know what? (I) usually(1.1), the fireworks show will be held on my birthday”
59 R: AA > h) haita haita ε↑
“OH yes yes what?”
60 L: [ huu huu ] nankane(1.1) yokohama no,
“uhu huh u you know what? (Yokohama’s, “
61 R: un
“yeah”
62 L: kaikou kinen(1.1) [ toka de, ”
“like a memorial of opening the port(1.1),”
63 R: un un un un
“yeah yeah yeah yeah”
(1.1)
64 L: de itsumo hanabi
“and always fireworks”
65 R: souieba itu- iteta (0.3) mae.
“now(1.1), I remember you said it before”
66 L: [ e(.) ototo (.) iteta jan
“oh(1.1), about two years ago, (we) went there, you know?”
67 R: un un un.
“yeah yeah yeah”
(0.8)
68 L: Sou
“that’s right”
(1)
69 R: iteta iteta
“(you) said (you) said”
70 L: heijitsu nano ni:: hanabi yan no.
“despite the weekday, there is a fireworks show”
(0.3)
71 R: kanari [ it ne
“(that)’s so good”
72 L: [ > Demo juugo fun gurai shika yan na (1.1), kedo ne<
“but just for 15 minutes though”
73 R: Aa(h)sou nanda.
“Oh(1.1), is that so?”
74 L: [ sou sou sou.
“yeah yeah yeah”
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75 R: [iku no]
   "you go?"
   (0.3)

76L: E wakannai(0.9)wakannai CHOU mukatsuku futsu ni(0.2)

77R: [MEccha mukatsukanda, honTTO ni.HUHUHU]
   “Oh not sure(0.9)not sure (I’m) REALLY upset as usual (0.2)”

78R: [Na souka]
   “right”
   (.)

79L: [nanka(0.8)nanka ne]
   “like(0.8)listen”

80R: [un]
   “yeah”

81L: [Raibu(0.6)bando yatten no [ne ima.
   “live(0.6)(he)’s playing with the band now”

82R: [un un un un]
   “yeah yeah yeah yeah”

83L: de bandol.)ga isogashi kute doo no koo no toka ittetara kara(0.8)de muri toka iwaretet(.)
   ja nichiyoubi ne toka itteta no=
   “and (he said)(he)’s busy playing with the band(,)
so it’s impossible(to meet me) and(,)we said)like, ‘OK then on Sunday’”

84R: [un]
   “yeah”
   (0.4)

85L: soshitara ikinari nanka(0.7)nanka nichiyoo ya muri ninattakaratte::
   suiyou nantoka [suru karatoka itte::,
   “then suddenly like(0.7)like (he) said it was difficult on Sunday and he
will try to meet me on Wednesday and,”

86R: [huhuhuhu]
   “huhuhuhuhu

87L: [hat toka omotte chou mukatsuku ja [n
   “(I)thought like ‘what’? and super irritating, you know?”

88R: [hu[tu]
   “huhuhu
   yeah”

89 L: [futsu ni tomochi toka [to,
   “like as usual with my friend,”

90 R: [u [n un
   “yeah yeah”

91L: [yakasoko toka shiyou kanaa toka omotte ta no ni sa(0.5)chou kenka (0.5)] UHUHUHUHUHU
   “(I)was thinking to meet my friend but(0.5)(we really had)an argument(,)UHUHUHUHUHU”

92R: [AHAHAHAHA -huh
   “AHAAHAHAHA .huh”
   Ya- be- sho- yoku kenka da yo ne
   “OK? (do you)often argue with (him)?”
   (0.6)

93L: netka nande kenka shitten noka mo yoku [wakannai kedo,
   “anyway (I) have no idea why we (I and my boyfriend) argued though, ”

94R: [uhuhuhuhu]
   “uhuhuhuhuhu

95L: [UHHH te iu ka biikari shita koto ja naishin(])zenge(h)ji hhhhhh
   “UHHH anyway (this) is not a surprise at all hhhhhh hh”

96R: [hhh]
   “hhh”
un(.)de tashi(h)ka ni

"yeah (that)'s true

hhh (your) talk strays away from the theme hah huh"

what about (you)?"

"well, is it right it should be a surprise? (1.0) uhhhhhm (.),well, (1.0)"

"ouch" ((she accidentally bangs her leg on the chair)

((she accidently bangs her leg on the chair)

= EE:: bikkuri shita koto da yo ne(1.0)uuuan(.)to ne, (1.0)

"well, is it right it should be a surprise? (1.0) uhhhhhm (.),well, (1.0)"

"you know(0.8) in my local park (. ) many crows (0.6) have been seen (0.5), this may be only one surprise(.),hh"

"hmm, you surprised me, come on! is that your surprise?"

"no (. ) it seems like, this is a surprise, listen (. )

hitsuhuhuri ni(0.9)kaimono ikou to omotte: (0.4) sokono kooen o nukeyoo to shita no

"after a while (0.9) I was going shopping and (0.4) walking through the park

un

"yeah"

"what about (you)?"

((the sound of crying)) (0.2) and when I carefully looked down(.)

"they are noisy, 'kaa kaa kaa' ((the sound of crying)) (0.2) and when I carefully looked down(.)

so many crows were on the ground too"

hu

"I see"

huh hikariga oka yabai ne

"huh Hikarigaoka ((R's living place)) is not a good place"

"the ducks next to my place are really creepy"

"so many people are there, so(.,)

gomi ga oosugi nanda yo kitto(0.9)uhu

"I guess there are is so much rubbish(0.9)uhuhuh "

"uhhuh hh"

"that is my only surprise "
117L: [hare wa,] [jūnasan yatten no]
“by the way(.), are you working at Jonathans? ([Family restaurant])”
(0.3)
118R: E saikan itte nai [yo hahahah lu hhh demo nanka jonasan de sa:: (.),-kiteta(.)

okasan no[1.5]nanka[1.0]—[—(—)]-[—(—)]-
odaka are,
“Oh recently (I)’ve not been there hahahah [—(—)] but at Jonathans (—(—))—((—))——the
customers are (1.5)like (—(—))—gay (—(—)) is that?”
119L: [huhu hhh]
“huhuh hhh
120R: [okama te docchi dakke,] [otoko ga onna mitai ni] [natta yatsu da kke
“what is gay?(—(—)) is that like, a man changes into a woman?”
121L: [okama wa[1.1]un[1.0]—] [otoko ga
“gay?(1.1) yeah(.), a man to a woman”
122R: [onna nan da yo ne=
“woman”
123L: [un]
“yeah”
(—)
124R: nanka poi hito ga:: ke- okyaku san ni itandakedo:: (.)

sonohito o konaida eki de mikakete chou bikkuri shitai =
“like there was a gayish customer but (.)”
“(I) was really surprised when (I) saw him at the station”
125L: [ahahahah hhh [—] [HH (1.2)HEe:: a kore bikkuri da yo
“ahahahahaha [—] [HH (1.2)WOW oh this is a surprise”
126R: [hh]
“[hh]
(—)
127 R: A bikkuri da
“oh a surprise”
(—)
128 L: atashi no,
“my”
(—)
129 R: [un]
“yeah”
130 L: [haito saki ga tsuhureta
“the shop where I work part-time closed down”
131 R: [ha e] [—] [souzaia san]
“What?!, is that a grocery shop?”
132 L: [ha ha ha ha ha]
“ha ha ha ha ha yeah”
133 R: [Usou hhh] [majи de]
“You’re kidding hhh really?”
134 L: [majи]
“seriously”
135 R: [w] [jititsu]
“[w] when?”
(0.5)
136 L: sangatsu(.), lippai de owatta
“at the end of March”
(0.4)
137 R: “Aa sou [nanda]
“oh right”
138 L: [dakara ku- shi gatsu kara:: =
“so – from April”
139 R: [un]
“yeah yeah
139 L: [nonno yatte nai |da
“nothing to do for work”
140 R: [Aa yatte nain da(.)] [watashimo demo shigatsu kara itte nai [yo
“oh you’re not working(.), I also but from April (I’ve) not been there”
“huhu”
“something in the past should be OK but,”
“oh common, (is it OK) about daily life?”
“right, about daily life, yeah. I’m also thinking about something in daily life but,”
“that’s right”
“uh, (I) have one, uh, once”
“yeah”
“again, (I) slept and,”
“yeah”
“and wake up and like, ‘oh my god!’”
“right”
“(you) only use the alarm watch, ”
“and by mobile”
“(I) set the alarm a few times and,”
“(I) only used the alarm watch,”
“(you) only use the alarm watch,”
“(I) set the alarm a few times and,”
“oh right”
“though the alarm rang,”
“yes”
“without you noticing”
hai, nanka =
"yes, like"

(you) have stopped it and."

still, (I) thought, 'still OK, another five minutes should be all right' and."

yeah yeah, (I) stopped the alarm and, next"

"yes"

(you mean) when (you) get up next time by yourself?"

oh yes, like"

uh huh!

and, I look at another clock and."

yeah yeah yeah"

and, like 'oh, it’s time to go' and."
\[ @aa, mou jikan, owa, owacchatte ru jana, mita ni@ 
like 'oh, it’s time, it’s finished."

\[ ha (h)j\]

that’s right"

"when (I) feel relaxed a bit."

"yeah, when (we) get used to it, (we) automatically go there and stop it and."

right, yes yes yes yes without (your) noticing"

and, at that time, (we) think ‘oh my God!’ you know"

yes, (I) think so”

yeah"

yes"

"I"

hai, omoi ma ((laughter))

"my surprise is,”

"yes”

oh yes”

(1) thought 'oh, (I) have' and last Sunday,"
61S: hai
   "yes"
62T: anou, beranda ni, uchi, atashi, manshon ni sunderu desu kedo
   "uhm, on the balcony, I’m living in an apartment but,"
63S: [aa, hai
   "oh yes"
64T: anou, eeto, mawari ga, chotto, kekkou hirobiro shiterun desu ne
   "uhm, uhm, there is a quite large space"
65S: [aa. hai
   "oh yes"
66T: [de, ki mo attari shite =
   "and, there are trees and,"
67S: hai
   "yes"
68 T: anou, hato toka, [ma, karasu toka, tori mo kekkou irun desu ne
   "uhm, like pigeons, well, like crows, there are also birds"
69S: [aaaaaa, hai, hai
   "oh yes yes"
70T: dakara minarete itan desu ke do mo
   "so (I)’ve got used to (this scenery) but,"
71S: [aa, hai
   "oh yes"
72T: anou, de, tama ni kou, beranda no tesuri mo =
   "uhm, and, occasionally, like this, on the rails of the balcony"
73S: =hai =
   "yes"
74T: =choko choko tto, kou, araiteru yousu nanka mo {niite
   "(I) can also look at the birds’ moving (on the rail) and,"
75S: [aa, hai
   "oh yes"
76T: aa, iina, to wa omotte [tan desu ne
   "(I) thought ‘oh this is good’"
77S: [aa, hai
   "oh yes"
78T: tokoro ga, kono mae no nichiyoubi ha =
   "but, last Sunday"
79S: =hai
   "yes"
80T: nanka, beranda no doa o aketera =
   "like, when (I) opened the door of the apartment,"
81S: =hai =
   "yes"
82T: =totsuen batabatabata [taatte
   "suddenly (I) heard a sound, like ‘tatabatabata’ and,"
83S: [hee, hai
   "wow, yes"
84T: hato[ga, nanka beranda no oka no hou ni itarashii hato ga
   "a pigeon like, seemed be at the back of the balcony"
85S: [ettu, ettu, a, hai, hai =
   "oh oh oh yes yes"
86T: =tobi ta tian desu yo
   "(it) rose up"
87T: cho [tto, gyo tto shite
   "(I) was surprised and,"
88S: [so[hiresi bikkuri huhuhhhgyo tto
   "that is surprising, surprising"
89T: bhhbikkuri shimashtita ne =
   "(I) was surprised”
90S: =bikkuri shimasu yo ne =
   "that’s surprising”
91T: =hikuri shima su ne [, de
   "yeah, surprising, and"
92S: [hai
“yes”
93T: higoro wa kouen toka ne, uchi no mawari de mitu, miteru toki wa
“usually, when (I) look at it like in the park, or in my neighborhood”
94S: [aa, hai, hai
“oh yes yes”
95T: anou, nanka kou, chotto shiwasena kimochi ni mo naru shi
“uhm, like, like this, (I’ll) be happy and,”
96S: [aaaa, hai
“oh yes”
97T: maa itna tte omoun dakedo, sugoku mijika ni
“anyway (I) think it’s good but, when (it comes) very close”
98S: a, korareru to
“oh when (it) comes,”
99T: [iru to, huhuhh bikkuri shite
“when (it) is, (I)’m surprised and,”
100S: sorya bikkuri shimasu ne=
“that is surprising”
101T: =un, de, maa, demo, cho, tobita tta [kara
“yeah, and, anyway, but, (it) rose up so,”
102S: [haa, [hai
“wow, yes”
103T: [maa, daijoubu kana tte omotte tan desu ne =
“anyway, I was thinking, anyway (it’)ll be OK”
104S:= hai
“yes”
105T: soshitara, mata, kondo, gogo ninatte =
“then, again, next time, in the afternoon and,”
106S:=ee
“uh huh”
107T: ee, ja, sentakumono no yousu miyousu kana tte=
“(I) thought, I’ll check the washed clothes and,”
108S:=a[a, hai
“oh yes”
109T: [aketara, amata soko kara batahatatatte kite, doumo, soko ni, anou, su o
“and opened (the window), again, from there (it)came to (me) and, there, uhmm, (it was making) a nest”
110S: a, [tsukarou to, su
“(it)’s going to make a nest”
111T: [tsukarou to, shite ita mitai nan desu yo
“(it) was going to make a nest and”
112S: [hee, sore ], kizuete yokatta desu ne
“wow, that was good to notice, you know
113T: [@un, sou nan desu yo ne, serekara@
chottosono taisaku o iro i [ro tatete, un
“you know, it may not be good to make the pigeon expect it,”
114S: [aa, sou desu ne huhuhh [hee, hai
“oh that’s right oh, yes
115T: [demo nee, dakara nankatka, de, ikkai asa, sonotoki bikkuri shi te
“but, so a few times, and, once, in the morning, at that time (I) was surprised and,”
116S: [hai
“oh yes”
117T: [mou, nare, nare, nare nai mon desu ne
“(I) never get used to it, you know”
118S: [hai
“oh yes”
119T:[mou, nare, nare, nare nai mon desu ne
“(I) never get used to it, you know”
120S: a, honto desu ka, yappa, [shiranai tokoro ni
“oh is that so? without you noticing.”
“at the second time and third time, again, when it comes to me”

“ohhhh, yes”

“when (it) rises up, close to me, (I) was surprised”

“I see”

“yeah yeah yeah”

“yes another surprise”

“yeah”

“uh huh uh huh uh huh yeah”

“like, (I) met (my friend)”

“yeah yeah (I) see”

“(I) just, like, ‘wow’ huhuhuh”

“yeah, when (we) accidentally meet (friends somewhere we will be surprised), yeah”

“yes, (that) surprised (me)”

“(I) see”

“uhh huh huh”

“(I) think they must not absolutely be around (here) but”

“yeah yes”

“but, the other day, with my local friend,”
151S: dhizunii rando ni ittan [desu yo, sohitara
“(I) went to Disney Land, and then,”
152T: [un, un
“yeah yeah
153S: soko de guu [zen
“there, accidentally”
154T: [un
“yeah”
155S: jimoto no
“local”
156T: [e
“oh”
157S: [mata, onaji koukou no =
“the same high school’s”
158T: [honto ni [, un
“really? yeah”
159S: [hiito, tol]achi to
“as my friends”
160T: [un, un
“yeah yeah”
161S: guuzen atte, [de, a, hisashibari, ze
“(I) accidentally met (them) and, like ‘long time no see’”
162T: [sugoi guuzen de bikkuri suru yone
“(that) is very accidental and surprising, isn’t it?”
163S: [ee, hai[, mou, honto
“oh yes, (it’s) really”
164T: [hee] [ee
“wow uh”
165S: [a, sugoi naa tte
“(I thought) ’oh that’s great’ and,”
166T: [hee, ja, marude moushi awase ta mi mai [ni soko de
“wow, then, as if (you) contacted each other”
167S: [aa, hai [, mata ate
“oh yes, (we) met again”
168T: [un, atte, asobu koto ga dekita tte ia koto
“yeah, (you mean) (you) met and could you relax with them?”
169S: [hahhihhihhi, hai, sou nan desu yo
“yes, yes, that’s right”
170T: [hee, sonna koto ga, datte, ne, nangatsu nannichi tte, nee,[sono hi ni choudo
“wow,”
171S: [shih]kamo dhizunii rando sugoi hiroi janai desu kahede
“yes, that’s right
in addition, Disney Land is quite big isn’t it?
172T:[un
“yeah”
173T: [sou ne, midori ga arunaa, tte kanji suru yone
“right, it is quite green, you know”
174S: [sou
“yeah”
175S: [hai
“yes”
176T: [ato de kangaeru to, [nee
“when (we) think again later, you know”
177S: [ha [i
“yes
178T: [hee
“wow”
179S: [sou
“yeah”
180T: [a, nita koto wa atashi mo ari ma [su ne
“oh, (I) have a similar story”
(S)：ah, honto desu [ka]
“oh, you have?”
(T)：anou, atashi nihongo o
“uhm, (I)’m teaching Japanese to foreign students but,”
(S)：hai
“yes”
(S)：aa, hai
“oh yes”
(T)：ikutsuka no daigaku de oshite [tete]
“(I) was teaching it at a few schools and,”
(T)：[a, hai
“oh yes”
(T)：de, anou, e, aru daigaku de ne
“and, uhm, oh, at one university”
(T)：ano, itsumo, maa, mochiron maishu attoru gaku [sei dakara
“uhm, usually, well, (I) meet that student every week so,”
(S)：hai
“yes”
(S)：aa, hai =
“oh yes”
(T)：daigaku de, au bun niwa
“meeting at uni is”
(S)：ha [i
“yes”
(S)：ano, mou, atari mae nan [desu kedo
“uhm, (it) is normal but,”
(S)：aa, hai =
“oh yes”
(T)：de, atashi ga anou bunkyoku no=
“and, I”
(S)：hai
“yes”
(T)：ano, hou ni sun derun [desu kedo
“uhm, I’m living in Bunkyo-ku but,”
(S)：[a, ]hai
“oh yes”
(T)：anou, doyoubi [ni
“uhm, on Saturday”
(S)：[hai
“yes”
(T)：kazoku to issho ni shoku ji shiyoo to [omotte,
“(I) thought to have a dinner with my family and,”
(S)：[aa hai
“oh yes”
(.).
(T)：ee (.) ee(he)ee(he) [nezu ni ittaraa, =
“uhm uhm when (I) went to Nezu,”
(S)：[uhuh hai
“uhuh yes”
(T)：=gakusei san ga tte (0.5) [BIKKURI shimashita ne ((smiling))
“(I) found my student and (0.5) that surprised (me)”
(T)：[hee soo desu ka ((S looks surprised))
“wow I see”
(T)：sono gakusei san mo tamatama kinjo ni [sunde ita tte in koto de,
“(I) found that that student is by chance living around there too so,”
(S)：[AA aa aa aa soo nan desu kaa =
“oh right right right, is (she/he)?”
(T)：=nn nite masu yo nee =
“yeah (my story) is similar to yours, isn’t (it)?”
(S)：=soo de [su ne
“it is”
[sono omono gakezu] "like accidentally meeting with (somebody) yeah"
[soo desu ne] "that’s right"

<s20>
1L: [bikkuri shita koto hhh] "surprise"
2R: [bikkuri shita koto, iya huhuh] "surprise, no"
3L: are see omotta no ga= "what? -- (I) thought,"
4R: =an "yeah"
5L: nandakke, asa: (0.3) huhi nanka (0.5) okiraran jikan ni : (0.4) mezamashi kaketoite : (0.5)

6R: [huhu] "huhu"
7R: tomerun yakedo : [(0.2) huu] "In the morning, huhu like, when (I) needed to wake up, the alarm rang and,”(I) stopped the ringing though, huhu"

8L: [moo(h) ikkai neru- nete: hehehe kizuita(h)ra AA tte natte,] "I thought ”(I want to sleep) for another five minutes!” huhu and,"
9R: [huhu] "huhu"
10L: [muu(h) ikkai neru- nete: hehehe kizuita(h)ra AA tte natte,] "I slept again, and hehehe when I woke up later. (I) found like, ‘oh my God’ and ”
11R: [huhu huu huu huu hahaha hahahahahahh] "huhu huhu huhu hahahahahahahh"
12L: [sugoi bikkuri(h)ri hiihi] "(that) really surprised (me) hiihi"
13R: [bikkuri] "(that’s) surprising HAHA"
14R: =watashi mo sooiu bikkuri wa aru ((smiling voice)) "I frequently had the same thing"
15L: "so yo na" [huhu] "yeah right"
16R: [kyoo mo jitsu waa uubahahai] = "actually today also uuhuhu"
17L: = ihihit(h)uh ((voiceless laughter)) "uhuhuhuh"
18R: ["tsu(h)ichi(h)ei",HUH ni ato tsucchi ni denwa shita ato nii, hihiihiih "to you (tsucchi) HUH after calling you, hihiihiih"
19R: [chotto nete shminutee, ((smiling))] "(I) had slept for a while and,”
20L: [((L takes the teller’s role.))] "(I) had slept too and hh .heh I …”
21L: [ata(h)shi] [moh(h)ne(h)te hh heck ata(h)shi(h)waa, = "I had slept too and hh .heh I …”
22R: [huh HAH HAH] "(clapping her thigh)"
23L: = okitara hachiiji data <AHAH>huh[[(voiceless)] = "when (I) woke up, (it) was 8 o’clock AHAH huh”
24R: [huh] "(voiceless)"
25L: [chottoo] [huhu hayaku] junbi ga dekita mon [dee, "(I) finished getting dressed earlier than (I expected) so,”
26R: [huh] "huh"
27R: [un un un] "yeah yeah yeah"
“like (.) and -- (I) was relaxing and was sleepy (again) and, HEHE hh”

“(you) had slept huh haha .huh”

“(it) happens quite frequently, doesn’t it?”

“(that’s) a common surprise”

“(he) rightly treats (his wife) as ‘ladies first’ and,”

“(he) duly treats (his wife) as ‘ladies first’ and,”

“like, the elderly gentleman, like this way, opens the door for his wife,”

“like, (I) heard the States is the ‘ladies first’ country but,”

“like, the States is the ‘ladies first’ country so,”

“(he) duly treats (his wife) as ‘ladies first’ and,”

“like, (I) heard the States is the ‘ladies first’ country, “

“(he) duly treats (his wife) as ‘ladies first’ and,”

“like, the elderly gentleman, like this way, opens the door for his wife,”

“like, the States is the ‘ladies first’ country so,”

“(he) duly treats (his wife) as ‘ladies first’ and,”

“like, the elderly gentleman, like this way, opens the door for his wife,”

“like, the States is the ‘ladies first’ country but,”
[350]

57R: [huhuhu :huh: soo iu no wa ne sugoi [nihon to wa, 
“that sort of thing”] is really, compared with Japanese culture,
58L: [zetai i(h)ei(h) de wa mi(h)ka(h)ke(h)ne] 
“(we)’ve never seen (such) a scene at (our) home”
59R: [huhaha] [huh ne] 
“huhaha .huh no” (0.3)
60R: soo sore de sugoi [bikkuri shite (.) AA sugoi to omo[tte], 
“huh yeah, so, that really surprised me and,”
61L: [hee : : : : ↑] [sugoi na : ] 
“wow great”
62R: soo nanka nen [rei kankei na no ka 
“yeah, like is that nothing to do with age?”
63L: [aa aa aa a|a aa 
“right right right right”
64R: [nanka : ne] 
“you know” (0.5)
65L: [naa 
“yeah”
66R: [toshi o tottemo [ne, 
“though getting older”
67L: [uun 
“yeah”
68R: soo redhii faasuto toka sugoi (.),ne, = 
“yeah the (spirit) of ladies first is (.).great”
69L: =u|un= 
“yeah”
70R: [uhuhuhu :huh nihon ni wa naina, to omotte, 
“uhuhuhuhu .huh (I) thought there is no custom like that and,”
71L: [ "ha ha ha ha “] 
“ha ha ha ha”
72L: nainaa huhu a (nah)iti(h)naa toka hhhh 
“no huhu oh no hhhhh”
73R: [uhn ha HAHAHAHA ,hun sore ga ne sugoi bikkuri shita koto 
“uhuhuhu HAHAHAHAHA ,hum that is my surprise”
74L: "sore kae”= 
“I see”
75R: =un 
“yeah”
76L: [ato wa [na 
“another surprise”
77L: [ato wa [hahaha 
“another surprise”
78R: ano, hahah are, huhuh shiran uchi|ni 
“well huhuh um, huhuh without (my) recognition”
79L: [un 
“yeah”
80R: tomochachi ni, kareshi ga iru to wakatta [koto 
“(my surprise) is that I found out that my friend has a boyfriend”
81L: [huuwrite mikkari da yo ne watashi mo sore atta 
“hahaa, (that’s) surprising, isn’t it? I had a same thing too” (L claps her hands.))
82L: [ahahahaha sugoi hee shikamo chotto kakusaretete [ahahaha 
“ahahahaha what? moreover she told me and ahahaha,
83R: [ahahahaha] [ahahaha] 
“ahahahaha”
84L: suguni ittekunnaku te hehehe 
“(she) didn’t tell me immediately and hehehe”
85R: [sou nan da nan= 
“I see”
86L: [nanka sankagetsu gurai ato, atoni na|tte, jitsu wa mitaina, hee [no ga mane hubu 
“like, after three months, (she) told me (that) and, like ‘actually…’ and like ‘what?!’ huhu”

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“what?!! hehehehe (she told you) ‘I have a boyfriend?’”

“(that’s) surprising isn’t it?”

“yeah, is it hard to tell us that kind of thing? you know”

“is it?”

“yeah”

“is that so? huhuhuhuhu”

“ahahahaha, yeah and, like, after three months,”

“yeah”

“like, actually, (I)’ve got a boyfriend hahahaha”

“heheheheheheheheheh”

“like ‘wow’ and I said, ‘when?’ and it was quite a long time ago huhuhuhu”

“like (I) couldn’t say (that)”

“like (she) said (it) was hard to say, like there was no right time (to say that)”

“right hahahaha”

“don’t (you think) (she) should tell (me), do (you)? Something like that kind of thing?”

“yeah (I) want, something like, (that’s) another surprise, isn’t (it) hahaha”

“yeah ahaha”

“(it’s) another surprise”

“(I)’ve been hiding this” and, but like (she said) (I)didn’t mean to hide this but,”

“like s(she) said (it) was hard to say, like there was no right time (to say that)”

“right hahahaha”

“don’t (you think) (she) should tell (me), do (you)? Something like that kind of thing?”

“yeah (I) want, something like, (that’s) another surprise, isn’t (it) hahaha”

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“yeah (I) want, something like, (that’s) another surprise, isn’t (it) hahaha”

“yeah ahaha”

“(it’s) another surprise”

“(I)’ve been hiding this” and, but like (she said) (I)didn’t mean to hide this but,”

“like s(she) said (it) was hard to say, like there was no right time (to say that)”

“right hahahaha”

“don’t (you think) (she) should tell (me), do (you)? Something like that kind of thing?”

“yeah (I) want, something like, (that’s) another surprise, isn’t (it) hahaha”

“yeah ahaha”

“(it’s) another surprise”

“(I)’ve been hiding this” and, but like (she said) (I)didn’t mean to hide this but,”

“like s(she) said (it) was hard to say, like there was no right time (to say that)”
now, yeah right, that one
“thinking of…yeah”
“uhm, how can I say, (I)’m surprised at my eating habits, oh, maybe it’s not a surprise”
“I have (I) have”
“that’s also a surprise, like”
“(I) have (I) have”
“(I think) 'what a big stomach!'”
“sometimes (I) think, ‘oh, am I OK? Am I OK?’”
“yeah (I) have”
“(it) is really, like, yeah”
“another one is, (I)’m surprised to be hungry soon huhuhuhu”
“even after eating too much, (I) can (eat) ice cream”
“yeah yeah”
“like ((we)say this, ‘another stomach’ though”
“(this) is the same stomach, (when) we think it again, the same place”
“it’s just a surprise”
“(nanka, hiro, nobirunokana, iga”
“(it) looks like its getting bigger”
“haa, na--”
“(nanka, hiro, nobirunokana, iga”
“like, when (we)’ve been eating all the time”
“yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah”
“(it)will be bigger, right?”
“yeah”
“(it)will be bigger, right?”
“yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah”
“like when (we)’ve not been eating too much, (it) looks like (the stomach) will be smaller, right?”
“aa aa aa, iuna”
“(nanka tavenaideiruto igicichachikunaru)tokaiyone
“right right yeah (that’s right)”
“(if we don’t eat), it will be better, but, it can be impossible, right?”
“no, I can’t”
“(we)will eat”
“just now (I)thought but,”
“yeah”
“oh, (it) is nothing to do with the thing (we)’re talking about now, is that OK?

“yeah (I’ll say) OK, OK”

“you know”

“yeah”

“like in the elevator, how can I say this, the sort of thing”

“yeah”

“like, suddenly”

“yeah”

what can I say, from the corner, (someone)appears (bumps into me), and ‘oh surprise’

“I was walking with a bit of an abstracted air and,”

“yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah”

“and, from the corner, a bicycle approaches (me) and,”

“yeah”

“right”

“and also, another one is, like”

“as usual, in the same place, like this.”

“yeah”

“at the corner, like this, (I’m) turning the corner and,”

“and (bump into someone) and, ‘oh (I)’m sorry’ and (I)’ll be surprised”

“as usual, in the same place, like this.”

“yeah”

“(I) was riding a bicycle but,”

“oh yeah”

“pedaling a bike and, like, (I) pedaled it smoothly, went straight, and turned the corner,”

“it’s surprising”

“(we) crashed like, ‘kiiii’” ((onomatopoeia to express putting on the brake))

“(we) crashed into each other and, avoided, and like ‘oh, (I’m) sorry’”

“(I)’m sorry”

“(I) had such a surprise”
right

“right”

 Hai(0.2) hai itemo hen ne(0.4) bikkuri shita koto(0.8) bikkuri shitakoto(0.5) nanka arimasu /
“yes(0.2) it’s strange to say ‘yes’(0.4) surprise(0.8) surprise(0.5) do you have anything?”

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355

27R: UWAA(.nani sore(.). heee ((crossing her hands)))
“wow (.) what was that !? (. ) heee”

28L: Hehe kimochi [waru kattaa. a ha ha . bhh
“hehe he was creepy a ha ha”

29R: kimochi war u i. bhh bhh bhh b ((Her hand touches with her mouth))
“he is creepy bhh bhh bhh b”

30L: [@Nanka(0.2) . bhh ee] hitori datta kara (.) bikkuri shitta ke do(.) koe to ka attu toka ieba, @=
“like (0.2 . bhh ) uhh I was alone so (.) that was surprising but (.) if I uttered like, ‘oh’, ”

31R: [bhhh bhh ]
“bhhh bhh”
((L's further story description follows.))

32L: @ sugoi (. ) nanka karushi katta@
“I was like, uncomfortable”

33R: @Aa mou do(0.2) kido(h)ki dane (.) sore(,) he he
“oh that was really thumping, wasn’t it? hehe”

34L: [@ sore ga saik(h)in(h) ichiban bikkuri shita koto@
“that was the most recent surprise”

35R: [hi hi]
“hi hi”

36R: saik[in bi bhh (face down)] karasu ka bhh,
“recently bhh crows bhh”

37L: huh
“huh”

38L: [karashitsu h@ datte] shini sou da [kara aqaiterun da mon@
“he was dying and wriggled hh desperately”

39R: [hh bhh ]
“hh bhh”

40L: [@ shi ni sou nano hajimete mi (.) ] [kiita@
“I heard the story that a crow was dying for the first time”

41L: [@ un@ sugoi ne(0.2) nan daro(.) kara su gurai okii to(0.2) kekkou@, (widening both hands)
“(0.3)”

42R: bibiru yon(ne
“(it) must be frightening”

43L: [@ un@ sugoi ne(0.2) nan daro(.) karasu gurai okii to(0.2) kekkou@,
“(widening both hands)”

44R: [u.un] [hh]
“yeah hh”

45R: @ shih[kano kuroi shi ne@=
“in addition, (it’s)black”

46L: @kuroishit, sugoi(, idemo net,) kawaisou data yappa shi[ni sou datta karasu dakedo@,
“(it’s) black and(,)very(.)but(.)I felt sorry for it you know, cause’(it)was dying, but it is a crow”

47R: [aa, aa, hi(h), karasu dakedo]
“right right yeah(h) (it)s a crow”

48L: kawai sou da
“poor thing’

49R: @ sou daattan[da@ hh
“(you)had such a thing hh”

50L: [@ un (. ) nanka nai no @
“(you)had such a thing hh”

50R: hh nanka(nainokanai,] jatsush saikin bikkuri shita koto wa(0.5) bikkuri / shi a koto(,)
a ma u odoro daken
“hh (I)wonder if I have anything(.)my recent surprise is(0.5)surprise
“oh it was surprising though,

50L: (@ hh@ ((smiling continues.))
“hh”

51L: @ un@
“yeah”

52R: jitensha ga [ne] ma e kar azi yatte ki[te](0.2)futsuu ni tsuittosu sareta no
“(a person)riding a bicycle approached (me)and (0.2)as expected, (it hit) me”

53L: [un] [un@
“yeah yeah”

355
YOU'RE KIDDING .hhh hhh
“I know hhh”
“(you) were walking”
“yeah when I was going uphill, like this”
“nothing passed me and”
“(the right hand up)
“I was walking inside the white line with my friend and,”
“and, (I) was walking and,“
“(imitating walk)
“(the right hand up)
“yeah”
“(the person) passed ALL THE WAY inside the white line and”
“(he)approached (me) from the front(0.2) I was crashed into, like ‘boom’ and”
“(her body moves down)
“(I)didn’t expect we’d have a clash but, with all his might”
“huh u “
“(he)approached (me) from the front(0.2) I was crashed into, like ‘boom’ and”
“(her body moves down)
“(or)
“oh what?(.)but he must be unsteady? When both of you clashed ”
“oh what?(.)but he must be unsteady? When both of you clashed ”
“(or)
“(the right hand up)
“yeah”
R: 残りのサプライが終わった、すぐに帰って来てね。
L: (0.5) よう、ちょっと待って。
R: いいね、すぐに帰って来て。
L: はい。
R: 早く帰って来てね。
L: はい。
R: 早く帰って来てね。
L: はい。
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L: はい。
(0.2)

“(he) was falling down, so”

“you feel pain?”

“and oh,(you) had a headache so,”

“nothing happens”

“like the police like this,(you) should have called the police”

“isn’t CT expensive? huhu”
359

138R: ((smiling))  taka(h)katta. huhu
“(it) was expensive huhu”
139L: sai aka da ne
“what a disaster”
140R: [nee hh
“yeah hh
141L: @jibara de sho / @
“you had to pay (it) yourself?”
142R: @sou sou@ [uhhn
“yeah yeah uuhhh”
143L: [@nn:. @
“nn ”
144 L: @bikkuri da ne@
“(that’s) surprising”
145R: @bikkuri da ne (.) de mou bikkuri suru koto@,
“it’s surprising (.) and another surprise”
146L: @bikkuri suru koto ne@
“surprise”
147R: [@ippai aru (.) yo ne@
“there should be a lot of surprises”
148L: @u[n@
“yeah”
149R: [@yo@ ne(.)dane huhh @nan da r one(.) ato wa(,) ato(,), bikkuri shita koto wa(1.0)
“nanda rou ne(,) nanka@
“right(,), right huhh what’s another surprise(,), next(,), next(,), surprise is(1.0)
yeah(,), right huhh w”
150L: @aru @
“(you) have (anything)?”
151L: bikkuri (.)
“surprise?”
152 R: odorotai koto
“surprise”
1.0
153L: @bikkuri(1.0) @bikkuri(.) @bikkuri (.) n@
“surprise(1.0) surprise(,) surprise(,)”
154R: [ahahuh
“ahahuh”
155R: bii(h)kkuurii(h) @shita(h) koto hhuu(,) [na: n ka atta kke chou matte [omoi dase nai
“surprise huhuu(,), (I) wonder if (I) have anything, wait, (I) can’t remember”
156 L: @kkurii(,) hhuh [uuuaa hh hhh
“I was surprised in this morning(,)
157R: @kyo(,) @hha bha bhaau ((R is hitting her leg))
“today  aahahahahaaaa”
158L: [meeru okutta no ni(,) todo kanaih hhuu
“(1) texted you but(,) (you) didn’t get (it) u hhuuh”
159 R: Su ni ma son(,) hhu ahuu n, gokia mo(,(smiling))
“sorry(,) huhun ahunn, (you texted me) five times”
160L: @smiling@ [hhuuh (h) datte saa(,) @nanka saa keita de sa(,)
“nani (,) kiteru (no ni@
“huhuh(h) because(,) like properly by mobile phone(,)”
“what(?)(,) I asked (you)”
161R: [@sou da yo @ ne meeru, hhuuh
“that’s right texts, huhu”
162L: @kite(,) sono u(e)(0.5) adoresu ni kaeshita no ni okure naku tte(0.2) de nanka(0.2) jare toka
“omoteuchi ga
“(you) texted( me)(,) and, in addition (0.5)(I) responded to you but (I) couldn’t text (0.2) and like (0.2) (I)
thought ‘oh what?’”
@demo sore arienai yo na toka omo [te@,
"textu-. (I)thought maybe you were in a place outside (a mobile phone service) and,"

[meercaeshi-kengai nano kana toka chou omotte(.)

"a hhuh"

@e nanka hendayo toka omo tomo demo nanka(.)

kiiteru kara kotaenakya ka[wai sou da yo ne toka omotte(0.6)@
"(I thought)'oh that’s strange' but like(.)
cause(she)’s asking (me),(I)need to answer(her)otherwise (I)feel sorry (for her)and,"

@sou da yo ne

"that’s right"

@ de okutta no ni (.) nannai ka[ra chotto bikkuri shita(0.5)@
"and (I)texted (you)(.)but (you didn’t)respond to (me) so (I)was a bit surprised"

"hhh"

@sou da yo ne

"that’s right"

[u huhu]

@de okutta no ni (.) nannai ka[ra chotto bikkuri shita(0.5)@
"and (I)texted (you)(.)but (you didn’t)respond to (me) so (I)was a bit surprised"

"hhh"

<u huhu>

@de okutta no ni (.) nannai ka[ra chotto bikkuri shita(0.5)@
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"hhh"

[u huhu]

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"and (I)texted (you)(.)but (you didn’t)respond to (me) so (I)was a bit surprised"

"hhh"
dorama no naka no:

“I didn’t notice anything wrong when watching her (main character) at that time but,”

(j)

hai

“yes”

(0.4)
dorama wo mite (0.6) suggoi mukashi kasai na to omoi mashita:

“I was surprised at the change with the passage of time”

(a:

“oh”

(0.2)

E mukashi kasai [to ia no wa]

“oh what do you mean by ‘old-fashioned’?”

(mukashi kusa)

“old-fashioned”

(sono toki ha sorehodo omowanakute.) ima wa,

“(you) didn’t find it so at that time but now”

(mochiron desu)

“of course”

(0.5)

haa [:

“wow”

(0.4)

[ma, sono toki ha:] (.) sore ga futsuu da to oomotte.) ima itan desu yo [ne

well at that time (.)) I felt it was natural.

“uh huh uh huh uh huh uh huh”

(.)

ha

“yes”

(ha): :

“wow: :

(nn

“nn”

(0.2)

ja sono kiteiru mono to

“then like her clothes” what she wears/wore

[w:] (0.2),

“n(.) (her) clothes(0.2) ” what she wears/wore

[ee

“uh huh”

(futsuu ni seifuku dattan de toban kawari wa nai to omon desu) kedo,

“were a school uniform an so(.) (I) didn’t notice anything changed though,” she wore a school uniform, and so I think there shouldn’t be a change.

(36)

[ee ee ee ee

(30)

[ee ee ee

(39)

(0.6)

“for example like(0.6)”

(kao no:) moo tabun mekku no shikata toka ga kawaii kitten da to omoimasu

“her face, umm…I guess the way people put on makeup has changed. probably like(her) makeup has been old-fashioned”

(0.3)

[ee ee ee ee

(40)


(361)
41S: "hai (1.5) bikkuri shimashi[ta (---1.5---)]

42T: "oh (1.5) that surprised (me)"

43: bikkuri to ittemo ne [dou in ka inori teido ya aru to omou desu keredomo.

"but speaking of 'surprise', I think there may be a degree of 'surprise' (topic which is appropriate), though"

44S: [hai (0.5) sou desu ne (.) hai]

"yes (0.5) that's right. (.) yes"

45T: ano:: (0.2) watashi na[naka kojin teki na kanshin kara ii masu to (0.5) yahari,

"well, (0.2) speaking of a (surprise) with my personal interest (0.5) you know"

46S: [hai (0.5) sou desu ne (.) hai]

"yes"

47T: e: : to eigo o ne(.)shite orimasu node:::

"well, because (I) m teaching English,"

48S: [hai (0.5) sou desu ne (.) hai]

"yes"

49T: kotoba: : no joutatsu toka sonokyoomi ga arun desu keredomo,

"(l) m interested in how people learn languages,"

(0.2)

50T: ano(,ji: : issho no tokoro de; itsumo oai suru(,)katagawa(0.2)ZUTTOnihon no kata da to omotte te

"umm (.) there is a person I often meet/sec. (.) and (I) thought (she/he) was a Japanese and,"

51: futsu ni nihon no kata no yooni hanashite irasharuu no nii,jano hon no suunennai ni

"(she/he) speaks (Japanese) just like a native speaker of Japanese but; umm just a few years ago"

52: sono(,)kanenkoku kara irashite(0.2)soredes(,)(ee(0.5)

"umm (.) (she/he) came from South Korea (0.2) and (.) umm(0.5)"

53T: ano:: (0.5) sono(,)toki mo jibun no kuni irashita toki mo(0.2)

"umh (0.5) at that time, when (she/he) was in her country (0.2)"

54: e- zenzen nihongo wa(0.6)hanase nakatta

"(she/he) couldn’t speak Japanese (0.6) at all"

55T: demo kochira ni kite(0.8)de hon no suunen de  mou wa[takushi mo wakranai] gurai

"but after coming here (0.8) , within a few years, to the level that I can’t tell him/her from a native speaker"

56S: [n]

"n"

(0.4)

57T: hanaseru youni(,)natte ita(,)kata ga(,)ur- wari to saikin oai shi ma shitee,

"(she/he) became fluent. (I) met him/her quite recently,"

58S: [nn]

"uh huh"

59S: nn

"uh huh"

(0.5)

60T: sore wa(,)yahari(,)jano:: (0.5) hitotsu no odoroki(0.6)deshita ne (----0.8----)

"that was (.) indeed umm… (0.5) one of the surprises"

61S: sugoi desu ne [e:: (1.2) jua n (0.2)n

"great (1.2) right (0.2) n"

62T: [ve hahu .hh]

"uh huh huhu hh"

(0.8)

63T: desukara sore wa doushite kana to ma: tabun(0.3)nn:: (0.4)

"so (1) wondered why (they he/she) could do so, well probably (0.3) umm (0.4)"

64: sono(,)kata nna(0.6)ano nouryoku to ka:: (0.2)>hitisu you sei ioka::(.)

"his/her ability, necessity and such (.)"

65: sou ja ga arun dado < omou desu keredomo sore ni shite ma(1.0)

"I think that sort of thing may be involved, even so (1.0)"

66: ano chiisai toki kara yatte ta wake de wa nai desu shi.

"(they he/she) didn’t study (Japanese) when he/she was small, and,"

(0.5)

67S: n

"n"

(0.6)
68T: sugoi na na to(hhh) ma ma hitotsu no odoroki desu ne hhh
“(I thought) they he/she was great (hhh) well(.) that is also(.) well one of the surprises hhh”
69S: sugoi desu [ne::]
“great”
70T: [ee]
“yes”
(1.0)
71S: ano:: kankokujin no(h)ka te minna nihongo jouza desu yo ne
“umm Koreans speak Japanese well, don’t (they)?”
72T: a [,] sou nan desu ka::*
“oh, do they?”
73S: [a minna dewa naikamo shire nai desu kedo.
“oh maybe not everyone but,”
74T: [ee ee
“uh huh uh huh”
(1.0)
75S: manabitai te iyoku no hito ga ooi ki ga shimasu
“(I) think there are many who have strong motivation to learn”
(イヤ やはり)
76T: nihongo
“Japanese?”
(．)
77S: hai
“yes”
(0.4)
78T: aa sou desu ka:: (0.6)ha [:::
“oh, is that so? (0.6) wow”
79S: [fuun
“yes”
(0.5)
80T: ato wa ne(,) ano(0.5) ma odoroi ta tte iu no(ka, ano::)
“another (surprise/example) is (.) umm (0.5) well (this) might not be a surprise, umm”
81S: [hai
“yes”
(0.3)
82T: yahari ichiban saikin no koto no hou ga oboete masu no de saikin to iimashitemo(,)
“the most recent surprise is better because I remember it well, I said “recent”, but, umm…”
83S: [sou nan desu yo ne
“that’s right”
84T: (0.5) ichinnen han gurai tatte ori masu kedo,
“(0.5) it happened about half a year ago, but,”
(0.5)
85: hon no tankikan dake sono amerika ni imashita toki ni::;
“when (I) was in the United States just for a short period of time,”
(1.0)
86T: futsuu no hi no hiro::i chuusha jou de(0.5) hatando(0.8) ano::(,)
“on a weekday, in a big parking lot (0.5) few(0.8) umm,”
87: watasi no kuruma igai ni nidai gurai(0.4) ichidadai guraidatta to omou desu keredomo(0.5)
“other than my car there were only two (0.4) or one (car) as far back as I can remember (0.5)”
88: toma-(1.0) > soreshika< tomatte inai tokoro ni,
“only those cars were (there) and,”
(．)
89T: HON: NO chotto ran kara(0.3) ichi inchi(,) kana(,) hami hamu detu toi toiu dakede(,)
“only because (I) left (my car) crossing the dividing line, just for only one inch(.)
90: chuusha ihan ga hararete mashi te hhh hh.
“(I) got a parking ticket hhh .hh,”
91S: [hee
“wow”
92T: bakkin o(,) kara(,) wana kereba nara na katta toi(0.4) sou(,
“(I) had to pay a fine (0.4) that sort of thing,”
(0.8)
93S: he[e
“wow”
94T:  "uhm"
     (0.3)
95T:  "for example, when waiting for the traffic light to change, but (0.5) umm(.) if nobody was there,"
96T:  "(you) may cross (the road), don’t you( .) (you) don’t disturb anyone,"
     (0.5)
97T:  "(I) didn’t disturb anyone (.) and enough room was provided for each parking space (0.5)"
100:  "umm, so,"
101T:  "uhm"
     (0.3)
102:  "even if (I) parked (the car) crossing the line, nobody would be bothered(.)"
103:  "especially if (the parking) was full with cars (0.6) (others) would not be bothered (by me) (0.6), so,"
     (0.2)
104T:  "and (.) umm(.) well in that city umm everybody (1.2) umm(.)"
105:  "strictly keeps cares about the traffic rule (0.2) and also in various aspects(0.6) umh"
106:  "for example, the opposite side of fast-food shop (0.3) that sort of (0.4) umm(0.3)"
107:  "people in the town are united like this (0.8) (. )"
108:  "it brings the community together and"
     (0.7)
109T:  "(such things) (0.7) surprised me"
     (0.7)
110S:  "nn"
     (0.4)
111S:  "that is surprising (0.2) yes huh"
112T:  "is that so?

<J24>
1L:  hai
     "yes"
2R:  hikkuri shita koto
     "surprise"
3L:  hikkuri shita koto
     (.)hai
     "surprise (. )yes"
     (0.3)
4R:  ima,
     "now",
     ()
5L:  un
     "yeah"
6R:  watashi wa
     "I"
7L:  u[u
     "yeah"
8R:  sakki naraba kaeta kaado ni tsui te,
     "about the cards (we) aligned a little while ago,"
“uhuhuhu”

“(I) explained though,”

“yeah”

“(I) couldn’t explain them very well and,”

“are (you) surprised by (that)?”

“(I) was surprised by myself ahaha hhha”

“a ha ha h

“wow”

“because, how can (I) explain, for example, ‘a yellow circle’?”

“In my case(.) a yellow circle,”

“(I) said like ‘Mr. ?yellow circle’ and,“

“although (I) was thinking to add ‘Mr./kun,‘”

“yeah”

“(that's) strange so,”

“(that's) strange but,”

“In my case(.) a yellow circle(.) and white circle(.) and (.) there was a black circle(.) too, wasn’t there?”

“I had named it (0.5) yellow circle-kun and,”

“uhu hu hu hu hu”

“I had named it (0.5) yellow circle-kun”

“Well (0.5) yeah”

“(that’s) unnatural”

“(that’s) unnatural”

“yeah right(.),so (that) surprised (me)”

“so (you) said, like ‘a yellow circle and…’ (0.3) that surprised (you)"
"Yeah (0.6) my surprise is;"

40L: nanka:: (0.8) sono(1.1) e(.) jnani ni bikkuri shitan da ro
"like (0.8) uhmm(1.1) oh(.) what surprised (me)?"

41L: saikin ne nanka ne arubai- baito de:: =
"these days, where I work part time;"

42R: =un
"yeah"

43L: kou(.) hen na(.) okyaku san ga iru no
"like this(.) there is a strange customer"

44R: huhuhun
"huhuhun"

45L: sare de::(0.4) hii [soredet. sono(.) yoku sono hitor karun dakedo:: (=)
"and then (0.4) huh and then(.) uhm(.) the person often comes to the shop though(.)"

46: betsu ni okyaku san ja naku te nan ni mo kawanai no ne(0.9)
"(he) is actually not a customer and doesn't buy anything (0.9)

47: betsu ni [kawana in dakedo::;
"(he) doesn't buy anything though;"

48R: hii
"huh"

49R: [un](0.8) moto [mura no fan nan ja nai no]
"yeah (0.8) doesn't (he) fancy (you)?"

50L: [nanka un dakara chotto abunain dakedo:: =
"like yeah so (he) is a bit dangerous though"

51R: = un
"uhh (he's) dangerous"

52L: sore de, jyoka:: (0.7) koo kitete:: (0.8) de nanka kono ma e baito ja nai toki ni:: (0.2)
"and(.) often(0.7) like this (he) comes to (the shop) and (0.8) then like recently when (I)"

53: sono(,) baito saki no fukin ni ita no ne,
"didn't work (0.2) (he) was around the shop"

54R: a [n]
"yeah"

55L: [sono >mizono kuchi nan da kedo mizo no kuchi ni itara::,<
"uhmm (the place) is Mizonokuchi and when (I) was there;"

56R: [un
"yeah"

57L: [nanka sono hito ga(0.9) ba te yo ne kita no
"like that person(0.9) suddenly came to (me)"

58L: na- chotto hen na hito nan [da kedo,
"-- (he) is a bit strange though;"

59R: [un
"yeah"

60L: sore de:: (1.1) yotte kite:: (0.5) nanka(,) ikinari(0.5) nanka sono(0.5)
"and then (1.1) (he) comes to me and (0.5) like(.) suddenly(0.5) like uhm(0.5)"

61L: baito shiteru watashi to soko ni ita watashi o douitsu jinbutsu dato wa
"(he) didn't notice (I) was the person working

62L: omowanakatta rashin dake [do::,
"at the shop though;"

63R: [un
"yeah"

64L: [nanka nanda yo omae toka ikinari iwarete,
"like (he) suddenly said like, 'what the hell are (you) doing'? and,"
「やがて」

65R: kowai =
“scary”
66L: =bikkuri de sho↑=
“(that’s) surprise isn’t it?”
67R: =bikku [ri
“surprise”
68L: | soth/re ni bikkuri shi [te, “that surprised (me) and,”
69R: | mushiro kowai kedo [ne, un
“(that’s) rather scary though (.) yeah”
70L: | un kowaina:: to omotte:: (0.4)
“yeah (I thought (that’s) scared and (0.4)”
71: de nanka sonohito kekkou(,:)sore ikou mo Mrun dakedo::;
“and like after that (incident) (I) quite often see (him) though,”
72R: un
“yeah”
72L: mou kowakute,
“(I’m) really scared and,”
74R: kowai ne [sore wa
“that is scary”
75L: | "rathen nano",()sou sou sou sou, sorega bikkuri shita [hanashi]↑
“(that’s) terrible(,)yeah yeah yeah yeah, that is (my) surprise”
76R: un
“uh huh”
77L: saikin ato nani o bikkuri shita kana
“I wonder (me) these days”
78R: watashi ne(,)jaki,
“I (.) just a few minutes ago”
79L: un
“yeah”
80R: ano hanashi [sun dakedo::;
“(I) told (this story) to (a teacher) though,”
81L: | aa un
“(I) see yeah”
82R: un
“yesterday”
82L: un
“yeah”
(0.4)
83R: kami sama mou sukoshi dake[te yatsu mite, =
“(I) watched the drama ‘God, just give me a little more time’ and,”
84L: | aHAHAHA (0.7)un
“aHAHAHA(0.7) yeah”
(0.2)
85R: dene fuka kyon no ashi no futosa ni mazu bikkuri [shita shi, “and F’s (actress’s name) legs are so fat and (that) surprised (me) and,”
86L: | aHAHAHA
“aHAHAHA”
87R: n(h)de(...)sore to::(...)nanka::;
“and (.) and (.). like,”
88L: | h (1.0) un un
“h (1.0) yeah yeah”
(0.5)
89R: sono toki ne sono dorama o yatte ta toki tte tabun watashitachi koo [ichi toka datta no ne “at that time when that drama was on TV, we were probably senior-high school freshman”
90L: | un,:)koo- kookoosae da [tta
“yeah(,)(we) were”
91R: kara′riaru taimu de onaji joshi kousei [na wake de sho↑
“so (we and the character on the drama) were senior-high school students just at the same,”
92L: | aa aa aa
“I see I see I see”
(0.5)
de:: sono toki wa().zenzen futsuu da to omotte itan dakedo::,
“and at that time(.) (I) didn’t feel anything though,”

=un
“yeah”

(0.3)

ima miatara(.)meeku toka mou HONTO furu sugite,
“now when (I)watched (it) again(.) like her makeup was too old-fashioned and,”

[un
“yeah huhu (I) see”

(0.3)

ima miatara(.)meeku toka mou HONTO furu sugite,
“now when (I)watched (it) again(.) like her makeup was too old-fashioned and,”

[un
“yeah huhu (I) see”

(0.3)

un
“yeah”

(0.4)

aa sore ni [bikkuri shita n da
“oh that surprised (you)”

[un
“yeah”

(0.5)chikaku ni:: (0.4) SUGGOI nanka koo(.) ne
“---(0.5) around Mizonokuchi station (0.4) like really, like this(.)”

kanji no warui koo, chuukoosei
“teenagers who look badly,

[un
“yeah (0.5) (I) can imagine (that)(0.7) scary”

[un
“sore o mite bikkuri shita(.)

(1.2) bikkuri shita koto tte nanaka akkana
“that(1.2) (I) wonder (I) have anything else”

[un
“yeah (0.3) when (I) went to Canada,”

[un
“yeah”

(0.3)

ano obentoo tsukatte kuru wake yo ne(0.6)hosuto famirii ga ne
“(my) host family (mother) made a packed lunch for me)”

[un un un un un un
“yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah”

[un
“soshitara sa [:;,
“then,”

[un
“yeah”

(0.2)

ninjin ippon pon [to de te kita no
“(she) put a whole carrot into (the box)”

uHUHUHU
(0.3)
122R: hajimete mita toki wa honto bikkuri shita
“when (I) saw it for the first time, (that) really surprised (me)

123L: sorya bikkuri suru yo ne =
“that must be surprising”

124R: =watashi wa usagi kai [mitaina,
“like ‘am I a rabbit?’”

125L: [uhahahaha
“uhahahaha”

126R: demo tabeta yo
“but (I) ate it”

127L: [macukatta
“(that) was awful”

128L: [soo nan da (0.6)he [e::
“was that so?(0.6) wow”

129R: [un
“yeah”

130L: sorya bikkuri suru
“that’s surprising”

131R: [bikkuri desho↑
“(that’s) a surprise, isn’t it?”

132L: [bikkuri shita koto ato[,nandaro
“surprise, (I) wonder anything else”

133R: nani kanai, ja atoo,
“(I) wonder (.) anything else”

134L: un
“yeah”

135R: konaid,.i.i. de dhaiizunii rando ni [itte shimatta watashitachi ni bikkuri [toka uhuh
“recently(.) like how about this surprise, that we suddenly came up with going to Disney Land and that we got
there?”

136L: [aa itta rashii ne
“oh (I) heard (you guys) went there”

137L: souiu jihun no koodoo ni bi[kukri mitai na]
“(I) see (you mean) like such an activity surprised you?”

138R: [soo, vacchatt[tte (.). omotta
“yeah (I) thought ‘I did it?””

139L: [uhuhu
“uhuhu”

140L: aa watashi wa sonohi to- gakkoo no toshokan ni ittandakedo[o,
“oh on that day I was in the library though,”

141R: [un
“yeah”

142L: nanka toshokan de[,hon o shirabete ta no[,de[,nanka isu ga aru jant,
“like in the library,(.) (I) was searching for books(.) and(.) like there are chairs, you know (.)”

143L: soko ni suwatte(0.3)mitetan dakedo(.). sohitara konokurai no(0.9)((by hand, making a circle))
“I was searching sitting there (0.3) though(.) then like this size/big (0.9)”

144L: nani,.karada jita[w kono kurai nandakedo[,koo ashi toka >
“like(.) the size was like this but(.) like this, legs”

145L: zenbu fuke tara<w kono kurai no kamo gaa,
“the whole body, like this, such a big spider,”

146R: [Eeu aah
“OOh aah”

147L: DOO te yuka arui tete,
“(it) was walking on the floor, like DOO and”

((an onomatopoeia to express how fast it was walking))
370

148R: **BIKKuri desu**

   “(that’s) really surprising”

149L: *sore wa bi [kki[i jan†*

   “that is a surprise isn’t it?”

150R: *[un*

   “uhun”

151L: *de bikkuri shinagara mo:: (.)(0.6)chanto koo [saa,*

   “and while (I) was surprised (.)(0.6) properly, like this,”

152R: *[un*

   “yeah”

153L: *tsubashitaku mo naishi, furetaku [mo nai kara(.).toori—*

   “(I)don’t wanna squash and touch it, so (.). ---”

154R: *[chon choito oikaketa [ku nai†*

   “you know (you) wanna follow it?”

155L: *[sou sou (.).ETTU†*

   “yeah yeah (.)(0.4) what!?”

156R: *ETT[hh]*

   “what? hh”

157L: >oikaketai tte ka< toori sugira no o [zuu to mitete,

   “not like I wanna follow it, but (I) was watching it passed (me) and”

158R: *[nn]*

   “yeah”

159L: *koo (0.4) toshokan de,*

   “like this(0.4) in the library,”

   *(0.3)*

160R: *nn =*

   “yeah”

161L: =zuu to memo tteta (0.5)sore ga bikkuri da ne

   “(I) had been taking a note (9.5) that is (my) surprise’

162R: *bikkuri suru, sore wa*

   “that is surprising”

   *(0.4)*

163L: *nanka,*

   “like”

164R: *nn=

   “uh huh”

165L: =a toshokan mushi irun da, mitaina

   “like ‘oh a spider is in the library!’”

   *(0.5)*

166R: *huhuhuh iru(h)ssho hh*

   “huhuhuh (of course) it is hh”

167L: *kowakatta bikkuri*

   “that’s a scary surprise”

   *(0.8)*

168R: *[ne]*

   “right”

169L: *[bikkuri(.).to kowai tte saa,*

   “‘surprised’ (.)(0.4) and ‘scary’ aren’t,”

   *(0.4)*

170R: *nn*

   “uh huh”

171L: *issho ja nai†*

   “same, are they?”

172R: *iya demo†[n(h)je zuuto itsumo bikkuri to kowai wa issho da ne(.).anato no. =*

   “but in your stories, both ‘surprised’ and ‘scary’ were regarded as the same, were they?”

173L: *=watsashi no baai no (bikkuri wa ne*

   “in my case/as for my surprises, yes, the same”

174R: *[Anatano bikkuri wa]*

   “as for your surprises”

175L: *watsashi wa< tabun, [kowai]to kii n bikkuri suru tte koto kanai†*

   “(that) means I probably get surprised when I feel scared?”

   *(.)*
R: "aa haa haa"
L: "(I) don’t know but."
R: [so kamo ne]"maybe"
L: un "yeah"
R: Un(0.3)sore ni bikkuri shita koto wa ne [e, "yeah(0.3) in addition a surprise is,"]
L: [eri wa shoogeki te- ukeru shoogeki o ukeru tte koto ga]"in your case when you get shocked,
R: [eri wa bikkuri nan desho?] "you’ll be surprised?"
L: un(0.3)sore ni bikkuri shita koto wa ne, "yeah(.)(that’s) true(0.3) that’s right(.). it says a surprise"
R: soo da net, idemo sorekosoto bikkuri tte kotoba [no teigi ja na] U hu hu hu hu hh "(I) will so(.) but that must be dependent on the definition of a ‘surprise’? U huhuhu hh"
L: bikkuri shita [hanashi, ato] "another surprising story"
R: [takasan arun dakedo nee] "(I) have many though"
L: fu "---"
"(I don’t like) the sound of the paper, ‘kasakasa’ a bit,”
“yeah"
"(I)have recalled something I hate and,”
"yeah yeah"
"(I)was really surprised"
“but I sometimes uhm, toys"
"yeah"
"(I)have switched it off but, oh, this is my child’s toy though,”
"surprised me yeah"
"(I)was really surprised"
"right"
"but even though (I) didn’t touch anything, that really surprised-
"surprised me yeah"
"yes"
“uhm probably the switch, like this”
“uhm well (it’s)am I (next)?”
“uhuh yes”
“uhm well it’s am I (next)?”
“uhuh [ha(h)]
“what I was surprised about is, uhm uhm”
“usually like this, well right”
“what I was surprised about is, uhm uhm”
“and, there is another one month to decide the transcription so, uhm”
“let her know her transcription”
“let her know her transcription”
"oh yes"
"oh yes"
“(it)might be the time that the students start caring about their transcription though,”
“and then, one American student said at this stage, ”
“earlier (I)’m teaching Japanese to the college students, at W-university, (I)’m teaching to foreign students but,“
“oh yes"
“let her know her transcription”
“let her know her transcription”
"oh yes"
“and, there is another one month to decide the transcription so, uhm"
“うむ、は、(彼/彼女)は、もし、この試験を悪くするの、と、うむ、ちょっと難しいね、ということ、
“この段階で、(I)は、何か知りたいが、”
46S: |=wau= |
“wow |
47S: |=hai= |
“yes”
48T: |=sore wa demo mou, dase nai tte iu hanashi o shitara, (S’s nodding)|
“(I)told him/her, that is impossible and,”
49 |ima made no tesuto to kaiju no, sukooa o zenbu oshive te kurete, |
“(he/she) asked me to tell his/her score for all quizzes, and”
50 |=sore de jibun ga seiseki o dashite miseru kahjira tte yutte hh|= |
“(and,(he/she) said, he/she will calculate his/her transcription and hhh”
51S: |=hai hh|
“yes hhh”
52T: |=sore ga monosugoku bikkuri shite, |
“that really surprised me and,”
53S: |=au= |
“right”
54T: |=de, ano, gaakasei mo, dandan nanka kawatta= |
“and, uh,(I thought) the students have gradually been changing”
55|=mae wa sonna koto yutta koto, yuwareta koto ga nakatta node,((T and S’s nodding)|
“because the previous students never talked like this,”
56 |=arun da nante bikkuri shi [mashita] |
“(I) was surprised, like, ‘this kind of thing’ could happen”
57S: |=aa demo watashi @tomodachi ni onaji hanashi sareta ra= |
“oh but if my friend told me the same thing,”
|tabun bikkuri shinai |desu ne HUHAHAHA |
“like ‘I see’ HUHAHAHA”
58T: |=| |
“probably (I) will not be surprised HUHAHAHA”
59T: |=EE! HUHUH sore wa jaa HUHU, |
“WHAT! HUHUH that means, well HUHU”
60T: |=e uso ariuru to iu koto desu ka@ |
“oh god! do (you) mean (that) is possible?”
61S: |=hee mitaina kan(h)ji (de HUHU HU ha(h)) |
“like ‘I see’ HUHU HU ye(h)”
62T: |=HUHU |
“HUHU”
63T: |=demo, demo, gojibun ga sensei ni sore o iu ka tte iuto@, sore wa, [arie, |
“but, but, thinking of your case, whether you will say that to (your teacher), that would be (impossible)?”
64S: |=aa, |
“right”
65 |=sou desu ne, sore wa chotto |
“that’s right, that is a bit”
66T: |=uan= |
“yeah yeah”
67S: |=annari kangaare rare nai kana |
“it will be impossible”
68T: |=uan@ |
“yeah”
69T: |=ano |
“uhm”
70S: |=a, demo, @sou shiyou kana toka@ ittara ta(h)but|annari |bikkuri shinai desu= |
“oh but, if (my friend says,) like he/she’s going to do that, (I)’ll not be surprised”
71T: |=HUHU |
“HUHU”
72T: |=aa, sou desu {ka ((T gets discouraged)} |
“oh is that so?”
73S: |=hai= |
“yes”
74T: |=jaa sore wa gaikoku jin dakara toka soui bunka no chigai ja naku te= |
“uhm that is not because he/she is a foreigner or has a different culture,”
73S: "huhu(huh) huhuhuh"
74T: "sedai no chigai hhhh de(h)shou kane"
75S: "soo desu nee [a, demo ((S’s nodding))"
76T: "un un un un ((T’s nodding))"
77S: "kaigai toka ikareta koto wa arun desu [ka "have (you)been to foreign countries?"
78S: "a nai desu = "oh no"
79T: "a, eibunkaa (.)(de)
80S: "oh, (I’m) in Japanese department"
81T: "ka "(I’m) not doing a part-time job, but (I) belong to the “Aikido” club though,”
82T: "uun, uun "uhhh uhhhuu"
83T: "ano bukatsu gaa [aikidou nan desu kedoo(.)
84S: "aa "right"
85S: "arubaito: ja nakutee ([.]) ano bukatsu no hoo o yatterun desu kedoo(.)
86T: "hai ((S’s nodding))"
87T: "uun, uun "uhhuh uhhhuu"
88T: "ano bukatsu gaa [aikidou nan desu kedoo,
89T: "huun, aikidou desu ne, haihai "right about Aikido, yes yes"
90S: "sukoshi furetadakede sugoi ponpon
91S: "sore chotto bikkuri shimashita<" with just slight touch, people were, terribly overturned hhh”
92S: "a hu hahahuh"
“hai hai”

104S: aito yappari kou,
“and also, like this,”
105S: waza ga narattekutoo,
“when (we)gradually learn the techniques,”
106: dan dan nanka douiu waza [kamo wakatte]{kitee},
“(we) gradually notice what the technique is and,”
107T: [uun,
“right”
108T: [uun
“yeah”
109S: aito, ukemi no yarikata mo wakattekuru {n de,
“and (we)come to notice how to protect (ourselves against others)so,”
110T: [ee ee ee
“uhm uh huh huh huh
111S: sono () ukemi ga sugoku, )cotto sukoshi chuun ni tobinagara kuru [tee, “uhm()the way of protection()is really, a bit jumping and turning and,”
112T: [uun
“yeah”
113S: mae mawari, [suru ukemi toka arun desu kedo,
“there is like, a forward turning but”
114T: [un, hai
“yeah yes”
115S: >souu no mo jibun ga dekiru you ni nara to {futsuu nan desu kedo, “when I am able to master that kind of technique, (I)’ll get used to Aikido but”
116T: [uun uun uun
“yeah yeah yeah”
117S: saisho mita toki wa sugoi bikkuri shima shita 
“when (I)looked at it for the first time, I was really surprised.”
118T: aa sou desuka, 
“oh is that so”
demo datagaku kara aikidou yari hajime ru nante, are desu [ne but, (you) have started this at uni, that’s…
119S: “right”
120T: [a(a
121S: “right”
122T: =ee, [sou desu ka 
“oh is that so?”
123S: [sou desu ne “yeah that’s right”
124T: uun(0.5) janka watashi wa annariatarashii koto saikin hajimete wa, inain desu kedo= “uhm(0.5)like I haven’t started something new but,”
125S: =a, [hai
“oh yes
126T: [uun(0.4) bi-sou desu ne, aikidou mitaina koto de bikkuri shita koto, “uhm(0.4)right, surprise, like Aikido”
(0.4)
sou desu ne (0.8)nan darou “right(0.8)what’s my surprise…”
(2.5)
127S: uun “uhm
128S: uun a ato hoka ni ano gaikoku toka, [ni, [ittari surun desu ka “uhm another surprise, uhm do you go to foreign counties?”
129T: [uun
“yeah
130T: [amerika ni sai, itta koto, toki ni watashi sou ieba
bikkuri shita koto wa,
“when (I) went to the United States, I remember there was a surprise”

131T: uh[n]amerika no nanka mein shuu tte iu, ((S’s nodding))
    sugoku inaka no tokoro ni ittan desu ne, (sore de
    “yeah to the United States, it’s called the state of Maine”
    (I) went to a place which is a quite rural, and”
132S: [hai
    “yes”
133T: dee, moo nanka nihonjin wa mitakoto nai tte iu youna hito tachi ga sunderu shima ni,
    hitori [de chotto ittan desu ne
    “and, (I) went to an island, like where (the people living there) must never have seen like Japanese”
134S: [haa ((S looks surprised))
    “wow”
135T: soshitara, aite no hito ga, amerika jin ga watashi no kao o, a nanka, ((T claps her hands))
    kuruma o unten shite, chotto michi ga wakaran katta nante, ((S’s nodding))
    “then, the person, an American, looked at my face like,
    (I) was driving a car and got lost so”
136T: sonomise no, mise ni, eeta, cho, ano nanka chotto tobikomi de
    aru mise ni chizu o motte michi o kiki ni ittan desu ne ((S’s nodding))
    “to the shop, uhm, --- uhm like a bit, suddenly,
    ”(I) went to ask something with my map to the shop”
137T: soshitara aite ga watashi no kao o mite Owarai shi(h)ku bikkuru(h)ru shita hh=
    then (the person) saw my face and burst out laughing and h (that) really surprised me hh”
138S: [hih
    “wow”
139T: ((inhilation))= kokochi no [h nanka konna kao koto ga naitte iu
    “he seemed like, ‘(I) have never seen such a face’”
140S: [hih

<J26>
1L: bikkuri shita |koto nee
    “surprise”
2R: [huhuhuhuhubikkruri shita ko[to
    “surprise”
3L: [nanka sa, are mitai dayo
    “you know, it’s like”
4R: [e
    “oh?”
5L: janou, ohiru no sa, gokigen you tte iu bangumi, shiranai huhuh
    “uhm, at noon, there is a program that is called, ‘Good afternoon’ you know”
6R: u, na(h)nkana |wakaru ki ga suru
    “oh, maybe (I) know”
7L: [sou sou, arede, kou, saikoro korogashite sa, bikkuri shita koto, nan, aru kana
    “yeah yeah, on that program, like this the (guests)play dice and, like ‘do you have a surprise?’”
8L: bikkuri shita no ha, atashi ha toriaezu, sakkki hanashita sa=
    “my surprise is, anyway, as I told you a little while ago,”
9R: =u [a
    “yeah”
10L: sono, eano bi no one san mitai ni natteta koto
    “uhm, (there) was like a woman aerobiczing”
11R:a [a
    “right”
12L: are wa sugoi shougeki datta node
    “(that) had a great impact so,”
13L: un
    “yeah”
14L: honnito ni bikkuri data
    “(I) was really surprised”
15L: un, sonna fuu ni natta to omowanaka ta yo tte [iu kanji
    “yeah, it’s like ‘(I) didn’t expect such a thing happened’”
(I) was surprised

“as I told you a little while ago,”

Yeah

“in my room”

Yeah

“and, hearing the sound, kasa, (I)misunderstood it as ‘that’ warm and,”

Yeah

yeah that, the one like this” ((with gesture))

Yeah, (I) was really surprised and looked back at it and,”

Yeah

I went pale, seriously

that was a recent incident and the most surprising

“I’ve got a surprise”

listen, uhm, when (I) closed the front door and looked at the next,”

Yeah, (I) was really surprised and moved back, around three meters backwards

(you) hate spiders, don’t you? ”

“(you) hate spiders, don’t you!”

“(you) hate spiders, don’t you?”

“(you know) if it was the one with big feet, I would have shouted in a louder voice towards our estate”

“seriously, humans are quite weak when they feel scared, you know”
“right, right, the other way around”

“that was so, but, seriously my body came to… huhh”

“right”

“another (surprise), small surprises often happens to (me) though.”

“that was surprising, yeah”

“uh huh”

“uh huh”

“I quite often do Aikido?”

“uhm surprise”

“when doing a defensive strategy”

“uh”

“(I) really get damaged by my opponent and,”

“yeah yeah”

“(I)’m surprised when I got a defensive strategy”

“uhm, hoo”

“uhm, turning around”

“(the person) turns forward during jumping, when it is done by a good person,”

“(uhm, that) is turning forward during jumping, when a good person,”

“uh huh”

“the moment during jumping is quite long”
(he/she) is flying"

“that is, really, yeah, a bit surprising after jumping”

“right”

“right I see”

“that’s (my surprise)”

“when (I) jump on a trampoline, there is a person bouncing”

“right”

“and, uhmm, he bounces”

“yeah”

“(he) does a very risky thing so,”

“yeah yeah”

“(he) almost fell off frequently”

“wow”

“right”

“yeah”

“that’s (my surprise)”

“right”

“uhmm, (I’ll) be surprised, like upset”

“very scary”

“(he) almost fell off frequently”

“yeah, at such a time, like, (I’ll) be surprised, like upset”

“yeah”

“like, wiping his/her face and,"

“right”

“(he) almost fell off frequently”

“uhmm there is a skill to jumping on a trampoline which involves falling off from the belly”

“yeah”

“well --- (I) stretch, like this, and”

“(it’s) a skill” (R’s understanding))

“(it’s) a skill” (R’s understanding))

“(it’s) a skill” (R’s understanding))

“uhm there is a skill to jumping on a trampoline which involves falling off from the belly”

“right”

“uhmm there is a skill to jumping on a trampoline which involves falling off from the belly”

“uhmm there is a skill to jumping on a trampoline which involves falling off from the belly”

“uhhm, the both upper and lower body looks like straight, the hip gets straightened up, and the hip is damaged.”

“haha wow”

“it’s painful”

“that is, really, yeah, a bit suprising after jumping”

“right”

“right I see”

“that’s (my surprise)”

“when (I) jump on a trampoline, there is a person bouncing”

“right”

“and, uhmm, he bounces”

“yeah”

“(he) does a very risky thing so,”

“yeah yeah”

“(he) almost fell off frequently”

“wow”

“right”

“yeah”

“that’s (my surprise)”

“right”

“uhmm, (I’ll) be surprised, like upset”

“very scary”

“(he) almost fell off frequently”

“yeah, at such a time, like, (I’ll) be surprised, like upset”

“yeah”

“like, wiping his/her face and,"

“right”

“(he) almost fell off frequently”

“yeah, at such a time, like, (I’ll) be surprised, like upset”

“yeah”

“well --- (I) stretch, like this, and”

“(it’s) a skill” (R’s understanding))

“(it’s) a skill” (R’s understanding))

“(it’s) a skill” (R’s understanding))

“(it’s) a skill” (R’s understanding))
“and, when (I) first experienced it, I couldn’t learn a few tricks, and I had a crick in the back.”

“like that was like a surprise, like ‘oh that’s painful’”

“You know (I) noticed it is a risky sport”

“oh I see I see”

“like, re-recognising”

“yeah”

“you know (I) noticed it is a risky sport”

“(I) couldn’t learn the technique well and.”

“and, when asking people like ‘are there any tricks?’,”

“yeah”

“like with a bit of a different way of moving the body”

“(I) can surprisingly do it well”

“when practicing, just as I gave advice, (I) can surprisingly do it well”

“yeah”

“like, the way of the body)will be changed, (this) is (my surprise)

“(I) feel like that

“(I) thought, like ‘there is another world’

“well, (it’s) not working when the body is leaning though “

“(I) feel like that

“(I) thought, like ‘there is another world’

“but, just like swimming is, like, when the body is tense,”

“yeah”
137L: kichin to, honto ni ugoka n dana tte no ga jibun no karada de taikan deki
   “(I) could experience, the body properly moves”
138L: ya [ppari chotto demo yugan dera to nee nagare ni maken no yo
   “you know, a bit, but when the body leans, it does not work”
135 R: 
   [un
   “nn”
136 L: demo [massugu susun derato, honto ni suu tte susun de ku no
   “but, when the body smoothly moves, the movement will be smoothly done
137R: [un un
   “yeah yeah”
138L: dakaraa aa kooiu sekai mo arun dana tte (.) zenzen karada ugoka shite konakattakara (.)
   “so (I thought) ‘oh there is another world’ and (.) (I) haven’t exercised (my) body for a long time so (.).like (I)
   thought”
139R:[aa sekka sokka
   “oh right right”
135 R: [nn
136 L: [un
   “oh but that is kind of a surprise too”
137 R: [aa sekka sokka
135 L: [soo soo soo soo
   “yeah yeah yeah yeah”
136 R: [un
   “oh but what is a surprise?”
137 L: [soo soo soo soo
   “(that) is not a surprise so much hahah”
138 R: [a demo chotto odoroki da yo sore mo nee<@=
139 L: [un
   “oh but, I recently”
138 R: [a demo bikkuri tte
139 L: [un
   “what is a surprise?”
138 R: [a demo bikkuri tte
139 L: [un
   “(talking) a surprise is hard”
139 R: [a demo bikkuri tte
   “(I) was really surprised”
140 L: [un
   “yeah yeah”
141 L: [un un
   “yeah yeah”
142 L: [a demo atashi konaida ne
   “(I) got off a bus and,“
143 L: [un
   “oh but, I recently”
144 R: [a, demo atashi konaida ne
   “at midnight, around half past eleven”
145 L: [un
   “yeah”
146 L: [un
   “yeah”
147 L: [un
   “oh but, I recently”
148 R: [a demo bikkuri tte
   “and, (I) was with the person in the elevator,“
149 L: [un
   “yeah”
150 R: [a demo bikkuri tte
   “that was, M-san”
151 L: [un
   “yeah yeah”
152 L: [un un
   “yeah yeah”
153 L: [a demo bikkuri tte
   “(I) was going home and, (a person) was walking in front of me”
154 L: [un
   “yeah”
155 R: [a demo bikkuri tte
   “and, (I) was with the person in the elevator,”
156 L: [un
   “yeah”
157 R: [a demo bikkuri tte
   “that was, M-san”
158 R: [a demo bikkuri tte
   “(I) was really surprised”
159 L: [a demo bikkuri tte
   “(that) must be surprising”
160 L: [a demo bikkuri tte
   “yeah, oh? – oh, I see I see, (you’re) close, in the elevator, ---together”
161 R: [a demo bikkuri tte
   “cause, my home is on the fourth floor, and she is on the sixth floor”
“おーい、頑張ってね(彼女)一緒に来てるみたいね”

—and, like, (I) thought like, ‘oh, wait for me, wait for me, elevator!’ and went there, she was there”

“やあ、えらいね

“oh, that’s surprising”

“‘(I) thought, ‘wow’ yeah”

“when was that?”

“yesterday, the day before yesterday, or more”

“oh I see”

“quite recently”

“oh I see I see”

“oh I see I see”

“oh I see”

“yesterday, the day before yesterday, last Wednesday”

“Aki, how is she? huhuhu how?”

“(I)don’t know”

“at that time, like (it) looked like, coming home from part-time work”

“oh I see”

“working part-time means, (she)maybe finished job-hunting huhuhu”

“may be, (I) wonder how she is?”

“yeah, (it’s) impossible, working part-time is impossible during job hunting”

“yesterday no, the day before yesterday, last Wednesday”

“Aki, how is she? huhuhu how?”

“her department should be not Japanese, I guess, probably”

“I don’t know the sort of thing at all, so”

“oh, that can be possible”

“working part-time means, (she)maybe finished job-hunting huhuhu”

“may be, (I) wonder how she is?”

“oh I see I see”

“real?”

“I don’t know the sort of thing at all, so”

“oh, that can be possible”

“her department should be not Japanese, I guess, probably”

“real?”

“uh huh”

“well but, like (I) wore a recruitment suit and,”

“yeah yeah”

“and, (she) asked (me) ’coming back from job-hunting?’ and, (I) said, ‘yeah, sort of’ and, like, (she) said, ‘right’, just like that’
“yeah”

“right I see”

“then--- maybe (she)’s finished.”

“yeah, yeah, anyway, it may not be like in the middle of job-hunting”

“yeah, (it) was quite late at night, so I guess she was coming back from a part-time job”

“oh I see”

“yeah, yeah, yeah, right”

“wow”

“another surprise?”

“yeah, another one”

“yeah”

“when getting up around noon, like T was in my home, (how about this surprise?) ”

“(that’s surprising) why are you here?”

“my younger sister also said, she has a class the first period next day”

“yeah”