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Chinese and Australian conversational styles: A comparative sociolinguistic study of overlap and listener response

Xudong Deng
Edith Cowan University

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CHINESE AND AUSTRALIAN CONVERSATIONAL STYLES: A COMPARATIVE SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF OVERLAP AND LISTENER RESPONSE

by

Xudong Deng

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USE OF THESIS

The Use of Thesis statement is not included in this version of the thesis.

ABSTRACT

This study compares the use of overlap and listener response by Chinese and Australian speakers in their respective intracultural conversations, that is, in conversations between Chinese interlocutors in Mandarin Chinese and between Australians in Australian English. The main purpose of this study is to locate similarities and differences between these two groups of speakers in their use of the two conversational strategies. Another major theme of the thesis is to examine the role of gender in the use of overlap and listener response in conversations of the two languages.

The study is based upon the theoretical premise of interactional sociolinguistics that different cultural groups may have different rules for participation in and interpretation of conversation and that conflicts related to these rules are a major source of cross-cultural (and cross-gender) miscommunication. It is also a response to lack of evidence for this claim from languages other than English, especially from Chinese.

The data for the study are from 30 dyadic conversations between friends of similar age and similar social status: 15 Chinese conversations in Mandarin Chinese and 15 Australian ones in Australian English. Both the Australian and the Chinese conversations come from 5 female-female dyads, 5 male-male dyads and 5 male-female dyads.

Both the qualitative and the quantitative aspects of the use of overlap and listener response are compared. With respect to the use of overlap, the qualitative part of the study examines the various phenomena that the

speakers orient to in overlap onset, the procedures they use to resolve the state of overlap, and the strategies they employ to retrieve their overlapped utterances. The quantitative part of the study then compares the use of overlap by Chinese and Australian speakers and their respective male and female participants in terms of overlap onset, resolution, and/or retrieval.

In regard to the use of listener response, the qualitative part of the study looks at how passive recipiency and speakership incipiency are signalled and achieved through the use of different listener response tokens in conversations of the two languages. The quantitative part of the study compares the use of listener response by Chinese and Australian speakers and male and female participants in three aspects: the overall frequency of listener responses used, the types of listener responses favoured, and the placements of listener responses with reference to a possible completion point.

The results of the comparison reveal a number of similarities and differences in the use of overlap and listener response by Chinese and Australian speakers. For the use of overlap, the similarities include: 1) Both Chinese and Australian speakers have the same set of issues to orient to in their initiation of overlap, resort to the same basic procedures in resolving the state of overlap, and use the same strategies in retrieving their overlapped utterances; 2) they use a similar number of overlaps; 3) they start their overlaps mostly at a possible completion point; 4) they tend to continue with their talk more than to drop out when an overlap occurs. Two specific differences have also been identified in the use of overlap by Chinese and Australian speakers: 1) Australians initiate a

higher percentage of their overlaps at a possible completion point whereas Chinese initiate a greater proportion of their overlaps in the midst of a turn; 2) when overlap occurs, Chinese speakers drop out more to resolve the state of overlap while Australian speakers continue their talk more to get through the overlap.

For the use of listener response, the similarities lie largely in the ways of orienting to an extended turn unit by Chinese and Australian recipients in a conversation. Available in conversations of both languages are the two distinctive uses of listener response, that is, to show passive recipiency or to signal speakership incipiency. The differences between the two groups of speakers in the use of listener response include: 1) Australians use more listener responses than Chinese speakers; 2) while Australians prefer to use linguistic lexical expressions such as 'yeh' and 'right' as their reaction to the primary speaker's ongoing talk, Chinese speakers favour the use of paralinguistic vocalic forms such as 'hm' and 'ah'; 3) whereas Australians place a higher percentage of their listener responses at a possible completion point than Chinese speakers, Chinese speakers place a larger proportion of their listener responses in the midst of a turn than their Australian counterparts.

While the similarities between Chinese and Australian speakers in their use of overlap and listener response indicate to a great extent the sharing of similar organising principles for conversation by both languages, the differences show some culture-specific aspects of the use of these two conversational strategies by the two groups of speakers. The study found a striking parallel between the differential use of overlap and listener response by Chinese and Australian speakers and their different

perceptions of rights and obligations in social life, including in social interaction.

The study does not reveal consistent cross-cultural patterns with respect to the use of overlap and listener response by male and female speakers in Chinese and Australian conversations. That is, gender has not played an identical role in the use of the two conversational strategies in conversations of the two languages. Gender differential interactional patterns are to a great extent culture-specific. This finding, together with that of within-culture and within-gender variation, cautions us against any universal claim about gender-differential use of a given conversational phenomenon, whether the claims are based on deficit, or dominance, or difference assumptions in language and gender theories.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

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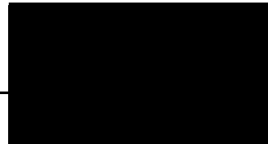
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Deng, Xudong. (1999). Dominance or involvement: Nontransitional overlaps in Australian and Chinese cross-gender conversations. Paper presented to the Annual CALLR Roundtable, Edith Cowan University, Perth, Australia, September 1999.

Deng, Xudong. (1999). Overlapping in Australian and Chinese conversations: A sociolinguistic study. Paper presented to the CALLR Seminar, Edith Cowan University, Perth, Australia, April 1999.

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Deng, Xudong. (1997). Understanding the use of reactive tokens in Chinese and Australian conversation. Paper presented to the 22nd Annual Congress of Applied Linguistics Association of Australia, University of Southern Queensland, Toowoomba, Australia, October 1997.

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INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

This study compares the use of overlap and listener response by Chinese and Australian speakers in their respective intracultural conversations. The main purpose of this study is to locate similarities and differences between these two groups of speakers in their use of the two conversational strategies. In this chapter I first sketch the general background to the present study. This is followed by the explication of the statement of the problem. I then set out its major objectives and research questions. Some terms used in the study are then described and in the final section of the chapter, a structural outline of the whole thesis is sketched.

2. Background to the study

The conversational phenomena of overlap and listener response have for a long time been subjected to discrete and separate inquiries. While scholarly interest in both these conversational phenomena originated for the most part in psychology, earlier studies examined them with a different research agenda from the present one (for a full review of these studies, see Chapter 3). For the conversational phenomenon of overlap, for example, earlier studies in the field of psychopathology tended to link the use of overlap to the happening of certain abnormal behaviour (e.g., schizophrenic and various types of delinquency) (e.g., Farina 1960;

Farina & Holzberg 1968; Ferreira, Winter, & Poindexter 1966; Stabenau et al. 1965; Becker & Iwakami 1969; Riskin & Faunce 1972; O'Connor & Stachowiak 1971; Leighton, Stollack, & Ferguson 1971; Hetherington 1971). Later studies of overlapping speech in conversation in the areas of social psychology and language and gender have extended this linkage and associated the occurrences of overlap in conversation with dominance and power assertion (e.g., Kollock, Blumstein, & Schwartz 1985; Courtright, Millar, & Rogers-Millar 1979; Roger & Schumacher 1983; Roger & Nesshoever 1987; Ferguson 1977; Zimmerman & West 1975; West & Zimmerman 1983; see Chapter 3 for an extensive review of these studies).

With respect to the use of listener response, earlier studies come largely from experimental and social psychology. These early studies focused mainly on two interrelated themes: the structural description of listener response and the determination of its roles and functions in conversation. The first theme is mainly concerned with the classification of listener responses and the identification of their positions with respect to phonemic structures of conversational utterances or other conversational behaviours such as gaze and head nods (e.g., Kendon 1967; Dittmann & Llewellyn 1967, 1968; Yngve 1970; Duncan 1972, 1973; Duncan & Niederehe 1974; Duncan & Fiske 1977, 1985). The second theme is concerned with topics like the effects that the presence or absence of listener responses has on information processing and the relationship between the use of listener responses and interpersonal attraction alike (e.g., Rosenfeld 1966, 1967; Krauss et al. 1977; Davis & Perkowitz 1979; Kraut, Lewis, & Swezey 1982).

The emergence of interactional sociolinguistics, in particular that of Tannen's theory of conversational style, provides a theoretical base on which the use of overlap and listener response can be studied as two aspects of one's conversational style (Gumperz 1982a, 1982b; Tannen 1981a, 1982b, 1984, 1994). According to interactional sociolinguists, different socialisation processes of different cultural groups are reflected in their different communication systems and the use and the interpretation of conversational phenomena such as overlap and listener response can be different across cultures because of the different conversational styles they may respectively use (Gumperz 1982a, 1982b, 1991; Tannen 1981a, 1982b, 1984, 1994). These researchers and others have documented abundant evidence that when speakers with diverse conversational styles interact with each other, communicative difficulties or even miscommunication are most likely to occur, which can further result in negative cultural evaluations and stereotyping. It is thus the aim of this present study to reveal those differences that may exist between Chinese and Australians in their conversational styles with particular reference to their use of overlap and listener response in conversation in order to locate areas of potential conflict when they come to interact with each other.

3. Statement of the problem

Communication is a complex phenomenon which involves numerous factors, personal, situational, institutional and societal (Malcolm 1994). Intercultural communication is even more so with a more distinct

cultural element. This is especially the case with respect to the communication between Chinese people and Westerners since these groups have often been said to exhibit 'maximum' socio-cultural differences (Porter & Samovar 1994). As Young (1982, 1994) noted, Chinese people are often characterised by Westerners as 'inscrutable', 'mysterious', 'unfathomable', and 'inexplicable' (see also Cheng 1995, 1997; Scollon & Scollon 1994).

These stereotypes result largely from the different communicative styles of Chinese and Westerners and can be an outcome of using an ethnocentric standard of speech style for the judgment of a contrastively different one (Tannen 1993). According to Young (1994: 1), "[o]ne conspicuous element making up Western images of the inscrutable Chinese has been the way Chinese talk and respond in conversations."

Thus an increasing amount of work has been done in recent years by researchers from various disciplines such as intercultural communication, psychology, contrastive discourse analysis and cross-cultural pragmatics to understand the way that Chinese people as compared to Westerners behave and use the language. Nevertheless, most studies in this respect have concentrated on areas other than the conversation organisational aspect of the language, including, for example: 1) the phonological level (e.g., Shen 1949, 1955, 1956, 1956-7, 1959; Tiee 1969); 2) morphological and syntactical levels (e.g., Ho 1973; Tse 1977; Wong 1983); 3) typological differences (e.g., Li & Thompson 1976; Schachter & Rutherford 1979; Rutherford 1983); 4) written discourse and rhetorical structures (e.g., Hu, Brown, & Brown 1982;

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Johns 1984; Kaplan 1966, 1967, 1968, 1976; Mohan & Lo 1985; Fagan & Cheong 1987; Taylor & Chen 1991; Kirkpatrick 1991, 1993, 1995a, 1995b); 5) speech acts and politeness phenomenon (e.g., Nash 1983; Gu 1990; Chen 1993; Bresnahan, Cai, & Rivers 1994; Mao 1994, 1995; Liao & Bresnahan 1996a, 1996b; Liao 1995, 1996; Hong 1996; Feldstein & Crown 1990; Zhang 1995); and 6) differences in personality, cultural traits and overall communication patterns (e.g., Bond 1996; Mun 1986; Vernon 1982; Cheng 1991, 1995, 1997; Hsu 1981; The Chinese Culture Connection 1987; Yum 1994).

Although an emerging number of researchers have started to turn their attention to conversational phenomena, they have typically dealt with how topic is introduced (Scollon & Scollon 1991; Scollon 1993), how argument is organised (Young 1982, 1994), and how gender is constructed (Günthner 1992). Limited attention has been paid to the comparative study of turn-taking organisation and listener behaviour in conversation. This is in sharp contrast to the relatively bulky literature in cross-cultural linguistic studies in these areas for other languages like Japanese (e.g., for review of these studies, see Chapter 3).

This study is thus a direct response to this lack of research in an important area. On the one hand, it is hoped that the study will be able to contribute theoretically to the study of conversational organisation in different languages as a part of the critical examination of the nature and the extent of universality of turn-taking mechanism. On the other hand, it is hoped to be able to increase awareness of the existence of different conversational styles and help locate the problem areas and

thus solve potential conflicts and miscommunication in intercultural communication between Chinese and Australians.

4. Objectives of the study and research questions

The major objective of this study is, therefore, to discover the similarities and differences in the use of overlap and listener response between Chinese and Australian speakers in their respective intracultural conversations. Related to this major objective is to find out what these differences in use of the two conversational strategies reveal about the underlying cultural patterns of behaviour of these two groups of speakers. In addition, this study is also intended to examine the roles that gender plays in the use of overlap and listener response in Chinese and Australian conversations respectively. This latter objective is mainly prompted by the widespread attention to the gender differential patterns of use of overlap and listener response, especially in conversations of the English language (see Chapter 3 for an extensive review of these studies). Thus three general research questions can be posited with regard to the three objectives set for the study:

1) How would Chinese compare with Australians in the use of overlap and listener response in conversation?
2) What role does gender play in the use of overlap and listener responses in Chinese and Australian conversations respectively? Does it have the same or a different effect on the use of overlap and listener response across the two languages?

3) What do the differences in the use of overlap and listener response reveal about the underlying cultural patterns of behaviour of these two groups of speakers?

More specific questions will be raised after the review of literature on studies in these two conversational phenomena (see Sections 2.6 & 3.5 in Chapter 3).

5. Description of terms used in this study

1) Overlap and listener response

The term "overlap" is used in this study as coterminous as "simultaneous speech", that is, all instances of one person talking while another person is also talking. But the study will exclude certain instances of overlap in its actual analysis such as overlap only with laughter or with free-standing listener responses (see also Section 3.1.3 in Chapter 5).

Listener response is used, following Clancy et al. (1996: 356), to refer to a short utterance that the listener produces in response to the ongoing speaker's talk in the conversion. It includes non-lexical vocalic forms such as 'hm' and 'ah', short lexical words or phrases such as 'yes' and 'right', collaborative finishes, and repetitions (for a full discussion of this term, see Section 3.1 in Chapter 6).

2) Intracultural, intercultural, and cross-cultural

   Intracultural conversation refers to the interaction between people of the same cultural group. Intercultural conversation is that between people of different cultural groups. Cross-cultural communication is a general cover term which includes both intracultural and intercultural types of interaction.

3) Conversational style and conversational strategy

   The term "conversational style" is used in this study in the Tannenian sense, referring simply to "ways of speaking". It does not mean to connote the commonly-assumed literal sense of "a special way of speaking" (Tannen 1984: 8). It includes "pitch, amplitude, intonation, voice quality, lexical and syntactic choice, rate of speech and turn-taking, as well as what is said and how discourse cohesion is achieved" (Tannen 1981a: 136). According to Tannen (1984: 10), conversational style is not "a sophisticated skill learned late or superimposed on previously acquired linguistic forms", but rather it is learned "as an integral part of linguistic knowledge" through the socialisation process in a particular society or sociocultural group".

   Likewise, the term "conversational strategy", again in the Tannenian sense, is not meant to carry the implication of "deliberate planning", but is used instead to refer simply to "a way of speaking" (Tannen 1994: 47: Note 1). The use of conversational strategies is not

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intended to be conscious, but is best thought of as "automatic" (Tannen 1994: 47: Note 1). One's conversational style comprises all the possible strategies one can use in a conversation.

6. Structural outline

The seven chapters in the thesis are organised as follows:

Chapter 1, the present chapter, briefly introduced the research, outlining its background and stating the research problem. It has also set out its general objectives and research questions and explained a few terms used in the study.

Chapter 2 reviews the various theoretical frameworks related to the present study. This will be centred around three major aspects of the study: the analysis of casual conversation, cross-cultural communication, and language and gender issues.

Chapter 3 carries out an extensive review of empirical studies on the two conversational phenomena the present study is concerned with: overlap and listener response. It traces the origin of scholarly interests in the examination of these two conversational phenomena, how they have been characterised and classified, and various findings with respect to their cultural and gender patterns of use. The review of each of the two conversational phenomena leads to a detailed list of research questions for the present study.

Chapter 4 describes the research methodology used in the present study. This includes the detailed description of the students who participated in the study, the physical setting in which the participants conducted their dyadic conversations, the specific procedures for data collection, and the data which are actually used for the analysis. In this chapter, the transcription conventions, layout, and process are also explained.

Chapter 5 then compares the use of overlap by Chinese and Australian speakers in their respective intracultural conversations. Both the qualitative and the quantitative aspects of their use of overlap are compared. For the qualitative aspect, the study examines the various phenomena that the speakers orient to in overlap onset, the procedures they use to resolve the state of overlap, and the strategies they employ to retrieve their overlapped utterances. The qualitative comparison provides the basis for the formulation of the analytic framework for quantitative comparison. Thus, like the qualitative study, the quantitative one also compares the use of overlap in three respects: overlap onset, overlap resolution and overlap retrieval.

Chapter 6 compares the use of listener response by Chinese and Australian speakers in their respective intracultural conversations. Again both the qualitative and the quantitative aspects of their use of listener response are compared. For the qualitative aspect, the study examines how passive recipiency and speakership incipiency are signalled and achieved in conversations of these two languages. For the quantitative aspect, it compares the use of listener response by the two

groups of speakers and also their respective male and female participants in three respects: the overall frequency of listener responses used, the types of listener responses favoured, and the placements of listener responses with reference to a point of possible completion.

Chapter 7 summarises the findings of the whole study. It also discusses the implications of the findings with respect to cross-cultural communication theories and language and gender theories.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1. Introduction

This chapter delineates the theoretical background for the present study. The review of various theoretical frameworks will follow the three major themes of the study, i.e., the analysis of casual conversation, cross-cultural communication study, and language and gender theories. Section 2 reviews various approaches to the analysis of casual conversation. Section 3 examines different approaches to cross-cultural communication study. Section 4 reviews three models of language and gender research. Section 5 summarises the whole chapter. The aim of this present chapter is to situate the study in a larger theoretical context.

2. Approaches to the analysis of casual conversation

The analysis of casual conversation has received attention from within a diversity of scholarly disciplines, including linguistics, ethnography, logic, philosophy, sociolinguistics, sociology and politics. A crude typology of these different approaches is given below (see Eggins & Slade 1997: 24 for a different categorisation).

1. linguistic: Birmingham School
2. ethnographic: Ethnography of Speaking
3. logico-philosophical: Speech Act Theory &
   Theory of Conversational Implicature

4. sociolinguistic:	Interactional Sociolinguistics
5. sociological:	Ethnomethodological Conversation Analysis
6. socio-political:	Critical Discourse Analysis

In this section, I review these six different approaches to the analysis of casual conversation and examine how each approach is related or distinguishable from the present study.

2.1 Linguistic approach to conversation

The 'linguistic approach' is used here to refer to the model of spoken discourse developed by a group of linguists at Birmingham University in the 1970s. The original system of analysis came out of a project called 'The English Used by Teachers and Pupils' and was carried out by Sinclair, Coulthard, Ashby and Forsyth (1970-1972). The project was written up in Sinclair et al. (1972) and well elaborated in Sinclair & Coulthard (1975).

Sinclair & Coulthard (1975) tried to explore the functions of utterances and sought to discover the linguistic structure of spoken discourse (hence the term 'linguistic approach to conversation'). But they found it difficult to begin their study with desultory conversation, which they thought to be "the most sophisticated and least overtly rule-governed form of spoken discourse" (Sinclair & Coulthard 1975: 4). They claimed that it would be more productive to start with a more simple type of discourse, "one with more overt structure, where one participant has acknowledged responsibility for the direction of the discourse, for deciding who shall speak when, and for introducing and ending topics" (Sinclair & Coulthard

1975: 6). They found the situation they wanted in the classroom.

Sinclair & Coulthard (1975) based their study of classroom interaction on the early Hallidayan grammatical model (Halliday 1961). Although they propose discourse as a linguistic level higher than grammar, they think discourse displays a hierarchical rank scale analogous to those in grammar, phonology and graphology. The hierarchical system which evolved out of their analysis of classroom interaction consists of five ranks: lesson > transaction > exchange > move > act, where lessons are made up of transactions, transactions are made up of exchanges, exchanges are made up of moves, and moves are made up of acts. But the structural description of their system is mostly restricted to the two middle ranks --- move and exchange.

There are two major classes of exchange, Boundary and Teaching. Boundary exchanges are used to open and close transactions and consist of 'framing' and 'focusing' moves. For example, 'Right. Now, let's look at the new unit we're going to learn today' consists of a framing move ('right') and a focusing move which tells the class what is going to happen. Teaching exchanges have a basic structure expressed in terms of the three moves: Initiation (I), Response (R) and Feedback (F). They are also called Opening, Answering and Follow-up moves.

A move consists of one or more acts. Sinclair & Coulthard (1975) distinguish 22 acts for classroom discourse. Acts are functional rather than formal categories, and a major issue is the relationship between them and the formal categories of grammar. Some of the acts are realised by a

closed class of items and can be easily recognised. For example, the framing move is composed of two acts --- marker and silent stress. The act 'marker' is realised by items like 'well', 'OK', 'now', 'good', and 'right' and the act 'silent stress' is the pause which usually follows the act 'marker'. But other acts are more open-ended and there do not seem to be simple correspondences between the act and its grammatical realisations. This is especially the case for the three acts 'elicitation', 'directive' and 'informative', each of which may comprise the essential element of the Initiating move. The three discourse acts are frequently realised by interrogative, imperative and declarative structures respectively, but there are occasions when this is not so. Thus for example, an interrogative structure can be a directive as well as an elicitation (e.g. 'Can you shut the door?'). To handle this lack of fit between grammar and discourse, Sinclair & Coulthard (1975) postulated two intermediate concepts: situation and tactics. The former brings in situational factors which are relevant: for example, if children know laughing is not allowed in class, an interrogative like 'Is someone laughing?' will generally be taken as a command to stop laughing rather than as a question. The concept of tactics relates to the position of a grammatical structure in the discourse.

Since the establishment of this system, a number of attempts have been made to modify it so that it could be applied to other types of discourse (e.g., Coulthard & Brazil 1981; Stubbs 1981, 1983; Burton 1980, 1981; Berry 1981; Deng 1988). Most of these attempts have concentrated on the description of the exchange structure, which seems most amenable to linguistic-structural analysis. Thus for example, Coulthard & Brazil (1981) propose a modified exchange structure as follows:

Initiation   (Re-Initiation)   Response   (Feedback)

which conveys the information that an exchange is minimally a two-part structure but that it can consist of up to five moves.

While Sinclair & Coulthard's (1975) system contributes greatly to the discovery of, perhaps universal, organisational structural features of spoken discourse, it has little to say about the heterogeneity of different structures of discourse produced by different groups of people. In addition, its main data source (i.e., highly teacher-centred classroom data or quasi-natural or even intuitive conversational extracts) seems to exclude itself from the examination of some conversation-specific phenomena like pausing, overlapping and the use of listener responses. Thus this approach of discourse is not of direct relevance to the present study of conversational style differences between culturally different groups.

2.2 Ethnographic approach to conversation

The 'ethnographic approach to conversation' here refers to what is commonly known the ethnography of speaking, which is sometimes coterminous with ethnography of communication, ethno-linguistics, and socially constituted linguistics (Figueroa 1994). This approach to conversation, or language more generally, has been led by Dell Hymes (1962, 1972, 1974) and is mainly concerned with describing ways of speaking, as they construct and reflect social life within particular speech

communities.

One fundamental premise of the ethnography of speaking is that communication, of which the verbal system is a part, is constrained by culture, but it also reveals and sustains culture (Schiffrin 1994). In other words, different societies have different communicative resources (including languages, dialects, registers, routines, genres, etc) available to their members. Besides, different societies use these resources differently, i.e., with different rules and for different purposes (Fitch & Philipsen 1995).

The initial formulation of the ethnography of speaking (Hymes 1962) included a framework for describing the particular ways of speaking in diverse speech communities. It was based on the isolation and analysis of speech events according to their components and functions and was designed to provide an emic/etic framework: a model for discovering, describing and comparing cases. This framework was later revised (Hymes 1972) and the outcome of this revision was a classificatory grid known as the SPEAKING grid (with each letter as an abbreviation for a different component of communication) (Table 2-1).

This framework not only provides a list of components to be described in particular communities, but also a format for comparison across communities.

Studies in the tradition of the ethnography of speaking have focused on various components of the Hymes' SPEAKING grid, most prominently on

the level of speech acts (e.g., Blum-Kulka 1990). Studies on rules of turn-taking in specific communities have also been noticeable (e.g., Basso 1970; Reisman 1974; Watson 1975). These studies provide interesting evidences of culture specific patterns of turn-taking organisation. But as most of these ethnographic studies on conversation are based on the methodology of participant observation, a lot of their claims can be usefully substantiated by examining actual recorded conversations, in which turn-taking patterns are exhibited. This is what this study intends to do.

Table 2-1 Hymes' Speaking Grid (Hymes 1972)

S	Setting	physical circumstances
	Scene	subjective definition of an occasion or "psychological setting"
P	Participant	speaker/sender/addressor/hearer/ receiver/audience/addressee
E	Ends	purposes and goals
		outcomes
A	Act sequence	message form and content
K	Key	tone, manner
I	Instrumentalities	channel (verbal, nonverbal, physical) forms of speech drawn from community repertoire
N	Norms of interaction and interpretation	specific proprieties attached to speaking Interpretation of norms within cultural belief system
G	Genre	textual categories

2.3 Logico-philosophical approaches to conversation

The term 'logico-philosophical' was borrowed from Eggins & Slade (1997) to include approaches to conversation which originated in the concerns with language and meaning from the disciplinary traditions of logic and philosophy and was later widely used in the pragmatic study of conversation. It includes, among others, speech act theory and the theory of conversational implicature.

2.3.1 Speech act theory

Speech act theory is most related to the work of two philosophers, John Austin (1962) and John Searle (1969, 1975, 1976, 1979). The main claim made by speech act theorists is that "to speak is not only to *say* something but to *do* something." (Taylor & Cameron 1987: 44, original italics).

Austin (1962: 109) distinguishes between three kinds of acts that are simultaneously performed in saying something: 1) *locutionary act*: the utterance of a sentence with sense, reference and so on; 2) *illocutionary act*: utterances which have a certain (conventional) force, such as informing, ordering, warning, undertaking; 3) *perlocutionary act*: the bringing about of effects on the audience by means of uttering the sentence, such as convincing, persuading, deterring. According to speech act theorists, the study of language should not only focus on locutionary act, but should also focus on illocutionary act. In fact, Austin has illocutionary act as his focus of interest. This is also true of Searle, who considers a theory of language to be part of a theory of action (1969: 17) and proposes that "the

basic unit of human linguistic communication is the illocutionary act" (1979: 1).

According to Searle (1979), an important part of speech act theory is to discover the number and categories of illocutionary acts. He proposes five classes of speech acts: representatives (e.g., asserting), directives (e.g., requesting), commissives (e.g., promising), expressives (e.g., thanking), and declarations (e.g., appointing). Searle (1969) also notes that more than one thing can be done with words. He takes this phenomenon as part of the important issue of indirect speech acts (namely, speech acts performed indirectly through the performance of another speech act).

Although speech act theory does not deal with the analysis of continuous spoken discourse itself, it inspires other researchers towards that direction, relying on its conception of the speech act (or the illocutionary act) as the basic unit of discourse analysis (see for example, Labov & Fanshel 1977; Malcolm 1979; Edmondson 1981). It is also fundamental to the later development of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural pragmatics (e.g., Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1989; also see Section 3.2.4 this Chapter).

2.3.2 Grice's theory of conversational implicature

The theory of conversational implicature was proposed by Grice in his paper "Logic and conversation" (1975), which is part of the lectures he delivered at Harvard in 1967. Grice's basic assumption, in setting out to explore the phenomenon of conversational implicature, is that human beings are intrinsically rational and cooperative in their interactions with

one another and even in non-linguistic behaviour as well. This assumption is formulated in what he called the co-operative principle, which is stated as "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (p. 45).

Grice suggests that there are nine (sub)maxims, which jointly support the cooperative principle. They are organised into four general categories.

1. Quantity
   i. Make your contributions as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
   ii. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.
2. Quality: Try to make your contribution one that is true:
   i. Do not say what you believe to be false.
   ii. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.
3. Relation
   i. Be relevant.
4. Manner: Be perspicuous:
   i. Avoid obscurity of expression.
   ii. Avoid ambiguity.
   iii. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
   iv. Be orderly.

(Grice 1975: 46)

The above list is not intended to be exhaustive. In fact, Grice mentions

another maxim, "Be polite," which was later taken up and elaborated by Brown & Levinson (1978, 1987), Leech (1983) and others. Allan (1986: 31) also talks about being 'interesting' as a potential maxim which can be no less important than some of Grice's three maxims.

Grice (1975: 49) then starts to suggest four ways in which a speaker might fail to fulfil a maxim: 1) quietly and unostentatiously violate a maxim; 2) opt out from the operation both of the maxim and of the cooperative principle; 3) face a clash between maxims; 4) flout a maxim or blatantly fail to fulfil it. Grice demonstrates that the failure to fulfil a maxim on the part of the speaker leads to the listener(s)' inferences beyond the literal or semantic content of the sentences uttered. And this inference is made possible on the assumption that the speaker is adhering to the cooperative principle. This kind of inference is dubbed by Grice conversational implicature.

As Grice's cooperative principle, together with its maxims, underlies his theory of conversational implicature, it has provoked a number of researchers outside the discipline of philosophy (e.g., in the fields of linguistics) to test its universality. These researchers have largely demonstrated that the utilisation of the cooperative principle is culture-specific. For example, Keenan (1976) investigated the maxim "Be informative" in the Malagasy society. Her analysis revealed that the Malagasy interlocutors regularly provide less information than their partners require. Two reasons are used for explanation: 1) since information is power, people tend to keep what they know to themselves; 2) they fear committing themselves to a particular claim. Likewise,

Vamarasi (1990) argues that Grice's maxim of quantity may be interpreted differently by different cultures. She draws upon Hall's concepts of Low Context and High Context cultures (Hall 1981). According to her, High Context cultures like Japanese and Chinese value talking less, and meanings communicated rely more heavily on the context than on the words themselves. Low Context cultures like American, however, value talking more and put most of the messages into the words. The maxim of "Manner" is also open to dispute. Some researchers contend that while direct communication is a norm in North America, it would not be accepted as a norm in East Asia. For example, Okabe (1987) has shown that in Japan, the traditional rule of communication, which prescribes not to demand, reject, assert yourself, or criticise the listener straightforwardly, is a much more dominant principle than Grice's maxim of manner.

Although Grice's approach to conversation does not deal specifically with conversational organisation, its underlying assumptions embrace some important conceptions about the nature of conversation. The most important of these is its emphasis on cooperativeness in conversational interaction on the part of both the speaker and the listener. To what an extent this notion of cooperativeness is revealed in the turn-taking behaviour and the use of listener responses and to what an extent it is applicable to the conversational behaviour of the two cultural groups under study (i.e., Chinese and Australian) will be explored in the present study.

2.4. Interactional sociolinguistic approach to conversation

The theoretical framework of interactional sociolinguistics was laid down by Gumperz (1977, 1982a, b, c) and expanded and elaborated in his subsequent and others' works (e.g., Gumperz 1992; Tannen 1984). This framework suggests that the different socialisation processes of different cultural groups are reflected in their different communication systems and interpretation of conversation phenomena is different across cultures because of the different contextualisation cues (see below for explanation) they respectively use. According to this theory, misunderstandings can arise in intercultural conversations because of systematic differences in the use of various contextualisation cues.

2.4.1 Gumperz' theory of discourse strategies

One general theme of this approach of sociolinguistics is to contribute to the construction of "a theory of possible human understanding" (Gumperz 1982c: 325). According to Gumperz (1982a: 2-3), understanding presupposes conversational involvement and if conversational involvement is to be maintained, linguistic and socio-cultural knowledge must be shared. He believes that a general theory of discourse strategies should specify the linguistic and socio-cultural knowledge that needs to be shared for maintaining conversational engagement and then find out 'what it is about the nature of conversational inference that makes for cultural, subcultural and situational specificity of interpretations' (p.3). This is thus related to his concept of communicative competence, which is defined as 'the knowledge of linguistic and related communicative

conventions that speakers must have to initiate and sustain conversational involvement' (Gumperz 1982c: 325).

Gumperz goes on to demonstrate that interpretation is necessarily situated or context-bound, and relies not only on phonological, syntactic, and semantic cues but also on what he calls the contextualisation cues. The latter are the surface structures of verbal and nonverbal signs which speakers and listeners use to "relate what is said at any one time and in one place to knowledge acquired through past experience, in order to retrieve the presuppositions they must rely on to maintain conversational involvement and assess what is intended" (Gumperz 1992: 230). A contextualisation cue thus constitutes any feature of linguistic form that contributes to the signalling of contextual presuppositions or interpretive frames (Gumperz 1982a: 131). More specifically, Gumperz (1992: 231) lists four types of contextualisation cues:

1. **Prosody**, including intonation, stress or accenting and pitch register shifts.
2. **Paralinguistic signs** of tempo, pausing and hesitation, conversational synchrony, including latching or overlapping of speaking turns, and other "tone of voice" expressive cues;
3. **Code choice** from among the options within a linguistic repertoire, as for example in code or style switching or selection among phonetic, phonological or morphosyntactic options.
4. **Choice of lexical forms** or **formulaic expressions**, as for example opening or closing routines or metaphoric expressions.

Contextualisation cues, according to Gumperz (1992), serve to highlight, foreground or make salient certain phonological or lexical strings vis-a-vis other similar units and enter into the inferential process at least at three distinct but converging levels. The first level is perceptual where communicative signals, both auditory and visual, are received and categorised. The second level is that of speech act, where "communicative intent" (Gumperz 1982b) is interpreted. The third level is the more global level of framing, where interlocutors raise expectations about "what is to come at some point beyond the immediate sequence to yield predictions about possible outcomes of an exchange, about suitable topics, and about the quality of interpersonal relations." (Gumperz 1992: 233).

Unlike words and syntactic units, the meanings of contextualisation cues are implicit, and are used and perceived mostly below the level of consciousness. Thus unlike a mistaken use of a lexical item which is noticeable and at most attributed to the speaker's lack of linguistic competence, a different use of a contextualisation cue usually goes unnoticed and can lead to a completely different interpretation of the message meaning, resulting in misunderstanding. When this happens, it tends to be seen in attitudinal terms. A speaker is said to be unfriendly, impertinent, rude, uncooperative, or to fail to understand. Miscommunication of this type, according to Gumperz (1982a: 132), "is regarded as a social faux pas and leads to misjudgments of the speaker's intent."

Gumperz and his collaborators have shown numerous examples of miscommunication and its resultant negative evaluations caused by subtle

differences in the use of contextualisation cues (e.g., Gumperz 1982b; Roberts & Sayers 1987; Roberts et al. 1992; Tannen 1984, 1994). One classic example in this respect is provided by Gumperz (1977, 1982a). In his study of the communicative difficulties between speakers of Indian English and British English, he found that Indian women who were hired to serve meals in a London cafeteria were considered to be rude and uncooperative by their British clients and supervisors. An analysis of a recording of their interactions let him discover that the Indian women, when offering gravy to the customers, would say 'gravy' with falling intonation rather than with rising intonation, leading the customers to interpret the utterance as 'This is gravy, take it or leave it,' and not as the offer it was intended to be. Their reaction was based on a misinterpretation of the Indian women's prosodic convention for contextualising an offer. However, instead of attributing the problem to a linguistic error, the native speakers saw the nonnative speakers as being surly and uncooperative, which was not at all their intention.

2.4.2 Tannen's theory of conversational styles

Tannen's work (1981a, b; 1984, 1994) has developed the framework of interactional sociolinguistics in at least the following two ways: 1) the contextualisation cues have been re-termed conversational styles to cover a wider range of conversational phenomena than previously defined; 2) the scope of study has been extended from the goal-oriented and socially defined speech events like interviews, committee negotiations, courtroom interrogations and formal hearings, and public debates and discussion (Gumperz 1982a, b) to include casual speech activity like dinner table

conversations (Tannen 1981a, b; 1984).

Tannen's work on conversational styles has drawn insights from, among others, Gumperz and Lakoff. From Gumperz, she accepts the importance of contextualisation cues, or conversational styles in her term, in signalling about how one means what one says. She also accepts the concept of cultural specificity of contextualisation cues. Thus, when expectations about how contextualisation cues signal how an utterance is meant are shared by speakers and listeners, a more likely event in intracultural communication, communication goes smoothly with interlocutors not aware of the uses of these cues. But in cross-cultural communication, it is more often than not that expectations are not shared about how contextualisation cues are used to indicate what is meant by what is said. In cases like these, misunderstandings ensue.

Tannen identifies and characterises different conversational styles on the basis of Lakoff's "Rules of Rapport":

1. Don't impose (Distance)
2. Give options (Deference)
3. Be friendly (Camaraderie)

According to Tannen, speakers observe one or another of these rules in choosing the form of an utterance. Each of these rules creates a particular stylistic effect in the interactional context. Conversely, conversational style results from habitual use of linguistic devices motivated by these overall strategies.

The substantial analysis of data Tannen (1981a, b; 1984) conducted was that of a 2½ hour dinner table conversation between six friends and acquaintances: three of whom are New York Jewish speakers, two Californians and one native British. She found that the conversational styles of the three New York Jewish speakers were different from those of the three other speakers with reference to pacing, pausing and overlapping. The former were characterised by "a) faster rate of speech, b) avoidance of pauses (silence is evidence of lack of rapport), c) faster turn-taking, c) cooperative overlap and participatory listenership" (Tannen 1981b: 137). Tannen labelled this type of style as "high involvement" style, similar to Brown and Levinson's notion of "positive politeness" (Brown & Levinson 1978, 1987). The non-New York Jewish speakers, however, use styles which are on the other end of the continuum and characterised by slower pacing, longer pauses between turns, slower turn taking, and avoidance of overlap use. This type of style was labelled as "high considerateness" style, more or less equivalent to Brown & Levinson's concept of "negative politeness" (1978, 1987).

According to Tannen (1994), the use of similar styles enhanced involvement in the conversation and the use of opposing styles led to misinterpretations:

> when high-involvement speakers used these [strategies] ... with each other, conversation was not disrupted. Rather, the fast pacing and overlapping served to grease the conversational wheels. but when they used the same strategies with conversants who did not share this style, the interlocutors hesitated, faltered, or stopped, feeling interrupted and, more to the point, dominated. (Tannen 1994: 63)

Moreover, these interpretations frequently lead to bad feelings about each of the other conversational style users. Thus the Californians frequently consider the New Yorkers to be aggressive people who never let anyone else say anything and interrupt constantly. The New Yorkers do not apprehend their own "interruptions," which Californians resent. Not understanding the resentment their normal conversational style produces, they interpret the response to their style as evidence that the Californians (or others using "high considerate" styles) are hostile, and unwilling or unable to speak or keep a conversation going.

2.4.3 Summary

The interactional sociolinguistic approach provides us with a theoretical premise on which we can analyse cross-cultural misunderstandings. It shows convincingly that different cultural groups may have different conversational practices which result from different socialisation processes. And the differences in conversational practices, however minute and inconspicuous they might be, can result in communication difficulties or even miscommunications, the cumulative results of which are often negative evaluations of each other's personality and character.

This study contrastively analyses the conversational styles of Chinese and Australian interactants with respect to the use of overlapping talk and listener responses. The contrastive analysis of intracultural conversational styles is believed to be the first and necessary step to the understanding of intercultural conversation.

2.5 Ethnomethodological approach to conversation

Conversation analysis was developed in the 1960s and 1970s by a group of sociologists within the framework of ethnomethodology. The term 'ethnomethodology' was coined by Garfinkel (1974) and was used to refer to "various policies, methods, results, risks, and lunacies with which to locate and accomplish the study of the rational properties practical actions as contingent ongoing accomplishments of organised artful practices of everyday life." (Garfinkel 1972: 309). More simply put, ethnomethodology is concerned with everyday life as a skilled accomplishment and with the methods and techniques that the members of a society themselves utilise to interpret and act within their own social worlds (Levinson 1983). The most prominent development within ethnomethodology is undoubtedly that which has become known as conversation analysis.

The pioneering work of conversation analysis was most associated with Harvey Sacks' researches into the structural organisation of everyday language use, at the University of California in the early 1960s (Sacks 1992). This has been carried on by Schegloff, Jefferson and other researchers. One of the basic assumptions of conversation analysis is that ordinary conversation is a deeply ordered, structurally organised phenomenon and is best approached by the use of recorded naturally-occurring data which can be examined repeatedly (Heritage 1984a; 1989; Hutchby & Drew 1995).

For the past three decades, conversation analysis has covered a wide range of conversational phenomena, among which the most relevant to the

present study include the turn-taking organisation system (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974), structural organisations in overlapping talk (Jefferson 1973, 1983, 1986; Jefferson & Schegloff 1975), the use of listener responses (Schegloff 1982; Jefferson 1983/1993, 1984; Heritage 1984b; Gardner 1997). Below I will summarise the turn-taking organisation system. Work on the use of overlap and listener response will be reviewed in Chapter 3.

Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson (SSJ thereafter), in setting up a turn-taking system, begin by isolating a set of facts that they argue were "grossly apparent" in their data (audio recordings of naturally occurring conversation). Altogether fourteen facts were noted in the original list, four of which are reproduced as follows (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974: 700-701):

(2) Overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time.

(3) Occurrences of more than one speaker at a time are common, but brief.

(4) Transitions from one turn to a next with no gap and no overlap between them are common. Together with transitions characterised by slight gap or slight overlap, they make up the vast majority of transitions.

(14) Repair mechanisms for dealing with turn-taking errors and violations obviously are available for use. For example, if two parties find themselves talking at the same time, one of them will stop prematurely, thus repairing the trouble.

SSJ then generate a turn-taking system that accounts for these facts. The system is composed of two components and a set of application rules. The first component is called the turn-constructional component. According to SSJ, turns are made up of units from the turn-construction component, the units are syntactically defined (sentences, clauses, phrases, words), and a speaker is initially entitled to one such unit. The first possible completion of a first such unit constitutes an initial transition-relevance place (henceforth, TRP). TRP is where turn change from one speaker to another normally occurs.

The second component of SSJ's turn-taking system is called the turn-allocation component, which is made up of two groups of allocation techniques: (1) those in which a next turn is allocated by a current speaker selecting a next speaker, and (2) those in which a next turn is allocated by self-selection.

Finally, SSJ posit a set of rules that govern turn construction, provide for the allocation of a next turn to one party, and coordinate transfer to minimise gap and overlap. The following is a slightly simplified version of the rules, where C is current speaker and N is the next speaker (see Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974: 704; Levinson 1983: 298).

Rule 1 - applies initially at the first TRP of any turn

(a)   If C selects N in current turn, then N must speak next, transition occurring at that place.

(b)   If C does not select N, then any (other) party may self-select, first speaker gaining rights to the next turn.

(c)   If C has not selected N, and no other party self-selects, then C may (but need not) continue (i.e., claim rights to a further turn-constructional unit).

Rule 2 - applies at all subsequent TRPs

When Rule 1 (c) has been applied by C, then at the next TRP Rules 1 (a)-(c) apply, and recursively at the next TRP, until speaker change is effected.

SSJ's model of turn-taking then accounts for the facts which they believe are apparent in observed conversations. In the case of the fact "overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time," for example, two features of the system can account for it: 1) the system allocates single turns to single speakers; 2) all turn transfer is coordinated around TRPs. As to the fact "Occurrences of more than one speaker at a time are common, but brief," the system provides a number of bases for the occurrences of overlap. For example, Rule 1(b), in allocating a turn to the self-selector who starts first, encourages the earliest possible start for each self-selector and thus explains the occurrence of simultaneous starts at or near TRPs (for more detailed review of overlap, see Chapter 3).

SSJ characterise their model of turn-taking as a "locally managed" system in the sense that it is directed to 'next turn' and 'next transition' on a turn-by-turn basis and with each turn being constrained by and oriented to the next turn. Moreover, the system is said to be "party administered," i.e., turn order and turn size are subject to the control of parties to the conversation who exercise the options provided. The system is also characterised as one of "recipient design," by which they mean the

interactants construct or design their talk in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to other parties in the interaction.

The turn-taking organisation system that SSJ propose provides a basic analytic framework within which to analyse related conversational features such as overlapping and the use of listener responses. It also serves as a reference system with which turn-taking patterns can be compared across different cultures. More importantly, its focus on the participants' own orientation to the phenomena at issue provides a theoretical guide in the categorisation and classification of conversational phenomena.

2.6 Socio-political approach to conversation

By socio-political approach to conversation, I refer to what is commonly known as 'critical discourse analysis'. This approach to discourse analysis was recently introduced by Norman Fairclough at the University of Lancaster (Fairclough 1985, 1989, 1995a, 1995b) and is becoming more and more widespread in the field of language study. It shares a critical perspective, which distinguishes it from the above-reviewed approaches to conversation, with a number of other related approaches such as social semiotics (Fowler et al. 1979; Kress & Hodge 1979; Hodge & Kress 1988; Kress & Threadgold 1988; Kress 1989, 1993; Kress & Van Leeuwen 1990; Van Leeuwen 1993), the sociocognitive model (van Dijk 1984, 1987, 1991, 1993) and discourse sociolinguistics (Wodak & Matouschek 1993) (see Wodak 1995 for an overview of all these different critical approaches). But it differs from these other critical approaches in that the latter deal mostly

with written texts whereas the critical discourse analysis as advocated by Fairclough also pays great attention to the study of conversation.

The theoretical assumptions of critical discourse analysis, according to Fairclough (1995a: 35) lie in the interconnectedness of verbal interaction and social structures:

> Firstly, that verbal interaction is a mode of social action, and ... it presupposes a range of ... 'structures ... including social structures, situational types, language codes, norms of language use. Secondly, ... that these structures are not only presupposed by, and necessary conditions for, action, but are also *products* of action; or, ... actions *reproduce* structures. (Original italics).

In other words, verbal interactions are determined by and also influence social structures. From these assumptions, Fairclough (1989) derives a three dimensional view of discourse. He says that a text (including both written texts and spoken texts) is the product of processes of production and interpretation (which he labels "interaction" or later "discursive practice" [1992]) and interaction is a type of social practice and involves social conditions, which can be specified as social conditions of production, and social conditions of interpretation. Corresponding to these three dimensions of discourse, he proposes three dimensions, or stages, of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1989: 26):

- **Description** is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of the text.
- **Interpretation** is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction - with seeing the text as the product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation. ...

- **Explanation** is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context - with the social determination of the processes of production and interpretation, and their social effects.

In the descriptive stage, Fairclough (1989) suggests that text be analysed in terms of the three aspects of its formal features: vocabulary, grammar and textual structures and that these formal features be examined by their three types of value: experiential, relational and expressive. In his 1992 book, he extends the list of formal features of the text to include 'cohesion' (p. 75). Other researchers have made further extensions. Malcolm (1994), for example, adapts Fairclough's framework in her analysis of strategic adjustment in native and non-native speaker discourse. She believes that strategic adjustment (i.e., communication strategies or foreigner talk) is also one of the features of language use which is ideologically significant.

In the interpretive stage, Fairclough (1989: 147-149) suggests that text can be seen as the participants' answers to the following four questions:

- What's going on? (i.e., what is the activity, the topic, the purpose)
- Who's involved? (i.e., what are the subject positions)
- In what relations? (i.e., what is the power and the distance relationship)
- What's the role of language? (instrumentally, intertextually, illocutionarily, schematically)

In the explanatory stage, the objective, according to Fairclough (1989: 163),

is "to portray a discourse as part of a social process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what reproductive effects discourses can cumulatively have on those structures, sustaining them or changing them." Again, Fairclough (1989: 166) suggests three types of question be asked of a particular discourse for the dimension of explanation:

- Social determinants: what power relations at situational, institutional and societal levels help shape this discourse?
- Ideologies: what elements of 'members' resources' which are drawn upon have an ideological character?
- Effects: how is this discourse positioned in relation to struggles at the situational, institutional and societal levels? Are these struggles overt or covert? Is the discourse normative with respect to 'members' resources' or creative? Does it contribute to sustaining existing power relations, or transforming them?

Critical discourse analysis contributes greatly to the understanding of the relationship between discourse and various levels of social structures. But as its conception of discourse is confined to that of social practice, other factors which can influence discourse patterns, such as motivation and personal disposition, are largely ignored. As Malcolm (1994: 84) observes, processes of production and interpretation are closely related not only to macro social processes, but also to the micro processes of motivation and structuring. Just as a discourse theory is inadequate which does not take account of social context, one is also deficient which does not consider personal disposition. This is especially the case for casual conversations

between social equals, where personal disposition may prevail in its influence on conversational patterns over social structures.

One further limitation of critical discourse analysis is that its subject of study is mostly devoted to institutional discourse, where power inequality is manifest. Study of casual conversation is rare, although Fairclough himself claims that his framework is also applicable to intimate and private interactions (e.g., Fairclough 1989: 29). One consequence of this biased focus is that in the analysis of conversational phenomena such as turn-taking and the use of listener response, only their ideological significance is noted, leaving largely untapped its discourse functions and sequential characteristics. This study will remedy this limitation in this respect while at the same time maintaining a critical stance in the discussion of its findings. It is believed that any differences in cross-cultural communication are likely to be exploited to the advantage of the powerful party in a situation where conflict of interests is involved.

3. Approaches to cross-cultural communication study

In this section, I outline two general approaches to cross-cultural communication study. The first one I call macro approaches, by which I refer to those strands of studies which examine and compare macro socio-psychological values and characteristics of different cultures. Most studies in this approach do not deal with actual language interaction patterns but are mainly concerned with cultural traits of different national groups and how they affect their communicational (mostly behavioural) patterns (e.g., Asante & Gudykunst 1989; Condon & Yousef 1975; Gudykunst 1983, 1991;

Gudykunst & Kim 1984, 1988; Samovar & Porter 1991). Macro approaches to cross-cultural communication are most often termed 'intercultural communication' among some cultural anthropologists. The second one I call micro approaches to cross-cultural communication study. These approaches are mainly concerned with how people from different cultures use various levels of language differently and what the factors are that affect the patterns of language use.

3.1 Macro approaches to cross-cultural communication study

Macro approaches to cross-cultural communication study have as their main aim the identification of cultural traits and values which explain behavioural differences across cultural groups, communicational or otherwise. Most studies in this strand tend to advocate what Putnis (1993) called 'interaction avoidance'. In other words, they seldom examine actual interactions in search of grand cultural generalisations. Many researchers in this area have defined several dimensions of cultural variability, among which Hofstede's work on work-related values (1980, 1984, 1991) and Hall's work (1976) on culturally predominant communicative styles are most prominent and influential and thus deserve special mention.

3.1.1 Hofstede's dimensions of cultural variability

Hofstede (1980, 1984, 1991) carried out a study on work-related values in multinational corporations, which produced four dimensions of cultural variability. The studies were conducted in fifty-three countries and

regions. The four major dimensions along which national culture differ were categorised as power distance, individualism versus collectivism, uncertainty accepting versus uncertainty avoidance, and masculinity versus femininity. Power distance is the degree to which wealth, prestige, and power are equally distributed in a culture. Individualism describes a culture's emphasis on personal identity and independence, while collectivism refers to values of interdependence and group-centredness. Masculinity denotes a culture's emphasis on traditionally male attributes such as strength, assertiveness, and competitiveness. Uncertainty concerns cultural values regarding risk. Each of the countries and regions under investigation were given a score on these four dimensions.

Table 2-2 presents the scores, together with the score ranks (in brackets) among the fifty-three countries and regions, reported by Hofstede (1991) for Australia, and Chinese culture predominant countries and regions: Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore (China was not among the countries investigated). The scores show that Australia seems to differ most from the rest of the three countries or regions in terms of the dimensions of power distance and individualism. Specifically, Australia scored much lower in power distance and much higher in individualism than Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore. But as the present study controls the variable of power difference (see research design in Chapter 4), the dimension of power distance would not seem very relevant here. So the following discussion will focus solely on the dimension of individualism versus collectivism.

According to Hofstede, Australia ranks second out of 53 (only after the

US) with respect to individualism whereas the three countries or regions closely associated with Chinese culture rank between 37 and 44. Thus, Australia would be a highly individualistic country, emphasising independence, and the rights and freedom of individuals. Conversely, the other three countries or regions (inferably China) would be from moderately to highly collective, emphasising interdependence between ingroup members (e.g., family).

Table 2-2 Scores on Hofstede's dimensions of cultural variability for selected countries

Country or region	Power distance	Uncertainty avoidance	Individualism	Masculinity
Australia	36 (41)	51 (37)	90 (2)	61 (16)
Hong Kong	68 (15/16)	29 (49/50)	25 (37)	57 (18/19)
Taiwan	58 (29/30)	69 (26)	17 (44)	45 (32/33)
Singapore	74 (13)	8 (53)	20 (39/41)	48 (28)

Hofstede's notion of individualism-collectivism and its subsequent developments have been used to predict and account for differences of grand communication patterns across cultural groups. For example, Yum (1991) compares the communication patterns of the North Americans and the East Asians. She notes four major differences in communication patterns between them. While the East Asians emphasise process, differentiated linguistic codes, indirect communication and receiver centredness, the North Americans emphasise outcome, less differentiated linguistic codes, direct communication and sender centredness.

If we apply Hofstede's dimension of individualism-collectivism to the

explication of the use of overlap and listener response, we would anticipate that Chinese as a collectivist cultural group might use more overlaps and listener responses to show interdependence and cooperation between conversation participants and that Australians as an individualistic cultural group might use them less to show independence and to protect individual speakers' turn rights. But whether this prediction is true or not will have to be subject to empirical verification (see Chapters 5 & 6).

3.1.2 Hall's high context and low context cultures

In his book *Beyond Culture* (1976), Hall differentiates cultures according to the predominant communication style that operates within a cultural system. He describes high-context cultures, such as East Asian cultures like China, Japan, and Korea, where most of the information is either internalised in the person or in the physical context. He believes that very little is in the explicit transmitted part of the message. In contrast, people in low-context cultures (e.g., Western cultures including Australia, the US and Germany) emphasise the use of language to make their message explicit. He summarises the relation between context, information, and meaning in the two culture types as Figure 2-1 (Hall 1976: 89).

Hall also describes other differences between high context and low context cultures. For example, High context cultures make greater distinctions between insiders and outsiders than do low context cultures; and speakers in a high context culture will talk around the main point of a subject, expecting their interlocutor to supply the point, whereas a person in a low

context culture who does not speak directly to the point is viewed with suspicion and mistrust.
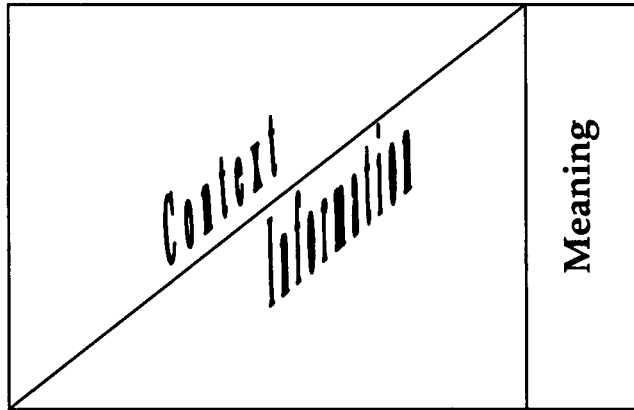
Figure 2.1 Relation between context, information, and meaning (Hall 1976: 89)

How far can the notion of high context and low context cultures predict and account for actual conversational patterns? In terms of the use of overlap, would it anticipate that Chinese speakers (i.e., people from high context cultures) use more or less than Australian speakers (i.e., people from low context cultures)? Because it is believed members of high context cultures tend to talk less and value silence more than members of low context cultures (Vamarasi 1990), it might be predicted that Chinese would use fewer overlaps than Australians in a conversation. But this would be a prediction contrary to the one made by the individualism-collectivism dimension. In fact, many researchers take the dimensions of individualism-collectivism and low- versus high-context culture as isomorphic (e.g., Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey 1988). Thus it raises a serious problem in applying the macro cultural dimensions to the explication of phenomena of actual interaction.

This is also true of the conversational use of listener responses. As people of high context cultures value more implicit expression of meaning and intention, Chinese would use fewer listener responses than Australians if the use of these tokens indicates explicit interest in the other speaker's talk or encouragement for them to continue. This again would be contradictory to the prediction we made earlier based on the dimension of individualism-collectivism.

Recently a number of researchers have cautioned against the use of cultural generalisations in the explanation of actual interaction patterns (e.g., Putnis 1991, 1993; Roberts & Sarangi 1993; Street 1991; Sarangi 1994; Asad 1980; Bloch 1991; Thornton 1988). For example, Putnis (1993: 46) argues that: 1) grand cultural dimensions operate at a level which is too general to account for actual interaction; 2) the emphasis on cultural variation in interaction can blind one to other variables - psychological factors, economic problems, situational factors, power relations. Heeding these arguments, the present research will thus take a more interaction-based approach to the analysis of interactional patterns, focusing on the actual conversational data and seeking for a data-driven cross-cultural communication theory in account for observed patterns of interactional behaviour.

3.2 Micro approaches to cross-cultural communication

In contrast to macro approaches to cross-cultural communication study, which are mainly concerned with cultural aspects of communication behaviour, micro approaches are interested in the language aspects in the

interaction by or between people of different cultural backgrounds. This strand of study can be subdivided into four different approaches: intercultural or interethnic, interlanguage, intercultural interlanguage, and contrastive (see Figure 2-2) (see Clyne 1994; Clyne, Ball & Neil 1991 for a different classification). These different approaches have studied language use at all levels including phonological, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, discoursal and conversational. But as this study is concerned with only the conversational aspect of language use, only this aspect will be included in the following review.

Micro approaches
to cross-cultural
communication

1. Intercultural/interethnic approach

2. Interlanguage approach

3. Intercultural interlanguage approach

4. Contrastive approach
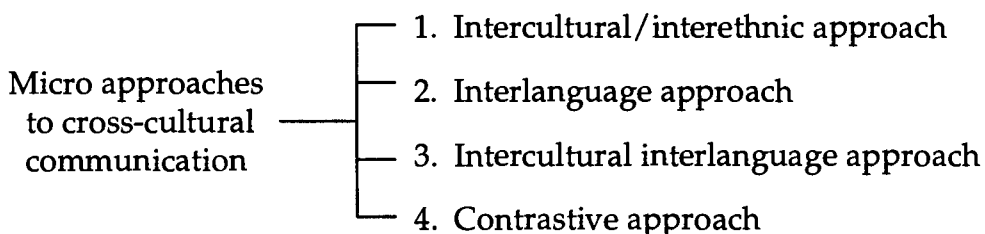
Figure 2-2 Micro approaches to cross-cultural communication

3.2.1 Intercultural or interethnic approach

The intercultural or interethnic approach studies the conversational interaction between people who share the same native language but differ in their cultural or ethnical backgrounds. It is mostly prevalent in studies of communication between speakers of different types of Englishes such as American Black English, Indian English and standard British or American English. This research approach is best represented by the work of Gumperz and his associates, which range from studies on workplace interaction between British and Indian English speakers to dinner table conversation between Jewish New Yorkers and East Coast Californians

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(see Section 2.4 this chapter).

The intercultural or interethnic approach has a well-defined methodology, which is summarised into twelve concrete steps to follow in the analysis of conversation (Tannen 1984: 160). The twelve steps include, most essentially: 1) tape record interactions; 2) identify rough spots or any other interesting segments; 3) closely study that segment and look for such linguistic phenomena as words spoken, propositions, topics, and turntaking features; 4) get the reactions and interpretations of participants and nonparticipants; 5) try your own interpretations and those from participants and nonparticipants on other people and make generalisations. The most distinguishable characteristic of this methodology seems to be the fourth step in the above list, that is, to elicit participants' and nonparticipants' reactions and interpretations. In addition to these steps, Gumperz (1982a: 149) also mentions the use of in-group or intracultural conversations to validate the observation made for intercultural communication. In fact, it is my belief that the study of intracultural conversation is a first and necessary step towards indepth understanding of the intricacies of intercultural communication.

3.2.2 Interlanguage approach

The interlanguage approach concerns the use of speech of second language speakers of a given language in interaction with either first language speakers or other second language speakers. This approach is rooted in the field of second language acquisition (SLA), whose interest in the analysis of foreign language interaction necessarily relates to concern

with how aspects of the interaction contribute to second/foreign language acquisition or learning.

Interest in foreign language interaction in the field of SLA originates in the pedagogical evolution of the communicative approach in the 1970s, which presupposes that communicative use of the target language is a prerequisite for acquisition. But it did not become a focus of research until the publication of Hatch's two seminal papers on language learning and interaction (Hatch 1978a, 1978b). By examining the interaction between native and nonnative speakers, she noted that syntactic structures are distributed over several turns and between several speakers, and that nonnative speakers may begin structures which the native partner takes over and finishes. This pattern, Hatch believes, promotes comprehension and/or language learning.

Following Hatch's initiation, a large number of studies in SLA began to turn their attention to foreign language interaction. This line of research, burgeoning in the 1980s, concentrates particularly on a specific type of interaction, which has come to be known as negotiation. It refers to interactional modifications used by interlocutors in response to difficulties in message comprehensibility (for a substantial review on negotiation, see Pica 1994). In this respect, different terminologies have been used to describe modifications made by native and nonnative speakers. The former, i.e., modifications made by native speakers in reaction to their nonnative partners' linguistic deficits, is often referred to as 'foreigner talk' (Ferguson 1971, 1975), 'speech modification' (Gass & Varonis 1985), 'conversational adjustments' (Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991),

'interlanguage adjustments' (Pica 1988), 'interactional modifications' (Pica et al 1986) or simply '(conversational) modifications' (Wagner 1996). The modifications made by nonnative speakers to bridge the gap between their linguistic means and their communicative ends are often termed 'communication strategies' (Varádi 1980; Færch & Kasper 1983). Malcolm (1994), however, argues against this distinction in favour of a cover term 'strategic adjustment'.

This line of research has as its main purpose the formulation of the role of interactive modifications in language acquisition. One major claim made in this respect is that interactive modifications are the crucial condition for language acquisition to take place (Long 1981, 1983). This was later called the interaction hypothesis (Ellis 1990; see Long 1996 for a recent reformulation of this hypothesis). Subsequent researches largely revolve around this general theme of how negotiation contributes to conditions, processes, and outcomes of second language acquisition or learning (Pica 1994).

While the interlanguage approach to interaction between native and nonnative speakers uses interaction mainly as a basis for examining the linguistic and cognitive features of the second language learning process, it has mostly ignored the sociocultural characteristics of this process (Pica 1994). Moreover, the interlanguage approach seldom addresses the issue of the sociocultural variations of general interactional patterns such as turn-taking (see, though, Gass & Varonis 1986). This is understandable in consideration of their central concern as not on general language use per se, but on language acquisition, particularly on the contribution to

acquisition by interaction, or more specifically negotiation (see Van den Branden 1997 for discussion of three different types of negotiation). In cases where interactional phenomena are analysed with respect to the participants' sociocultural backgrounds, the interaction is conducted in a foreign language, leaving us unsure of whether the revealed patterns are due to the effect of the language used or to that of the sociocultural backgrounds.

Wagner (1996) also points out two other inadequacies of the interlanguage analysis of foreign language interaction: the model of communication and the data typically used in the studies. Studies on input modifications typically use the framework of the information transfer model of communication (e.g., Burgoon et al. 1994; Fiske 1991), which sees communication as "an exchange process where information is coded by the sender and transferred to the receiver where it is decoded" (Wagner 1996: 230). According to Wagner, this model of communication is deficient as it takes the propositional value of an utterance as its sole and supreme value (p. 222). He argues for the use of an interactive approach (i.e., ethnomethodological conversation analysis), which takes meaning not as a 'fixed' concept but as is locally and situationally shaped. As to the data used in studies on modifications, they are mostly dyads between people of first encounter and are conducted in laboratory settings, using tasks like picture description (e.g., Van den Branden 1997) and games (e.g., Long 1983). Wagner argues these data are inadequate in revealing how people with different linguistic backgrounds negotiate meaning in actual conversations and thus they have to be complemented by naturally occurring non-native talk-in-interaction.

Wagner's critique of SLA's work on discourse and communication has been taken up a step in the article "On discourse, communication, and (some) fundamental concepts in SLA research" (Firth & Wagner 1997), which mounts an all-around attack on SLA's theoretical and methodological foundations and subsequently attracts supportive as well as counter-critical responses (for details of the debate, see Hall 1997; Kasper 1997; Liddicoat 1997; Long 1997; Poulisse 1997; Rampton 1997; Gass 1998; Firth & Wagner 1998; Wagner 1998). The debate helps to better define mainstream SLA's acquisition-related purpose in its analysis of foreign language interaction.

In fact, Wagner's and others' (Wagner 1996, 1998; Firth & Wagner 1997, 1998) advice on the use of real-life foreign language interactional data has been taken up by many researchers, but for purposes other than language acquisition and learning. The domain of this strand of studies is called interactive intercultural approach.

3.2.3 Interactive intercultural approach

The term 'interactive intercultural approach' was coined by Clyne (1994) to refer to his and others' work on the analysis of interaction between people of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds speaking a lingua franca or one of the interlocutors' languages. He previously used the term 'intercultural interlanguage approach' (Clyne, Ball & Neil 1991). This approach differs from the interlanguage approach in that its focus is not on second language acquisition as such, but rather on actual language use

in real life situations. Its aim is mostly related to the improvement of communicative practices between people of different cultural groups by revealing the effects of linguistic and cultural factors in the communication.

Studies of interactions of different cultural groups in real communicative situations are few but are beginning to grow. A number of workplace language projects in multicultural societies such as America, Europe and Austronesia have been or are currently being carried out (e.g., Roberts, Davies & Jupp 1992; Clyne 1994; Malcolm 1994; Malcolm & McGregor 1995; Holmes, Stubbe & Vine, in press). The interactive intercultural approach seems to be the least homogeneous among the four micro approaches to cross-cultural communication in terms of the theoretical and methodological framework used and the discourse phenomena examined. That is, no two studies seem to be using the same theoretical framework and methodologies or examining the same conversational or discourse phenomena. This may be due to the fact that interactive intercultural approach is still in its infancy and that each of the projects has its unique objectives. For example, Malcolm (1994), in her analysis of strategic adjustment and power distribution in native-nonnative speaker conversations in Australian workplaces, chooses to use critical discourse analysis as her main analytical framework. Clyne (1994: 31), on the other hand, argues for a multilateral study absorbing theoretical and methodological insights from pragmatics, discourse analysis and sociolinguistics. His studies cover a wide range of areas, including, for instance, speech acts (such as complaints, directives, apologies) and variation in communication patterns (such as turn-taking and back-

channelling).

While the examination of actual conversations between members of different cultural groups is undoubtedly of great value in understanding cross-cultural communication and is in fact the ultimate step in any analysis of cross-cultural communication patterns, it is my belief that the study of intracultural conversations for each cultural group would be beneficial in isolating the cultural factors from other confounding factors like the participants' linguistic competence in the foreign language and situational variables, thus helping explain more precisely the intercultural communication patterns.

3.2.4 Contrastive approach

The contrastive approach compares certain linguistic dimensions across two or more languages in order to determine differences and similarities in these dimensions between them (Fisiak 1980: 1). This approach has as its name "contrastive analysis" with an applied orientation in America and "contrastive linguistics" or "contrastive study" with a descriptive or theoretical orientation in Europe (cf. Maynard 1990; Fisiak et al. 1978).

The contrastive approach, as an approach to linguistic analysis, has a long tradition which dates back at least to the end of the nineteenth century (Jaszczolt 1995). It has undergone a lot of changes with the ups and downs of various linguistic and applied linguistic theories which emerged during this century (e.g., structuralism, generative grammar, communicative competence). For example, when behaviourism and

structuralism were dominant in the field of linguistics in the 1950s, the theoretical assumption of contrastive analysis was that by comparing the systems of two languages, one would be able to predict the difficulties a learner would encounter in learning another language. This was termed Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis, which, in Lado's words (1957: 1), states "those elements that are similar to the learner's native language will be simple for him and those that are different will be difficult for him." This hypothesis was under severe attack in the 1970s, when structuralism lost favour, but regained its place in the 1980s with the emergence of Chomsky's theory of Universal Grammar.

Earlier studies in the tradition of contrastive approach concentrated mainly on the linguistic system at or below the level of sentence: phonology, morphology, lexicography, syntax and semantics. The 1980s witnesses the growth of a quite distinct research perspective in response to the emergence and development of the speech act theory in the earlier decade: contrastive pragmatics (a branch of cross-cultural pragmatics, which has its other major branch as interlanguage pragmatics) (Oleksy 1989; Wierzbicka 1991; Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper 1989). This strand of studies investigates how various different speech acts are realised in different languages and cultures and whether and how the different realisation rules of speech acts relate to politeness phenomena (e.g., Blum-Kulka 1987; House 1986; Hill et al. 1986) or 'cultural scripts' (Wierzbicka 1991, 1996). One of the frequently used methods of data collection for contrastive pragmatics is the Discourse-Completion Test, well-documented in Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper (1989: 13):

The test consists of scripted dialogues that represent socially differentiated situations. Each dialogue is preceded by a short description of the situation, specifying the setting, and the social distance between the participants and their status relative to each other, followed by an incomplete dialogue. Respondents were asked to complete the dialogue, thereby providing the speech act aimed at.

The following is an example Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper (1989: 13) give for the elicitation of a request:

At the University

Ann missed a lecture yesterday and would like to borrow Judith's notes.

Ann: _____

Judith: Sure, but let me have them back before the lecture next week.

Other methods of data-collection include role-play (e.g., Zhang 1995), computer simulations (e.g., Conlan 1996) and occasionally, ethnographic (e.g., Holmes 1986).

Another major strand of contrastive studies which goes beyond the level of sentences deals with various types of written texts (e.g., Hartmann 1980). For example, Kaplan (1966, 1967), who focuses on expository prose, advocates the study of contrastive rhetoric, arguing that rhetorical styles are culturally different.

More recently, a number of studies have emerged which contrastively analyse the conversational discourse of different languages (e.g., Maynard 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990, Murata 1994; Clancy et al. 1996). With this

increased interest, Maynard (1990) proposes a methodological model called contrastive conversation analysis (CCA). In her model, she posits six steps in doing CCA. The first step is data collection, which requires that data to be collected come from the same genre, with collection procedures and conversational contexts (including such social variables as "sex, age, social status, relationship between subjects, number of participants, and the setting in which actual conversation takes place") maximally equivalent. The second step is data analysis, which requires the postulation of a common analytic framework. The third step is to bring the results of data analysis into focus. The fourth step involves actual contrast and comparison between the analysed results. The fifth step is to assess and interpret the results in light of linguistic and sociocultural idiosyncrasies of the speech communities under investigation. And the final step is to re-evaluate the quality of data analysed, the accuracy of analysis made as well as of the adequacy of conclusions drawn.

The present study falls within the general methodological framework of contrastive conversation analysis in that it contrastively analyses the patterns of use of two conversational features --- overlap and listener response --- by two groups of speakers, namely, Chinese speakers of Mandarin Chinese and Australian speakers of Australian English. Thus it will roughly follow the six steps outlined by Maynard (1990) above for its methodological considerations.

4. Language and gender theories

As the present study is also concerned with the intervening gender factor in cross-cultural conversations, I briefly review, in this section, three language and gender theories which have been prevalent in the past two decades in the explanation of gendered patterns of language use.

4.1 Deficit theory

The explication of women's supposed deficits as speakers can be traced back to the 1920s, when Otto Jespersen (1922) wrote of "women's more limited and refined vocabulary, simpler sentence structures, and inclinations to speak before they thought, resulting in sentences that were often left incomplete" (West 1995: 108). But it was not until the early 1970s, with the publication of Robin Lakoff's article "Language and woman's place" (1973), that studies on gender-differentiated language use started to gain momentum. Lakoff (1973, 1975) noted that women tended to avoid strong and forceful statements and relied on expressions that suggested hesitation and uncertainty. She listed a number of features which were characteristic of women's language use and they were well summarised by Holmes (1992: 314) as follows:

1) Lexical hedges or fillers, e.g. *you know, sort of, well, you see.*

2) Tag questions, e.g. *she's very nice, isn't she?*

3) Rising intonation on declaratives, e.g. *it's really good.*

4) 'Empty' adjectives, e.g. *divine, charming, cute.*

5) Precise colour terms, e.g. *magenta, aquamarine.*

6) Intensifiers such as *just* and *so*, e.g. *I like him so much.*

7) 'Hypercorrect' grammar, e.g. consistent use of standard verb forms.

8) 'Superpolite' forms, e.g. indirect requests, euphemisms.

9) Avoidance of strong swear words, e.g. *fudge, my goodness.*

10) Emphatic stress, e.g. *it was a BRILLIANT performance.*

Lakoff suggests that women in America use these features more often than men and that through their use they give the impression of uncertainty or a lack of confidence. This is especially the case with the use of tag questions and hedges. In her treatment of tag questions, for example, Lakoff claims that using a tag question in conjunction with one's own opinions is 'illegitimate' and indicative of lack of confidence on the part of the speaker:

> These sentence-types provide a means whereby a speaker can avoid committing himself, and thereby avoid coming into conflict with the addressee. The problem is that, by so doing, a speaker may also give the impression of not being really sure of himself, of looking to the addressee for confirmation, even of having no views of his own. (Lakoff 1973: 55)

Lakoff also claims, on the basis of her own intuitions and observations, that women use more of this type of tag than men do. These claims become what is commonly known in the language and gender studies as the 'deficit theory' (see Cameron 1995: 33, 1996: 39; Henry & Kramerae 1991: 20-23). According to this theory, women are seen as disadvantaged speakers because of their early sex-role socialisation, and women's language is seen as inferior and deviating from the norm of men's language.

Lakoff's work (1973, 1975) has sparked off a spate of empirical research which seeks to test her claims. Again in the case of the use of tag questions, for example, some of the earlier research in this respect seems to contradict her claims. For instance, Dubois & Crouch (1975) counted the number of tag questions used by men and women at an academic conference, and found that men use more tag questions than women. They then concluded that Lakoff was wrong. But much of this earlier research, according to Holmes (1992), was not only methodologically unsatisfactory, but more importantly, did not read Lakoff's ideas in their full complexity. Lakoff had actually hypothesised that women used more of certain types of tag questions where she considered a tag was not appropriate. But Dubois & Crouch's study (1975) neglected such distinctions between different types of tag questions and took their form as its main object of study.

Later studies examined the functions of tag questions more closely. For example, Holmes (1984) found that their functions could be divided into two major types: modal and affective. Modal tags are those which request information or confirmation of information of which the speaker is uncertain; they are 'speaker-oriented', i.e. designed to meet the speaker's need for information. Affective tags by contrast are addressee-oriented: that is, they are used not to signal uncertainty on the part of the speaker, but to indicate concern for the addressee. Holmes (1984) found that men used more modal tags, and women used more affective tags. This suggests that if such tag questions are a feature of women's speech, then they reflect her supportive role in conversation rather than her

insecurities. Cameron et al. (1989) carried out two studies of the tag question and largely confirmed Holmes' findings. But they also found in their study of asymmetrical discourse (i.e., the discourse where one speaker "has institutionally constructed control over talk" [Cameron 1992: 18]), 'powerful' speakers, irrespective of their gender, produce more affective tags than 'powerless' speakers. They concluded that it is implausible to separate the meaning of a linguistic form from the specific contexts in which it is being used.

Overall, Lakoff's hypotheses on gendered patterns of language use were borne out (Holmes 1992: 317). But the explanation of the pattern with resort to some sort of 'deficicy' on the part of the woman speakers does not seem to be well-supported. In subsequent language and gender research, the deficit theory has largely been re-versed as versions of the difference or the dominance theories.

4.2 Dominance theory

The basic assumptions of the dominance theory in language and gender research is that the society is one of male dominance and female oppression, and this dominance and oppression are established and maintained in conversational interaction. It maintains that men's dominance in conversation parallels their dominance in society. This approach to gender-differentiated language use is mostly concentrated on the interactional aspect of language use and mostly focused on the study of mix-gender conversations. Studies employing this approach have isolated a number of linguistic features as measures of dominance. These

include, for example, talking time (e.g., Hadley & Jacob 1973), interruptions (e.g., Zimmerman & West 1975; West & Zimmerman 1983), and topic control (e.g., Fishman 1980, 1983; DeFrancisco 1991). In this section, I only review the work of West and Zimmerman on interruptions (Zimmerman & West 1975; West & Zimmerman 1983) as an example of this approach to language and gender research, but this review applies equally well to studies on other conversational features using this approach.

Zimmerman & West carried out two of the most often-cited and controversial studies in the language and gender literature. Zimmerman & West (1975) recorded dyadic conversations in public areas around a university campus and compared rates of interruption by male and female speakers. Interruption was defined in this study as an instance of simultaneous speech "penetrating the boundaries of a unit-type *prior* to the last lexical constituent that could define a possible terminal boundary of a unit-type" (p. 114, original italics). The result was that men did 96% of all interruptions. They then concluded that the male control of turns is somewhat parallel to their advantageous status in the society's economic system (p. 124). The study was replicated by themselves in West & Zimmerman (1983) with previously unacquainted students in laboratory conditions. With a slight difference for the definition of interruption ('deep interruptions' being "those onsets of simultaneity more than two syllables away from the beginning or end of a unit type" [p. 114, endnote 4), they found a slightly less impressive but similar interruption pattern by male and female speakers, that is, 75% of interruptions were perpetrated by men.

Zimmerman & West's work has been much criticised methodologically, theoretically as well as empirically (see, for example, Beattie 1982; Murray 1985, 1987; Murray & Covelli 1988; Tannen 1994). For one thing in terms of its methodology, it is argued that its definition of interruption as a subclass of simultaneous speech is problematic. It is considered that overlap and interruption are two different concepts (Bennett 1981; Tannen 1994). While overlap is a descriptive term, interruption is basically an interpretive category, which involves making a (moral) judgment on the behaviour of the interlocutor (Bennett 1981: 176; Tannen 1994: 58). Murray (1985) proposes that members' perceptions, rather than syntactic or acoustic criteria as suggested by Zimmerman & West, be used for the identification of interruption. He deduces a set of criteria which members use to judge prospectively or retrospectively what counts as an interruption and also the degree of severity of each interrupting behaviour. The criteria upon which participants' judgments are based include the intention of the speaker-cum-interruptee and the listener-cum-interrupter, the content of what they say, and distributive justice, which includes how long someone has been talking and whether anyone else has some particular claim to reply or comment. Using a conversation analytic approach, Bilmes (1997) goes a step further and sees interruption as a participant's rather than an analyst's phenomenon. In other words, if an interruption is to be taken as an interruption, it should be shown and treated as such in the interaction by the participants themselves:

in order for an event to be an interruption, it is not enough that it meet some formal criteria; it is not enough that it be perceived as a violation of speaking rights by the analyst, by members, or even by the participants themselves. It must be DISPLAYED AND HANDLED as violative within the interaction. (Bilmes 1997: 511-512, original emphasis).

Criticisms of Zimmerman & West's work in terms of its theoretical stance lie mainly in their interpretation of interruption (or overlapping speech more generally) as signals of dominance. This has proved to be too simplistic. Later studies have shown that overlapping speech, including Zimmerman & West's concepts of interruption, can be facilitative and supportive in conversation (e.g., Coates 1989, 1994, 1997; Stubbe 1998). For example, Coates (1989, 1994, 1997) studies the interaction patterns in all female conversations and found that these conversations are characteristic of no gaps and lots of overlap between turns. She suggests that the occurrence of overlapping speech does not comprise instances of conversational control or dominance, but rather a way in which participants express the solidarity of female friendship or more simply a positive politeness strategy. Tannen (1994), on the other hand, regards the use of overlapping speech as one of the characteristics of high involvement conversational styles (see Section 2.4.2 this Chapter) and takes the function of overlapping speech as janus-faced. That is, it can both signal solidarity and power and dominance, depending on whether or not the participants share their conversational styles. If the interlocutors are all users of high involvement conversational styles, then the occurrence of overlapping speech largely indicates enthusiastic involvement on the part of the participants. Conversely, if the conversation is between a high considerate style and a high involvement speaker, the use of overlapping speech by the high involvement style

speaker is likely to be taken by the other speaker as signs of control and dominance.

Zimmerman & West's work has also attracted a large number of studies to test the validity and generalisability of its results and claims. But the results of these studies are mostly contradictory. There does not seem to be a consistent pattern of men using more interruptions than women. For example, James & Clarke (1993) did a rather comprehensive review of studies on the use of interruption by men and women. They reviewed 56 studies altogether and found that 13 of them, i.e. only one quarter, obtained the results that men used more interruptions than women. Although there are many reasons behind this inconsistency of findings, it does indicate the problematic nature of using overlapping speech as a measure of dominance and control, especially as a means by which men use to dominate and control the conversation.

In summary, this section has examined the dominance approach to gender-differentiated pattern of language use through the illustration of Zimmerman & West's work on interruptions. It has shown the inadequacy of this approach to language and gender research in terms of its methodology, theoretical stance and empirical findings. The next section will look at another prominent approach to language and gender studies.

4.3 Difference theory

The difference model to language and gender research derives from the theoretical framework of interactional sociolinguistics laid down by Gumperz and his associates (see Section 2.4). This model was proposed by Maltz & Borker (1982) and was later substantiated and exemplified by Tannen's work (1986, 1990). Its major argument is that cross-sex communication is analogous to cross-cultural or cross-ethnic communication and that the difficulties in both situations can be attributed to cultural difference and miscommunication (Maltz & Borker 1982: 196).

According to Maltz & Borker (1982: 200), men and women possess cultural differences in their conceptions of friendly conversation, in the rules they use to engage in it, and more importantly they believed, in the rules they use for interpreting it. Maltz and Borker argued that men and women learn to do different things with words in a conversation during their childhood, with their predominantly same-gender friends, that they carry with them into adult relationships. Because men and women are brought up in different sociolinguistic subcultures, they have learned different cultural rules for carrying on friendly conversation. This, they believed, may result in miscommunication when men and women attempt to interact with one another as equals.

Maltz & Borker (1982) gave an illustration of how miscommunication can result when men and women have different subcultural rules for conducting a conversation using minimal responses like "yes" and "mm

hmm". They claim that if these minimal responses have significantly different meanings for men and women, serious miscommunication would result. They hypothesise that for women a minimal response means something like "I'm listening to you, please continue," whereas for men they may mean "I agree with you" or "I follow your argument so far" (p. 202). Maltz & Borker argued that findings of women using more minimal responses than men may only indicate that "women are listening more than men are agreeing" (p. 202). Therefore, different conversational rules between men and women can explain not only differential use, but also misunderstandings between interactants.

Tannen (1986, 1990) directly applies this model to her analysis of various conversational episodes between men and women which exhibit communication difficulties and misunderstandings between them. According to Tannen (1986, 1990), these difficulties and misunderstandings are due mostly to their different conversational styles. For women, for instance, more emphasis is placed upon metamessages. For men, on the other hand, more attention is paid to the message itself. Tannen (1986) believes that the difference in focus on messages and metamessages can give men and women different points of view on practically any comment. One of the examples she gives for illustration is the often-heard complaint by the wife to the husband, 'Why don't you ask me how my day was?' The husband tends to reply, 'If you have something to tell me, tell me. Why do you have to be invited?' According to Tannen, the conflict between the wife and husband lies in the former's need of the metamessage of interest: evidence that he cares how her day was, regardless of whether or not she has something to tell.

The difference approach has gained popularity especially with the publication of Tannen's best-selling book *You just don't understand: Women and men in conversation* (1990). It has also drawn a lot of criticism from feminist linguists (e.g., Uchida 1992; Troemel-Ploetz 1991; Cameron 1995, 1996). The major accusations against it include its apolitical stance (i.e., explaining the gender-differentiated communication patterns as cultural difference rather than power inequality of men and women) (see Tannen 1992 for counter-arguments) and its reliance mainly on same-gender interactions. For the latter accusations, for example, it is claimed that a pattern of inequality and dominance, while hardly likely to occur in same-gender conversations, is frequently observed in male-female conversation (Uchida 1992: 559).

The present study will examine both same-gender and mixed-gender conversations to see whether patterns exhibited in same-gender conversations do get transferred to mixed-gender ones.

5. Summary and conclusion

This chapter has reviewed three major strands of theories which are related to the theme of the present research. Section 2 reviews five approaches to the analysis of casual conversations: linguistic, ethnographic, logico-philosophical, interactional sociolinguistic, ethnomethodological, and socio-political. While all of these approaches shed light in different ways on the analysis of casual conversation, it is the interactional sociolinguistic approach that provides the theoretical premise

for the analysis of cross-cultural conversations and the ethnomethodological conversation analysis that provides the analytic focus and rigour in the analysis of specific conversational phenomena. Section 3 reviews two macro approaches to cross-cultural communication: Hofstede's dimensions of cultural variability and Hall's high and low context cultures. It is shown that while the isolation of several macro cultural dimensions may be helpful for the explanation of general behavioural (psychological and social) patterns, caution needs to be exercised in its use for the explication of micro interactional patterns. Empirical evidence in micro interactional study is needed to test the validity of these macro cross-cultural models. This section has also reviewed four micro approaches to cross-cultural communication: intercultural/ interethnic, interlanguage, intercultural interlanguage and contrastive. This study falls largely within the contrastive approach as it compares the conversational styles of two groups of speakers: Chinese and Australian. Section 4 reviews three language and gender theories: deficit, dominance and difference. While the first has lost ground due to evocation of women's deficit in the explanation of gender-differentiated language use, there has been a strong debate as to which of the latter two better explains the interactional pattern of men and women. The present study will examine both same-gender and mixed-gender conversations to see how well these two models explain the patterns that emerge.

LITERATURE REVIEW ON OVERLAP AND LISTENER RESPONSE

1. Introduction

This chapter reviews previous studies on areas which are directly related to the present study. They include studies on overlap and interruption and those on listener response. Section 2 reviews studies on overlap and looks specifically at how it has been characterised and classified in previous research, and whether there are culture-differential and gender-differential patterns of overlap use. Section 3 reviews studies on listener response and also focuses on how it has been approached and classified, as well as on the culture and gender-related patterns in the use of listener responses. Section 4 summarises the review and concludes with methodological and analytical implications for the present study.

2. Studies on overlap

Overlapping is used in this thesis as coterminous with simultaneous speech, referring simply to the co-occurrence of two or more speakers' utterances in a conversation. Scholarly interest in the phenomenon of overlapping in conversation dates back to as early as the 1950s, when psychologists, particularly psychopathologists began to shift their attention from the individual to the interpersonal context, where interaction process is focal (Jacob 1975). Since then, researchers have tried to determine its conversational functions as well as its dispositional and social meanings. But different researchers have used the term differently

with a different coverage and a different classification system. The indexical meanings of overlapping have also been exploited for the examination of personality, gender and cultural differences.

2.1 Characterisation of overlap

In the extensive literature on the study of the conversational phenomenon of overlapping, a number of its specific functions have been isolated in their conversational and social contexts. But two characterisations have been most prominent, representative of two drastically different approaches to the study of overlapping. The first one is to use it as a defining characteristic of interruption and to characterise it as conflict, dominance and power assertion. The other is to present it as an aspect of a speaker's conversational style with its functions determined with respect to the style of his/her co-conversationalist(s).

2.1.1 Overlap as interruptive

2.1.1.1 Overlap as abnormality

Overlapping speech in a conversation being characterised as interruptive and indexical of abnormality and deviation originated in the clinical and social psychological studies of the fifties and sixties, when general interest in interaction process in small group behaviours had been growing and specific attention to the phenomenon of overlapping in conversation had just started (Bales 1950; Farina 1960).

In the field of psychopathology, researchers, being concerned with the etiology, development, and maintenance of abnormal behaviour (e.g., schizophrenic and various types of delinquency), seek to find answers from family patterns and processes (Jacob 1975). Family studies prior to the late 1950s were mostly based on indirect, self-report procedures such as survey questionnaires, case history analyses and individual psychiatric interviews, which had later been described as 'methodologically weak or inadequate and as vulnerable to major interpretive difficulties' (ibid: 33). As a result, since 1960, investigators in this domain turned their attention to what they called the 'direct observation' method, which directly assesses and systematically codes patterns of interaction among both parents and one or more children (including the patient child). This method was regarded as scientifically more sound than the previous indirect procedures (Fontana 1966: 218). Within these early family interaction studies, four major dimensions have been assessed, including conflict, dominance, affect, and communication clarity, and overlapping speech was used as one of the main measures of conflict or disorganisation (e.g., Farina 1960; Farina & Holzberg 1968; Ferreira, Winter, & Poindexter 1966; Stabenau et al. 1965; Becker & Iwakami 1969; Riskin & Faunce 1972; O'Connor & Stachowiak 1971; Leighton, Stollack, & Ferguson 1971; Hetherington, Stouwie, & Ridberg 1971) or dominance (e.g., Mishler & Waxler 1968; Hetherington, Stouwie, & Ridberg 1971).

Farina (1960) is perhaps the first to use overlapping speech as an index of conflict. He examined the problem-solving discussions between parents of three groups (one control group with sons free from psychiatric illness or disturbance and two patient groups with sons suffering from two

different levels of schizophrenia [i.e., Good Premorbid and Poor Premorbid]). His main purpose was to find out which of the parents, the mother or the father, plays a dominating role in the discussion and also the extent of conflict between them. The study was based on the premise that the sex of the dominant parent was systematically associated with the adjustment patterns of the schizophrenic son. Farina (1960: 33) established seven operationally defined indices of dominance (i.e., speaks first, speaks last, sum of speaking first and last, passive acceptance of solution, total time spoken, yielding maximum, yielding minimum) and ten indices of conflict (i.e., frequency of simultaneous speech, duration of simultaneous speech, interruptions by mother; interruptions by father, total interruptions, disagreements and aggressions by mother, disagreements and aggressions by father; total disagreements and aggressions, failure to agree, and verbal activity). In terms of simultaneous speech, no difference was found among the three groups of parents. As to total interruptions, parents of control groups used fewer interruptions than those of schizophrenic groups, suggesting less conflict in control families than in schizophrenic ones. But the study offered no criteria for distinguishing between simultaneous speech and interruptions.

Mishler & Waxler (1968) also seek to discover distinctive patterns of interaction in families of schizophrenic patients. They also compared the three groups (i.e., control groups, Good Premorbid group and Poor Premorbid group), but they included the children (either son or daughter) in the family discussion. In their study, interruption (more or less equivalent to overlapping speech) was taken as one of the two person-control strategies (the other being questions). According to them, one

family member's interruption is equivalent to saying to another member "Stop talking," or "I am no longer listening to what you say" (p. 140). It is an attempt to confront and control the behaviour of the other. Mishler & Waxler subdivided interruptions into successful and unsuccessful ones in order to measure the extent to which the control was successful. Their results showed, contrary to Farina's findings, that normal families used more interruptions than schizophrenic families. They suggested that the infrequent use of interruptions in the schizophrenic families may be the result of the family's need to protect the patient child from direct personal confrontations (p. 161). But they also considered it possible that the parent's "abnormal" behaviour may have caused the patient child's deviance (p. 161). As we shall see later, the differing interruption pattern between normal and schizophrenic families can be more the result of the extent of involvement in the discussion between family members than that of dominance. Normal families show more involvement with each other whereas schizophrenic family members show more considerateness towards each other (see also Sections 2.4.2 & 4.2 in Chapter 2).

Jacob (1975) reviewed 57 studies which compared the interaction patterns of disturbed (including schizophrenic and non-schizophrenic) and normal families. In studies which examined patterns of overlapping, results seemed to be mixed. While some (e.g., Mishler & Waxler 1968) found more interrupting behaviour in normal families than disturbed ones, others (e.g., Farina & Holzberg 1968) found no such differences. Jacob's final conclusion was that family interaction studies "have not yet isolated family patterns that reliably differentiate disturbed from normal groups" (p. 56). He attributed the inconsistencies and inconclusiveness of the

studies to their methodological and analytical differences in the following four aspects: diagnostic status of experimental groups, measurement techniques used in assessment of particular domains, data analysis procedures by which results are evaluated, and demographic characteristics of family groups (p. 57).

Overall, it proves empirically difficult to establish the connection between overlapping speech in a conversation and abnormal relationship between the participants. It would now seem too simplistic and even naive to characterise overlapping as conflict or person control, which in turn are characterised as features of abnormal or unwanted relationship (see Sections 2.4.2 & 4.2 in Chapter 2).

2.1.1.2 Overlap as power and dominance

Overlapping speech being characterised as power assertion and dominance is closely related to and can be said to be a natural extension of its association with conflict, confrontation and control (Farina 1960; Mishler & Waxler 1968). In fact, some of the early studies (see Jacob 1975) used the same verbal measures for both concepts. During the 1970s and 1980s, the linkage of overlapping speech to dominance gained popularity in both social psychological studies and language and gender studies.

In social psychological literature, some studies have concentrated particularly on the establishment of the link between an individual's use of overlapping speech and his/her dispositional tendency to dominate, which was usually measured by a psychological test (e.g., Kollock,

Blumstein, & Schwartz 1985; Courtright, Millar, & Rogers-Millar 1979; Roger & Schumacher 1983; Roger & Nesshoever 1987; Rogers & Jones 1975; Aries, Gold, & Wiegel 1983; Ferguson 1977). These studies mostly shared the hypothesis that the more dominant a person is, the more interruptions they will use in a conversation. Although the assumption was confirmed by several of these studies (e.g., Kollock, Blumstein, & Schwartz 1985; Roger & Schumacher 1983; Roger & Nesshoever 1987), it was not universally true (e.g., Ferguson 1977; see James & Clarke 1993: 242-243). For example, Roger & Nesshoever (1987) studied, among other conversational strategies, the interruption pattern in university student dyads. These students were pre-tested for their dominance predispositions. The study found that individuals with personalities high in dominance initiated significantly more such interruptions than those with personalities low in dominance. But this study examined interactions in which competition and conflict were present as it assigned subjects topics for discussion on which they were known to disagree and were instructed to try to convince their partners of their own point of view. Ferguson (1977), on the other hand, found relatively little correlation between interruptions and dominance predisposition. She studied unstructured conversation between friends. The difference in the type of interaction the two studies examined led James & Clarke (1993) to hypothesise that an interactional context with more competition and conflict is more likely to elicit dominance-related interruptions (p. 243). But again their definitional, methodological and analytical differences would certainly also contribute to their different findings.

Overlap as a defining characteristic of interruption, which in turn is

associated with power and dominance, has also been widely used in language and gender studies. Two of the most influential studies in this area were done by Zimmerman & West (Zimmerman & West 1975; West & Zimmerman 1983; see also Section 4 in Chapter 2). Their work set out to show that men interrupted women in male-female conversations significantly more frequently than women did men, and in their research, interruption (a subtype of overlap) was seen as micropolitics of men establishing dominance and exerting power over women. A substantial number of studies have attempted to test the validity and generalisability of their results and claims. But again their findings are largely contradictory (for review of these studies, see James & Clarke 1993; Holmes 1991).

In summary, overlapping speech has, at its inception as a research focus, been characterised as interruptive and treated as a signal of conflict, dominance and power. Later this characterisation has been widely adopted in social psychological and language and gender studies. But it does not seem to be well-supported empirically. Research over the past four decades produces results which are inconsistent and even contradictory. In the next subsection, I will examine a different characterisation of overlapping speech.

2.1.2 Overlap as involvement

The second characterisation of overlap is related to Tannen's study of conversational styles (1984, 1994; see also Sections 2.4.2 & 4.2 in Chapter 2). This approach to overlap does not attempt to make a distinction

between interruption and overlap, but rather treats them as two separate concepts in need of separate studies. Overlap is considered neither a sufficient nor a necessary condition for interruption (cf Bilmes 1997). Instead of being viewed as a means of conversational dominance, overlap was seen by Tannen as an important strategy conversation participants use to show involvement in the conversation. In combination with the use of some other involvement strategies such as faster rate of speech, shorter pauses, faster turn-taking and active listenership, the use of overlap constitutes what Tannen calls the high involvement conversational style (in contrast with the high considerateness style).

According to Tannen (1994), the meaning of overlap, like that of any other linguistic strategy, is relative. In other words, it can be both ambiguous and polysemous, signalling either solidarity or power or both. It can be interpreted differently by different speakers with diverse conversational styles:

> some speakers consider talking along with another to be a show of enthusiastic participation in the conversation, of solidarity, creating connections; others, however, assume that only one voice should be heard at a time, so for them any overlap is an interruption, an attempt to wrest the floor, a power play. (Tannen 1994: 35)

Tannen's characterisation of overlap as an involvement strategy has gained much support from empirical researches on talk between friends, especially between all-female friends (e.g., Kalcik 1975; Jones 1980; Coates 1988, 1994, 1996; Stubbe 1998). Overlap occurs very frequently in those conversations and is in most cases facilitative to the on-going construction of the conversational flow.

By studying the occurrence of overlap in its sequential context and examining the conversation participants' own orientation to the phenomenon, a number of conversation analysts (e.g., Jefferson 1973, 1983, 1986; Jefferson & Schegloff 1975; Schegloff 1987; Lerner 1991) found that overlaps in a conversation can indicate 'fine-grained attention' on the part of the participants (Jefferson 1986: 153) and are a criterion of a lively conversation (Sacks 1992: 1,642-43). According to Jefferson (1983, 1986),

> ... not *all* overlap was a matter of 'people just not listening to each other', a messy chaotic business, but to the contrary, that it *could*, at least now and then, here and there, be a matter of fine-grained attention. (Jefferson 1986: 153, original italics)

The above characterisation of overlap as an involvement strategy, indicative of the conversationalists' speech style and interactional attention, provides the present study with a sound theoretical perspective. As will be shown later in the thesis, almost all overlaps in the conversations under study indicate the conversation participants' 'fine-grained attention' (Jefferson 1983, 1986) to and active involvement (Tannen 1984, 1994) in the conversational work. This is probably because the data for this study are all casual conversations between friends.

2.2 Classification of overlap

Related to the characterisation of overlap use, there also have been two different approaches to its classification. The first is the social psychological approach, which classifies overlap with respect to interruption. This approach to the classification of overlap has also been

used widely in language and gender, and cross-cultural communication studies (e.g., Kollock, Blumstein, & Schwartz 1985; Kennedy & Camden 1983; Murata 1994). Most of these classificatory systems in this approach are designed with an aim to identify interruption, that is, sifting interruption from the general category of overlap. The study of overlap use in this approach in general is not for the sake of understanding the use of overlap per se, but rather as a means of understanding interruption and its conversational and social significance.

Although some researchers in the first approach have noted the possibility of interruption without actual overlap (e.g., Ferguson 1977), many take its occurrence as a necessary requirement for interruption. A diversity of criteria have been used in the classification of overlap/interruption, including, for example, speaker switch (e.g., Ferguson 1977; Roger, Bull, & Smith 1988; Malam 1996), semantic content (e.g., Kennedy & Camden 1983), and pragmatic functions (e.g., Goldberg 1990; Murata 1994; Makri-Tsilipakou 1994; Malam 1996). Part of the result of this diversity is that different studies use different classificatory systems, leaving their findings mutually incomparable (see James & Clarke 1993).

But as it has been argued earlier (Section 4.2 in Chapter 2), the identification of a certain instance of overlap as a case of interruption is always problematic as interruption is more an interpretive category than a descriptive one, involving the volatile and variable perceptions on the part of group members, analysts and participants (cf. Tannen 1994; Bennett 1981). In other words, what constitutes an interruption can be perceived differently by different people and the criteria are definitely not restricted

to the occurrence of overlap, and nor to the use of an utterance which is semantically or pragmatically incongruous with the previous utterances. Thus, Bilmes (1997) rightly advises the abandonment of the notion of treating interruption as a phenomenon independently discoverable by analysts, and suggests instead the treatment of interruption "as a normative phenomenon solely produced AND RECOGNIZED by participants" (p. 511, original emphasis). According to Bilmes (1997: 511), interruption is best to be treated not as an analyst's resource, but as a participant's one. The present study takes the view that interruption and overlap be studied as two separate lines of inquiry.

The second approach to the classification of overlap follows the perspective of conversation analysis and is based on its general assumption that the occurrence of overlap is an orderly matter (Jefferson 1986: 153) and seeks to account for the orderliness of overlapping talk mainly through the turn-taking system they established (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974). Studies of overlap in this approach derive their categorisation systems of overlap use from a detailed analysis of the conversation phenomenon in its sequential context and of the conversation participants' own ways of orienting to the phenomenon at issue. Overlap use has been examined from this direction in terms of its onset, resolution and retrieval and relatively little effort has been spent on the distinction between interruption and overlap (but see Schegloff 1973, cited in Bennett 1981). Studies of overlap in this approach provides an analytic framework on which the present study can be based on.

The ensuing discussion will examine these two approaches to overlap use

in more detail. The conversation analytic approach will be examined first, followed by the social psychological approach.

2.2.1 The conversation analytic approach

The conversation analytic approach to the study of overlap has concentrated on the discovery of the "systematicities" of overlap use (Jefferson 1986: 153). Important issues it has been dealing with in relation to overlap use include overlap onset, its resolution and the retrieval of overlapped talk by the participants.

2.2.1.1 Overlap onset

The most extensive work on overlap onset is done by Jefferson (1983, 1986). Her work attempts to show that "in the apparent chaos of overlapping talk one can begin to locate a series of 'fixed points' which collect and order an enormous amount of talk" (Jefferson 1986: 1). Based on the different phenomena which a next speaker/recipient orients to or acts upon, Jefferson identifies three categories of overlap onset: Transitional (a next speaker orients to and acts upon a possible completion), Recognitional (a next speaker orients to and acts upon the perceived completeness of a current speaker's turn), and Progressional (a next speaker orients to and acts upon a disfluency of the current speaker in order to move the conversation forward).

Transitional Onset

Jefferson (1983, 1986) observes that a large amount of overlap occurs at a transition relevance place and can be characterised as a byproduct of two activities: 1) A next speaker starts to talk at a possible completion of a turn in progress, while 2) the current speaker proceeds with further talk. Actions of both the next and current speakers, according to Jefferson, are warranted and within their rights.

Jefferson identifies a number of positions or points at a transition place, where overlap occurs.

- **Terminal onset:** A next speaker starts up just at the final sound(s) of the last word of what constitutes a 'possibly complete utterance' (Jefferson 1983: 3). Terminal overlap can be minimal and transitory as in the following example (all names in the transcript have been changed to keep their identity confidential) (for transcription notations, see Chapter 4):

Ex 1: A8mf: 6[1]

    M: they just don't get thei:r, their warrant, (0.2) or the-the

→ M: recognition they deser[ve.
→ F: [hm. someone did a really good ex-I think

    F: it was John. (.) or Frank did a really good explanation of it

---

[1] Here 'A8mf: 6' stands for the 6th overlap in the 8th dyad, a mixed-gender dyad (mf), in Australian (A) conversations.

Terminal overlap can also get more substantial when the current speaker continues speaking, as in Ex 2.

Ex 2: A7mf: 7

    F: it's just like school holidays, you know.   but then-, you
    M: yeh.

    F: know, after that it was like, ohh well I've got to start doing

→ F: someth[ing n<u>ow</u> you know.]
→ M: [you sort of reali]zed that. you're not-not forced

    M: to, to do anything anymore↑

- **Last item onset** (or **Pre-completer onset**): A next speaker starts up at the last item or word of a turn constructional unit (Jefferson 1983: 16; 1986: 157). For example:

Ex 3: A5ff:11

→ A: she just does everything in half an [hour.
→ B: [did you hear about

    B: her on Saturday?

Again more extended overlap can occur when the current speaker continues talking after reaching the TRP:

Ex 4: A1ff:12

    A: what did you do?
    B: I don't know. I haven't really done

→ B: [that. it's due like] next week.
→ A: [I did poems-]

- **'Latched'-to-Possible-Completion onset:** A next speaker starts talking "no sooner and no later than the moment at which a possible completion point has occurred" and his/her talk collides with the current speaker's further talk (Jefferson 1983: 7). For example:

Ex 5: A3ff:12

→ A: we were a<u>bout nine</u>. .hh [but I was about nine but he told
→ B: [o:h that's a bit too late. the little ones

   B: would like] it↑.
   A: me-   ] yeh

- **'Unmarked Next Position' onset:** This type of overlap can have four forms. First, it occurs when the current speaker having reached a point of possible completion continues speaking while a next speaker, not aware of the current speaker's further talk, also starts talking. What the next speaker is doing is described as permitting a bit of space between the end of the current speaker's utterance and the start of his/her own (Jefferson 1986: 162-167). It can be illustrated in Figure 3-1, where the dot stands for a point of possible completion, the rounded brackets for the little space B permits between the end of A's utterance and the start of his/her own, the square brackets for the overlapped part, and the dotted line for the part of talk the speakers may have carried on with.

Figure 3-1 'Unmarked Next Position' overlap: Form 1

A: _____. ___[_____]_ _ _ _ _ _ .
B: ( )[_____]_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ .

An example of this form of overlap is as follows:

Ex 6: A6mf:6

   M: start spilling stuff an' say sorry we've decided to eat somewhere

→ M: else °an'° [jus' walk out.]
→ F: ( ) [<u>w e l l,</u>   ] I wasn't thinking about it. 'cos they

   F: were so mean.

Similarly, upon the current speaker's reaching a point of possible completion, the recipient starts talking but the current speaker, not aware of the recipient's bit of initiated talk, continues talking. This time, the current speaker could be characterised as providing a bit of space between his/her two adjacent turn units (Jefferson 1986: 165). This form of overlap is illustrated in Figure 3-2.

Figure 3-2 'Unmarked Next Position' overlap: Form 2

A: _____. ( ) [_____] _ _ _ _ _ _ .
B: __[_____] _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ .

An example of this form of overlap is as follows:

Ex 7: A2ff:23

→ B: I can't believe they got fifteen out of fifteen. ( ) [I mean-] it was
→ A: it's [not fair.]

   B: really good an' all. BU:T, you know there was a couple of faults ...

Finally, after a pause when both participants are entitled to talk, one starts

up a little bit earlier than the other, resulting in collision of their talk. This can take up another two forms, as illustrated in Figure 3-3 (when the current speaker starts first) and Figure 3-4 (when a next speaker starts first).

Figure 3-3 'Unmarked Next Position' overlap: Form 3

A: _____. (pause) ____[_____]_ _ _ _ _ _ _ .
B: ( )[_____]_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ .

An example of this form of overlap is as follows:

Ex 8: A2ff:12

    B: you used to sit on that <u>back</u> <u>brick</u> <u>wa:ll</u>. (0.4) n .hh and
    A: (   )

→ A: [°the   back   brick   wall°]
→ B: [we used to sit on that hill]=you know the Sound of

    B: Music Hill?
    A: yeh?

Figure 3-4 'Unmarked Next Position' overlap: Form 4

A: _____. (pause) ( ) [_____]_ _ _ _ _ _ .
B: __[_____]_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ .

An example of this form of overlap is provided below (Ex 9):

Ex 9: A4ff:15

    B: it's a bit casual↑. (0.2) is he:, keeping his options open=is he

→ B: seeing someone else.(0.5) (   ) o[r maybe he's-]
→ A: but, [put yourself] in his sho:es,

    A: like-,   =ye-yeh you want exactly the
    B: 'cos I've been pretty casual=

    A: same thing anyway, don't you.

Recognitional onset

Unlike 'transitional' onset with its orientation to 'completeness' of a turn, 'recognitional' onset focuses on an utterance's adequacy (Jefferson 1983: 18). Jefferson (1983) subdivides this phenomenon into two types. The first one, the 'Item'-Targetted Onset, is the targetting of an item, word, etc and the other, the 'Thrust'-Projective Onset, is to do with the attending to the general thrust, sense, etc., of the talk in progress (pp. 18-21). Ex 10 is an example of 'Item'-Targetted onset and Ex 11 is one of 'Thrust'-Projective onset.

Ex 10: A8mf:31

    M: you've got to make your own, (0.2) all your own

→ M: assump[tions, I guess.]
→ F: [assumptions, y]eh. that's the same trouble

    F: I'm having with religion

Ex 11: A8mf:24

M: was a funny thing. he's looking at you while you're looking

→ M: [at yourself in the mirror↑.]
→ F: [look   at   yourself   ye]h.

Progressive onset

Progressive overlap occurs when disfluencies or 'hitches' occur in the current speaker's talk and the recipient comes in, colliding with the current speaker's ongoing talk (Jefferson 1983: 21-27). The disfluencies or 'hitches' can be mid-utterance silence and 'silence fillers' such as 'uh' and 'um' as in the following example:

Ex 12: A15mm:16

B: that's what the rally was for as well.
A: hm. but I don't know if

→ A: that-, um [includes   the   university   or   not.   ]
→ B: [but that's not gonna-that's not gonna] affect us,

B: anyway.
A: no

The disfluencies or 'hitches' can also be 'stutters' or 'stammers', which are often the locus of overlap onset. For example,

Ex 13: A10mf:21

    M: well he's not ugly and he's not wonderful, but you know

→ M: he's-, he's all-he's [°all°-, he-]
→ F: [he just] looks like a normal guy. (0.2)

    M: he used to have- ...

2.2.1.2 Overlap resolution

Jefferson & Schegloff (1975) observe that one basic procedure speakers employ to resolve a state of overlap and restore talk to a state of one-party-at-a-time is that one party drops out and stops talking. They also find that it is not always unequivocal for participants who shall drop out (p. 6) (see also Jefferson, no date). In the following example (Ex 14), the overlap is resolved quickly by the dropping out of speaker A.

Ex 14: A1ff:15

    B: I was just going for it. 'cos words were just all coming to my

→ B: mind.   [and then often-when] I go back, (.) it never really
→ A: ye:[h.   a   lot   of   a-]

    B: happens to me.
    A: yeh.

But there are many cases in which both parties persevere by continuing their talk, engaging in a kind of competition for the turn space. This procedure generally involves the speakers' employment of within-word pronunciational adjustments such as stutters and stretching the sound of the word (as in Ex 6), and within-utterance sequential adjustments such as recycling portions of an utterance over the talk of another (as in

Ex 15; see also Schegloff 1987).

Ex 15: A7mf:2

M: there's always a theory, but it's just a theory in the end. like,

→ F: =hm.=   but is it-, [is it-,   [if it was jus'-, if it
→ M: =   =you know,   [theories based [on hypo-, hy-,

M: °pothesis   um°   ]
F: was jus' one theory, you could understand it.] you know, but

F: it's not.

2.2.1.3 Overlap retrieval

Once an overlap occurs and has been resolved, how do participants retrieve the overlapped talk which is likely hearing-understanding impaired? Jefferson & Schegloff (1975) observe two types of retrieval procedures: Self-Retrieval and Other-Retrieval. The former is the procedure by which the continuing party refers to his/her own talk in overlap and the latter is that by which the continuing party refers to someone else's talk in overlap. Self-Retrieval and Other-Retrieval each have Marked and Unmarked forms, referring respectively to forms which "announce trouble and explicitly retrieve talk out of the prior overlap" and forms which "do not recognize trouble nor explicitly retrieve talk out of overlap" (p. 12). Thus altogether four retrieval procedures can be isolated: Marked Self-Retrieval, Unmarked Self-Retrieval, Marked Other-Retrieval, and Unmarked Other-Retrieval.

In Marked Self-Retrieval, as in Ex 16, a party to an overlap (A) retrieves by restarting the utterance s/he relinquished in overlap upon the other

party's (B) dropping out or reaching completion.

Ex 16: A12mm:11

```
A:  I'm going to get one of them for my computer.    [they're like-]
B:                                               a:::[ : h     of   ]

B:  course the new computer you can ye:h.
→ A:                                          they're like-, seven

A:  hundred dollars for a good one↑.
```


In Unmarked Self-Retrieval, a party to an overlap, upon the other party's dropping out or reaching completion, retrieves the utterance s/he relinquished in overlap by continuing from the point of dropout. For example,

Ex 17: A15mm:36

```
A:  it's not going to stop, .hh the government's cre[ating     like   ]
B:                                                   [oh you can still]

B:  get them, the government create these-
→ A:                                          their own black markets

A:  by banning them.
```


In Marked Other-Retrieval, a party to an overlap requests a repeat of the other party's overlapped utterance, as in Ex 18.

In Unmarked Other-Retrieval, there are two ways in which one party treats the other's overlapped utterance. The first one is the use of acknowledgment token (such as "yeah" and "uh huh"). In this way, the continuing party treats the other's overlapped utterance as if it had

occurred in the clear, as in Ex 19. Another way of doing Unmarked Other-Retrieval is the use of embedded repeat. That is, a party retrieves the other party's overlapped talk by "incorporating possibly unheard materials into an undisrupted flow of talk" (Jefferson & Schegloff 1975: 20). This is shown in Ex 20.

Ex 18: A7mf:5

    F: like a passive domino effect or something you [know that's-,
    M: [o : : h h parable.

→ F: °hm.°]   [er?
    M:] heh [heh hhh .hh it's a parable or °something° yeh.

Ex 19: A7mf:6

    M: I don't want to get a job out of this, you know

    M: [like,   [a better job you know.]
    F: [no:. I mean I [do this, so I didn't have to get] a job.

→ M: yeh.

Ex 20: A2ff:22

    A: that is-, put it this way, that's exactly what he faulted Karen

    A: and them for as well=[maybe they've-they got <u>fifteen</u>.]
→ B: =[.h h h I ↑kno : : w. I can't] believe

    B: they got fifteen out of fifteen.

2.2.1.4 Summary

The conversation analytic approach to the study of overlap examines its use in terms of its onset, resolution and retrieval. It accounts for a large amount of overlap in the data for the present study, i.e., Australian and Chinese conversations between friends. In this section, I have tried to illustrate the analytic framework of conversation analysts by using examples from the Australian conversational data. It is equally applicable to the Chinese data, as we shall see in Chapter 4. But before it can be used as an analytic framework for the present study, two important amendments need to be made. The first one is that the categories used for the analysis need to be expanded in order to be able to account for all instances of overlap in the data. Although the analytic system used by conversation analysts can account for a great deal of overlap in my data, there are still many cases which are not accountable by the system. Do those leftover or exceptional cases only merit a case-by-case study or can they be subsumed under separate categories? The second important amendment is that the categories used in the conversation analytic approach need to be more refined so that the categories themselves are distinct and mutually exclusive. In fact many of the categories used in the conversation analytic studies are 'deeply convergent' in Jefferson's words (1983: 1). This would render the quantitative part of the study implausible.

In sum, the conversation analytic approach to the study of overlap contributes to a great extent to our understanding of how overlapping speech begins and how it is resolved and retrieved by the participants in

the course of the conversation. It shows that to simply classify instances of overlap as 'interruption' is not warranted as it does not take into consideration the participants' own orientation to the phenomenon (see Beach 1990). But for wider applicability of this approach, extension and refinement need to be made so that a cross-cultural comparison of the use of overlap can be done in a quantitative manner.

2.2.2 The social psychological approach

Over the past three decades, the social psychological approach to the study of overlap has developed a large number of classification systems. This is not surprising as the criteria used in these classification systems are largely the analysts' own categories and the creation of such categories is potentially unlimited. These classification systems have as their main aim the identification of interruption and the subsequent association of the interruption patterns with patterns of power and dominance as either dispositional or institutional/societal characteristics. The following review lists some of the major classificatory systems being used in this approach.

2.2.2.1 Earlier random classifications

Some of the early researchers identified all instances of overlap as cases of interruption (e.g., Wiens, Saslow, & Matarazzo 1965; Meltzer, Morris, & Hayes 1971; Willis & Williams; Shaw & Sadler 1965; Welkowitz, Bond, & Feldstein 1984). In these studies, no attempt has been made to distinguish between overlap and interruption. For example, Wiens, Saslow, &

Matarazzo (1965: 326) defined an interruption as simultaneous speech "occurring as an interjection both beginning and ending while another person is speaking or as a premature, overlapping comment beginning prior to the other person's completing his (her) speech and continuing after its termination." This definition of interruption would in effect include all instances of overlapping speech as interruption. Similarly, Meltzer, Morris, & Hayes (1971) defined an interruption as "occurring if one person begins to talk while another person is talking" (p. 393), also making all simultaneous talk codable as interruption.

Dissatisfied with the all-inclusive definition of interruption, some later researchers have tried to exclude some instances of overlapping speech from their count of interruptions. The most typical exclusions are various backchannelling expressions such as 'mhm,' 'yeah,' 'uh-huh,' and 'right' (e.g., Roger & Schumacher 1983; Smith-Lovin & Brody 1989; Roger & Nesshoever 1987; Hawkins 1988, 1991; Smythe & Huddleston 1992). Other exclusions sometimes include repetitions (e.g., Leffler, Gillespie, & Conaty 1982; Hawkins 1988, 1991), and minor overlaps and simultaneous starts (e.g., Smith-Lovin & Brody 1989).

A further development in the classification of overlap is the distinction between successful and unsuccessful interruption. This distinction touches upon the issue of overlap resolution as the former refers to "those events in which the first speaker was prevented from completing an utterance by the second speaker's taking the floor" and the latter refers to cases where "the second speaker attempted but failed to take the floor" (Roger & Schumacher 1983: 702). This distinction was first made by

Mishler & Waxler (1968) in their study of family interaction patterns (see Section 2.1.1 this chapter) and was later widely used in social psychological and language and gender studies (e.g., Roger & Schumacher 1983; Roger & Nesshoever 1987; Roger 1989; Kollock, Blumstein, & Schwartz 1985; Smeltzer & Watson 1986; Smith-Lovin & Brody 1989; Natalé, Entin, & Jaffe 1979; Aries, Gold, & Weigel 1983). A general assumption for the distinction between successful and unsuccessful interruptions may be that "successful interruptions constitute a much clearer manifestation of dominance on the part of the interruptor than do unsuccessful interruptions" (James & Clarke 1993: 245). This is again problematic as it is impossible to establish a one-to-one relationship between successful interruptions and dominance (James & Clarke 1993: 246; see also arguments in Section 2.1.1 this Chapter).

2.2.2.2 Structural classification

The structural classification is one which uses the syntactic or lexical structures as a basis for the classification of overlap and interruption. The classification system devised by Zimmerman and West is most representative of this approach (Zimmerman & West 1975; West & Zimmerman 1983; see also Section 4.2 in Chapter 2). In their 1975 system, overlap is distinguished from interruption in that the latter was taken to be where a speaker cuts across more than one 'lexical constituent' (word) of a prior speaker's utterance whereas the former refers to all smaller stretches of simultaneous speech. This system has been revised in their 1983 study to be more precise, distinguishing among three different concepts: overlap, shallow interruption and deep interruption. The

criterion for the distinction is an acoustic/syllabic one: "'overlaps' as those simultaneities occurring within the first or last syllable of unit-types; 'shallow interruptions' as simultaneities occurring within the second or second to last syllable or between first and second or next-to-last and last syllable of unit types; and 'deep interruptions' as those onset of simultaneity more than two syllables away from the beginning or end of a unit type" - the latter assumed to be the "least likely to be due to systemic reasons" (West & Zimmerman 1983: 114, endnote 4).

Zimmerman & West's classification system is one of the first systematic attempts at classifying overlap and interruption. Their system is directly derived from the turn-taking mechanism devised by Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974), thus attentive to the minute details of conversational organisation, specifically with reference to transition relevance place. In fact, it has been used very widely in later researches (e.g., Kollock, Blumstein, & Schwartz 1985; Drass 1986; Smith-Lovin & Brody 1989; Kennedy & Camden 1983; Hawkins 1988, 1991; LaFrance 1992; Nohara 1992). But as was argued previously, their system is most problematic in that it denigrates certain types of overlap to the interpretive category of interruption and further associates interruption with power assertion and dominance (see arguments in Section 4.2 in Chapter 2 and also Section 2.1.1.2 this Chapter). Besides, this system does not address the issue of overlap resolution (see though West 1979) and it has also resorted to verbal references to nonverbal activity in its decision on whether an overlap is an interruption (West & Zimmerman 1983), underlining a methodological complication (see Drummond 1989: 158 for more detailed arguments on these two respects).

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2.2.2.3 Classification based on speaker switch

There are quite a number of systems which classify overlap on the basis of speaker switch (e.g., Ferguson 1977; Roger, Bull & Smith 1988; Malam 1996). Two of them need special mention as they are quite widely used by other researchers. The first is Ferguson's system and the other is Roger, Bull, & Smith's one.

Ferguson's system

Ferguson's (1977) system, which may be compared with Duncan's (1972: 35) hierarchical structure of the turn system, is one of the first to classify overlap according to speaker-switch options. Dissatisfied with the two category system used by previous researches (the two categories being either 'overlap' and 'interruption' or 'unsuccessful' and 'successful interruptions'), she established a four category system with each category being contrasted with the notion of a perfect speaker-switch. According to Ferguson (1977: 296), a speaker-switch is a transition point where one participant in a conversation finishes speaking and another begins, and a perfect speaker-switch is a change in speaker not accompanied by the occurrence of simultaneous speech and also with the first speaker's utterance completed in every way (semantically, syntactically and phonologically). The four categories in Ferguson's system are 'simple interruptions', 'overlaps', 'butting-in interruptions' and 'silent interruptions'. This was presented in a clearer way in the form of a flow chart by Beattie (1981, 1983), which is reproduced below in Figure 3-5.

Close examination of Ferguson's four categories shows that there can be systematic reasons behind each of her categories. That is, none of the categories can be said to be instances where one speaker has violated the other speaker's rights. Rather, they can all be cases where one speaker is orienting either to a turn's completeness or to a delivery's adequacy or to the talk's flow (Jefferson 1983: 27). Let us examine Ferguson's categories one by one.

Attempted speaker-switch

Successful?

Yes   No

Simultaneous speech present?   Simultaneous speech present?

Yes   No   Yes   No

First speaker's   First speaker's
utterance complete? utterance complete?

Yes   No   Yes   No

Overlap Simple   Smooth   Silent   Butting-in   0
         interruption Speaker- interruption interruption
                   switch
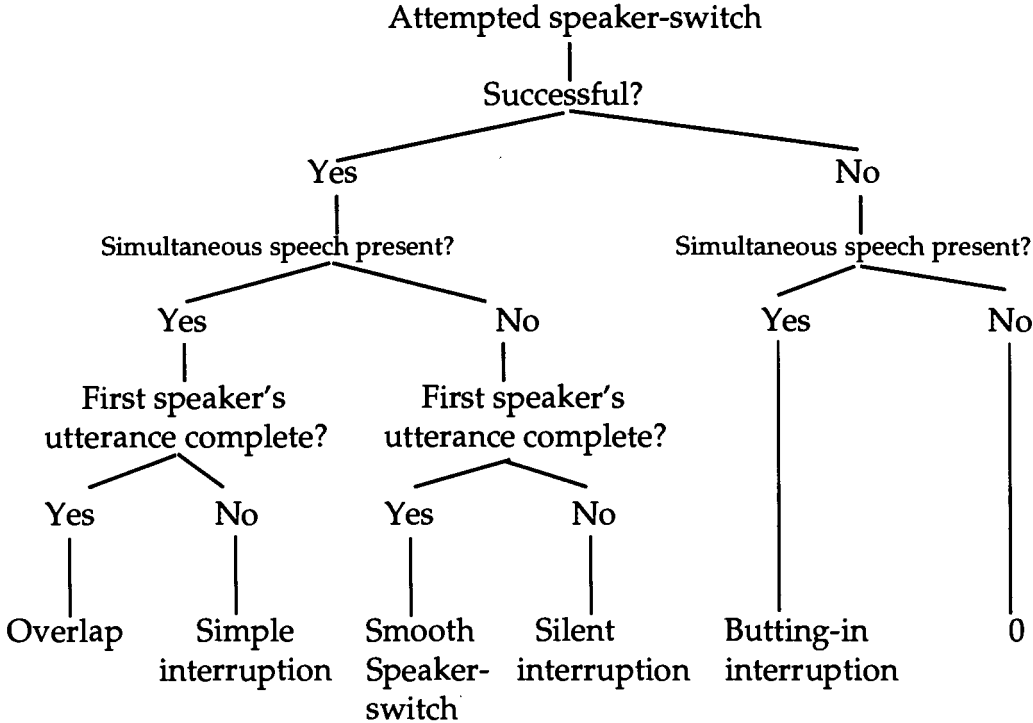
Figure 3-5 Ferguson's classification system of overlap and interruption

'Simple interruptions' involve both simultaneous speech and a break in continuity in the first speaker's utterance. They resemble what other researchers refer to as "successful interruptions" (e.g., Mishler & Waxler 1968; Roger & Schumacher 1983; see also Section 2.2.2.1 this chapter). Ferguson (1977: 296) gives the following example (reformatted into the

transcription style of the present thesis, see Chapter 4).

Ex 21: Ferguson (1977: 296)

    A: and this bit about him being bankrupt and having no money I

→ A: just don't see how it's possible bec[ause-]
→ B: [I hav]en't heard that.

Here in this example, B starts her talk after A has reached a completion point (i.e., after the word 'possible') and has just begun her new turn-unit. This instance of overlap is a fine example of what Jefferson (1983, 1986) termed 'Unmarked-Next-Position' onset, one type of transitional onset. Thus to label it as interruption is misleading as the term connotes a negative judgement upon the speaker's intention.

'Overlaps' in Ferguson's system resemble what other researchers called "unsuccessful interruptions" (e.g., Mishler & Waxler 1968; Roger & Schumacher 1983). They involve simultaneous speech but there is no apparent break in continuity in the first speaker's utterance. An example of overlap is given by Beattie (1981: 20).

Ex 22: Beattie (1981:20)

    Student: it doesn't matter where it is, if it's on the edge, near near

    Student: the edge of your periphery, or you know right at the centre

    Student: because you can move your head, and it'll move you know

→ Student: [it'll move with it]
→ Tutor: [yes,   I   ] don't I don't think we're disagreeing

    Tutor: about that ...

Again this example is an instance of the tutor focussing on the possible completion of the student's turn. It is an example of what Jefferson (1983) calls the "'Latched'-to-Possible-Completion" onset. In this case, either the tutor or the student has a right to start their turn because the student has reached a possible completion point after finishing "you know" (see Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974).

The third category in Ferguson's system is called 'Butting-in interruption', which involves simultaneous speech and a break in continuity in the interrupter's utterance. Examples given by both Ferguson and Beattie for 'butting-in interruption' can also be accounted for as a transitional onset. For example, Ex 23 (Ferguson 1977: 297) and Ex 24 (Beattie 1981: 21) are both instances of 'Latched-to-Possible-Completion' onset:

Ex 23: Ferguson (1977: 297)

→ A: I don't know, [I've got mi]xed feelings, I think it would be
→ B: [I think I-]

   A: nice to have a baby

Ex 24: Beattie (1981: 21)

   Student: and you know he said that's rubbish, that seems to go

→ Student: back to that really [because] I mean why does he say ...
→ Tutor: [well   ]

The fourth category 'Silent interruption' does not involve simultaneous speech but involves a break in continuity of the first speaker's utterance.

This category is typical of participants' focus on the talk's flow and thus can be examples of "Progressive" onset in Jefferson's system.   For example,

Ex 25: Ferguson (1977: 297)

→ A: it wasn't in ours actually it was a bloke, and um
→ B: but anybody

    B: who's a bit lazy I suppose, is, that he used to picks on?

In sum, Ferguson (1977) made a first attempt at systematically classifying overlap and interruption and her system was used in a number of later studies (e.g., Beattie 1981, 1983; Talbot 1992; Marche & Peterson 1993, cited in Malam 1996). But as we have shown, all the categories of overlap and interruption can not be called 'interruption' as such but are examples of either participants' focus on a possible completion point or their focus on the talk's flow. It is clear that the occurrence of overlap is better explained in terms of participants' own orientation to the phenomenon in the conversational context.

Roger, Bull, & Smith's system

Roger, Bull, & Smith (1988) expand Ferguson's four categories to a total of 17 categories in their comprehensive system for classifying interruptions. It was developed out of their dissatisfaction with existing systems for classifying interruptions, viz. Mishler & Waxler's and Ferguson's systems (p. 28). According to Roger, Bull, & Smith (1988: 28), Mishler & Waxler's classification of interruption into successful and unsuccessful ones is too

CAN A FIRST AND SECOND SPEAKER BE IDENTIFIED?

NO — YES

FALSE START (FS)
(Unintended Simultaneous speech)

Did the second speaker disrupt the first
speaker's utterance?

YES — NO

INTERRUPTION

Does the first speaker continue?

How many interruption
attempts were there?

NO — YES

Two or — One — OVERLAP (OV)
more

Does the first speaker's utterance
relate to his /her own previous one?

COMPLEX INTERRUPTION

SINGLE INTERRUPTION

YES — NO

Does the interrupter prevent the other speaker
from completing and ultimately complete
his/her own utterance?

Does the interrupter prevent the other
speaker from completing and complete
his/her own utterance?

AFTERTHOUGHT

LISTENER RESPONSE (LR)

NO — YES

Duration

UNSUCCESSFUL COMPLEX
INTERRUPTION

SUCCESSFUL COMPLEX
INTERRUPTION (CI/S)

NO — YES

Brief   Extended

Does the interrupter prevent the
other speaker from competing?

UNSUCCESSFUL SINGLE
INTERRUPTION

SUCCESSFUL SINGLE INTERRUPTION

Does the interrupter prevent the
other speaker from competing?

Does the interruption follow a clear offer of the floor by the interrupter?

YES — SNATCH-BACK
(S-B/S)

YES

UNSUCCESSFUL COMPLEX
INTERRUPTION (CI/UNS, I)

YES — NO

NO

Does the interrupter prevent the
other speaker from competing?

UNSUCCESSFUL SINGLE
INTERRUPTED
INTERRUPTION (SI/UNS, I)

Does the interrupter
complete his/her utterance?

Is the interruption
brief and followed
by a clear return of
floor?

SUCCESSFUL SINGLE
INTERRUPTION (SI/S)

NO

Does the interrupter ultimately
complete his/her own utterance?

YES — NO

YES

YES

NO

Does the interrupter finally complete
before or after the other speaker?

NO

INTERJECTION (IJ)

Does the interruption follow a clear
offer of the floor by the interrupter?

Does the interrupter complete
before or after the other speaker?

Before

Does the interruption follow a clear
offer of the floor by the interrupter?

Before

Does the interruption follow a clear
offer of the floor by the interrupter?

After

After

UNSUCCESSFUL SINGLE
INTERRUPTION with COMPLETION
(SI/UNS,C)

YES

Before
After

UNSUCCESSFUL COMPLEX
INTERRUPTION (CI/UNS, C)

NO — YES

UNSUCCESSFUL
SINGLE
INTERRUPTION
(SI/UNS)

UNSUCCESSFUL
SNATCH-BACK
(S-B/UNS)

UNSUCCESSFUL
SINGLE
OVERLAPPING
INTERRUPTION
(SI/UNS,OV)

YES

UNSUCCESSFUL COMPLEX
INTERRUPTION (CI/UNS, OV)

NO   SUCCESSFUL COMPLEX
SNATCH-BACK (S-B/UNS)

UNSUCCESSFUL COMPLEX
INTERRUPTION (CI/UNS)

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Figure 3-6 The Interruption Coding System (Roger, Bull, & Mayer 1988: 34)

Dunne 1995; Malam 1996). For example, Makri-Tsilipakou (1994) makes a distinction between affiliative and disaffiliative simultaneous speech in addition to her use of the West & Zimmerman's (1983) structural classificatory categories (i.e., overlaps, shallow interruptions and deep interruptions). The use of an extra semantic and/or pragmatic criterion alongside with a structural one may lie in their underlying assumptions that 1) social variables such as gender are linked more to the meanings and functions of different types of overlap than to the simple frequency of its use; 2) certain types of overlap may be more interruptive than others and the reclassification of overlaps according to their semantic content and/or pragmatic functions can help determine better which type of overlap constitutes a 'real' interruption. I will just examine three classificatory systems as examples of using semantic and/or pragmatic criteria in overlap classification. This, I hope, will suffice to show that both assumptions do not seem to have been well supported.

Agreement and disagreement overlaps/interruptions

Willis & Williams (1976) are among the first to use the content of the overlapping talk with respect to that of the overlapped talk to reclassify simultaneos speech. Each instance of overlap is classified as in agreement with the speaker, in disagreement with the speaker, or as irrelevant to the speaker's statement. They studied high school students' speech in class discussions and casual conversation and found that 34% of overlaps constituted agreement, 51% disagreement, and the remaining 15% were irrelevant. They also found that female listeners were more likely to show agreement with male speakers, while both men and women were more

broad to be empirically discriminable and Ferguson's system does not provide a significant improvement over Mishler & Waxler's typology. The resultant development is what they call the 'Interruption Coding System' (ICS) or the 'Simultaneous Speech Coding System', which is reproduced as Figure 3-6.

But the ICS proves to be too complex to be applicable in practice. In fact, almost all studies which employed their system for analysis, including their own, did not use all the 17 categories in the system (e.g., Ng, Brooke, & Dunne 1995; Roger, Bull, & Smith 1988; Bull & Mayer 1988). Some of the categories in the system, such as complex interruptions and snatch back, appear to be either redundant or unnecessary (see Malam 1996: 81). No examples of these categories were given for illustrative purposes, but I assume that their system may suffer from the same drawbacks as those of Ferguson's in that what they call interruption may simply turn out to be participants' systematic orientation to various phenomena in the sequential context of the conversation.

2.2.2.4 Semantic and pragmatic classification

A number of researchers have resorted, in their classification of overlap and interruption, to either the semantic content of the second speaker's utterance with respect to that of the first speaker, or the pragmatic functions of the overlapping speech or both. Most of these researchers have used the semantic and/or pragmatic classification not in replacement for but as an addition to a structural one (e.g., Kennedy & Camden 1983; Makri-Tsilipakou 1994; LaFrance 1992; Dunne & Ng 1994; Ng, Brooke, &

likely to show disagreement with female speakers. But their study is based not on the analysis of conversational transcripts but on an individual observer's on-the-spot coding.

Confirming and disconfirming or rejecting overlaps/interruptions

Similar to Willis & Williams' classification, Kennedy & Camden (1983) classified the interruption speeches into six categories, i.e., clarification, agreement, disagreement, tangentialisation (i.e., an utterance made by a speaker to show awareness of the other's talk but also in some way minimises or makes light of the other's message), subject change, and other. They studied graduate students' interaction in seminars and work programs and their results showed that slightly over half of the interruptions served a confirming function (i.e., used for clarification or agreement), and the remaining interruptions were disconfirmations or rejections (i.e., used for disagreement, tangentialisation and subject change). But they found no significant differences between males and females in the types of speeches produced.

Relationally neutral and relationally loaded overlaps/interruptions

Goldberg's study (1990) is another one which uses semantic and pragmatic criteria to distinguish between different types of interruptions. But unlike the previous two studies reviewed above, this study tries to excavate various sources from which interruptions arise, including conversational rules and conversation participants' rights, obligations, and/or wants (p. 886). According to Goldberg (1990), overlap/

interruption occurs "not as mere violations of the turn-taking rules but in response to the inherent conflict between interactional norms which promote single speakership and normative pressures which are often satisfied only by flouting those turn-taking constraints" (p. 886). Based on these considerations, she distinguished between relationally neutral interruptions and relationally loaded ones. Relationally neutral interruptions are those which address the immediate needs of the communicative situation (p. 888). Typical relationally neutral interruption acts are asking for repair, repeat, or clarification. These acts, Goldberg (1990) believes, are not 'intentionally face-threatening' (p. 888).

Relationally loaded interruptions, in contrast, are used to 'satisfy listener wants at the expense of his/her own obligations to support the rights (and wants) of the speaker to an unimpeded turn' (p. 890). These interruptions are further divided into power-oriented and rapport-oriented ones. The criterion Goldberg uses to distinguish between the two subtypes of interruptions seems to be purely semantic, i.e., to see whether the listener-cum-interruptor's utterances are coherent and cohesive with the speaker's remarks. If the interruptor's remarks are neither coherent nor cohesive with the speaker's ones, they will be classified as power-oriented interruptions because the interruptor is claimed to be ignoring both the speaker's positive and negative wants. Reversely, the interruptor's otherwise coherent-cohesive remarks will be classified as rapport-oriented as they address the speaker's positive wants while transgressing the speaker's negative wants.

Goldberg's classification of interruptions appears at the first sight to be

more sophisticated than Willis & Williams' and Kennedy & Camden's classifications as it involves more complicated categories and interpretive heuristic, but they all have resorted to exactly the same criterion, i.e., the content of one speaker's utterance relative to that of the other's, in their classification. But this criterion in determining what constitutes a 'real' interruption is problematic as the apparently coherent or agreeing remarks by one speaker can be 'interruptive' and the otherwise incoherent or disagreeing ones can be cooperative, even if a 'real' interruption means simply 'floor-taking'. According to James & Clarke (1993: 242),

> ... one can agree with what is being said as a precursor to taking over the floor. Further, interruptions involving disagreement are not necessarily disruptive; even in collaborative, rapport-building simultaneous talk, one speaker may be gently disagreeing with another.

One further danger in using semantic and/or pragmatic criteria to classify overlap/interruption is the inescapability of having to infer the intention of the speaker, which is always subjective. When one speaker is making a disagreeing or incoherent or incohesive remark with respect to another speaker, we can never be sure whether s/he intends to be disruptive and interruptive, and nor do we know for sure that s/he intends to threaten the other's face.

Other semantic/pragmatic overlap classificatory systems

In addition to the three classifications reviewed above, there are still many others which resorted to the use of semantic and/or pragmatic criteria in overlap classification. They include, among others, 1) Makri-Tsilipakou's

(1994) distinction between affiliative and disaffiliative interventions; 2) Murata's (1994) distinction between cooperative and intrusive interruptions; 3) Malam's (1996) distinction between interruptions of disruptive-high face threat, cooperative-medium face threat, and cooperative-no face threat; 4) Watts' (1991, 1997) distinction between negative and positive blatant interventions.

Despite the fact that these systems use different terminologies, they have a common goal in isolating semantic/pragmatic criteria for the identification of interruption. But as we have argued earlier in the chapter, decision upon what counts as an interruption is case-by-case judgement and this judgement should not be made by analysts but should rather be made and displayed by conversation participants (see Bilmes 1997).

2.3 Cross-cultural study of overlap

2.3.1 Cultural differences in the use of overlap

For the past two decades, a considerable number of studies have emerged which examine some culture-specific patterns of overlap in conversations. One of the first studies done in this respect is perhaps Reisman (1974). He observed that people in Antigua, West Indies, did not seem to follow any turn-taking rule in conversations with each other. Interruption could occur anywhere at any time in their conversations and the interrupter would not be chastised by conversationalists. He used the term "contrapuntal conversations" to describe this phenomenon. Similar

overlapping styles have been observed to be used by Hawaiian children in narration and joking conversation (Watson 1975). In contrast with this 'contrapuntal' type of conversation style, The Indians of the Warm Springs Reservation in Central Oregon, as observed by Philips (1976), converse at a very slow pace and rarely interrupt one another.

More recently, a group of studies have compared the number of actual overlaps in both intra- and inter-cultural conversations of culturally different groups of people. For example, Wieland (1991), in her study of the turn-taking styles of native speakers of French and of American Advanced learners of French when they talk together with each other in dinner table conversations, found that French speakers used interruptions more frequently than American speakers. Halmari (1993) studied the intercultual differences in business telephone conversations between speakers of Finnish and speakers of American English. In terms of interrupting overlaps (defined as "speech initiated by the non-floor holder, where the context clearly indicates that the speaker has not finished" [p. 424]), she found that native speaker of American English overlappped with their interlocutors more than three times as often as native speakers of Finnish. This finding corroborated with Lebtonen & Sajavaara's (1985) observation that interruptions are not normally tolerated in Finnish conversations and that the typical Finn is a 'silent' listener (p. 196). Murata (1994) compared the use of interruption (a subclass of overlap) by Japanese and British speakers. She found that the British speakers use more interruptions than the Japanese speakers. Stubbe (1998) compared the use of verbal feedback by Maori and Pakeha (i.e. people of European descent) speakers of New Zealand English. In her

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study, overlaps were used as a type of facilitative interactional feedback indicating high-involvement on the part of the participants. She found that Maori speakers produced far fewer overlaps than their Pakeha counterparts.

In addition to the comparative study on the amount of overlap used by different groups of speakers, a few studies have also examined the way overlaps are used in the conversation and how that differs across cultures. Berry (1994), for example, compared the turn-taking styles of Spanish and American speakers. Although she found no differences in the frequency of overlap by the two groups of speakers, she noted that the average length of overlaps in the Spanish conversation was greater than in the English conversation. She explains this as due to the Spanish speakers' use of longer backchannel utterances, more collaborative sequences and greater tendency to continue speaking during overlap. Similarly, Wieland (1991) also found that French speakers are less likely to stop talking after interrupting than American speakers. Testa (1988) compares the use of overlap by Italian and British speakers. Despite the commonly-held belief of more interruptive behaviour by Italian speakers, she found no differences in the frequencies of overlap uttered by Italian and British speakers. But instead she noticed that the two groups of speakers use different interruptive pre-starts. English speakers use more indirect pre-starts such as 'well' or tokens of agreement whereas Italian speakers overwhelmingly use direct contrastive markers like 'ma' (i.e., 'but').

2.3.2 Chinese and Australian use of overlap

Very few studies in the literature can be found which investigate Chinese and Australian conversational styles and none seems to exist which compares the two styles. Australian English speakers may be said to resemble American or British English speakers in their conversational styles, at least to the extent that they follow the one-at-a-time turn-taking rule and overlaps occur mostly as a systematic error (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974). Nevertheless, there is some evidence for distinctively Australian ways of speaking. For example, Guy et al. (1986) noted that Australian English speakers often used a high-rising intonation in statements called Australian Questioning Intonation.

As to the Chinese speakers, existing studies seem to show that they are relatively interruptive in conversation in comparison with a number of other cultural groups. Ulijn & Li (1995) studied the use of overlap/interruption in intercultural multimember party business negotiations between Chinese and Finns and also between Chinese and Dutch. They found that Chinese interrupted more and in a more marked way (i.e. not near a possible completion point) both within their culture and in their interaction with Finns and Dutch, than either Finns or Dutch did intraculturally or interculturally. They suggested that Chinese tend to interrupt as a matter of convention of their language and culture. Graham (1993, cited in Ulijn & Li 1995) compared the use of conversational overlaps (interruptions) by people from ten countries in business negotiations and found that Chinese ranked fourth in terms of the number

of interruptions among the ten cultures. The cultures in order of decreasing number of interruptions are: Korean, German, French, Chinese, Brazilian, Russian, Taiwanese, Japanese, from the UK, and American.

But it is not clear how Chinese would compare with Australians in the use of overlap. Would Chinese use more overlaps in their conversations than Australians or vice versa? Qualitatively, do they use overlap differently, and if so, how?

2.3.3 Problems in previous cross-cultural studies of overlap

Previous cross-cultural studies of overlap use have shown in one way or other that culture-specific patterns of overlap use do exist and that these patterns are not restricted to quantitative differences in terms of the frequency of overlaps conversation participants use, but also to qualitative differences in terms of, for example, overlap resolutions (e.g., Wieland 1991), length of overlaps (e.g., Berry 1994), and the use of interruption pre-starts (e.g., Testa 1988). But these studies suffer a number of analytical and methodological inadequacies or flaws which may limit their generalisability and validity. This section lists some of these areas which the present study intends to improve upon.

Firstly, classification of overlap remains largely idiosyncratic and unsystematic. For most of the previous studies, overlap has been classified by using the analysts' own categories without examination of conversation participants' own orientations to the phenomena (but see Testa 1988). For example, Murata (1994) classifies simultaneous speech

into overlap and interruption, with the latter being further divided into co-operative and intrusive interruptions. A large number of cross-cultural studies of overlap have not even attempted to classify overlap (e.g., Wieland 1991; Halmari 1993; Berry 1994; Stubbe 1998). Thus, in some of these studies, all simultaneous speech including backchannels is lumped together under the general category of overlap (e.g., Halmari 1993; Berry 1994). These classificatory differences naturally lead to incomparable results across studies and therefore point to the need of a more systematic analysis of overlap based on participants' own orientations to the phenomena in the conversation (Jefferson 1983, 1986).

Secondly, issues of overlap resolution and retrieval have been either treated randomly or totally ignored. Wieland (1991) is one of the few studies which have touched upon overlap resolution problems. But her observation is limited to qualitative terms. For example, she observed that when overlaps occurred, Americans tended to drop out or relinquish the floor to other speakers whereas French speakers were more likely to continue speaking simultaneously until both speakers had finished what they had to say (pp. 104-105). But whether this observation is quantitatively valid is not known.

Many previous cross-cultural studies of overlap have also suffered a number of methodological drawbacks. These include 1) small sample size (e.g., Berry 1994; Stubbe 1998; Speicher 1993; Ulijn & Li 1995; Jones 1995). For example, Berry (1994), in her comparative study of Spanish and American turn-taking styles, only used two conversations, one for each group of speakers. Likewise, Ulijn & Li (1995), in their study of Chinese,

Dutch and Finn turn-taking patterns during business negotiations, used only one conversational sample for each negotiation. 2) Lack of control of one or more manipulating factors like gender, status, age, social distance and group composition (e.g., Testa 1988; Speicher 1994; Ulijn & Li 1995; Jones 1995). For example, Testa (1988), in her study of British and Italian interruptive strategies, used two sets of conversations, one English and one Italian, with each set consisting of four conversational groups. But the number of participants in each conversation varies from four to seven male and female speakers. In Ulijn & Li's study (1995), the status, gender and age of the participants as well as their language proficiency of English used for intercultural communication were all left uncontrolled. These methodological drawbacks may inevitably undermine the validity of the findings of these studies.

In sum, previous cross-cultural studies of overlap have been shown to suffer flaws in one way or another in their analytical stance and/or in their methodological considerations. It is the aim of the present study to address these problems so that it will be based upon a sounder analytical framework and a more rigid methodology.

2.4 Gender-differentiated use of overlap

Gender-differentiated use of overlap has been noted for quite a long time, dating back probably to the 1950s and 1960s when studies on small group behaviour and role theory began to gain impetus (Saslow et al. 1957; Shaw & Sadler 1965). But it was not until the publication of Zimmerman & West's (1975) controversial article that gender-related overlap and

interruption patterns started to attract systematic attention. Since then, an enormous number of works have been published (for review, see Holmes 1991, 1992, 1995; James & Clarke 1993). As was mentioned before, these studies, however, have not produced consistent findings as regards gender-related patterns of overlap use. The reasons behind these inconsistencies include both an analytical and a methodological aspect (for detailed discussion, see James & Clarke 1993). It is hoped that with a sounder analytical framework and more rigid methodological considerations, a more accurate picture can be gained for gender-related patterns of overlap use in Chinese and Australian conversations.

So far most of the studies on gender-differentiated use of overlap have been based on English data. Very few studies have examined gender-related overlap patterns in other languages. Two exceptions are Nordenstam's (1992) study of Swedish conversation and Makri-Tsilipakou's (1994) study of Greek conversation. In Nordenstam's study, distinction was made between 'interruption' and 'simultaneous speech'. 'Interruption' was defined as 'a turn taking which violated the current speaker's turn' such that the speaker was 'not allowed to finish his turn unit' (p. 87). 'Interruption', according to Nordenstam (1992), could occur with or without simultaneous speech. 'Simultaneous speech' was used to refer to 'overlapping speech which does not violate the speaker's turn' (p. 88). The study found that in single-sex groups, men used interruptions more often than women did whereas women used simultaneous speech twice as often as men. In mixed groups (i.e., between married couples), no significant difference was found between men and women in their use of interruption and simultaneous speech.

Makri-Tsilipakou (1994) studied mixed-sex conversations among Greek women and men. Distinguishing between 'affiliative' and 'disaffiliative' interventions, she found that women use simultaneous speech primarily as a means of support, ratification and agreement, whereas men use it indiscriminately either in support for or dissent from current speaker/topic, although in either case they tend to direct it mainly towards their female interlocutors.

No study seems to have ever been done in gender-related patterns of overlap use in Chinese conversations. It is part of the aim of this present study to address this gap, i.e., to examine whether there are any gender-related patterns of overlap use in terms of overlap onset, resolution and retrieval.

2.5 Summary and conclusion

In Section 2, I have first reviewed two different characterisations of overlapping speech. One is to use it as a defining characteristic of interruption and to characterise it as conflict, involving dominance and power assertion. This characterisation of overlap was found to be theoretically untenable and empirically not well supported. This is especially the case if the interactions are casual conversations between social equals, particularly between friends. Thus the present study, which examines conversations between friends, is strongly supportive of the second characterisation of overlap. This characterisation presents overlapping talk as an aspect of a speaker's conversational style with its

functions determined with respect to the style of his/her co-conversationalist(s). It is believed that the use of similar styles enhanced involvement in the conversation and the use of opposing styles led to misinterpretations.

I then reviewed two different approaches to the classification of overlap. The first one is the conversation analytic approach, which examines overlap in terms of its onset, resolution and retrieval and focuses on the conversation participants' own ways of orienting to the phenomenon at issue. The other approach is the social psychological one, which uses various criteria in the classification of overlapping speech, including syntactic/morphological structure, speaker switch, semantic content and pragmatic functions. But these criteria are largely the analysts' own categories and it is believed that the creation of such categories can go on indefinitely, leaving results of previous studies mutually incomparable. The present study will therefore adapt the conversation analytic approach in its classification of overlapping speech in Australian and Chinese conversations and analyse it in terms of overlap onset, resolution and retrieval.

With my theoretical stance and analytical focus in place, I then reviewed cross-cultural studies of overlapping talk and studies on gender-differentiated use of overlap. These two areas are the major foci of the present study.

2.6 Questions raised by literature review

The general theme of this thesis is the comparative study of Chinese and Australian conversational styles with particular focus on the use of overlap and listener response. With reference to the above review of literature on overlap, a general question can be raised:

- How would Chinese compare with Australians in the use of overlap?

This general question can be reduced to more specific ones as follows:

1. What do Chinese speakers orient to in overlap onset, resolution, and retrieval and how does it compare with Australian speakers?
2. Would Chinese use more overlaps in their conversations than Australians or vice versa?
3. Where would they place their overlaps with reference to possible completion points?
4. How would they resolve the state of overlap once it occurs? Do they differ in their use of different resolution procedures?
5. What role does gender play in the use of overlap in Chinese and Australian conversations respectively? Does it have the same or a different effect on the use of overlap across the two languages?
   1) Would men use more overlaps in their conversations than women or vice versa?
   2) Where would men and women place their overlaps with reference to possible completion points?

3) Do they differ in their use of different resolution procedures?

4) In mixed-gender conversations, do men and women differ in the use of overlaps which occur in the midst of a turn?

3. Studies on listener response

This section reviews previous studies on listener response. As in the study of overlap, there are two different approaches to the study of listener response, the group-together approach and the discrete approach. The first part of this section will examine these two different approaches. Then we will look at some systems of classification of listener responses. Sections 3.3 and 3.4 examine respectively the culture- and gender-related patterns in listener response in conversations. The final section, Section 3.5, is a brief summary of the whole section, followed by the presentation of a set of research questions raised by the literature review.

3.1 Approaches to the study of listener response

The conversational phenomenon of listener response has attracted a great deal of attention during the past three decades from such diverse scholarly disciplines as linguistics, conversation analysis, (cross-cultural) communication studies and experimental and social psychology. A number of terms have been used to describe this kind of listener behaviour, including 'signals of continued attention' (Fries 1952), 'recognition' (Rosenfeld 1966, 1967), 'concurrent feedback' (Krauss & Weinheimer 1966), 'accompaniment signals' (Kendon 1967), 'listener responses' (Dttmann & Llewellyn 1967, 1968), 'assent terms' (Schegloff

1968; Leet-Pellegrini 1980), 'back channels' (Yngve 1970; Duncan 1972, 1973; Duncan & Niederehe 1974; Duncan & Fiske 1977, 1985), 'encourager' (Edelsky 1981), 'limited feedback' (Kraut, Lewis, & Swezey 1982), 'responsive listener cues' (Miller, Lechner, & Rugs 1985), 'minimal responses' (Fishman 1978; DeFrancisco 1991; Bennett & Jarvis 1991), 'reactive tokens' (Clancy et al. 1996), 'acknowledgment tokens' (Jefferson 1984, 1983/1993; Drummond & Hopper 1993a, 1993c), and 'receipt tokens' (Heritage 1984b; Gardner 1997a, 1998). In the present study, the term 'listener response' is used for the sake of its generality and easy comprehensibility.

In the history of research on listener response, two major strands of study can be identified which are representative of two different approaches to its study. One is the group-together approach, which treats as a single category or class a group of different forms of listener responses. The other is the discrete approach which is taken mainly by ethnomethodological conversation analysts. This approach analyses one or more discrete listener responses in their sequential context and tries to demonstrate that each token of listener response can perform distinctive interactional functions. In the following review, the two different approaches to the study of listener response will be examined in more detail.

3.1.1 The group-together approach

The group-together approach to the study of listener response is widely used in the fields of linguistics, language and gender, cross-cultural

communication, and experimental and social psychologies. This approach probably starts with Fries' (1952) study of American English sentence patterns, though earlier more general allusion to listener response could arguably have been made by Bales (1950) in one of his major groups of interaction process categories called 'Positive Reactions'. Fries (1952), in his discussion on the classification of different kinds of sentences, distinguished three large classes of sentences based on the "characteristic responses that regularly followed or attended their utterance" (p. 51). One of the three large classes is 'those single free utterances in a series that have as responses continued attention' (p. 49). He found in his telephone-conversation data the following brief oral signals of attention, listed in order of their relative frequency of occurrence: 'yes', 'unh hunh', 'yeah', 'I see', 'good', 'oh', 'that's right', 'yes I know', 'oh oh', 'fine', 'so', 'oh my goodness', and 'oh dear' (pp. 49-50). These signals of attention, according to Fries, "do not interfere with the continuous flow of the utterances of the speaker" and "simply serve to give something of the hearer's reaction and to signal the fact that he is listening attentively to the speaker" (p. 50).

Earlier studies of listener response in the group-together approach come largely from experimental and social psychology, commencing in the sixties (e.g., Dttmann & Llewellyn 1967, 1968; Kendon 1967; Rosenfeld 1966, 1967) and continuing through the early nineties (e.g., Bennett & Jarvis 1991). The earlier studies focused mainly on two general themes: the structural characterisation of listener response and its roles in conversation in general or more specifically in the conversational encoding and decoding process (see Duncan 1969; Duncan & Fiske 1985 for a different classification). The group-together approach to the study of

listener responses is also widely used in the areas of cross-cultural communication and language and gender study, but these studies will be reviewed in Sections 3.3 and 3.4 later in this Chapter.

3.1.1.1 Structural properties of listener response

A number of studies, which were concerned with the first theme, i.e., the structural description of listener response in the conversation, typically dealt with it in connection with its non-verbal versions such as headnods, gaze, and smiles (e.g., Birdwhistell 1962; Kendon 1967; Dittmann & Llewellyn 1967, 1968; Brunner 1979). Others have mainly been concerned with its non-turn status in conversation (e.g., Yngve 1970; Duncan 1972, 1973; Duncan & Niederehe 1974; Duncan & Fiske 1977, 1985).

Kendon (1967), looking at functions of gaze direction in dyadic conversation, also examines gaze direction in relation to the occurrence of short utterances, one of which is 'accompaniment signals'. Based on where the listener places his/her signals in relation to the speaker's behaviour (particularly the gaze-direction in the course of producing these signals), Kendon identifies two main classes of accompaniment signals: attention signal and point granting or assenting signal. With respect to the attention signals such as "yes quite", "surely", and "I see", the listener appears to do no more than signal to the speaker that s/he is attending, and following what is being said (Kendon 1967/1990: 73). As regards point granting or assenting signals, the speaker structures his/her argument in such a way that "his continuing is dependent upon his interlocutor consenting to, or specifically granting him, the points that he

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is making" (Kendon 1967/1990: 73). Kendon found that the two types of accompaniment signals are clearly distinguished from each other in terms of gaze-direction. In almost every case, when the listener produces an attention signal, s/he continues to look steadily at the speaker. But when s/he produces a point-granting or assenting signal, s/he looks away.

Dittmann & Llewellyn's study (1967) of listener response is aimed at providing evidence that spoken language is decoded by the listener in word groups called phonemic clauses, which are defined as clauses having a certain rhythmic structure involving a primary stress and terminal juncture (p. 345). Their data are simulated telephone conversations between college students. They found that vocal listener responses occur almost exclusively in the junctures surrounding speakers' phonemic clauses. In their subsequent study, Dittmann & Llewellyn (1968) examined the use of vocal listener responses in relation to a visual one, the head nod. They found that the head nod tended to occur in the same location (i.e., at the end of phonemic clauses) with vocal listener responses (or to be more exact, head nods slightly preceding vocal responses), and that the two types of signals, visual and vocal, co-occur more often than would be expected by chance. They also conducted a content analysis of these co-occurring visual and vocal listener responses and found that they usually serve an interpersonal function: the wish of the listener to speak or the wish of the speaker for feedback.

Dittmann & Llewellyn's discussion of the positions of listener responses in conversation is illuminating as it begins to take into consideration the interactional environment in which listener responses occur. But their

examination of the location of listener responses with reference to phonemic clauses, being based upon theory of sentence structures (Trager & Smith 1957), does not seem to be well grounded in conversational theoretical framework. As Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson (1974) observed (see Section 2.5 in Chapter 2), turns are made up of turn units which are syntactically defined (for a linguistic characterisation of turn units, see Clancy et al. 1996; Ford & Thompson 1996; see also Section 3.2 in Chapter 6). Thus a more constructive investigation of the positions of listener responses in the conversational context will be with reference to possible completion points of turn units, namely, the transition relevance place.

Yngve (1970) introduced the most common term currently in use for conversational listener responses -- 'back-channel communication'. As the term 'back channel' implies, Yngve assumed the existence of two channels in a conversation: the main channel and the back channel. He argued that short utterances such as 'uh huh' and 'okay' took place in the back channel, whereas the activities of the primary teller took the main channel.. Yngve (1970: 568) defines back channels as a device which allows the person who does not hold the turn to send "short messages such as 'yes' and 'uh huh'" without forcing his/her partner to relinquish the turn.

Duncan and his associates carried out a series of studies in which they attempted to 'discover some of the structural properties of dyadic conversations among speakers of American English' (Duncan 1973: 29). In these studies, back channel responses were discussed with respect to the turn taking mechanism they aimed to develop. The key concern of this

line of work is the identification of the signals with their constituent cues and of the rules governing turn taking in conversations, specifically in two-person face-to-face conversations.

Duncan's early work (Duncan 1972, 1973, 1974; Duncan & Niederehe 1974) was based on two dyadic interactions. One was an interview between a 40-year old male therapist and a female client in her early 20s, while the other was a conversation between the male therapist who participated in the first interview, and a second male therapist, also 40 years old. On the basis of the exploratory data, Duncan (1972) formulated a system of signals and rules, called the turn-taking mechanism (later referred to as 'the turn system' [Duncan & Fiske 1977, 1985]), that he hypothesised to govern turn taking in dyadic face-to-face interaction. These hypotheses were then tested in a second study of six dyadic interactions designed as a replication of the exploratory study (Duncan & Fiske 1977).

The turn-taking mechanism assumes that each speaker considers him- or herself to be in one of two participant states: speaker, who claims the turn; or auditor, who does not (Duncan & Fiske 1985: 48). Thus, four possible speaking-turn interaction states can be postulated in a two-person interaction: speaker-auditor, auditor-speaker, speaker-speaker, and auditor-auditor. In the speaker-auditor state, one participant claims the speaking turn, and no such claim is made by the partner. The auditor-speaker state is the same, except that the participants have exchanged the speaking turn. In the speaker-speaker state, both participants are in the speaker state, resulting in an instance of simultaneous turns and thus a breakdown of the turn system for the duration of the state. In the auditor-

auditor state, both participants become auditors, resulting in silence for that duration.

The turn-taking mechanism proposed by Duncan (1972, 1973; Duncan & Niederehe 1974) consists of three basic signals. One is the turn yielding signal, later referred to as 'the speaker turn signal' (Duncan & Fiske 1977, 1985), defined as the display of at least one of a set of six cues, intonational, paralinguistic, nonverbal, lexical and syntactical. The second one, the attempt-suppressing signal, termed the 'speaker gesticulation signal' in later work (Duncan & Fiske 1977, 1985), 'consists of one or both of the speaker's hands being engaged in gesticulation' (Duncan 1972: 287). The third one is the back channel communication, or 'auditor back-channel responses' (Duncan & Fiske 1985), defined as the display of at least one of its six constituent forms as below (ibid: 58-59):

1. M-hm: a group of readily identified verbalisations, such as "m-hm," "yeah," "right," "yes quite," "surely," "I see," and "that's true." These back channels may be used singly, in combination, or repeated in groups, such as "yeah, yeah."

2. Sentence completion: the auditor completing the speaker's sentence. For example:

    Speaker: ... eventually, it will come down to more concrete issues,

    → Auditor: as she gets more comfortable
       Speaker: and I felt that ...

3. Request for clarification: the auditor making brief requests for clarification. For example:

Speaker: ... somehow they're better able to cope with it.
→ Auditor: you mean

→ Auditor: these anxieties, concern with it?

4. Brief restatement: the auditor giving a brief restatement of an immediately preceding thought expressed by the speaker. For example:

Speaker: ... having to pick up the pieces
→ Auditor: the broken dishes, yeah

Speaker: but then a very ...

5. Head nods and shakes.

6. Smiles.

In addition to the three basic signals described above, Duncan & Fiske (1977, 1985) later postulate a number of other signals such as speaker-state, speaker within-turn and speaker continuation signals. These signals are related to the process of turn taking by means of certain rules specifying the appropriate action by one participant in response to a signal by the other (Duncan 1973: 29; Duncan & Fiske 1985: 51). The rule proposed for turn yielding, for example, is such that "[t]he auditor may take his speaking turn when the speaker gives a turn-yielding signal" (Duncan 1972: 286). The rules proposed for auditor back-channel responses are as follows:

Auditor back channels not marked by a speaker-state signal do not constitute speaking turns or claims of the speaking turn. They appear to indicate continuing attentiveness and responsiveness of one sort or another to the speaker's message. The back channel appears to provide the auditor with a way of actively participating in the conversation, thus facilitating the general coordination of action by both participants within the structure of the interaction. (Duncan & Fiske 1985: 58)

After the formulation of the turn-taking mechanism, a number of studies were done to test its validity, but with varying results (Duncan 1972; Duncan & Niederehe 1974; Duncan & Fiske 1977; Beattie 1978; Wiemann & Knapp 1975; Opliger 1980; Rosenfeld 1978; Dittmann 1973; Trimboli & Walker 1984; Walker & Trimboli 1984; for review, see Wilson, Wiemann, & Zimmerman 1984). For example, Duncan & Niederehe (1974) studied the operation of the 'speaker-state signal' and found that this signal, defined as the display of at least one of a set of four behavioural cues (i.e., shift away in head direction, audible inhalation, initiation of a gesticulation, and paralinguistic overloudness), was shown at 95% of the turn beginnings and only 19% of the auditor back channels. They conclude from the findings that "the speaker-state signal may serve as a clear behavioral marker that a previous auditor in a dyadic conversation has shifted from the auditor to the speaker state and is thereby claiming the turn" (p. 246). But in the discussion of Duncan's turn yielding signal (1972), Walker & Trimboli (1984: 262) found, among other things, that it is difficult to generalise its occurrence across conversation types and across languages and cultures.

With specific reference to their discussion of back channels, Duncan & his associates' studies are important as they are among the first to provide a

systematic classification of back channels in respect of their non-turn status in the turn system. But the major problem in this classification is the difficulty in determining the status of an utterance in conversation as a turn or a non-turn. In the work of Duncan & his associates, no explicit definition of the concept of a turn is provided, though Wilson, Wiemann, & Zimmerman (1984) manage to deduce it as "a continuous period during which a participant has the undisputed right to speak" (p. 164). In fact, Duncan & his associates themselves find problematic the distinction between back-channels and turns:

> This general picture was complicated, however, by the observation in our conversations that for some of the longer back channels, particularly the brief restatements, the boundary between back channels and speaking turns became uncertain. On an intuitive basis, some of these longer back channels appeared to take on the quality of a turn. (Duncan & Niederehe 1974: 237)

One other problem in their classification is that no sequential functions of back channels were taken into consideration, thus blurring the distinction between back channels indicating passive recipiency and speakership incipiency (Jefferson 1984, 1983/1993; Drummond & Hopper 1993a; Zimmerman 1993).

In summary, early structural descriptions of listener response in the group-together approach have focused on the relationship between verbal and non-verbal listener responses, the location where they occur in conversation with reference to phonemic clauses, and their non-turn status with respect to the turn system in general. These studies, especially those by Duncan & his associates, provide a systematic base for the classification of listener responses. But the non-turn status of listener responses needs

to be readdressed and their sequential functions need to be taken into account in further studies of these phenomena. Besides, the positions of listener responses can be examined in the sequential context in which they occur.

3.1.1.2 Roles and functions of listener responses in conversation

In addition to the structural description of listener responses, the study of their roles and functions in conversation, or in interpersonal communication more generally, is another frequent theme in the study of listener responses in the field of experimental and social psychology. This theme may have its origin in the study of the effects of feedback on human communication, a more general term which covers virtually all kinds of responses (visual or vocal) to a speaker ranging from headnods and smiling to interrupting and question-asking (e.g., Leavitt & Mueller 1951; Argyle, Lalljee, & Cook 1968; Rosenfeld 1966, 1967). For example, Leavitt & Mueller (1951) study the effects of feedback giving and withholding on the transmission of information from one person to another. In their study, feedback is a much wider notion than, for instance, the concept of Duncan & his associates' back channels (Duncan & Fiske 1977, 1985), and includes any form of verbal or expressive language such as visibility of conversation partners, question asking and interrupting (pp. 402-403). They found that when an instructor is giving a description of some patterns, s/he can present the information more accurately and the students can understand it better with the availability of feedback on the part of the students.

into four different types: 1) visible back-channels only; 2) audible back-channels delayed for one second; 3) both visible and audible back-channels; 4) visible back-channels plus delayed audible ones. They found that when audible back-channels are delayed, the speaker has greater difficulty in encoding the information (i.e., uses more words in the encoding process). But if visible back-channels are available, this difficulty decreases even though the audible ones are delayed. Krauss et al. thus conclude that visible back-channel responses are functionally equivalent to vocal back-channel responses, at least in situations in which the vocal responses are unavailable (p. 527).

Davis & Perkowitz (1979) take responsiveness as a major determinant of the quality of interaction and interpersonal attraction. 'Responsiveness' in their study is a larger notion than the usual concept of listener responses. Specifically, it includes: "(a) the probability with which each participant responds (either verbally or nonverbally) to the communicative behaviors of the other and (b) the proportion of responses that are related in content to the preceding communicative behavior of the other" (pp. 534-535). The first part of the definition is somewhat equivalent to that of back-channel responses by, for example, Duncan (1972), but the second part is obviously an extension, which the usual notion of back channels does not cover. Davis & Perkowitz study the evaluation of the speaker towards the listeners who produce different rates of responsiveness. They noted that the speakers believed that the listener who responded with high probability liked them more and was more interested in their answers to the questions than the one who responded with low probability (p. 544). This result leads them to conclude that attraction is facilitated by

responsiveness.

The 1980s also saw a number of studies concerned with the role and functions of listener responses in conversation. Kraut, Lewis, & Swezey (1982) examine how feedback influences the production and reception of information in interaction. They asked 76 university students to watch a movie and then summarise it to one or two listeners. The listeners provide the speaker with varying amounts of feedback: 1) unrestricted feedback, where the listener can provide any form of feedback including asking questions and interrupting; 2) limited feedback, where the listener can only provide brief listener responses such as "h-hmm," "I see," "huh?" "who?" or "really!"; 3) no feedback, where the speaker receives no feedback from the listener at all. Kraut, Lewis, & Swezey found that the more feedback speakers received from a partner, the more comprehensible their summaries were to the listeners. In addition, feedback individuated communication; that is, the listener who provided the feedback understood the movie better than the listener who listened to the same conversation but provided no feedback. They conclude that feedback plays an important role in the coordination of conversation.

One other way of showing the functions of listener responses in conversation is to examine whether people of different popularity produce and/or receive different types of listener responses. This is what Vogel, Keane, & Conger (1988) did. They studied the conversation characteristics of third-grade children and wanted to find out whether the conversational behaviour of children separated into accepted, rejected, and mixed-status dyads differ along the dimensions of listening to, paying attention to, and

indicating interest in their dyadic partner. They divide the listener behaviour into either positive or negative indications of listening or interest. The former includes a range of 10 items such as back-channel responses and answering and asking a question. The latter also comprises 6 items such as interruption and introducing a topic not interpersonally related. Vogel, Keane, & Conger found that accepted dyads, i.e., dyads between accepted children, tended to engage in more positive and less negative behaviour than rejected dyads, i.e., dyads between rejected children. They also observed that back-channel responses were extremely rare in the dyads between these children and when they did occur, they were not well-timed.

One more recent study on the function of listener responses in conversation is done by Bennett & Jarvis (1991). They asked eighty undergraduate students to listen to a recording of conversation between two people in two different versions, one being the original recording and the other being an edited version in which minimal responses such as "mmm," "hmm," "yeah," and "aha" had been deleted. The students were then asked to make judgments about various aspects of the interaction (as provided in a questionnaire). Their results showed that minimal responses have two main functions, that is, to denote agreement and to suggest a context of informality. They also suggest that men and women appear to interpret minimal responses in the same manner.

In summary, the above studies have in various ways examined the roles and functions of listener responses in conversation. It seems that almost all of these studies have shown, in one way or other, that listener

responses play an important role in successful communication. For example, listener responses help the speaker to provide accurate and comprehensible information to the listener (Leavitt & Mueller 1951; Kraut, Lewis, & Swezey 1982). They are also means of showing interpersonal attraction (Davis & Perkowitz 1979) and ways of gaining and maintaining other people's approval (Rosenfeld 1966, 1967). Lack, or even delayed provision, of feedback on the part of the listener presents difficulty in information production on the part of the speaker (Krauss et al. 1977). But the discussion of the functions of listener responses in the above studies seems to be restricted to the positive ones, which may lead to the conclusion that the more listener responses (even discounting those ill-timed ones) a listener produces, the better. This can have misleading implications for cross-gender and cross-cultural communication. As will be shown in Section 3.3 in this Chapter, different gender and cultural groups may have different norms for the use of listener responses. Some groups of speakers like, for example, Japanese, may prefer more listener responses on the part of their conversation partners, whereas others like Finns may prefer less feedback from other participants. It is thus suggested that the discussion of the functions of listener responses be better placed in their cultural and subcultural contexts.

3.1.1.3 Summary

This section reviews studies of listener responses which falls into the group-together approach, especially in the areas of experimental and social psychologies. These studies have taken on two major themes. One is the structural description of listener responses. This includes the

classification of listener responses and the identification of their positions with respect to phonemic structures of conversational utterances or other conversational behaviours such as gaze and head nods. The other major theme of these studies is the examination of the roles and functions of listener responses in conversation. In the ensuing section we will look at studies of discrete listener response tokens done by ethnomethodological conversation analysts.

3.1.2 The discrete approach

The discrete approach to the study of listener responses, mainly taken by conversation analysts, has examined some discrete listener response tokens in their sequential contexts. This approach, unlike the group-together approach, is not concerned with the relationship between the occurrences of listener response tokens and the external variables. Rather, it is mainly concerned with their occurrences with respect to the operation of the turn-taking organisation. Typical questions asked in this approach may include: in what sequential environments does the token occur; what is its precise placement within such sequences; what functions does it serve in these conversational sequences or what interactional work does it do; what consequences does it have for the next turn or what trajectories does it display for subsequent talk; with the absence of such a token or with the occurrence of another token in the same interactional environment, what consequences does it have for subsequent talk; what other turn components does it commonly preface; and what relevance does it have with respect to turn transition.

In the conversation analytic literature, several listener response tokens have received an intensive systematic study. Each of them is found to be distinctive in terms of its placement and roles in the sequential environment and its consequences for subsequent turns. These tokens include: 'yeah,' 'uh huh,' and 'mm hm' (Schegloff 1982; Jefferson 1983/1993, 1984; Drummond & Hopper 1993a, 1993b, 1993c); 'oh' (Heritage 1984b), assessments such as 'wow' and 'good' (Goodwin 1986), 'okay' (Beach 1993, 1995), and 'mm' (Gardner 1997a, 1997b, 1998).

Schegloff (1982) studied listener response tokens like 'uh huh'. He advises that discourse be studied as an interactional achievement, which is partially shaped by its turn-taking organisation. He observed that vocalisations like 'uh huh' in their sequential context can have two main and related usages: 'a usage as continuer and a usage to pass an opportunity to initiate repair' (p. 88). According to Schegloff, the most common usage of vocalisations such as 'uh huh' is as continuer, the function of which is to encourage the previous speaker to continue talking, and by producing 'uh huh', etc, the producer passes the opportunity to take a fuller turn at talk (p. 81). Listener response tokens like 'uh huh' occur frequently in an environment when an extended unit of talk by another is underway.

Jefferson (1983/1993, 1984) examined listener response forms like 'mm hm' and 'yeah,' which she labelled 'acknowledgment tokens'. She found that the two tokens are functionally and sequentially different from each other in that the former (i.e., 'mm hm') indicates more of a passive recipiency and the latter (i.e., 'yeah') is more related to full speakership

incipiency. Passive recipiency, according to Jefferson (1984), means that "its user is proposing that his co-participant is still in the midst of some course of talk, and shall go on talking" (p. 200). This is consistent with the above observation by Schegloff (1982) that listener response tokens like 'uh huh' and 'mm hm' serve mainly as continuers. Drummond & Hopper (1993a, 1993b) later took up the theme, attempting to reassess in a quantitative mode Jefferson's claim about speakership incipiency of 'yeah' and passive recipiency of 'mm hm'. Their studies received a critical response from Zimmerman (1993), although their findings reaffirmed Jefferson's claim.

Also on the basis of the analysis of sequential organisation, Goodwin (1986) distinguished between continuers (e.g., 'uh huh') and assessments (like 'wow' and 'good'). He claimed that while continuers serve as bridges between turn-construction units and tend to overlap with the primary speaker's next unit, assessments normally end in the current unit and do not overlap with the speaker's next unit. He also noted that the recipient speaker of the continuer orients to it by continuing to speak whereas that of the assessment may see the telling as an ending.

Heritage (1984b) did an extensive study of one listener response token 'oh', which he called a 'change-of-state token'. By this he means that an 'oh' is used to "propose that its producer has undergone some kind of change in his or her locally current state of knowledge, information, orientation or awareness" (p. 299). 'Oh' was found to occur in a variety of conversational sequences such as in informings, question-elicited informings, counterinformings, other-initiated repair, understanding

checks and in displays of understanding. In all these environments, its generic change-of-state usage holds though with slight variations of meaning in each sequence. Additionally, Heritage observed that the sequential role of 'oh' is "essentially backward looking and scarcely ever continuative" (p. 336). That is, 'oh' by itself does not invite or promote any continuation of an informing from the primary speaker. This is accounted for by the fact that 'oh' most regularly occurs either in conjunction with additional turn components such as assessments or requests for further information, or in company with some further talk from the 'oh' producer. The change-of-state usage of 'oh' and its non-continuative sequential role makes it distinctive from such receipt tokens as 'yes' and 'mm hm'. The latter, unlike 'oh', avoid or defer treating prior talk as informative and are regularly used as continuers in extended tellings (pp. 305-306).

Building upon previous studies on 'okay' usages in phone call openings and closings (e.g., Schegloff 1968, 1979, 1986; Schegloff & Sacks 1973), in service-encounters (e.g., Merritt 1984), and in simulated family interactions (e.g., Condon 1986), Beach (1993) goes on to examine "the interactional work giving rise to 'Okay' usages, participants' orientations to them, and their consequences for subsequent talk" (p. 328). He found that 'okay' has a dual character, by which he means that it is used at or near transition/opportunity spaces as responsive to the current speaker's prior talk on the one hand and displaying 'state of readiness' for movements to next-positioned matters on the other.

Quite recent work on listener response tokens has been done by Gardner

(1997a, 1997b, 1998). He mainly looks at the token 'mm', which he calls as a 'weak acknowledging' token. He observes that this token is very common in Australian and British English, but not in American English. Unlike previous researchers of listener response tokens, who focus mainly on the examination of the sequential placement and the speakership incipiency of the tokens, Gardner also looks at their prosodic shape and pause environment; these latter two he regards as being crucial in distinguishing between different uses of 'mm' and other related tokens such as 'mm hm' and 'yeah'. According to Gardner, when 'mm' takes on a falling intonation contour, it is used as a weak acknowledging token, which is its most common or its canonical use. When 'mm' has a fall-rising intonation contour, it is used as a continuer-like object. It can also be used as a weak assessment token, but then it takes on the rise-falling contour. Gardner (1997a) also found that 'mm' displays a speakership incipiency about midway between 'uh huh' and 'mm hm' on the one hand, which are rarely followed by same-speaker talk, and 'yeah' on the other, which is frequently followed by the same-speaker talk. Moreover, 'mm', with whatever prosodic shape, was found to be topically disaligning in that "its speaker has nothing further to say on the topic of the talk to which it is oriented, so either the prior speaker continues, on or off topic, or the *Mm* producer continues, but off topic" (Gardner 1997a: 133).

In summary, the conversation analytic approach to the study of listener responses examines discrete listener response tokens in its sequential context. Studies in this approach found that each of these tokens is distinctive from the other and each is a separate token on its own. These

listener response tokens can occur in different sequential environments, have different roles and functions in these environments and/or project different trajectories for subsequent talk. Studies in this perspective contribute greatly to our understanding of listener response tokens in local contexts and their focus on the minute details of these tokens can be used to help improve the classification of listener responses in the group-together approach.

3.2 Classification systems of listener response

As studies of listener responses in the conversation analytic perspective seek mainly to establish the uniqueness of individual tokens, the various classification systems of listener responses derive mostly from studies in the aggregate approach. A number of these systems have been based upon Duncan & his associates' classification of 'auditor back channel responses' (e.g., Marche & Peterson 1993; for Duncan & his associates' classification, see Duncan & Fiske 1985; see also Section 3.1.1.1 this Chapter). Their classification distinguishes auditor back channel responses from other listening and speaking behaviours on the basis of the former's non-turn status. That is, auditor back channel responses, according to Duncan & Fiske (1985), do not constitute a turn. The characterisation of listener response as a non-turn seems elusive since the concept of 'turn' itself has so far defied an adequate and clear definition. This has led Schegloff (1982) to the suggestion that "the turn-status of 'uh huh' etc. be assessed on a case-by-case basis, by reference to the local sequential environment, and by reference to the sequential and interactional issues which animate that environment" (p. 92: Note 16).

In dissatisfaction with the separation of listener responses from other speaking and listening cues purely on the basis of their status as a turn or non-turn, a few other researchers have sought to look into other criteria in the identification and classification of listener responses. These criteria include, most notably, the concept of 'floor' (e.g., Hayashi & Hayashi 1991; Hirokawa 1995) and the form and/or sequential organisation of listener responses (Tottie 1991; Clancy et al. 1996). For ease of reference, I term the former the cognitive approach to the identification and classification of listener responses and the latter the eclectic approach.

3.2.1 The cognitive approach

This approach to the recognition and classification of listener responses is termed 'cognitive' following Hayashi & Hayashi (1991). The approach bases its study of listener responses mainly on the cognitive features of these conversational phenomena. Two systems of classification are examined here for illustrative purposes, one is Hayashi & Hayashi's and the other is Hirokawa's.

3.2.1.1 Hayashi & Hayashi's (1991) model

Hayashi & Hayashi (1991) attempted to distinguish between back channel and main channel from a cognitive perspective on the basis of the concept of floor. Floor refers to "an interactional space which interactants develop on the basis of what may be called a *community competence*" (Hayashi & Hayashi 1991: 121, original italics; for further discussion of the concept, see

Hayashi 1988, 1990, 1991). According to Hayashi & Hayashi (1991), back channel is a cognitive entity which constitutes floor along with another entity called main channel. The difference between back channel and main channel is that the primary function of main channel is to maintain and claim the floor and that of back channel is to support and yield it (p. 121). Thus to distinguish whether an utterance constitutes a back channel or a main channel, it must be determined who has the floor.

Once a back channel is distinguished from a main channel, Hayashi & Hayashi (1991) propose a taxonomy of back channels based on speech act theory. First, back channels are divided into 'continuers' and 'repairers' depending on whether the back channel signal has the perlocutionary effect of [-response] or [+response]. That is, the back channel signal is a 'continuer' if the floor holder does not react to it and continues to talk; it will be a 'repairer' if s/he goes back to the segment where s/he has left off to repair the problem.

Then 'continuers' and 'repairers' are further classified into subgroups by the presence or absence of the cognitive feature [judgmental], depending on whether the back channel indicates opinions and judgments or presents only factual information about the speaker's talk. 'Continuers' are subdivided into 'prompters' and 'reinforcers' with the former being [-judgmental] and the latter being [+judgmental]. Likewise, 'repairers' are subdivided into 'clarifiers' and 'claimers', with the features [-judgmental] and [+judgmental], respectively. While 'clarifiers' are used by the listener to request the primary speaker to repeat or elaborate on the proposition, 'claimers' are used to challenge or reverse his/her proposition (p. 124).

Hayashi & Hayashi's system of classification of back channels does not stop here. They further divide each back channel subgroup into various different kinds of illocutionary acts based on Fraser's (1975) taxonomy. Their whole system of classification of back channels is reproduced as Figure 3-7 (with minor details excluded) (Hayashi & Hayashi 1991: 125).

There are several easily detectable pitfalls in this system of identification and classification of back channels. First, the use of the two cognitive features [response] and [judgmental] seems arbitrary. How and from where these features have been derived have not been clearly specified. Second, the nuanced differences in meaning between one back channel and the other, especially when they share the same form like 'mm hm', do not seem easily distinguishable so that to divide them into different categories is necessarily a subjective and sometimes insurmountable task. Third, the list of illocutionary acts performed by back channels seems to be limitless. One can always add a function to a particular back channel. Finally and most importantly, the use of the notion of 'floor' as a basis for the identification of back channels extends the concept of back channel considerably such that any utterance not produced by the floor holder (somewhat equivalent to topic initiator) is identified as a back channel and any utterance produced by the floor holder, including repetition of the non-floor-holder's talk, is classified as a main channel. I cite one of their examples here to illustrate my point.
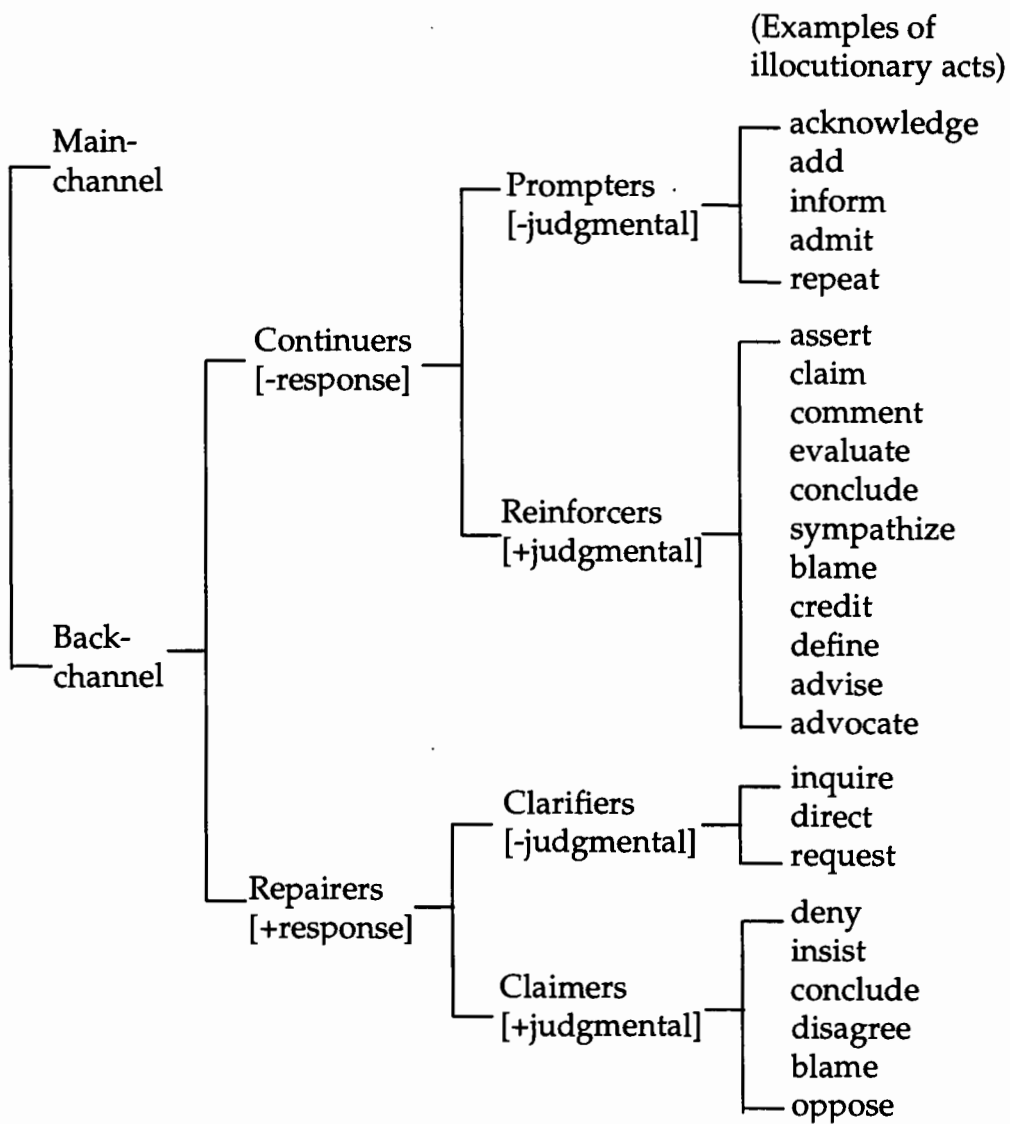
Figure 3-7 Taxonomy of backchannel based on speech acts (Hayashi &

Hayashi 1991: 125)

Ex 26: Hayashi & Hayashi (1991: 128-129): Re-formatted transcription

1 KE: yeah, I think I think they're even charging that, he was very

2 KE: hesitant even to tell us   unless he ee hire him at a
3 EL: unh huh
4 MA: (laugh)

5 KE: [contract]
6 EL: [y e a h] but that's all right if you're going to make a big

7 EL: purchase like that, it's worth the money and I think what they

8 EL: usually do then if you you know if you decide to buy it then they

9 EL: they   yeah give you credit for the first tuning or something
10 KE: credit

11 MA: so much of what has to be done on that piano is really done by

12 MA: hand [I   guess   ]   [so   uh]
13 KE: [uh huh, uh huh] labour [intensive] except we decided not

14 KE: to do anything until we get settled in somewhere.

In this example, KE is the floor holder because he initiates the topic about their piano. All his utterances, including his one word completion (i.e., "credit" in line 10) of EL's sentence, are considered part of the main channel utterance. Conversely, all other speakers' (i.e., MA and EL) utterances are all taken to be back channel utterances. For example, EL's long contribution from line 6 to line 9 is considered a 'reinforcer' through which she comments, adding a reason to support what they were trying to do (Hayashi & Hayashi 1991: 128).

This classification seems to be counter-intuitive. The main problem lies in their treatment of the notion of 'floor' as 'static (Hayashi 1988: 272), ignoring the fact that participants' orientation and attention to the

conversation activities (including topics) undergoes constant change. A participant can be at one time a back channel speaker and at another a main channel speaker. Roles are not fixed but rather changing all the time.

3.2.1.2 Hirokawa's (1995) classification system

Hirokawa (1995) also uses 'floor' as the basis for the identification of listener responses. She divides listener responses into three main types:

1. Short verbal responses (SVR). They include: minimal listener responses (e.g., 'mhm'), adjectives (e.g., 'sure,' 'right'), adverbs (e.g., 'certainly'), brief exclamations (e.g., 'wow!'), and their repetitions (e.g., 'yeah yeah') and combinations (e.g., 'mhm yeah'). These SVRs are again classified into four categories: one-word SVRs, exclamations, combination SVRs, and repetitive SVRs.

2. Paralinguistic responses (PRs). They include head nods and shakes, smiles, laughs, eyebrow-raising, and other hand and body gestures. But Hirokawa only looks at head movements (i.e., nods and shakes) and laugh and laugh-related behaviour.

3. Longer verbal listener responses (LVRs). They include:

   1) formulaic responses: 'that's right,' 'you're right,' 'I see,' I hope so,' 'it probably is,' 'I noticed that,' 'so do I,' 'yeah me too,' etc;

   2) other-completion: the listener's completion of the current speaker's utterance;

3) information supply: the supplying by the listeners words and phrases, examples, or some information related to the current speaker's talk;

4) other-explanation: listener explanations to account for what the current speaker was talking about;

5) other-repetition: the listener's partial or full repetition of the current speaker's utterance;

6) other-restatement/elaboration: the listener's rephrasing of the current speaker's utterance in his/her own words, or elaboration of the information provided by the speaker with the addition of more or new information;

7) brief comments and exclamations: the listener's response to the current speaker's talk with brief comments and exclamations (i.e., more than two words) to indicate the listener's familiarity, comprehension, sympathy, empathy, surprised reaction, admiration, enthusiasm, and interest;

8) short other-oriented information questions: short information questions asked by the listener about the current speaker's talk from the immediately preceding turn;

9) confirmation check and clarification request: a question asked by the listener to confirm or clarify information provided by the current speaker. For example, 'are you?' 'is it?' 'is that right?' 'are you serious?'

10) other correction: correction of the speaker's speech or information by the listener.

Hirokawa's almost all-encompassing system of classification of listener

responses is very much like that of Hayashi & Hayashi (1991) and can suffer similar drawbacks, for the notion of 'floor' is by no means well-defined. Conversation, as has been clearly shown by conversation analysts, is essentially a turn-by-turn activity and the workings of conversational phenomena can not be adequately and properly probed by jumping over the sequential organisation of the conversation to the larger floor management tactics of the participants.

3.2.2 The eclectic approach to listener response classification

By 'eclectic' approach, I mean one that incorporates findings of the two previously mentioned approaches to the study of listener response, namely the group-together and the discrete approaches (see Section 3.1 above). In other words, it attempts to combine elements of both the group-together and discrete studies of listener responses. This approach is best represented by Clancy et al.'s (1996) system, which classifies listener responses (or Reactive Tokens in their terminology) 'based partly on their form and partly on their sequential function' (p. 354).

Clancy et al. (1996) defined their term 'Reactive Tokens' as 'a short utterance produced by an interlocutor who is playing a listener's role during the other interlocutor's speakership' (p. 356). Under this cover term, they distinguished five types of Reactive Tokens:

1. Backchannel: "a non-lexical vocalic form, [which] serves as a 'continuer' (Schegloff, 1982), display of interest, or claim of understanding" (Clancy et al. 1996: 359). Examples of backchannels

include 'hm,' 'huh,' 'oh,' 'mhm,' and 'uh huh'.

2. Reactive Expression: "a short non-floor-taking lexical phrase or word" produced by the non-primary speaker (ibid: 359). Typical Reactive expressions include, for example, 'yeah,' 'sure,' 'exactly,' 'shit,' and assessments such as 'good' and 'wow'.

3. Collaborative Finish: an utterance produced by the non-primary speaker to finish a previous speaker's utterance (ibid: 360).

4. Repetition: the non-primary speaker repeats a portion of the speech of the primary speaker.

5. Resumptive Opener. Resumptive Openers (RO) share the same form as Backchannels (BC), i.e., they are both non-lexical vocalisations. But RO is distinguished from BC in that RO is followed by a full turn whereas BC stands alone. There is normally a short pause between a RO and the full turn following it. In the sequential context, RO serves to "acknowledge the prior turn and commence a new turn" (Clancy et al. 1996: 364). Thus, ROs are parallel to Jefferson's 'acknowledgment tokens' which signal speakership incipiency (Jefferson 1984, 1983/1993; Drummond & Hopper 1993a).

Clancy et al.'s classification system of listener responses provides a promising link between the aggregate and the individualised studies of the conversational phenomena, thus making it plausible in comparing the cross-cultural use of listener responses while not ignoring the details of the sequential context in which they occur. The present study will adapt this system of classification in the quantitative comparative study of listener responses in Chinese and Australian conversations.

3.3 Cross-cultural study of listener response

Though scholarly interest in the conversational phenomenon of listener response dates back to the fifties (see Section 3.1 this Chapter for further details), cross-cultural studies of this phenomenon are relatively recent, originating probably from the comparative studies of the conversational conventions of Japanese and Anglo-American native speakers of English (e.g., Lebra 1976; Hinds 1978; Clancy 1982; Mizutani 1982; LoCastro 1987, 1990; Maynard 1986, 1987; 1989, 1990; 1997; White 1989; Yamada 1989; White 1997; Hayashi 1988, 1990, 1991; Hayashi & Hayashi 1991; Hirokawa 1995; Clancy et al. 1996). These studies, by comparing the pattern of use of listener responses in different languages, have largely shown that speakers of different cultural groups use listener responses differently, which can result in communicative difficulties and negative cultural evaluations and stereotyping.

3.3.1 Cultural differences in the use of listener response

Studies of cultural differences in the use of listener responses may have come first from studies of Japanese listener behaviours in comparison with those of native speakers of English, particularly American English speakers. This is probably because Japanese pay exceptional attention to the interactional and affective aspects in conversations. In fact, unlike most other languages such as English and Chinese, the Japanese language has a special term to describe the use of short listener responses, called *aizuchi*. The literal meaning of the term *aizuchi* refers to "the joint

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hammering of and swordsmiths' pounding on a sword's blade or the hammer two workers use to drive a large wooden stake into the ground" (Hirokawa 1995: 40). This was later extended to mean an act of indicating agreement with another party or that of going along with the other party so as not to cause a conflict (ibid). According to Clancy et al. (1996), the use of *aizuchi* is a matter of everyday discussion among Japanese people and it is common to comment on other people's over- or under-use of *aizuchi*.

The comparative studies of the use of listener responses by Japanese and Americans have shown that the two groups of people differ greatly in their use of this conversational strategy in terms of the frequency of its use, its placement in the conversation, and its functions in the conversational context. With respect to the frequency of the use of listener responses, previous studies have most consistently shown that Japanese speakers produce listener responses more frequently than do Americans (Hinds 1978; LoCastro 1987; Maynard 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1997; White 1986, 1989; Yamada 1989; Hirokawa 1995; but for exception, see Clancy et al. 1996). The more frequent use of listener responses by Japanese was evidenced in a variety of conversational contexts: 1) in casual conversations (Maynard 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1997; White 1989; Hirokawa 1995), formal conversations (Hinds 1978) and in business negotiations (White 1997); 2) in dyadic (Maynard 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990, 1997; White 1989; Hirokawa 1995) and multiparty conversations (Yamada 1989; LoCastro 1987); 3) in intracultural and intercultural conversations (Maynard 1986, 1989, 1997; White 1989; Hirokawa 1995; Yamada 1989).

With regard to the placement of listener responses in the conversational context, a number of studies have also observed differences between Japanese and American speakers. For example, Maynard (1997) found that Japanese listeners frequently send back channels during a brief speaker pause which she terms 'Pause-bounded Phrasal Unit' (p. 45) whereas American listeners give back channels at the grammatically significant breaks, i.e., at the end of the clause and at the sentence-final position (which I presume is somewhat equivalent to the notion of Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson's TRP). In other words, Japanese listeners may tend to produce back channels at non-TRP while their American counterparts may be more likely to utter back channels at TRP. This observation of Maynard's (1986, 1989, 1990, 1997) is corroborated by Hirokawa (1995) and Clancy et al. (1996). More specifically, Clancy et al. (1996) found that Americans place 78% of their Reactive Tokens at TRP (or Grammatical Completion points in their term) in contrast to Japanese speakers' mere 36.6%.

A few studies have also attempted to identify some specific functions of listener responses in the conversational context and to determine whether differences exist between Japanese and American speakers. Maynard (1989, 1997), for example, specified (1986) six categories of the functions of back channels, including: 1) "continuer" (Schegloff 1982); 2) display of understanding of content; 3) support toward the speaker's judgment; 4) agreement; 5) strong emotional response; 6) minor addition, correction, or request for information. She observes that while back channels sent by both Japanese and Americans function in all six categories, in Japanese the display of understanding of content is more often used as a kind of moral

support for the primary speaker, whereas in American English the function as "continuer" is the more primary function (Maynard 1997: 46). Similarly, Hirokawa (1995) identified four major functions of listener responses: as listener feedback, as interaction maintainers and facilitators, as utterance cohesive and discourse coherent devices, and as rapport builders and maintainers. But she found it difficult to distinguish between these functions as they are often "overlapped and were expressed simultaneously by a single listener response" (p. 273). She further argued that the interpretation of listener responses may also depend on the nature of the interactants' relationship and the current speaker's uptake of it. Thus according to Hirokawa (1995), to quantitatively analyse the cross-cultural differences in the functions of listener responses is virtually impossible.

A more fruitful line of research than examining the indeterminate functional differences in the use of listener responses seems to be in the detection of the differences in terms of listener response types. Several studies have consistently found that Japanese speakers are more likely to produce semantically empty listener responses (like 'mmhm' and 'uh huh') than Americans, who, in turn, prefer to use contentful ones more (like 'yeah') (White 1989; Clancy et al. 1996; Hayashi & Hayashi 1991; White 1997). For example, Sheida White (1989) compared the use by Japanese and American speakers of the five most frequently-occurring backchannels in her conversational data: 'mmhm,' 'yeah,' 'uh-huh,' 'oh,' and 'hmm'. She found that Japanese speakers use all of the five backchannels more than Americans do in intracultural interactions, with the exception of 'yeah'. Clancy et al. (1996), in distinguishing between

backchannels (non-lexical vocalisations such as 'hm' and 'uh huh') and reactive expressions (i.e., short lexical phrases or words such as 'yeah' and 'sure') (see Section 3.2.2 this Chapter), found that Japanese speakers use a much higher percentage of backchannels than Americans do whereas American speakers use a higher proportion of reactive expressions than do Japanese. Ron White (1997), in his study of business negotiations, also observed that his Japanese participants' backchannels were predominantly [-judgmental] prompters like 'hmm hmm' and 'ah', whereas their American counterparts' tend to be [+judgmental] reinforcers like 'yeah' and 'OK' in terms of the Hayashi & Hayashi taxonomy. This confirms Hayashi & Hayashi's (1991) impression that "Americans may use a greater variety of BC devices with the feature [+judgmental] compared to the Japanese, and use them more frequently" (p. 131). All these findings contradict that of Maynard (1997), who claims that American use of back channels is more continuer-oriented whereas Japanese use is more related to their display of understanding of content. One reason behind this mismatch is that discussion of the functions of listener responses without sufficient sequential information is bound to be overgeneralised, making the use of these functions for cross-cultural comparison futile and meaningless.

The cross-cultural differences in the use of listener responses between Americans and Japanese have largely been accounted for by different cultural values of the two groups. Japanese people are said to be more concerned for harmony and cooperation (Lebra 1976; LoCastro 1987; Clancy et al. 1996; White 1989), more sensitive toward "self-contextualization" (i.e., "the ongoing process of continually defining

oneself in relation to one's interactional environment") (Maynard 1997: 54), and more other-oriented and listening-oriented (Hirokawa 1995). Americans, on the other hand, are more concerned for self expression and frankness (LoCastro 1987; White 1989) and more self-involving and speaking-oriented (Hirokawa 1995). Although these cultural descriptions quite fittingly explain the cross-cultural patterns of the use of listener responses between Americans and Japanese, the extent to which they can be used to explicate differences in their use by other cultural groups such as Chinese and Australians is yet to be verified.

The comparative study of the use of listener responses by cultural groups other than Japanese is a relatively recent development and does not seem to receive much attention. A few exceptions include Lehtonen & Sajavaara's (1985) study of Finnish conversation behaviours, Wieland's (1990) study of the use of feedback between French native speakers and American advanced learners of French, Tottie's (1991) study of British and American use of backchannels, Beach & Lindstrom's (1992) study of Swedish and (American and British) English use of acknowledgment tokens, and Stubbe's (1998) study of Maori and Pakeha's use of verbal feedback in New Zealand English.

Lehtonen & Sajavaara (1985), in their discussion of the Finnish listening behaviours, reported that vocalisations and verbal backchannel signals are less frequently used in Finnish than in Central European languages or in British and American Englishes (pp. 195-196). According to them, verbal backchannel signals are used mostly in informal and enthusiastic discourse, but their too frequent use is considered intrusive and can even

be taken as behaviour "typical of drunken people" (p. 196). They conclude that the typical Finn is a 'silent' listener (p. 196). Lehtonen & Sajavaara (1985) contend that a Finnish listener's silence or the absence of verbal signals may be misinterpreted as being inattentive, indifferent, sullen, or even hostile on the part of the Finnish interlocutor. It is also sometimes interpreted by their foreign counterparts as showing that the Finn is feeling anxiety and would like to end the conversation. Misinterpretations like these necessarily result in a communication breakdown and negative cultural evaluations and stereotypes. But Lehtonen & Sajaraara's (1985) observation is based on intuitive data, rather than on empirical ones.

Wieland (1990) analysed conversations between French native speakers and American advanced learners of French. She found that Americans use a lot of hearer signals (e.g., 'um hum,' 'uh huh,' 'huh,' 'oui'). French speakers, on the other hand, only infrequently employ such signals. Instead, they use quite a lot of 'minor contributions' (viz., short phrases that are uttered during the primary speaker's turn in reaction to what is being said). But their use of these minor contributions is sometimes interpreted by American speakers as an interruption rather than as feedback.

Tottie (1991) compared the use of backchannels in British and American English conversations. He found that American English conversations, with 16 backchannels per minute, contain more backchannels than do British English conversations which have only 5 backchannels per minute. But his study was based on very limited data: one American conversation

and two British ones.

Beach & Linstrom (1992) is one of the very few studies which comparatively examines the interactional work done by acknowledgment tokens in Swedish and English conversations. Through detailed analysis of these tokens in their sequential context, they found that "Swedes and Americans rely upon the same or similar interactional resources, acknowledgment tokens being a prime example, while organizing such activities as stories or topics" (pp. 36-37). Beach & Linstrom (1992) specifically compared how speakership and recipiency are achieved through the use of acknowledgment tokens in Swedish and English conversations. They observed that although in Swedish some different forms of acknowledgment tokens are sometimes used such as 'eh', similar organising principles are complied with by Swedish and English conversations to achieve passive recipiency and exhibit incipient movements toward speakership and topic shift/change. They conclude that the routine achievement of Swedish talk "may not be a radically different enterprise from, for example, the achievements comprising interaction with English-speaking cultures," thus refuting the commonly-held beliefs that Swedes are incapable of providing adequate feedback and are conversationally inept (p. 37).

Stubbe (1998) compared the use of verbal feedback by Maori and Pakeha (i.e., people of European descent) speakers of New Zealand English. In her study, feedback is classified into minimal responses and cooperative overlaps, with the former (i.e., minimal responses) being further classified into neutral (such as 'mm') and overtly supportive minimal responses

(such as 'oh gosh'). She found that Pakeha speakers produced more verbal feedback in general and more minimal responses in particular than their Maori counterparts. But she did not provide results for neutral and overtly supportive minimal responses, which may prove to be useful in showing whether the two groups differ in any way in the different types of minimal responses. Further, more data need to be included than her eight dyadic conversations (with two independent variables of ethnicity and gender) to have a more valid claim for ethnic and gender differences in the use of verbal feedback.

In summary, previous studies of cross-cultural differences in the use of listener responses have clustered in the examination of their use in Japanese and American conversations. More recently the patterns of their use by other cultural groups have also been investigated. These studies have to a great extent provided evidence that people from different cultural groups may use listener responses differently in terms of their frequency of use, their placement in the conversational context and in terms of the different types of listener responses.

3.3.2 Chinese and Australian use of listener response

Conversation behaviours of Australian speakers have very seldom been documented in the literature, let alone the use of listener responses in conversation (but see Thwaite 1993). This may be due to the underlying assumption that conversational patterns of Australian speakers resemble those of their American and British counterparts both in terms of the turn-taking patterns in general and in terms of the use of listener responses in

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particular.

As to the Chinese speakers, existing studies seem to show that they are very infrequent users of listener responses compared with some other cultural groups. Tao & Thompson (1991) compared the backchannel use of Chinese and Americans and found that Americans produce backchannels much more frequently than Chinese speakers and that Americans produce backchannels both during and at the end of the other party's speaking turn whereas Chinese speakers produce backchannels exclusively at the end of and rarely in overlap with the other's speaking turn. They also found that Americans' use of backchannels includes the 'continuer' (Schegloff 1982), whereas Chinese speakers never use backchannels as continuers but use them to indicate understanding, confirmation, and acknowledgment of agreement. Another finding was that most of the backchannels produced by Chinese speakers were preceded by a noticeably long pause (longer than 0.3 seconds). Moreover, Tao & Thompson (1991) showed that the native speakers of Chinese (Mandarin) for whom English has become their dominant language exhibited more English backchannelling behaviour in terms of their form, frequency, and functions than Chinese backchannelling behaviour when speaking Chinese. While language transfer has usually focused on interferences from the native language to a second language, their result suggested interference in the opposite direction, from the second language to the native language.

Clancy et al. (1996) compare the use of reactive tokens in three languages -- English, Japanese, and Chinese. By using a more refined analytic

framework (see Section 3.2.2 this Chapter), they demonstrated that the three languages differ in the use of reactive tokens in several ways. Specifically, Chinese speakers use reactive tokens less than half as frequently as English and Japanese speakers, and they tend to use reactive tokens which are lexically contentful more than Japanese speakers, but a little less than English speakers. Chinese also place about the same percentage of reactive tokens at points of grammatical completion as English speakers but a higher percentage than do Japanese speakers. Clancy et al. (1996) suggest that Chinese listener behaviour, like that of the Indians of the Warm Springs community (or maybe that of the silent Finn), "is part of a 'non-coercive cultural orientation' that places high value on personal autonomy and avoids putting oneself above others" (p. 382). They also propose that avoidance of backchannelling by the Chinese reflects an appropriate stance of non-interference toward the speaker and represents an interactional style which values respectful deference on the part of Chinese interactants (pp. 382-383).

The scarcity of the use of listener responses by Chinese speakers was also noted by Günthner (1993) in her study of the conversational behaviours between German native speakers and Chinese speakers of German. With respect to the use of minimal responses such as 'mhm' and 'ja', she found that Chinese speakers so rarely used minimal responses in the course of the conversations that their German interlocutors often had to keep on recycling part of their utterances, providing explanations, offering examples and initiating repairs, thinking that Chinese speakers had difficulty in understanding them (p. 288). German speakers, on the other hand, offered backchannel responses frequently when Chinese

interlocutors were speaking. Günthner (1993) also observed the rarity of minimal responses in intracultural conversations between Chinese speakers.

Although previous studies have unanimously agreed that Chinese speakers are rare users of listener responses in conversation, I am rather doubtful of the general validity of their findings. My doubt rests upon a number of methodological shortcomings these studies may suffer from, including: 1) Small sample size. Tao & Thompson (1991) used only two conversations for each of the languages studied (i.e., Chinese and English) and each conversation lasted for about five minutes. Clancy et al. (1996) used more conversations (eight altogether), but all the conversations were rather short with an average of less than three minutes in length. 2) Lack of control of group size. In both studies by Tao & Thompson (1991) and Clancy et al. (1996), the group size varies between two and three parties. 3) Lack of control of conversation participants' gender and age. This is particularly true of Clancy et al.'s study, which did not specify the age groups of the participants and used conversations with random gender groupings. Though Günthner's (1993) study used a much larger database (25 conversations in German and 3 conversations in Chinese), it specified neither the group size nor the gender groupings of each conversation. Further, the level of German of the Chinese participants may also pose a problem as it ranges from intermediate to fairly advanced. Most important of all, Günthner (1993) did not provide any quantitative information as regards the use of listener responses by Chinese and German speakers.

In view of the various drawbacks of the previous studies, the question remains: Is it really the case that Chinese speakers rarely use listener responses in their conversations? If so, how do they compare with Australian speakers in terms of the use of listener responses?

3.4 Gender-differentiated use of listener response

Listener responses are one of the most widely studied conversational phenomena which have been claimed to show gender-related differences. Although a few studies seem to provide evidence to the contrary (i.e., no or little gender-differentiated use of listener responses) (e.g., Kollock, Blumstein, & Schwartz 1985; Marche & Peterson 1993; Malam 1996), a majority of studies have supported the claim that women use more listener responses than men do. These studies include research in varieties of the English language such as in British and American English (e.g., Hirschman 1973/1994; Leet-Pellegrini 1980; Fishman 1978; Roger & Schumacher 1983; Roger & Nesshoever 1987; Tottie 1991), New Zealand English (e.g., Hyndman 1985; Gilbert 1990; both cited in Holmes 1995), and Indian English (e.g., Valentine 1986). A similar pattern of gender differentiated use of listener responses has also been documented in some other languages including Greek (Makri-Tsilipakou 1994) and Swedish (Nordenstam 1992).

Hirschman (1973/1994) is one of the first to note gender-differentiated use of listener responses, although earlier allusions have been made in studies of sex-role behaviour in small groups, to the effect that men were more task-oriented whereas women were more socio-emotion-oriented in

interaction and that men tended to "pro-act," i.e., give opinions, suggestions, and information while women tended to positively "react" to the contributions of others such as showing solidarity and agreeing (e.g., Strodtbeck 1951; Parsons & Bales 1955; Strodtbeck & Mann 1956; Strodtbeck, James, & Hawkins 1957; Bennett & Cohen 1959; Heiss 1962; Borgotta & Stimson 1963; Gouran 1968). Hirschman (1973/1994) analysed six conversations on love-related themes between four university students, two male and two female. She divided "responses made to the speaker" into two categories: "affirmative" ('yeah,' 'ok,' 'mm hmm,' 'right,' 'all right') and "other" ('oh,' 'well' in utterance-initial position) (p. 434-435). In terms of the use of affirmative responses, she found that females had a higher frequency than males. More specifically with the use of the token 'mm hmm', Hirschman found that it was a predominantly female speech form, as it was used much more frequently by the two female speakers than by the two males. But most of these 'mm-hmm's occurred in female-female interaction.

Fishman (1978) studied 52 hours of conversations between three heterosexual couples in their homes. She found that women used what she called "attention beginnings" (like "this is interesting" and its variations) much more frequently than their partners did. With respect to minimal responses such as 'yeah,' 'umm,' and 'huh', Fishman observed that whereas men and women both used minimal responses, they used them in quite different ways. Men might give only a minimal response at the end of a woman's lengthy remark, while women would insert these responses throughout the stream of men's talk, signalling their constant attention. Fishman thus maintained that women use minimal responses

for support work, whereas the male usages of them displayed lack of interest. Her conclusion was that "women are the 'shitworkers' of routine conversation" (Fishman 1978: 405).

Leet-Pellegrini (1980) studied conversation between 70 pairs of unacquainted college students. She reported that women used more 'assent terms' such as 'yeah,' 'right,' 'uh-huh,' and 'that's true' than men did. Some other experimental studies have also produced the results to the effect that women use more listener responses than men do both in same-gender conversation (e.g., Roger & Schumacher 1983) and in mixed-gender interaction (e.g., Roger & Nesshoever 1987).

Although some studies have obtained contradictory findings that no differences exist in the use of listener responses between men and women in either same-gender or mixed-gender conversations (Kollock, Blumstein, & Schwartz 1985; Marche & Peterson 1993; Malam 1996), the methodological and analytical differences of these studies may account for part of discrepancies. For example, Kollock, Blumstein, & Schwartz's (1985) same-gender conversations were between male homosexual couples and lesbian couples, whereas the subjects for Malam's (1996) studies were young adolescents, i.e., year 13 students. It is highly likely that the distinctiveness of the subjects under study lies behind the discrepancies between their findings and those of previous studies. Marche & Peterson (1993) studied conversations between three different age groups: Grade 4, Grade 9 and university students. Although they found no differences in the use of back channels in general, they did find that females used four of their eight back-channel subcategories more than males did. These four

subcategories are: brief back channels (e.g., 'mm-hm,' 'yeah,' 'right,' 'I know,' 'oh,' 'oh my gosh'); elicited brief back channels (i.e., brief back channels being elicited by the speaker through such prompts as 'right?' or 'o.k.?'); brief restatements (i.e., restatements in a few words of the though just expressed by the speaker); and multiple back channels (i.e., responses which involve more than one type of back channel). In fact, the concept of listener responses employed by previous studies which found a gender-differentiated pattern is mostly restricted to Marche & Peterson's (1993) subcategory of brief back channels (e.g., Roger & Schumacher 1983; Roger & Nesshoever 1987). Thus Marche & Peterson's findings do not seem to be incompatible with those of previous studies, except for the fact that their gender-related differences in the use of back channels were found only in same-gender interactions and not in mixed-gender ones.

Studies on gender-related patterns in the use of listener responses have largely been based on English data. Very few studies have been done in this respect in other languages. Two exceptions are Nordenstam's (1992) study of Swedish conversation and Makri-Tsilipakou's (1994) study of Greek conversation. Both studies have revealed that women used more listener responses than men did, though in Nordenstam's study, this pattern occurred only in same-sex groups and not in married couples.

Little is known, however, about the gender roles in the use of listener responses in Chinese conversation. Do women use more listener responses than men in Chinese conversation? What will the pattern be like in same-gender and mixed-gender conversations? How do these patterns compare with those in Australian conversations? These are some

of the questions this present study attempts to answer.

3.5 Summary and questions raised by literature review

In Section 3, previous listener response studies have been reviewed by examining two different approaches, some different classification systems as well as studies on culture- and gender-related differences in the use of listener responses. With reference to the above review of studies on listener response, the following question can be raised:

- How would Chinese compare with Australians in the use of listener responses?

This general question can be again reduced into five specific ones as follows:

1. How do Chinese and Australian interlocutors signal and achieve passive recipiency and speakership incipiency?
2. Would Australians use more listener responses in their conversations than Chinese or vice versa?
3. Where would they place their listener responses with reference to possible completion points?
4. What types of listener responses do they prefer?
5. What role does gender play in the use of listener responses in Chinese and Australian conversations respectively? Does it have the same or a different effect on the use of listener responses across the two languages?

1) Would women use more listener responses than men or vice versa? Would women use more listener responses than men do in same-gender conversations and/or in mixed-gender conversations?

2) Where would men and women place their listener responses with reference to possible completion points?

3) What types of listener responses do they prefer?

4. Conclusion

This Chapter has presented a review of the literature relevant to the present study. It is divided into two major parts: the review of studies on overlap and the review of studies on listener response. Both reviews follow very similar procedures.

With respect to studies of overlap, four main aspects have been examined: characterisation of overlapping speech, its classification, and the culture- and gender-related patterns of overlap use. For the characterisation of overlapping speech, it is found to be theoretically untenable and empirically not well supported to characterise it as interruptive, involving conflict, dominance and power assertion. Rather, overlapping talk is better presented as an aspect of a speaker's conversational style with its functions determined with respect to the style of his/her co-conversationalist(s). In terms of the classification of overlap, two different approaches have been reviewed: the conversation analytic approach and the social psychological approach. It was found that the conversation

analytic approach, which examines overlap in terms of its onset, resolution and retrieval and focuses on the conversation participants' own orientations to the phenomenon, provides a better analytical framework for the present study. Finally, cross-cultural studies of overlapping talk and studies on gender-related patterns of overlap use have been reviewed. These two aspects are the major foci of the study.

As regards studies of listener response, the review also comprises four main aspects: approaches to its study, its classification, and the culture- and gender-related patterns of the use of listener responses. First, two different approaches to the study of listener response have been examined: the group-together approach and the discrete approach. It is maintained that although the discrete approach is conducive to our understanding of the distinct interactional work done by individual listener response tokens in local contexts, it has little to say about the global culture- and gender-related patterns of listener response use. Thus in the classification of listener responses, the eclectic approach taken by Clancy et al. (1996), which can be used to examine cross cultural and cross-gender patterns of listener response use while at the same time paying attention to some aspects of the sequential functions of listener response tokens, provides a better option as an analytic framework for the present study. Finally various comparative studies of the use of listener responses by different cultural groups and different gender groups are reviewed. These studies provide an empirical background for the study.

The next chapter, Chapter 4, describes the methodology utilised by this study.

1. Introduction

This chapter sets out the research methodology for the present study, which compares the use of overlap and listener response by Chinese and Australian speakers in their respective intracultural conversations. Research questions are first stated, followed by a detailed description of the methodological information, which includes the subjects who participated in the study, the physical setting in which the participants conducted their dyadic conversations, the specific procedures for data collection, and the data which are used for the analysis. Finally, the transcription process, conventions, layout are explained.

2. Research Questions

The study is designed to answer the following three general research questions:

- How do Chinese speakers compare with their Australian counterparts in the use of overlap and listener response in their respective intracultural conversations?

- What is the role of gender in the use of overlap and listener response in Chinese and Australian conversations?

- What do the differences in the use of overlap and listener response reveal about the underlying cultural patterns of behaviour of these two groups of people?

Specifically, in terms of the use of overlap, the following questions will be pursued:

1. What do Chinese speakers orient to in overlap onset, resolution, and retrieval and how does it compare with Australian speakers?
2. Would Chinese use more overlaps in their conversations than Australians or vice versa?
3. Where would they place their overlaps with reference to possible completion points?
4. How would they resolve the state of overlap once it occurs? Do they differ in their use of different resolution procedures?
5. What role does gender play in the use of overlap in Chinese and Australian conversations respectively? Does it have the same or a different effect on the use of overlap across the two languages?
   1) Would men use more overlaps in their conversations than women or vice versa?
   2) Where would men and women place their overlaps with reference to possible completion points?
   3) Do they differ in their use of different resolution procedures?
   4) In mixed-gender conversations, do men and women differ in the use of overlaps which occur in the midst of a turn?

Again, in terms of the use of listener response, the study attempts to

answer the following specific questions:

1. How do Chinese and Australian interlocutors signal and achieve passive recipiency and speakership incipiency?

2. Would Chinese use more listener responses in their conversations than Australians or vice versa?

3. Where would they place their listener responses with reference to possible completion points?

4. What types of listener responses do they prefer?

5. What role does gender play in the use of responses in Chinese and Australian conversations respectively? Does it have the same or a different effect on the use of overlap across the two languages?

   1) Would women use more listener responses than men or vice versa? Would women use more listener responses than men do in same-gender conversations and/or in mixed-gender conversations?

   2) Where would men and women place their listener responses with reference to possible completion points?

   3) What types of listener responses do they prefer?

3. Methodology

For data-collection, the study follows the principles of contrastive conversation analysis, set out by Maynard (1990) (see Section 3.2.4 in Chapter 2). These principles require that the data to be contrasted come from the same genre and the social context be predetermined with such variables relatively equivalent for both groups of subjects as gender, age,

social status, relationship between subjects, number of participants and the setting in which actual conversation takes place.

3.1 Participants

Participants are 30 Chinese (15 male and 15 female) and 30 Australian (15 male and 15 female) university undergraduate students. Their ages range from 17 to 26, with mean ages of 20.8 for Chinese participants and of 21.2 for Australian participants.

The Chinese participants were enrolled in second, third, or fourth year English language-related courses at a university in Southern China.[1] They were recruited through contact with lecturers, who were asked to inform their students about the general purpose of my study (i.e., a conversation study), the requirement (i.e., chatting), audio- and video tape recordings and the small monetary reward for their participation ($10RMB). Then the students were asked to choose their conversation partner and make an arrangement with me. Their own choice of partner ensures that the conversation takes place between familiar partners (i.e., friends or classmates in this case). The focus on conversation between familiar partners is based on the consideration that strangers may find it difficult to talk naturally in an experimental setting.

The Australian participants were all Caucasian Australians who had

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[1] I believe that their knowledge of English may have minimal influence on their conversational styles as they have no direct exposure to the English cultural environment.

received their primary or secondary education in Australia and were enrolled in first, second or third year arts or education courses at universities in Western Australia. These participants were recruited either through advertisements or through on-the-spot invitation. A few of them saw my advertisements, which detailed the purpose of the study, the requirements for the participants and some monetary reward for their participation (AU$10), and made appointments with me. Most of the participants, however, were invited to participate, one pair at a time, while they were chatting on campus. They were also shown the advertisement so that they know whether they fitted my specific requirements about their age, social status and national identity (for a sample of the advertisement, see Appendix A).

3.2 Physical setting

A similar setting was provided for both Chinese and Australian conversations with a small department office for the former and a small tutorial room for the latter. For both settings, the original furnishings were moved against the two side walls and two padded chairs were placed in the middle front of the office, about 80 cm apart and with an angle of about 90° from a face-to-face orientation. A stationary video camera was positioned about 4 metres away from the two chairs and a separate cassette recorder on a chair right behind them. A sheet of white paper was put on the floor in front of the chairs. On the paper were printed two topics of general interest, which are "Talk about how you think your education will affect your futures" and "Talk about television violence and whether or not you think it has an influence on society". For

the Chinese group, the topics were printed in Chinese characters. The topics were provided in case the participants ran out of things to talk about, as had been noted in previous researches (e.g., Hirokawa 1995).

3.3 Procedure

Again similar procedures were observed for both the Chinese and Australian conversations. After the participants came in, they were first shown around the room so that they got familiar with the environment and the recording equipment. This was done in hope of reducing their potential uneasiness in strange surroundings. After they were seated in the two padded chairs, they were asked to fill in a simple information sheet about their sex, date of birth, subject of study, year of study, and place of study (for samples of Chinese and English information sheet, see Appendix B) and to sign a consent form (see Appendix C). Then they were informed about the two topics on the floor. But it was emphasised to them that they should feel free to talk about anything they liked and the suggested topics were given just in case they did not have anything else to talk about. They were told to chat with each other for 20 minutes. After I switched on the video camera and the cassette recorder, I left the room and returned 20 minutes later to switch off the recording equipment. Then the participants were paid and thanked for their participation.

3.4 Data

The data used for the study are from 30 dyadic conversations: 15 Australian ones in Australian English and 15 Chinese ones in Mandarin

Chinese. Both the Australian and the Chinese conversations consist of 5 female-female dyads, 5 male-male dyads and 5 male-female dyads. Each conversation lasted for approximately 20 minutes, but only a 10-minute segment was used for data. The segment was selected randomly, starting from the second minute onwards with at least the first minute as a familiarisation period (cf Roger & Schumacher 1983; Maynard 1986).

4. Transcription

4.1 Transcription convention

After the data were collected, the next step was to transcribe them. The present study follows with some modifications the transcription convention employed by conversation analysts, originally developed by Gail Jefferson and thus called The Jeffersonian Transcription System (for a detailed description of this system, see Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974: 731-734; Schenkein 1978; Psathas 1979; Goodwin 1981; Atkinson & Heritage 1984; Button & Lee 1987; Psathas & Anderson 1990). This system was employed because it attends to the minute details of a conversation, making it optimal to analyse various subtle features of overlapping talk and listener responses such as onset, resolution and retrieval of overlapping talk and placements of listener responses. Many previous studies tended to use crude transcription systems, which enabled them only to count simple frequency of occurrences of overlap and listener responses and often with low reliability (cf Turner, Dindia, & Pearson 1995). A summary of the symbols and conventions used in this study is provided below:

1. [A single left-hand bracket indicates the point at which two interlocutors' talk starts to overlap.

2.]   A single right-hand bracket indicates the ending point of two overlapping or simultaneously started utterances.

3. =   The equals sign indicates 'latching' - i.e., no interval between the end of a prior and start of a next piece of talk.

4. (0.4) The number in parentheses indicates the length of an interval in seconds and tenths of a second.

5. (.)   A dot within parentheses indicates more or less than a tenth of a second.

6. .   A period indicates a stopping fall in tone.

7. ,   A comma indicates a continuing intonation (e.g., the kind of falling-rising contour one finds after items in a list).

8. ?   Question mark indicates a rising intonation.

9. ↑↓   Upward or downward pointing arrows indicate marked rising or falling shifts in intonation.

10. :   Colon(s) indicate that the prior sound is prolonged. Multiple colons indicate a more prolonged sound.

11. -   A short dash indicates a cut-off of the prior word or sound (i.e., a noticeable and abrupt termination).

12. any Underlining indicates stress.

13. WHY Upper-case letters are used to indicate increased volume.

14. °it°   A degree sign is used to show a passage of talk which has a noticeably lower volume than the surrounding talk.

15. '   An apostrophe indicates an omission of a sound (e.g., an' for and).

16. hh   An h or series of h's is used to mark an out-breath.

17. .hh   An h or series of h's preceded by a dot indicates an in-breath.

18. (it)   Items enclosed within single parentheses are in doubt.

19. (x x) An x or a series of x's within single parentheses indicates the

number of syllables for the items in doubt.

20. ( )   Empty parentheses indicate that no 'hearing' was achieved.

21. (( )) Materials in double parentheses indicate features of the audio materials other than actual verbalisation, or verbalisations which are not transcribed, e.g., coughing and eating noises.

22. > < Sections of an utterance between the greater and the smaller signs indicate that they are delivered at a quicker pace to the surrounding talk.

23. < > Sections of an utterance between the smaller and the greater signs indicate that they are delivered at a slower pace to the surrounding talk.

4.2 Transcription layout

A slightly different layout is adopted for the presentation of the transcripts in this study from that typically used in the conversation analytic literature. For example, a typical transcript presentation in the conversation analytic literature would be like the following (Drummond 1989: 152):

```
1   X:  the last few days I think there's gonna be resistance
2       to that
3          (.)
4   X:  [U:  ]:h
5   Y:  [Mm]
6          (1.2)
7   X:  [Does he- u-]
8   Y:  [It  makes  a] lot of se:nse (.) to not=
9   X:  =doe[s it to you] I'm I'm hope
10  Y:       [gear  it up]
11  X:  (I [don' (h) ey)]
12  Y:      [.h  Yea- no] ↑I think it doe:s and um
13          (1.6)
14  Y:  I think that we struck some controversy
```

The same transcript will be presented in this study as follows:

1   X: the last few days I think there's gonna be resistance to that (.)

2   X: [u :]:h (1.2) [does he- u-]   =doe[s it to you]
3   Y: [mm]   [it makes a] lot of se:nse (.) to not=   [gear it up]

4   X: I'm I'm hope (I [don' (h) ey)]
5   Y: [.h yea- no] ↑I think it doe:s and um (1.6) I

6   Y: think that we struck some controversy.

Some differences between these two presentations of the same transcript, though seemingly trivial, are noteworthy. Firstly, while an occurrence of overlapping talk is always made to appear in a new line in the conversation analytic convention, in my transcription overlapping talk is treated the same as non-overlapping talk so that several occurrences of overlapping talk (and of listener responses as well) can appear in the same line. This treatment avoids the analytic arbitrariness to divide an otherwise continuous utterance into separate lines, which may distort "the 'feel' of the actual flow of interaction" (Hirokawa 1995: 75). More significantly, the subjective separation of several occurrences of overlapping talk and of listener response into different lines may give the impression that they are several distinct cases though in fact they can be a single instance with a stretched duration for overlap and with multiple tokens for listener responses. Secondly, each line of utterances begins with a capitalised word in the conversation analytic tradition, which may make different speakers' contributions appear like new and independent speaking turns, an unnecessary analytic fallout. Thus in my transcription

lower-case letters are used in all places except for proper nouns and words with increased volume. Other minor differences in presentation of transcripts between the conversation analytic tradition and that used in this study include the placement of the pause and the use or non-use of a blank line between speakers' contributions. While I do not want to credit these differences with any theoretical import (cf. Ochs 1979; Edelsky 1981; Edwards & Lampert 1993; Roberts 1997; Green, Franquiz, & Dixon 1997), they can occasionally contribute to, for example, miscounts of the number of overlaps and listener responses.

4.3 Transcription process

Transcribing is a most tedious and time-consuming task, especially that of transcribing conversations of a foreign language, i.e., Australian English in my case. Even the transcription of conversations in my native language - Chinese - has not proved to be easy as frequent consultation with other native speakers is still needed. Although my English has often been described as near-native, I still found it an almost insurmountable task to accurately transcribe my fifteen Australian conversations (see Moerman 1996 for the recount of his experiences with the transcription of his Tai data). Of course, the difficulty lies not just in the language per se, but also in youth group's culture including their unique youthlect and topics. In fact, in my first drafts of transcripts of Australian conversations, which I did alone, the blanks I left are almost as many as and as long as the utterances I managed to jot down. Later I had to ask some native speakers of Australian English to help with the transcription and in exchange, I gave them free Chinese lessons (for a sample of the advertisement, see

Appendix E). But still blanks and utterances in doubt remain, not just for Australian conversations but for Chinese ones as well. For complete transcripts for all the thirty conversations, see Appendices F & G.

5. Summary

Chapter 4 delineates this study's research methodology. It first stated the research questions and then described the research method employed in this study, including information about the participants, the physical setting, the specific procedures for data collection, and the data which are used for the analysis. It also enunciated some transcription issues such as transcription symbols and layout being used and transcription process undergone.

The next chapter will examine the use of overlap by Chinese and Australian speakers in their respective intracultural conversations.

OVERLAPPING IN AUSTRALIAN AND CHINESE CONVERSATIONS

1. Introduction

When a group of friends are having a conversation together, it is not unusual to find that two or more interlocutors are talking simultaneously with one another. Simultaneous speech or overlaps occur not infrequently in casual conversations between social equals, especially between friends. This can be true of both Australian and Chinese, and many other, if not all, cultures. But it is also widely documented in cross-cultural communication literature, that people from different cultures may follow a different conversation norm and can have different conversational styles, of which the use of overlap and listener response in conversations is a part (e.g., Tannen 1984; Wieland 1991; Berry 1995). Interactional sociolinguists have shown repeatedly that when speakers with diverse conversational practices interact with each other, communicative difficulties or even miscommunication are most likely to occur, which can further result in negative cultural evaluations and stereotyping.

This chapter compares the use of overlap by Australian and Chinese speakers in their respective intracultural conversations, that is, Australian speakers interacting with each other in English and Chinese speakers interacting with each other in Chinese (Mandarin). The chapter is divided into three main sections. Section 2, the succeeding section, examines what phenomena Chinese and Australian speakers orient to in the initiation of

an overlap, what procedures they resort to in the resolution of the state of overlap, and what strategies they use to retrieve the overlapped parts of their utterances. This is mainly a qualitative study, on which the analytic framework for quantitative comparison is based. Section 3 describes this framework for quantitative study, explicating the analytic categories and other specific technicalities. Section 4 reports on the results and discusses the findings of the quantitative part of the study. Section 5, the final section, summarises the whole chapter.

2. Overlap onset, resolution and retrieval in Chinese and Australian conversations

2.1 Overlap onset in Chinese and Australian conversations

As we have reporteded in Section 2.2.1.1 in Chapter 3, Jefferson (1983, 1986), by analysing conversational data in British and American Englishes, identifies three categories of overlap onset: Transitional, Recognitional, and Progressional. For each of these categories, conversation participants, next speakers more specifically, are orienting to a different phenomenon. Thus for Transitional overlap, a next speaker orients to a turn's completeness; for Recognitional overlap, s/he acts upon a delivery's adequacy; and for Progressional overlap, a next speaker focuses on the talk's flow. Jefferson (1986: 1) observes that these overlap onset points account for an enormous amount of talk in her data. Or in other words, a large number of overlaps occur either as Transitional overlap, as Recognitional overlap, or as Progressional overlap. A close examination of my data reveals that these overlap onset points observed by Jefferson

(1983, 1986) also account for a great majority of overlapping talk in Australian as well as in Chinese conversations. As Section 2.2.1.1 in Chapter 3 provides examples of these overlaps from the Australian conversations, in the following sections examples will be presented mostly from the Chinese conversations.

2.1.1 Transitional onset

A number of positions or points at a transitional place have been found to be frequent loci for overlap onset in Jefferson's data. These positions or points taken together also pose recurrent loci for overlap onset in the Chinese and Australian conversational data for the present study.

2.1.1.1 Terminal onset

Terminal overlap occurs when a recipient "starts up at just the final sound(s) of the last word of what constitutes a 'possibly complete utterance'" (Jefferson 1983: 3). Terminal overlaps are extremely rare in the Chinese data with only one non-dubious case in 15 conversations as compared to about 46 occurrences in the corresponding Australian data. This may be largely due to the fact that the Chinese language is a monosyllabic language and that the last sound often comprises the last item itself (see Last Item overlap below). For example, a lot of utterances in the conversation end with the sentence-final particle 'a', which consists of only one sound. Of course, there may also be occasional technical difficulties in locating the precise locus of an overlap, that is, whether an overlap starts on this phoneme or that. The one clearly noted case of

terminal overlap in the Chinese data occurred when the ongoing speaker stretched their last sound, as shown in Ex 27 below.

Ex 27: C15mm:56

```
1  → B: e::h zunbei baosong[::, jiu zheci cong na kaishi.
2  → A:                    [kaoguo:
```

Translation

```
1     B: e::h prepare to get enrolled without taking entrance

2  → B: exams[::, just started from then.
3  → A:       [took the exams:
```


2.1.1.2 Last Item onset

Last item overlap occurs when the recipient starts up at the last item or word of a turn constructional unit (Jefferson 1983: 16; 1986: 157). Approximately the same number of Last Item overlaps were found in Chinese conversations (41 cases) as in Australian conversations (39 cases). An example of Last Item onset from the Chinese data is given below (Ex 28).

Ex 28: C1ff:9

```
1     A: wo [juede women-, .hh [zhongxue-dique langfei shijian
2     B:     [.hhh              [heh heh

3  → A: tai-, [duo le.]
4  → B:       [shi  a]:: yaoshi::, nenggou chonghuo yici na zhen shi.
```

```
1     A: I [think we-, .hh [in the middle school-really wasted time
2     B:  [.hhh         [heh heh

3  →  A: too-, [much PRT.]
4  →  B:      [yeah      ]:: if::, we could start again that would be

5     B: really.
```

A more extended overlap occurs when the current speaker continues talking after reaching the Transition Relevance Place (TRP). Like in Ex 28 above, there is a transition point after the word 'duo', but Speaker A continues to produce a particle, thus making the overlap beyond just one item or word. A more extended overlap than this from the Chinese data is as follows (Ex 29):

Ex 29: C10ff:36

```
1     F:  nabiande nuhaizi doushi name piaoliangde::.=        =
2     M:                                          =°shi a.°=

3  →  F:  nude pifu ah zenme name [hao. .hhh danshi tamen you chi
4  →  M:                          [na jiu-, yinwei shi °qihou

5     F:  de you name] la ho?
6     M:  yanyin.°    ]
```

```
1     F:  the girls there are all so beautiful::=        =the girls' skin is
2     M:                                      =°yeah.°=

3  →  F:  so [smooth. .hhh but the food they eat is so] hot?
4  →  M:     [that really-, is because of the °climate.°]
```

In this example, the male speaker (M) started his talk just before the female speaker (F) finished the last item of her turn unit 'hao'. But F did

not stop talking after she reached her TRP. Her continuing talk overlapped with M's whole utterance, resulting in an extended Last Item overlap. This phenomenon is characterised by Jefferson (1983, 1986) as "a byproduct of 'transitional-space' onset by a recipient and further talk by the current speaker" (Jefferson 1983: 5, original underlining).

2.1.1.3 'Latched'-to-Possible-Completion onset

Latched overlap occurs when a next speaker starts talking "no sooner and no later than the moment at which a possible completion point has occurred" and his/her talk collides with the current speaker's further talk (Jefferson 1983: 7). But it can be extended to include all other types of simultaneous starts. Latched overlap ranks the highest among all types of transitional overlap in Chinese conversations with 197 occurrences whereas in Australian conversations, it ranks the second with 165 cases, the first being 'Unmarked Next Position' overlap (see Section 2.1.1.4 below). Latched overlap can be minimal and transitory as in Ex 30.

Ex 30: C9mf:6

```
1  → M:  eh nage, shei shi chairman?            [chairman
2    F:                      nage-meiguoren [shi::

3    M:  bu jiu zhuxi ma?
```

<div align="center">Translation</div>

```
1  → M:  eh that, who is the chairman?          [isn't the
2    F:                      that-American [is::

3    M:  chairman chairman PRT?
```

In this example, M and F talked about the structure of a company, which donated 1 million yuan to the university. M first asked the question "who is the chairman?" When F's answer reached "that-American", it was already a complete answer and thus constituted a transition point for M to take a turn. M did take a turn but clashed with F's brief additional element of her answer (i.e., "is::").

But sometimes the first speaker can add a lengthy element after a transition point, making the collision more substantial. For example,

Ex 31: C5ff:2

```
1     A: danshi ta yaoshi shangyin le ne? (.)
2     B:                                  hmmmm wo ye

3  →  B: buhui fandui [de.   ta   zhiyao- ] heh heh .hhh
4  →  A:              [a::h. na tao hao le.]
```

                            Translation

```
1     A: but how about him getting addicted to them? (.)
2     B:                                  hmmmm

3  →  B: I wouldn't mind [PRT.   if  only   he- ] heh heh .hhh
4  →  A:                 [a::h. that's great PRT.]
```

In Ex 31, A and B were talking about the criteria for their future husbands. A asked whether B would mind whether her future husband got addicted to smoking and drinking. B hesitated and said she would not mind. B's answer up to 'fandui' ('oppose' or 'mind') is syntactically complete and thus constitutes a transition point. But she added a particle 'de' and continued her new turn, colliding with A's initiation of her turn.

2.1.1.4 'Unmarked Next Position' onset

Unmarked Next Position overlap occurs when one conversation participant starts a bit after another upon a transition point having been reached or after a pause or silence. This type of overlap constitutes the great majority of all transitional overlaps in the Australian conversations with 167 occurrences, corroborating Jefferson's impression that "this is the most common, the usual, the standard relationship of one utterance to another" in her English data (Jefferson 1986: 162). But for the Chinese conversations, this type of overlap comes second (with 112 cases) after Latched overlap (with 197 cases), which has been discussed in the preceding section.

In the Chinese conversations, as in the Australian ones (see Section 2.2.1.1 in Chapter 3), there are four positions where Unmarked Next Position overlap is likely to occur. The first position is when the next speaker starts a bit after the current speaker upon the latter having reached a point of possible completion. This is shown in Ex 32 below.

Ex 32: C5ff:3

```
1  → B: erqie ta yao gen wo hubu. zai-zai[jiushi zai xingqu aihao
2  → A:                          (    ) [hubu de. ah, gezhong

3     A: geyang de.        ]
4     B: fangmian yao gen wo] hubu. biru shuo, ...
```

Translation

1 → B: but he and I should complement each other. in-in [I   mean   in
2 → A: (   ) [complement

3   A: each other. ah. in everything.]
4   B: interests   and   hobbies] complement each other. for

5   B: example, ...

In this example, Speaker A waited a bit after B reached her first
completion point (i.e., after the word 'other') and then started her turn,
only to find that B had already begun her new turn. The space that A
permitted between B's first transition point and the start of her own turn
is indicated in the transcript by the bold-type round brackets. It is as if
A was in a 'blind spot', not aware of the current speaker B having
already started her new turn (Jefferson 1983: 11). The second position is
when the current speaker waits a bit after reaching a point of possible
completion and then starts his/her new turn unit, but the next speaker
starts immediately after the current speaker reaches his/her transition
point. For example,

Ex 33: C7mf:11

1   F: wo juede haoxiang you yi ben Lin Yutang de shenme::

2 → F: sanwen ji a. (   ) [henjiu] yiqian kan guo.
3 → M: .hhh san[wen ji]

Translation

1   F: I think Lin Yutang seems to have written a prose collection.

2 → M: .hhh prose [collection]
3 → F: (   ) [ages ago] I read it.

In this example, F, the original speaker, after finishing her first turn unit, permitted a bit of space between her first turn unit and her next. M, on the other hand, after F came to the end of her turn unit, immediately began his turn, thus colliding with F's new turn unit.

Two more positions for the Unmarked Next Position overlap are found after a pause or silence. In this case, as both participants are entitled to take a turn after a pause, one sometimes starts a bit after another. Ex 34 illustrates where the current speaker starts a bit earlier than the next speaker and Ex 35 shows the reverse, that is, where the next speaker starts a bit earlier than the current speaker.

Ex 34: C6mf:11

```
1  →  M: biru ni mai yi fu hua. (0.2) biru [zousi yige  shenme-, eh.]
2  →  F:                              (  ) [mai ranhou zhuanshou::]

3     F: daomai shi bu shi nayang.
```

Translation

```
1  →  M: for example you buy a painting. (0.2) for example [smuggle
2  →  F:                                           (          ) [buy  it

3     F: and then sell out::] is it like that.
4     M: something-,   eh.]
```


Ex 35: C2ff:2

```
1     B: jiushi shuo houlai, lai de shihou jiu meiyou-, ni yao yueding

2  →  B: ma. (0.2) (    ) [yeyu shijian,] dajia yiqi huodong nayangzi.
3  →  A:            oh, ye [jiushi  shuo::]
```

Translation

1   B: I mean later, when they came they didn't-, you should have

2 → B: made an appointment. (0.2) (   ) [in leisure time,] when we
3 → A: oh, do [you   mean : :]

4   B: had a group activity.

2.1.2 Recognitional onset

Recognitional overlap occurs when the current speaker's talk reaches a point which the recipient finds sufficient to enable understanding of what s/he is going to talk about. Instead of focussing on the completeness of a turn as in the transitional onset, the recipient focuses on the adequacy of an utterance in the Recognitional onset (Jefferson 1983: 18). Recognitional overlap in the Chinese conversations, as in the Australian ones, can be Item-Targetted and Thrust-Projective, illustrated respectively by the following two examples.

Ex 36: C15mm:43

1 → A: lü-lüse de nage jiao shenme::,   [ah.   ] listening.
2 → B: eh li[stening.]

3   A: [ah.   listening   ] to this.]
4   B: [listening to this.] listen to] this.

Translation

1 → A: what's that green-green book called::,   [ah.   ] listening
2 → B: eh li[stening.]

3   A: [ah.   listening] to this.]
4   B: [listening to this.] listen to] this.

Ex 37: C10mf:4

1   F: da gongci yiban ziji dou you fanyi, ta bu qing ren.
2   M: dui.

3   F: xiang Li Si ta gege, .hh nabian, cong xiangxi guolai.

4 → F: ta gege, [ziji dou hui jiang yingyu. ah.
5 → M: [zidai fanyi.

Translation

1   F: a big company normally has its own interpreter, no need for

2   F: employment.   like Li Si's brother, .hh came over from
3   M: yeah.

4 → F: Xiangxi. his brother, [can speak English himself. ah.
5 → M: [had his own interpreter.

There does not seem to be a restriction for Recognitional overlap in the locus of occurrence. It can occur in transitional space, as in the Unmarked Next position (Ex 36 above) and in Terminal position (Ex 10 in Chapter 3). It can also occur in non-transitional space, as in Ex 37 above, where M, in line 5, started up long before F reached a possible completion point.

Another frequent locus of Recognitional overlap is at the end of the first component part of a composite construction (Lerner 1991). This is true of both Chinese and Australian data. In this case, immediately after the current speaker produces the first component part of a composite construction, sometimes a bit later and sometimes a bit earlier, the next speaker jumps in, either finishing the speaker's utterance or starting his/her own talk. Ex 38 is an example from the Australian data and Ex 39 an example from the Chinese data.

Ex 38: A4ff:43

1 → B: obviously if like he's European, got a good [family,   ]
2 → A: [°hm.° it's]

3   A: horrible [thinking that-,] (0.3) that they-, could be racist
4   B: [c a : r   job.]

Ex 39: C9mf:44

1   M: ruguo yao qu nazhong-, (0.2) e::h, shenme guojia zhengfu

2 → M: jigou ah, [na ni ruguo rudang, dui dui dui.
3 → F: [na kending yao rudang.

Translation

1   M: if you want to work in the-, (0.2) e::h, er state government

2 → M: institution, [then if you joined the Party, yeah yeah yeah.
3 → F: [then you surely have to join the Party.

2.1.3 Progressive onset

A next speaker sometimes focuses on the flow of an utterance by the current speaker. That is, when disfluencies or 'hitches' occur in the current speaker's utterance, the next speaker acts upon them, often resulting in the collision with the ongoing talk from the current speaker. In the Chinese conversations, as in the Australian ones, various types of disfluencies in the ongoing talk occur and they constitute recurrent loci of overlap onset. These disfluencies can be mid-utterance silence (Ex 40) and 'silence fillers' like 'eh' (Ex 41). They can also be 'stutters' or 'stammers' (Ex 42).

Ex 40: C15mm:8

1   A: wo tiyu tai:: cha.
2   B: tiyu ah. (0.3) tiyu zenme shuo ne, ta nage::,

3 → B: (0.3) .hh [zhuyao nage huodong ah, wo xiang duo canjia
4 → A: [ruguo wo bu-

5   B: yiwai, ...

Translation

1   A: I'm too:: bad in PhysEd.
2   B: PhysEd. (0.3) PhysEd how to say,

3 → B: it e::r, (0.3) .hh [mainly the activities, I think we should
4 → A: [if I didn't-

5   B: participate in them more, besides ...

Ex 41: C3ff:54

1 → A: ruguo ni ziji, shi bu zai zhezhong, .hh e:[: : : h ↑<u>wai</u>-,
2 → B: [eh bu shi zai

3   A: ↑<u>wai</u>-,   ] waibu [tiao] jian xia, ziji qu zhudongde
4   B: zhezhong]   [°ziji-°]

5   A: canjia huodong. ...

Translation

1 → A: if you, aren't influenced by the, .hh e:[:::h ↑<u>out</u>-, ↑<u>out</u>-,]
2 → B: [eh not by that-]

3   A: outside [environment], and you voluntarily go to
4   B: [°you youself-°]

5   A: participate in a lot of activities. ...

Ex 42: C5ff:9

1   A: yinwei nanhaizi, tamen xuyao yige hen guangkuo zijide

2   A: kongjian ma.   suoyi::: (0.2) zhineng ba aiqing
3   B: hmm.

4 → A: fang zai:::, fang zai [zhe tian]pingde yiban ba.
5 → B: [nayang-]

<div align="center">Translation</div>

1   A: 'cos boys, they need a very big space for themselves.

2   B: hmm.
3   A: .   so::: (0.2) they can only put love

4 → A: on:::, on [the   scale's] one side.
5 → B: [in that way-]

2.1.4 Delayed Response or Post Continuation onsets

In the preceding sections, we have shown the three different procedures which Jefferson (1983, 1986) observed to recurrently lead to the start of overlaps: Transitional, Recognitional, and Progressive. These procedures are employed by the conversation participants in both my Chinese and Australian data and account for a great majority of overlap onsets in conversations of these two languages. But still in a number of cases of overlap onset, the conversation participants do not seem to be focussing either on a turn's completeness, or on a delivery's adequacy, or on the talk's flow. Rather, they seem to be orienting to or acting upon the incompleteness of their own message and/or the reaction to (including the repair and the initiation of repair of, and the delayed response to) the previous speaker's utterance in his/her preceding turn unit. I term the former Post Continuation onset and the latter Delayed

Response onset (cf Jefferson 1986). I will illustrate this with a few examples from both the Australian and Chinese conversations.

Let us first look at some cases of Delayed Response onset. The term 'Delayed Response' indicates that after the current speaker reaches a point of possible completion, the next speaker intends to make a response to the already-completed utterance of the current speaker but the response is somehow delayed until the current speaker has started well into the next utterance, i.e., far away from the previous completion point. Delayed Response overlap, though seemingly interruptive, can be sequentially and systematically motivated. This type of overlap can be induced by the feeling of a need on the part of the next speaker to initiate a repair-like question of the current speaker's utterance in the preceding turn unit (cf. Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks 1977). Although this type of Delayed Response overlap may contain an element of 'Thrust'-Projective Recognitional overlap (see Section 2.1.3 above), it is not a recognition of the current turn unit but a somewhat delayed recognition of the previous turn unit by the current speaker. Let us look at the following two examples, Ex 43 from the Australian data and Ex 44 from the Chinese data.

Ex 43: A5ff:42

1   A: he played in a master class. .hh and it was just like-,

2 → B: so [what's he doing in Australian still?] (0.4)
3 → A: [o::h   shit   man   ] 'cos he's

4   A: only eighteen.

In this example, A and B were talking about an excellent young trombonist. A made the comment that "he played in a master class" and then continued. B, in the middle of A's continuing turn, made a repair-like response to A's previous turn unit (i.e., "so what's he doing in Australian still?"). The following Chinese example is perhaps a more typical case of other-initiated self-repair according to Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks (1977).

Ex 44: C10mf:18

1   F: na:: keneng zai zhe gan de di yixie, huiqu gan de gao yixie,

2 → F: danshi nabian gongzi [you mei zheme hao.
3 → M: [shen-   shenme jiao huiqu

4   M: gan de di-, gao yixie, zhebian gan de di yixie ah?

<div align="center">Translation</div>

1   F: then you may do a low job here, and do a high job back home,

2 → F: but the salary there [won't be that good.
3 → M: [what-   what is doing a low-,

4   M: high job back home, and doing a low job here?

In Ex 44, F and M were talking about the job prospects after their graduation. Before this section of conversation, F asked whether M would like to stay in Guangzhou or go back in his hometown and M said that he did not care. Then F commented about job prospects in Guangzhou and back to M's hometown, that is, one may only get a job of low position in Guangzhou but may get one of high position back there. M, not catching what F was saying, did not ask for clarification or repair immediately after F came to her completion point but rather

waited until F had gone well into her next turn unit. This little bit of waiting on his part may be due to what Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks (1977) called the preference for self-correction in the organisation of repair. According to Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks (1977: 374-375), other-initiation is typically withheld or delayed so that the speaker of a trouble source has an opportunity, or sets of opportunities, to initiate repair him/herself. But M could not wait until F finished her next turn unit because of the typical position of other-initiation in next-turn. For this latter point, Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks (1977) have this to say, "out of the multiplicity of later turns by others that follow a potential repairable, very nearly all other-initiations come in just one of them, namely next turn, AND NOT IN LATER TURNS BY OTHER(S)" (p. 373 original emphasis).

In addition to the initiation of repair-like questions, other common structures which can lead to Delayed Response overlap include disagreement (Ex 45 & Ex 46), responsive comments (Ex 47 & Ex 48), and the offer of an explanation (Ex 49).

Ex 45: A6mf:16

1   M: not under age. but eighteen an' don't know how to

2   → M: handle their piss. give 'em-, we [bought a-we <u>bought</u> a,
3   → F: [hey

4   F: <u>I</u> [<u>could</u> be that <u>girl</u>.]
5   M: [we <u>bought</u> a <u>Goon</u>.] we <u>bought</u> a er cask of Goon.

Ex 46: C6mf:3

```
1       M:  women nansheng zai [guan wai-, (.) feng cui yu sai. heh heh
2       F:                      [.hhh

3       F:  ye [bu  hui  ah.]
4       M:     [ni yao-, zuo] jishi kuai huozhe-, yibai duo kuai yitian. shi

5       M:  ding-, zuiduode juwosuozhi yeshi yibaiwushi kuai. danshi-,

6  →    M:  shi cong [zaoshang-]          [cong zaoshang jiudian] gan
7  →    F:           [na    nu ] sheng ye [cha     bu      duo. ]

8       M:  dao wanshang jiudian.
```

Translation

```
1       M:  we boy students work [outside-, (.) exposed to the sun and
2       F:                        [.hhh

3       M:  rain. heh heh   [they can-, get] less than a hundred or-, a
4       F:                  it [can't    be. ]

5       M:  hundred kuai a day. the most-, highest I know is just a

6  →    M:  hundred fifty kuai. but-, they work from [morning-  ]
7  →    F:                                           [but the girl]

8       F:  students are [almost    the    same.]
9       M:               [from 9 in the morning] till 9 in the evening.
```


Ex 47: A10mf:26

```
1       F:  I worked on heh hh Saturday. .hh day before Mother's Day

2  →    F:  an' I had to set out, .hhh[h       [ seven          hun]dred
3  →    M:                             [I didn't [even see my mum.]

4       F:  croissantsss. I had to set out two hundred danishe::s. I had to

5       F:  set out all this crap.
```

Ex 48: C9mf:14

1   M: qianshouguanyin shi na yu zuo de [eh?
2   F: [yeshi. tongtong

3   F: doushi yude. .h[h zhishi::, oh-↑lingwai nage
4   M: [.hhh

5 → F: [jiahuo ye na le yige,]   yige hua:ngsede.
6 → M: [na jiaqian ye ting da] de wo.

<p style="text-align:center">Translation</p>

1   M: is the Thousand-hand Guanyin made of ja[de?
2   F: [yes. they're

3   F: all made of jade. .h[h only that::, oh- the ↑other
4   M: [.hhh

5 → F: [fellow also   had a-,]   a yellow: one.
6 → M: [the price must be very] high.

Ex 49: A4ff:2

1   B: Jack says something is not right. but I mean

2 → B: [what-]   =that's
3 → A: [↑MAY]be that's just how he is tho-=

4   B: what I was thinking.

The above series of examples of Delayed Response overlap shows that although the next speaker's responsive utterances are deeply incursive into the current speaker's next turn unit, they are warranted and can also be sequentially motivated. For example in Ex 47 above, F's talk has come to a possible completion point, i.e., after "Mother's Day", and she is apparently continuing. Before F reaches the next completion point, M comes in and makes a responsive comment on F's previous turn unit. If

M had waited until the end of F's next completion point, his responsive comment would have become irrelevant. This is well explicated by Jefferson (1986: 160) in her discussion of the 'Unmarked Next' Position onset:

> [I]f what has been - adequately and syntactically possibly completely - said so far is something to which a recipient wants to respond, and now it looks like the speaker is at least continuing and perhaps moving on to other matters, then one might want to get in now, while the initial matter is still relevant, ...

Likewise, in the case of Post Continuation Onset, though the current speaker has reached a possible completion point, s/he may not have really finished what s/he wants to say. Then s/he finds the next speaker has already started talking. In order not to make what s/he wants to say irrelevant, s/he has to jump in and thus collides with the next speaker's ongoing talk. I will give two examples each from my Chinese and Australian data. Ex 50 & Ex 51 are taken from the Australian data and Ex 52 & Ex 53 from the Chinese ones.

Ex 50: A12mm:23

```
1      A: you can do your degree in-, producing, directing, editing,

2      A: writing, .hhh    [ a : : : h     ] lots of stuff.
3      B:                  shi[:t, that's good.]            the whole,

4  →   B: the whole school [exists.    ]          ye:h cinematography,
5  →   A:                  [cinemato]graphy.

6      B: that's what I would choose.
```

Ex 51: A15mm:28

1   A: then you've got all this bureaucratical stuff. psychologists

2 → A: and stuff.   [saying the best ways to do it but, .hh
3 → B: ↑wasn't W[A-

4   A: really you know like most psychologists have all these

5   A: theories but don't have kids themselves ...

Ex 52: C15mm:37

1   A: wo juede jingdu hen-, hen buhao xue. (0.2)

2 → B: jingdu nage-, [nage cihui hen lan,
3 → A: [tai mafan.

<div align="center">Translation</div>

1   A: I think Analytic Reading is very-, very difficult. (0.2)

2 → B: Analytic Reading the-, [the vocabulary is very chaotic,
3 → A: [too troublesome.

Ex 53: C15mm:77

1   A: wo bu zhidao shi xuan riyu haishi xuan fayu. wo dui zhe

2   A: liang men yuyan dou you xingqu.
3   B: ↑riyu zenme shuo ne, riyu::,

4   B: <u>wo</u> xiang ah, ruguo ni shi ge nande, shaowei hao yidian. (.)

5   B: ribenren, zongde lai shuo shi rujia xuepai luo. fanzheng

6   B: pianxiang yu-, (0.2) °eh° zhong shi nande bi zhongshi nude

7 → B: yao qiang de duo.   [er fayu: ranhou shi
8 → A: wo dao bushi [zhege-

9   B: zenmeyang ne. fayu ta shi::: ting wushi ma....

Translation

1   A: I don't know whether to learn Japanese or French. I have an

2   A: interest in both of them.
3   B: .   ↑Japanese how to say, Japanese::, I

4   B: think, with men, it's a little bit better. (.) Japanese people,

5   B: generally speaking are confucianists. they have a tendency

6   B: to-, (0.2) °eh° place more emphasis on men than on women.

7 → A: I don't really [the-
8 → B: [but French: on the other hand. French is:::

9   B: very practical. ...

In the Australian data, a majority of Post Continuation overlaps occur
when the next speaker produces a speakership incipient listener
response token and is imminently ready to produce further talk, but
only to find that the current speaker continues his/her talk. The result
is the collision of the next speaker's at-first latent and then-later
emergent production with the furthering talk of the current speaker.
Examples below (Ex 54 - Ex 56) show the varying length of latency
(indicated by the space enclosed within the bold-type round brackets)
between the next speaker's production of listener response tokens and
his/her emergent speakership talk. Relatively few examples of this kind
can be found from the Chinese data. The reason I suspect may be
because of the lesser use of listener response tokens in general,
especially the lesser use of tokens indicating speakership incipiency in
the Chinese conversations (for further discussion on the use of listener
response, see Chapter 6). A couple of examples can be given in this

respect from the Chinese data (Ex 57 & Ex 58).

Ex 54: A1ff:22

1   A: 'cos if-, it-can you write a novel but then, (0.3) be too long.

2 → B: hm. (   ) [um,   ] about, two-, two five to five
3 → A: you got to [write it↑.]

4   B: thousand words.

Ex 55: A15mm:33

1   B: it's just like a ghost town, she said.   so I mean, but-,
2   A: yeh. (   )

3 → B: [but if you think-]
4 → A: [it's pretty sca]ry because thirty people, .hh yeh well

5   A: thirty three or whatever it was ...

Ex 56: A1ff:18

1   A: you should do a children's book then. (.)
2   B: ye:h.

3 → A: 'cos then, (.) or do they have to be [like a novel,] o:r,
4 → B: (   ) [°is it easier°]

5   B: um   no [like
6   A: can you write-,   [CAT is playing with the dog.

Ex 57: C3ff:52

1   B: naxieren canjia huodong jiushi weile jiafen. bunenggou [zhe
2   A: [dui.

3 → B: yang de. yinwei-, wo [juede,   bushi   benshen-,] ni canjia
4 → A: (   ) [xianzai wanquan jiushi ni::]

5   B: huodong ...

<center>Translation</center>

1   B: those people participated in some activities only to get

2   B: higher marks. it shouldn't be [like that. because-, I
3   A: [yeah. (   )

4 → B: [think, it's not by itself-,] you participate in activities ...
5 → A: [now it's all because of you::]

Ex 58: C8mf:29

1   F: wo juede, (.) jiu shengyin fangmian=   =keneng Zhang San
2   M: =ah.=

3 → F: de zui xiang.   ranhou::, jiu:: [↑neirong,]   yuyin yu
4 → M: ah. (   ) yu[yin yudiao] ne?

5   F: diao dangran shi ni la. (.)

<center>Translation</center>

1   F: I think, (.) in terms of voice=   =maybe Zhang San's the most
2   M: =ah.=

3 → F: resonant.   the::n, as to:: [↑content,   ]
4 → M: ah. (   ) pro[nunciation and intonation]?

5   F: pronunciation and intonation of course you're the best. (.)

2.2 Overlap resolution in Chinese and Australian conversations

The same procedures can be found to be employed by Chinese and Australian speakers in their intracultural conversations. These procedures were noted by Jefferson & Schegloff (1975). One basic procedure is that one of the parties drops out and stops talking when overlap occurs so that a state of one-party-at-a-time is restored. We can find examples of this resolution procedure from the Chinese data in Ex 44, Ex 53, & Ex 59 (below) and examples from the Australian data in Ex 49, Ex 51, and Ex 55 (also see Section 2.2.1.2 in Chapter 3).

Ex 59: C10mf:59

1   F: rang ta kai fapiao ba, .hh ta kai le-, jiushi dangshi

2   F: wo he ta yi-, ye zai yiqi maha. [kai fapiao, .hh ↑ta,
3 → M: [na ni-

4   F: jiu gei yizhang pozhi,

Translation

1   F: asked him to give a receipt, .hh he gave one-, actually

2   F: at that time I was with him. [the receipt he gave, .hh
3 → M: [then you-

4   F: was just a piece of broken paper.

One other overlap resolution procedure is that both parties persevere by continuing their talk. This procedure generally involves the speakers' employment of within-word pronunciational adjustments such as stutters and stretching the sound of the word, and within-utterance segmental adjustments such as recycling portions of an utterance over

the talk of another (Jefferson & Schegloff 1975: 8-12). But sometimes both speakers finish their utterances without apparent adjustments, pronunciational or segmental (Ex 29 reproduced as Ex 60 below). Again we can find other examples of this procedure from the Chinese data in Ex 32, Ex 36, and Ex 46 and examples from the Australian data in Ex 43, Ex 45, and Ex 47 (also see Section 2.2.1.2 in Chapter 3).

Ex 60: C10ff:36

```
7      F:  nabiande nuhaizi doushi name piaoliangde::.=        =
8      M:                                                =°shi a.°=

9   →  F:  nude pifu ah zenme name [hao. .hhh danshi tamen you chi
10  →  M:                          [na jiu-, yinwei shi °qihou

11     F:  de you name] la ho?
12     M:  yanyin.°      ]
```

Translation

```
5      F:  the girls there are all so beautiful::=        =the girls' skin is
6      M:                                          =°yeah.°=

7   →  F:  so [smooth. .hhh but the food they eat is so] hot?
8   →  M:     [that really-, is because of the °climate.°]
```

2.3 Overlap retrieval in Chinese and Australian conversations

The four retrieval procedures which Jefferson & Schegloff (1975) observed to be used by conversation participants in their study of British and American conversations are also used in Australian and Chinese conversations (for Australian examples, see 2.2.1.3 in Chapter 3). These four retrieval procedures are: Marked Self-Retrieval (i.e., restarting one's own overlapped utterances), Unmarked Self-Retrieval

(i.e., continuing from the point of dropout), Marked Other-Retrieval (i.e., requesting a repeat of the other party's overlapped utterance), and Unmarked Other-Retrieval (i.e., acknowledging the receipt of the other party's overlapped talk or incorporating portions of it in one's own next utterance). These procedures are exemplified respectively by Ex 61 (Marked Self-Retrieval), Ex 62 (Unmarked Self-Retrieval), Ex 63 (Unmarked Other Retrieval) and Ex 64 (Unmarked Other Retrieval), all from the Chinese data. But there does not seem to be an example for Marked Other Retrieval in the Chinese data.

Ex 61: C3ff:4

1   A: wo juede xuexiao limian, nage banshi xiaolu ah, gefangmian

2   A: de shiqing ah, doushi-, .hh hen lingren bu manyide::.
3   B: shi ah.

4   B: wo dou bu [zhidao na xingzheng ren]yuan shi gan
5 → A: [wo   bu   dan   shi,   ]

6 → A: [budan shi]:: nage zheng-, budan shi::: women xuexiao
7   B: [ma de.]

8   A: zheyang. wo juede zhongguo pubiande daxue doushi

9   A: zheyang ah.

<div align="center">Translation</div>

1   A: I think in our university, the work efficiency, and various

2   A: other things, are all-, .hh very unsatisfactory::.
3   B: yeah.

4   B: I don't even [what those administrative] staff are [doing.]
5 → A: [I   not   only,   ]   [not only]::

6 → A: the whole-, not only::: our university's like that. I think all the

7   A: universities in China are like that.

Ex 62: C8mf:10

1   M: tamen zenme shangqu de? (0.4) [shi bu shi kai::xue ah? (.)
2   → F: [tamen-

3   → F: shu-youde shi shujia shangqu.

Translation

1   M: how could they go up? (0.4) [was it at the beginning of the
2   → F: [they-

3   M: semester? (.)
4   → F: summer-some went up during the summer

5   F: vacation.

Ex 63: C1ff:2

1   A: yiban shehui shang de ren dou juede, youqi shi xue

2   A: waiyu de shi [↑zui shanchang yu: shejiao ah.] .hh
3   B: [ah, jia yang guizi jie::. ge fang] mian hao

4   B: [xiang dou-, [dou hen hui wan,] gao le henduo dongxi
5   → A: [e::h   [dui   dui   dui.]

6   B: [shi de.
7   → A: [dui.

Translation

1   A: people in the society all think, especially those foreign

2   A: language students, that they are [↑best at: social activities.]
3   B: [ah, only a fake::. looks as if]

4   B: they [were good-, [at all sorts of things,] had done a lot of
5   → A: .hh [e::h   [right   right   right.]

6   B: good [stuff.
7   → A: [right.

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Ex 64: C3ff:3

```
1       A: yi shuo dao fantang jiu [qisi le. jingchang jiu xiang dajia
2       B:                          [heh .hhh

3       A: yiyang ah, pinming::, ay.
4       B:                          heh:: .hh doushi zheyang.

5       B: [shi, zhidu fangmian you wen] ti. (0.4)
6   →   A: [.h h h   ni- ↑ni  kan  nage-, ]        zhidu fangmian. jiu-,

7   →   A: wo juede xuexiao limian, nage banshi xiaolu ah, ge fangmian

8   →   A: de shiqing ah, doushi-, .hh hen lingren bu manyide::.
```

<div align="center">Translation</div>

```
1       A: the mention of the canteen makes me [really angry. it's often
2       B:                                     [heh .hhh

3       A: like a fighting ground. all pushing::, ay.
4       B:                                     heh:: .hh it's always.

5       B: like that. [it's, a problem of university] management. (0.4)
6       A:            [.hhh you-↑you just look at that-,]

7   →   A: management. I think in our university, the work efficiency,

8   →   A: and various other things, are all-, .hh very unsatisfactory::.
```

Among the four retrieval procedures noted by Jefferson & Schegloff (1975), Marked Self-Retrieval seems to be the most preferred retrieval procedure, followed by Unmarked Other-Retrieval, and then by Unmarked Self-Retrieval, and finally by Marked Other-Retrieval in both the Chinese and the Australian conversations. Why this is the order of preference is not clearly known. But I have the impression that there is

so much redundancy in information in the conversations between friends that asking for a repeat of the other party's utterance in overlap (Marked Other-Retrieval) is not much needed and thus can be the least preferred. This impression of mine can be reinforced by the fact that quite a large proportion of Nontransitional overlaps are recognitional in nature. In other words, the overlapping party has found the other party's talk at the overlap onset point to be sufficient for the understanding of what s/he is going to talk about. This is what Ervin-Tripp (1979) called the 'utilitarian' factor or what Lycan (1977) called the 'utility parameter' for the occurrence of overlap. Ervin-Tripp (1979) noted that "speaker overlaps might be maximal at the most *redundant* point, or at the time when the major point has been made" (p. 393, my emphasis).

The observation that Marked Self-Retrieval is the preferred retrieval procedure confirms the findings of Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks (1977) that self-initiated self repair is the most frequently used. They put forth, among others, three facts in argument of the preference organisation for self-repair (vs other-repair):

> (i) opportunities for self-initiation come before opportunities for other-initiation ... ; (ii) massively, for those repairables on which repair is initiated, same-turn and transition-space opportunities for self-initiation ARE TAKEN by speakers of the trouble source ... ; (iii) the course of trajectory of same-turn initiated repairs regularly leads to successful self-repair in same turn, i.e., before the position for other-initiation .... (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks 1977: 376, original emphasis)

But in addition to the four retrieval procedures observed by Jefferson &
Schegloff (1975), Chinese and Australian interlocutors often do not seem
to do any retrievals at all of their own or the other speaker's overlapped
utterances (cf West 1979). This may again be due to the fact that there is
a large amount of shared and redundant information between friends so
that very often (especially in the case of Recognitional overlaps),
retrievals of their overlapped utterances become unnecessary as both
speakers already know what the other speaker has said in overlap. For
example,

Ex 65: C7mf:25

1   M: ta juexin tongguo ta zijide zizhuan, ba zhengge yisheng,

2   → M: (.) nage zhen-zhenshide: [xie chulai.]
3   → F: [ah na shiji] shang jiu bushi

4   F: chanhui lu le.

<div align="center">Translation</div>

1   M: he's determined, through his autobiography, to put his

2   → M: whole life, (.) true-truly: [in ink and paper.]
3   → F: [ah that was not really]

4   F: a book of confession.

Ex 66: A10mf:9

1   F: I'm not really sure that-, WA, (.)
2   M: °hh .h° has the: strictest,

3   → F: has the s[trictest gun   laws.]
4   → M: [yeh. I heard about that] °as well.°

In Ex 66 above, M has anticipated what F was going to say. That is, after he heard F say "I'm not really sure that-, WA," he provided an anticipatory ending for her utterance. So when F continued with her talk and was overlapped by M (a typical case of Recognitional onset), it would be altogether bizarre if either F self-retrieved or M other-retrieved her overlapped utterance because what she said in the overlap had already been anticipated by M and spelt out in his earlier utterance.

2.4 Summary

This section (Section 2) has examined what phenomena Chinese and Australian interlocutors orient to in overlap onset, what procedures they resort to in resolution of the state of overlap, and what strategies they use to retrieve (or not retrieve) their overlapped utterances. The analysis has shown that despite some minor differences (e.g., in specific categories of onset such Terminal Onset and Post Continuation Onset), conversationalists in both languages (namely Australian English and Mandarin Chinese) focus on the same phenomena in initiating an overlap and employ the same procedures in resolving the state of overlap and in retrieving the overlapped part of conversation.

The subsequent sections will be dealing with the quantitative comparison in the use of overlap between Australian and Chinese conversations. The above analytic system will be considerably modified so that the categories used are well defined and mutually exclusive.

3. Analytic framework for quantitative comparison

3.1 Overlap onset

In Section 2 above, four categories have been used to describe the different phenomena that the participants orient to in starting an overlap: Transitional (focussing on a turn's completeness), Recognitional (focussing on a delivery's adequacy), Progressional (focussing on the talk's flow) and Delayed Responsive and Post Continuational (focussing on the reaction to the previous speaker's preceding turn unit and on the completeness of one's own message). But as Jefferson (1983: 1) articulated, these categories can be 'deeply convergent' in that one instance of overlap onset can belong to two separate categories. In view of this, a broader categorisation system is apparently in need of a more objective comparative study in the quantitative mode.

3.1.1 Transitional and Nontransitional overlap

I propose the use of two general categories in the classification of overlap in terms of its onset position: Transitional overlap and Nontransitional overlap.

Transitional overlap is one which occurs at a Transitional Relevance Place (TRP), i.e., the end of a turn-constructional unit where turn change from one speaker to another normally occurs (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974; for a linguistic characterisation of TRP, see Clancy et al.

1996 and Ford & Thompson 1996; see also Section 3.2 in Chapter 6). Transitional overlap in this study encompasses all the categories of Transitional onset described in Jefferson's studies (1983, 1986). Specifically, it includes: Terminal overlap, Last Item overlap, 'Latched'-to-Possible-Completion onset, and 'Unmarked-Next-Position' onset. In addition, Transitional overlap also includes instances of Terminal Recognitional onset as they also occur at TRP (e.g., Ex 10). The decision on the amalgamation of these smaller categories into one big one is based on the considerations that 1) there are too few cases of certain categories to permit statistically meaningful comparisons (i.e., in the case of Terminal overlap in Chinese conversations); 2) one instance of overlap onset can be classified as one of two or even more categories. For example, the following two cases of overlap onset (Ex 67 from the Australian data and Ex 68 from the Chinese data) can be either a Last Item onset or an 'Unmarked Next Position' onset or both.

Ex 67: A2ff:17

```
1   →  A: you've done a couple with him, haven't [you?
2   →  B:                                        [one. he never

3      B: turned up for rehearsals.
```

Ex 68: C4ff:26

```
1      B: na shihou::dou bu xihuan shuijiao de ah. xiao haizi de,
2
3      B: wo juede,    [°hen-°henduo ren dou bu xihuan
4      A:             hm[m.

5   →  B: shui[jiao.
6   →  A:      [bu xihuan de.
```

Translation

1   B: at that ti::me nobody wanted a noon nap. as kids,
2
3   B: I think,   [°many-°many kids didn't like a
4   A: hm[m.

5   → B: noon [nap.
6   → A: [didn't like it.

Nontransitional overlaps are those which occur at a non-transitional relevance place.   They include most cases of Recognitional onset, Progressive onset, Delayed Response onset and Post Continuation onset as these onsets occur more typically at a non-transitional place. The two above-mentioned considerations which lead to the formation of Transitional overlap are also applicable to that of Nontransitional overlap. For the first, it is noted that some categories have too few cases to allow for statistical analysis. This is true of Post Continuation onset for the Chinese data and of Delayed Response onset for the Australian data. For the second, one instance of overlap onset can be classified as belonging to one of two or even more categories. This is understandable as conversation participants may have concurrently oriented to two or more phenomena when starting an overlap.

While the distinction between Transitional and Nontransitional overlaps is made, the precise demarcation point between them is not yet specified. In the case of Transitional onset, instances of Terminal onset and 'Latched'-to-Possible-Completion onset can be easily identified as Transitional overlaps, but those of Last Item onset and of 'Unmarked Next Position' onset are not that straightforward. For Last Item onset, if the last item or word is only one syllable in length (see for example, Ex 3

& Ex 4 in Chapter 3), it can be readily classified as a case of Transitional overlap. But if the last item or word stretches as long as a three or even more syllables, to classify it as one of Transitional overlap would seem to be a bit counter-intuitive. Likewise, in the case of 'Unmarked Next Position' onset, where one speaker starts a bit earlier than another after a point of possible completion or after a silence, the exact length of the bit of talk between the starting point of the first speaker's utterance and that of the second's is nonetheless not specified in Jefferson's work. The maximum length of the bit of talk shown in Jefferson's (1986) examples of 'Unmarked Next Position' onset is two syllables (again indicated by the space between the bold-type round brackets) (Ex 69 below).

Ex 69: Jefferson (1986:165) [NB:IV:10:R:50] (Re-formatted)

1   Lottie: we b<u>ou</u>ght s'm <u>hats</u> et Wah uh W<u>a</u>l:d-u-er <u>Cla</u>:rk's they

2   Lottie: h<u>a</u>d uh: those uh (0.2) fisheen h<u>a</u>:[ts y<u>i</u>h] know]=
3   Emma: [M<u>m</u>:] hm:,]=

4   → Emma: =doze lid[dle] (b<u>a</u>dges)] Yeh]
5   → Lottie: (   )[*a-] d<u>o</u>::llar] so I]: <u>bou</u>ght one fer he↓:r,

In view of the above, I arbitrarily consider the length of two syllables as a demarcation point between Transitional and Nontransitional overlaps (cf. West & Zimmerman 1983). That is, if the bit of talk exceeds two syllables, it will be taken as a Nontransitional overlap. Otherwise, it will be coded as a Transitional overlap.

3.1.2 Decision rules on frequency counts

Counting the number of overlap occurrences does not seem to have posed special difficulty for previous researchers as none of them has reported their procedure of doing this seemingly mechanical work (cf Drummond 1989). It can be a very straightforward process for some independent cases of overlap, as in these cases, one occurrence of overlap counts as one instance. But at times, when an entangled case of overlap occurs (i.e., two or more overlaps occurring close to one another in sequential space), it can involve multiple decision-making as to whether that instance of overlap counts as one case or whether it counts as a series of more than one cases. Several examples may suffice to illustrate this complexity.

Ex 70: A1ff:18-19

```
1      A: you should do a children's book then. (.)      'cos then, (.)
2      B:                                                 ye:h

3  →  A: or do they have to be [like a novel,] o:r,   can you write-,
4  →  B:                        [°is it easier°]    um

5  →  B: no [like
6  →  A:    [CAT is playing with the dog.
```

Ex 71: C10mf:10-11

```
1      F: buqu hen meimian de, ruguo zhao bu dao, tebie shi

2  →  F: [nusheng.] .hh          [↑nusheng   ah, ] nusheng, shide,
3  →  M: [shenme ] meimian ah, [zhe you shenme.]

4      F: shide, nansheng keneng hai hao yixie.
```

Translation

1   F: we'll lose face if we don't go, if we can't find a job, especially

2 → F: for [girl students.] .hh   [↑I mean for girl students],
3 → M: [how come] face will be lost, [it's   nothing.   ]

4   F: for girl students, yeah, it may be better for boy students.

Ex 72: A7mf:13

1   M: do you think some television violence can incorporate a lot

2   M: of fear into our society becau[se   =yeh you have
3   F: [ohh for sure man=

4 → M: so mu[ch sort of killing like,]
5 → F: [I remember talking about,] talking about this in um,

6 → M: °um [in our society.°]
7 → F: [er in one-one of our] things I was just saying, .hhh you

8   F: know it's control, though fear↑=
9   M: =yeh.

Ex 73: C15mm:41-43

1   A: wo zai ting::, wo zhunbei ting yuanlai de, ernianjide nage mei

2 → A: tingwan.   ernianji [nage.]   [a : : h.]
3 → B: nage?   [↓oh,] nage::, lan-lansede [nage o]::h

4 → B: lu [pi naben nage-]   eh li[stening.]
5 → A: [lu-lusede nage jiao] shenme::,   [ah.   ] listening,

6 → A: [ah.   listening] to this.]   [listen to this.] na]ge::
7 → B: [listening to this.] listen to] this. [listen to this.] °hn.°]

8   A: wo juede haiyou biyao ting xiaqu.

Translation

1   A: I'm listening to::, I'm going to listen to that one, the one

2 → A: for Second Year.   the Second Year [one.]
3 → B: which one?   [↓oh,] that one::,

4 → B: the blue-blue [one o]::h the one [with   a   green   cover-   ]
5 → A: [a: : h.]   [the green-green one what's it]

6 → A: called::,   [ah.   ] listening, [ah.   listening] to this.]
7 → B: eh li[stening.]   [listening to this.] listen to]

8 → B: this. [listen to this.] °hn.°]
9 → A: [listen to this.] that] one, I think it's worth listening again.

In each of the four examples above (Ex 70 - Ex 73), there is more than one occurrence of overlap which is sequentially close to another. Should they be counted as one overlap or two or even more overlaps? What should be the basis on which we place our judgment and make our decision? Without tackling these questions, the reliability and objectivity of a study would be in jeopardy. The present study, in taking the conversation analytic perspective in solving this problem, looks at the displayed reaction of the participants towards each other's utterances. If, for example, two occurrences of overlap are used by one speaker to react to two different segments of the other speaker's utterance AND these two occurrences themselves are NOT linked to each other to form a continuous utterance, then they would be counted as two separate cases of overlap. Here two criteria are being used. The first one is whether one of the speakers showed separate reactions to the other speaker's utterance in his/her two or more neighbouring occasions of overlap. If s/he did, these two or more occurrences of overlap would be considered as two or more separate cases. The second

criterion is whether the two or more occurrences of overlap constitute a byproduct of one interrelated piece of utterance by one of the speakers. If they do, these two or more occurrences would not be regarded as separate cases of overlap but as one single case.

Let us look at Ex 70 above. In this example, the two students were talking about the various things that B could do for one of her assignments. After B listed all the possibilities she had for the assignment (i.e., short stories, poems, plays, and a kid's book) and told A about her unhappy experience of doing poetry-writing, A suggested that B do a children's book. The first overlap occurs at line 4, where B questioned about whether doing a children's book would be easier than doing poems or other things. This overlap is Nontransitional as B orients to A's previous utterance after emitting an incipient acknowledgment token (a typical Post Continuation onset) and B's overlap onset point is nowhere near any transition relevance place. The second overlap occurs in line 6, where B was sequentially belatedly answering A's question "do they have to be like a novel" by saying "no like," which overlaps with A's continuing alternation question. This overlap is again a Nontransitional overlap (again a typical Post Continuation onset). These two occurrences of overlap, though quite close to each other in terms of sequential space, are regarded as two separate cases according to the two criteria mentioned above. Firstly, the two occurrences of overlap by B were used to react to different turn units of A's utterance, with the first overlap reacting to B's "you should do a children's book" and the second responsive to B's question "do they have to like a novel." Secondly, B's two occurrences of overlap are

not part of a continuous turn unit. In other words, B's second overlap "no like" is not in any way related to her first overlap "is it easier." Thus these two occurrences are taken to be two separate cases of overlap.

Similarly, in Ex 71, although the two occurrences of overlap are very close to each other, they are considered two separate cases of overlap. The first overlap was initiated by M as a delayed reaction to F's message in her preceding turn unit "we'll lose face if we don't go, if we can't find a job." It is a Nontransitional overlap because the onset point is three syllables ("te bie shi") away from the possible transition point. The second overlap occurs when F, at a point of possible completion, responded to M's comment "how come face will be lost" and overlapped with M's continuing utterance. It is a case of 'Latched'-to-Possible-Completion onset and thus a Transitional overlap. Although the utterances by both M and F during these two occurrences of overlap may be sequentially connected to each other, the two overlaps are initiated to react to different turn units. Thus they are two separate cases of overlap.

Ex 72 shows a different story. In this example, the overlap in line 5 occurs when F first acknowledges M's question (lines 1-3) and then before M finishes his continuing utterance (i.e., "you have so much sort of killing like") she expands her answer (an instance of Post Continuation onset). But before she finishes, M jumps in to finish his incomplete utterance, thus overlapping again with F's continuing utterance (lines 6-7). Although M's onset point at line 6 may be oriented

to F's hesitation, both M's and F's utterances during these two occurrences of overlap are parts of continuous utterances. Thus the two occurrences of overlap can only be considered one instance of overlap.

Ex 73 shows a more complicated picture of intertwined overlaps. The first overlap occurs when A in line 3 answers B's clarification questions. The answer reaches a point where B finds sufficient (Recognitional onset) and thus jumps in to start his utterance. The second overlap occurs in line 5 when B's utterance comes to a point where A finds sufficient (Recognitional onset but can also be Progressive onset as A may be orienting to B's stuttering). These two overlaps are both Nontransitional. The third overlap occurs in line 6 when B offers an answer to A's question "what's it called." Immediately after B's answer starts, A initiates his own answer. Though this can be a Recognitional onset, it occurs in a transitional relevance place and thus is a Transitional overlap. There are several more overlap occurrences, but they are all attempts by A and B to self-repair their own utterances, thus not making themselves independent cases of overlap. Therefore, altogether three instances of overlap can be picked out from this entangled series of overlapping utterances.

In summary, two important criteria are needed to determine whether one complicated overlap should be coded as one counting instance of overlap or two or even more instances. The first rests upon the displayed reaction of the overlapping party. If s/he reacts, in his/her two or more occurrences of overlap, to the same turn segment of the overlapped party, then the two occurrences will be regarded as part of

the same case of overlap. Otherwise, they will be taken as two or more separate cases. The second criterion lies on the continuity of the utterances of overlapping and overlapped parties. If their utterances are of a continuous type on the two or more occasions of overlap, then the different occurrences of overlap are of the same one case of overlap. Otherwise, they can be of several cases.

3.1.3 Scope of study

After the distinction is made between Transitional and Nontransitional overlaps and criteria are set out for the counting of overlap frequencies, the next task is to limit the my scope of study in the examination of overlap onset.

The term overlap used in this study includes all other cases of simultaneous speech from one sound to sentence-long utterances, except: 1) overlap only with laughter; 2) overlap with free-standing backchannels like 'hm' and 'uh huh' and reactive expression tokens such as 'yeh,' 'right,' and 'oh my god' (see Clancy et al. 1996 for a full explication of these terminologies; see also Section 3.2.2 in Chapter 3 & Section 3 in Chapter 6).

3.2 Overlap resolution

Two general categories will be used to describe the two main procedures that speakers employ to resolve a state of overlap and restore talk to a state of one-party-at-a-time (cf West 1979). The first

category is called 'dropping'. It is used to describe the procedure where one of the parties drops out and stops talking when overlap occurs. Examples of 'dropping' can be found in Ex 51, Ex 53, Ex 55, and Ex 59 (see Section 2.2 this chapter).

The other category is called 'continuing', used to describe the procedure where the speakers persevere by continuing their talk, engaging in a kind of competition for the turn space. Under the category of 'continuing', I also include: 1) cases where the speakers engage in more than two attempts to restart their talk before one of them finally drops out and cedes the turn space to the other; 2) cases where the speakers both finish their turn without apparent pronunciational or segmental adjustments. Examples of 'continuing' can be found in Ex 29, Ex 43, Ex 45, and Ex 46.

3.3 Overlap retrieval

Following West (1979), I will use three general categories to describe the procedures used by the speakers to retrieve their overlapped utterances. The first category is 'other retrieval,' referring to the procedure by which the continuing party 1) requests a repeat of the other party's overlapped utterance, or 2) acknowledges his/her overlapped talk with the use of acknowledgment tokens (such as 'yeah' and 'uh huh'), or 3) incorporates portions of his/her overlapped talk into an undisrupted flow of talk (Jefferson & Schegloff 1979: 16-23; see also Section 2.2.1.3 in Chapter 3). The second category is 'self-retrieval,' a procedure by which a party to an overlap, upon the other party's dropping out or reaching

completion, 1) restarts the utterance s/he relinquished in overlap, or 2) continues from the point of dropout. The third category is 'nonretrieval,' i.e., the absence of either self or other retrieval procedures following the resolution of simultaneous talk (West 1979: 88).

These three categories of overlap retrieval will be used to compare the use of these procedures by men and women in their cross-gender interactions in both Chinese and Australian conversations.

3.4 Summary

This section delineates the analytic framework for the quantitative comparison of overlap use by Chinese and Australian speakers in their respective intracultural conversations. Some general categories have been proposed for this purpose in all the three areas of comparative study: overlap onset, overlap resolution, and overlap retrieval. These categories are presented as Table 5-1 below:

Overlap Onset	Overlap Resolution	Overlap Retrieval
Transitional	Dropping	Self-Retrieval
Nontransitional	Continuing	Other-Retrieval
		Nonretrieval

Table 5-1 Categories of overlap onset, resolution and retrieval in quantitative framework

In addition, some of the technicalities in the counting of overlap frequency have been outlined and the coverage of the phenomena under

study has been specified. The next section will present the results obtained by the application of this analytic framework to the data collected for this study.

4. Results and discussion

This section reports on the results obtained by applying the analytic framework established in the preceding section to the Chinese and Australian data. The results will be divided into two major parts. The first part will be on the cultural differences or similarities on the use of overlaps and the second part will be on the gender patterns of overlap use. But for each part, patterns will be compared in terms of the frequency of overlaps, the distributional use of the two overlap types (i.e., Transitional and Nontransitional overlaps) and that of the two overlap resolution strategies (i.e., Dropping and Continuing). In addition, for the discussion on gender patterns of overlap use, a fourth perspective will be looked at, viz. the distribution of Nontransitional overlaps by female and male speakers in mixed-gender dyads, as well as the resolution and the retrieval of these overlaps in these dyads.

4.1 Chinese and Australian use of overlaps

4.1.1 Overall frequency of overlaps

It would generally be expected that Chinese and Australians would differ in terms of the frequency of overlap use as they are from cultural groups exhibiting 'maximum' socio-cultural differences (Porter &

Samovar 1994). Specifically, it might be predicted from the previous studies (Ulijn & Li 1995; Graham 1993 [cited in Ulijn & Li 1995]) that Chinese speakers would use more overlapping than Australians. But this does not seem to be borne out by the result of this study. In effect, the total number of overlaps produced by Australians (n=592) is higher, though marginally, than that by the Chinese speakers (n=539).

4.1.2 Distribution of overlap types

	Transitional	Nontransitional	Total
Australian	419 (71%)	173 (29%)	592 (100%)
Chinese	337 (63%)	202 (37%)	539 (100%)

Table 5-2 Distribution of overlaps in Chinese and Australian dyads

Table 5-2 shows the number of Transitional and Nontransitional overlaps together with their percentages of the total number of overlaps produced by Chinese and Australian speakers. Two observations can be made from this result. First, both Chinese and Australian speakers use many more Transitional than Nontransitional overlaps, suggesting that the turn-taking mechanism proposed by Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson (1974) is to a great extent operative in conversation in the two languages. Second, Australians use somewhat more Transitional overlaps (n=419) than the Chinese speakers (n=337) whereas Chinese use slightly more Nontransitional overlaps (n=202) than the Australian speakers (n=173). This is more markedly shown in the percentages of the two overlap types out of the total number of overlaps (see Figure 5-1 below). Specifically, Chinese speakers use a higher percentage of

Nontransitional overlaps (37%) than Australian speakers (29%) while Australian speakers use a greater proportion of Transitional overlaps (71%) than Chinese speakers (63%).
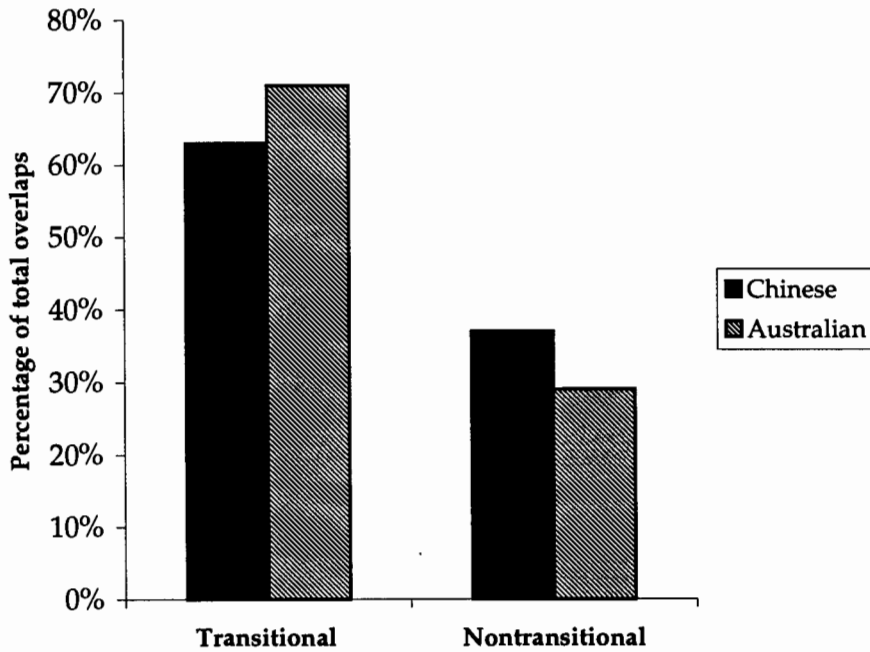

Figure 5-1 Distribution of Transitional and Nontransitional overlaps in Australian and Chinese dyads

4.1.3 Overlap resolution

	Continuing	Dropping	Total
Australian	406 (69%)	186 (31%)	592 (100%)
Chinese	324 (60%)	215 (40%)	539 (100%)

Table 5-3 Overlap resolution in Australian and Chinese dyads

Similar pictures emerge when we compare how overlaps are resolved in the two languages. Table 5-3 shows that the use of the two types of overlap resolution strategies by Chinese and Australian speakers.

Again two observations can be made on the basis of this result. First, both Australian and Chinese speakers use more Continuing than Dropping to resolve their overlaps. Second, whereas Chinese use more Dropping (n=215) than Australians (n=186), Australians use more Continuing (n=406) than Chinese speakers (n=324). This is also more clearly shown in the percentages of the two types of overlap resolution out of the total number of overlaps (see Figure 3 below). That is, Chinese use a higher proportion of Dropping (40%) than Australian speakers (31%) while Australians use a higher percentage of Continuing (69%) than Chinese speakers (60%).
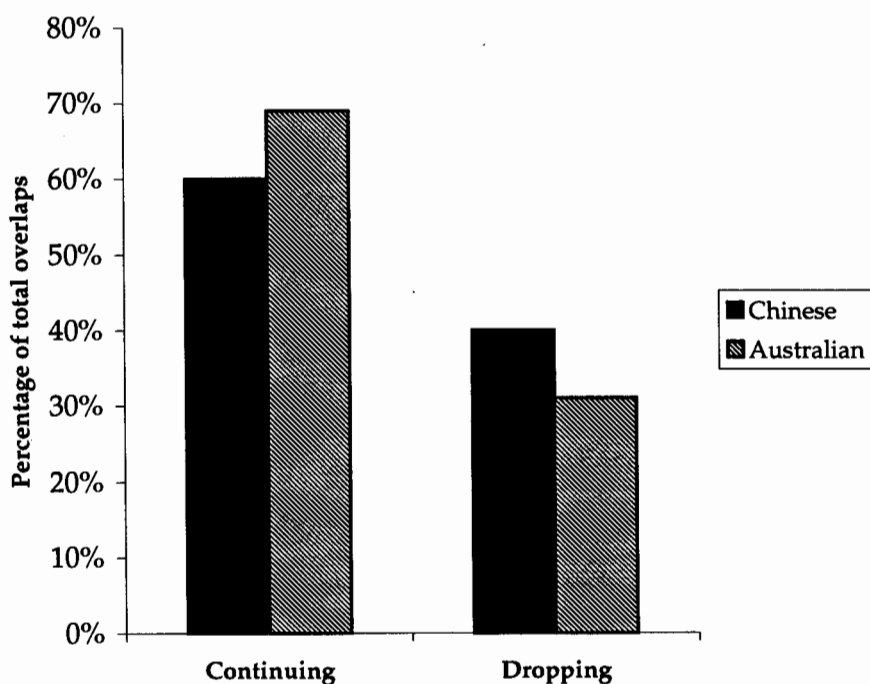
Figure 5-2 Overlap resolution in Australian and Chinese dyads

4.1.4 Discussion

The above results revealed both similarities and differences in the use of overlaps by Australian and Chinese speakers. Similarities include: 1) Both Australian and Chinese speakers use a similar number of overlaps; 2) they both start their overlaps mostly at a possible completion point; and 3) they both tend to continue with their talk more than to drop out when an overlap occurs. These similarities may indicate the universal nature of the turn-taking mechanism proposed by Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson (1974). Conversation participants do seem to follow a number of basic turn-taking rules common to many, if not all, cultures (see Testa 1988). Given similar interactional and sequential environments, similar interactional resources may be resorted to in the management of moment-by-moment contingencies in the interaction. Previous studies in cross-cultural communication have largely ignored aspects of conversational organisation which may be shared by different cultural groups (Schegloff 1987; Beach & Lindstrom 1992).

The results have also identified two specific differences in the use of overlap by Australian and Chinese speakers. The first one is that Australians use a higher percentage of Transitional overlaps whereas Chinese use a greater proportion of Nontransitional overlaps. The second one is that when overlap occurs, Chinese speakers drop out more to resolve the state of overlap while Australian speakers continue their talk more to get through the overlap. These differences suggest that different groups may use different strategies for doing the same interactional work, in this case indicating involved participation in the

conversation. Chinese speakers achieve their involvement by starting their overlap midway in the other speaker's utterance and dropping out quickly when overlap occurs. Australian speakers, on the other hand, signal their involvement by starting their overlap at a possible completion point but persevere through the overlap with their conversation partners. Minute as the difference might seem, it has the potential to result in cross-cultural miscommunication if the intracultural conversational styles were transferred to the intercultural communication situations.

The findings on the Chinese speakers' strong tendency to use overlaps at a non-transitional relevance place matches Ulijn & Li's results that Chinese use a great number of marked interruptions (more or less equivalent to the Nontransitional overlaps in this study) in their interaction with the Finns and the Dutch (Ulijn & Li 1995). It does suggest that interactional strategies used in intracultural communication can get transferred to intercultural communication. This reinforces the need for a critical awareness of the differences in conversational styles of different groups on the part of the intercultural interlocutors.

However, caution must be exercised in interpreting the two differences in the use of overlap by the two groups of speakers. First, these differences are not absolute so that no implications should be made that one group of speakers use only one type of overlap or one particular resolution strategy and the other group use only the other type or the other resolution strategy. Secondly, the differences between them are not so great as to enable definite conclusions to be drawn. Thirdly, the

database is still too small to enable the results to be generalised to a larger population. For example, the subjects of the study are all university students within the age range of 17 to 26. It is not known whether the results can be generalised to other population groups. Finally, there are also the individual and gender factors which can come into play in influencing the results in the use of overlap (for the gender factor, see Section 4.2 below). Notwithstanding the above, differences in the use of overlap by Australian and Chinese speakers should not be overlooked.

4.2 Gender differences in overlap use in Chinese and Australian conversations

To study the effects of gender on the use of overlaps, it would be optimal to examine separately the effects of gender of subject, gender of partner, and their interaction (cf. Marche & Peterson 1993). To do this, it would be necessary to count the number of overlaps each individual has produced in a dyad. But this proves practically impossible for all the Transitional overlaps as they are not the results of one speaker overlapping with the other speaker but are rather the results of two speakers overlapping with each other. In other words, an instance of overlap in this case can not be said to be Speaker A's and nor can it be said to be Speaker B's, but it would rather be jointly owned by both Speaker A and Speaker B. Consequently, this study will use the dyad as the unit of analysis instead of using the individual speaker as the unit of analysis in the examination of gender differences in overall frequency of overlap use. Only in the study of Nontransitional overlaps, their

resolutions and retrievals in mixed dyads will individual speakers' use of overlap become relevant.

4.2.1 Cross-cultural gender patterns

	Overlap Onset		Overlap Resolution		
Dyadic Type	Transitional Overlaps	Nontransitional Overlaps	Dropping	Continuing	Total
F-F	23.4	14.2	11.4	26.2	37.6
	(7.8)	(9.1)	(6.5)	(10.0)	(14.7)
M-M	22.0	9.8	12.6	19.2	31.8
	(14.1)	(9.2)	(10.0)	(12.8)	(21.2)
M-F	30.2	13.5	16.1	27.6	43.7
	(10.8)	(6.0)	(6.4)	(11.8)	(15.8)
Total	25.2	12.5	13.4	24.3	37.7
	(11.4)	(8.2)	(7.8)	(11.8)	(17.6)

Table 5-4 Use of overlaps in same- and mixed gender dyads in Australian and Chinese conversations

Table 5-4 shows the means and standard deviations (in brackets) of all the overlaps which occurred in the three dyadic types (viz. male-male, female-female, and male-female) in both languages, together with those of the two overlap subtypes (i.e., Transitional & Nontransitional) and those of the two resolution procedures (i.e., Dropping & Continuing). A one-way anova test revealed no significant differences among the three dyadic types across all the measures (i.e., overlap onset, overlap resolution, and total number of overlaps). Thus no cross-cultural

gender-differentiated pattern of overlap use can be firmly established.

But if we compare the two same-gender dyads, that is, Male-Male and Female-Female dyads, we find that the 10 all female dyads (5 Chinese and 5 Australian) score higher than the 10 all male dyads in all the measures except in the resolution strategy of Dropping. The difference between the two same-gender dyads is especially conspicuous with respect to the number of Nontransitional overlaps (with a mean of 14.2 for female dyads and 9.8 for male dyads), Continuing resolution strategies (with a mean of 26.2 for female dyads and 19.2 for male dyads), and the total number of all overlaps (with a mean of 37.6 for female dyads and 31.8 for male dyads). This difference can be more clearly shown in terms of the proportions of Nontransitional versus Transitional overlaps and those of Continuing versus Dropping resolution strategies out of the total number of overlaps (see Figures 5-3 & 5-4). If the use of Nontransitional overlaps and Continuing resolution strategies is to be interpreted as the result of more involved interactional styles than the use of their respective counterparts (i.e., Transitional overlaps and Dropping resolution strategies), then all female conversations manifest more active involvement on the part of their participants than all male conversations. This, in fact, can be the case as Nontransitional overlaps would not typically occur without active involvement on the part of the participants. They are not like Transitional overlaps, which can occur when one or the other speaker in a dyadic conversation may be obliged though reluctant to talk at a possible completion point or after a silence. Thus Nontransitional overlaps are more like voluntary involvement and Transitional ones

more like obligatory participation. The same can be true of Continuing versus Dropping resolution strategies. In a dyadic conversation, especially in an experimental situation where participants talk for talk's sake, one might opt for Dropping when s/he inadvertently collides with the other speaker in turn-taking if s/he does not particularly want to take that turn. In a more involved interaction, however, the two speakers may both continue their talk for an extended period of time or even until they both finish (cf. Coates 1989, 1994, 1996).
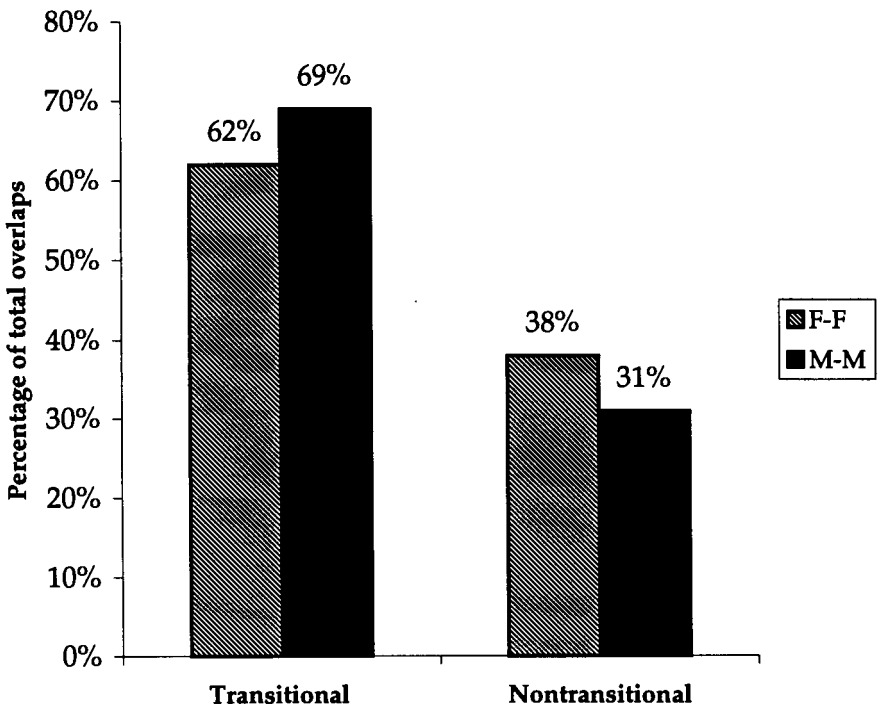
Figure 5.3 Distribution of Transitional and Nontransitional overlaps in the two same-gender dyads in Australian and Chinese conversations
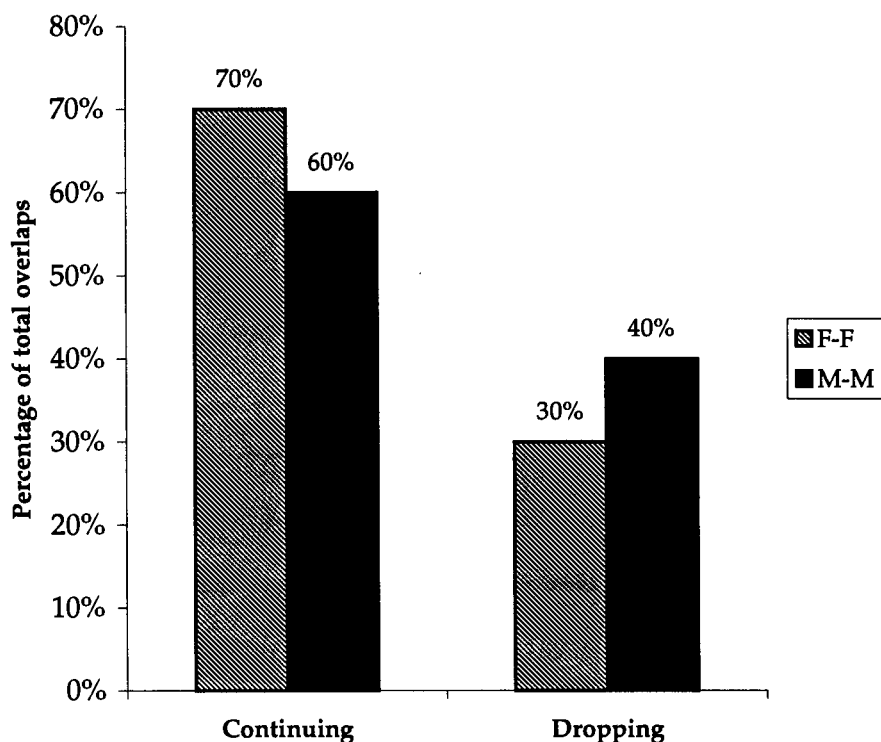
Figure 5-4 Overlap resolution in the two same-gender dyads in Australian and Chinese conversations

Now let us look at the mixed-gender dyads and compare them with the two same gender dyads in all the measures (see Table 5-4 at the beginning of Section 4.2.1). The results show that the mixed-gender dyads surpass the two same-gender dyads in all the measures except in the use of Nontransitional overlaps, where they score only slightly lower with a mean of 13.5 than the female dyads with a mean of 14.2. This may suggest the increased involvement in the interaction in the mixed-gender dyads of both the male and the female participants, for interaction is necessarily a two-way transaction and the happening of an active conversational dyad should be the result of involvement on the part of both participants, not just one participant. One possible

explanation for the enhanced involvement by both male and female speakers in mixed-gender dyads is that they, in their early adulthood and belonging to two different subcultures (Maltz & Borker 1982), may be mutually attracted to each other. The result of this mutual attraction and complementariness is their tendency to show more alignment to and more interest in what the other has to say, which together creates a more involved conversational dyad.

With the three dyadic types taken together, we can draw an involvement continuum, as illustrated in Figure 5-5 below, for the relative degree of involvement in conversations of these three dyadic types (i.e., male dyads, female dyads, and mixed dyads). The mixed and the female dyads are more towards the end of high involvement of the continuum and the male dyads are more towards the end of low involvement of the continuum.
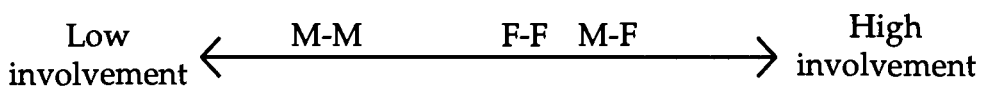
Figure 5-5 Involvement continuum for male, female, and mixed dyads in Australian and Chinese conversations

4.2.2 Intracultural gender patterns

As, in statistical terms, no significant cross-cultural differences can be found among the three dyadic types (male, female and mixed dyads) in the use of overlaps both in terms of overlap onset and in terms of overlap resolution, the next step would be to examine intracultural gender patterns to see how they respectively contribute to the cross-cultural patterns. In other words, there may be intracultural differences

for one or the other cultural group despite the lack of cross-cultural difference for both groups put together. We will look at Australian and Chinese conversations one by one below.

4.2.2.1 Gender patterns in Australian conversations

Dyadic Type	Overlap Onset		Overlap Resolution		Total
	Transitional Overlaps	Nontransitional Overlaps	Dropping	Continuing	
F-F	25.4	13.8	10.2	29.0	39.2
	(8.4)	(6.3)	(5.9)	(9.8)	(14.1)
M-M	24.8	6.6	9.6	21.8	31.4
	(13.3)	(4.5)	(6.3)	(11.4)	(16.2)
M-F	33.6	14.2	17.4	30.4	47.8
	(7.6)	(6.4)	(5.7)	(11.5)	(12.6)
Total	27.9	11.5	12.4	27.1	39.5
	(10.2)	(6.5)	(6.6)	(10.9)	(15.0)

Table 5-5 Use of overlaps in same- and mixed gender dyads in Australian conversations

Table 5-5 shows the means and standard deviations of the number of Transitional and Nontransitional overlaps and Dropping and Continuing resolution strategies occurring in the three dyadic groups in Australian conversations. Again the one-way anova test revealed no significant differences among the three dyadic groups across all the measures (i.e., overlap onset, overlap resolution, and total number of overlaps). Yet as the statistical tests are based on such a small number

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of dyads (i.e., five dyads for each dyadic type), there is still a need to look more closely at the pattern of overlap use in the three dyadic types. Let us first compare the two same-gender dyads, i.e., the female and the male dyads. The immediate result we get from this comparison is that the female dyads scored higher in all the measures than their male counterparts. This difference is especially striking in the use of Nontransitional overlaps, where the female dyads have a mean of 13.8 whereas the male dyads have a mean of only 6.6. A t-test shows that the difference between these two dyadic groups in the use of Nontransitional overlaps approaches significance (t=2.087, df=8, p=0.70, two-tailed). This shows a clear picture of more involved conversational participation by speakers in the female dyads than by male speakers talking to each other.

When the mixed-gender dyads are compared with the two same-gender dyads, the clear pattern emerges that they score higher in all measures than either of the latter two (i.e., the two same-gender dyads). But the differences between the mixed-gender dyads and the female dyads are very small, especially in Nontransitional overlaps (with a mean of 14.2 vs that of 13.8) and in Continuing resolution strategies (with a mean of 30.4 vs that of 29), suggesting that the involvement level between these two dyadic groups is quite close. The differences between the mixed-gender dyads and the male dyads are, however, much greater than those between the mixed-gender dyads and the female ones in all the measures, suggesting that the male dyads are much less involved as participants than the male-female dyads and the female dyads. If the involvement continuum is to be used to show the relative involvement

level of the three dyadic groups, the same diagram used for cross-cultural gender patterns (see Figure 5-5 above) can be more or less used for those in intracultural Australian conversations (Figure 5-6 below).

Low
involvement $\longleftarrow$ M-M   F-F M-F $\longrightarrow$ High
involvement

**Figure 5-6 Involvement continuum for male, female, and mixed dyads
in Australian conversations**

4.2.2.2 Gender patterns in Chinese conversations

Dyadic Type	Overlap Onset		Overlap Resolution		
	Transitional Overlaps	Nontransitional Overlaps	Dropping	Continuing	Total
F-F	21.4	14.6	12.6	23.4	36.0
	(7.5)	(12.1)	(7.5)	(10.5)	(16.8)
M-M	19.2	13.0	15.6	16.6	32.2
	(15.8)	(12)	(12.8)	(14.8)	(27.4)
M-F	26.8	12.8	14.8	24.8	39.6
	(13.3)	(6.1)	(7.4)	(12.8)	(19.1)
Total	22.5	13.5	13.3	21.6	35.9
	(12.2)	(9.7)	(9.0)	(12.4)	(20.2)

**Table 5-6 Frequency of overlaps in same- and mixed gender dyads in
Chinese conversations**

Again a one-way anova test does not show any significant difference in the total number of overlaps, the two subtypes of overlap and the two overlap resolution strategies among the male, female and male-female

dyads in Chinese conversations (see Table 5-6). We will again look more closely at the patterns exhibited from the comparison of the three dyadic groups.
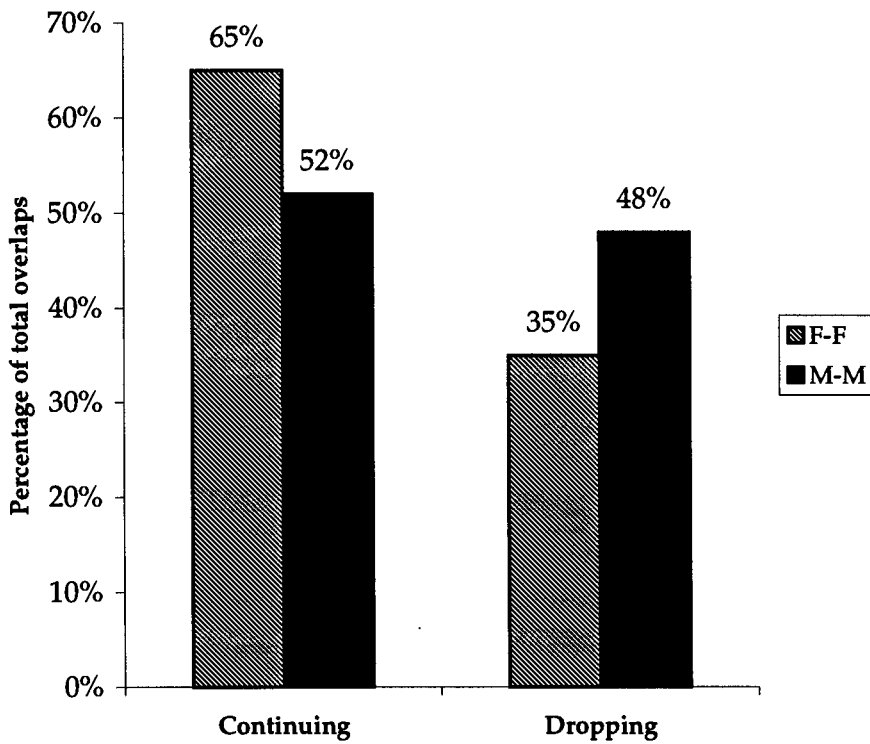
Figure 5-7 Overlap resolution in F-F and M-M dyads in Chinese conversations

First we compare the two same-gender dyads, i.e., the female and the male dyads. There seems to be a very slight tendency for the female dyads to produce more overlaps, either Transitional or Nontransitional or both, than the male dyads. The more conspicuous discrepancy between them, however, lies in the strategies used for resolving the state of overlap. The male groups apparently use Dropping and Continuing strategies evenly whereas the female groups use considerably more Continuing strategies than Dropping ones. This discrepancy is more clearly shown in terms of the proportion of the respective number of the

two resolution strategies out of the total number of overlaps and this is illustrated in Figure 5-7 above. Thus in general, female speakers in interacting with each other show a slightly more involved style than male speakers talking to each other.

One more point needs to be made before we examine the mixed-gender dyads. If we compare the standard deviations of the mean numbers of all the overlaps which occur in the female and the male dyads, we will find that the male dyads (with a standard deviation of 27.4) exhibit a much greater variation among their five dyadic conversations than the female dyads (with a standard deviation of 16.8). This variation is illustrated in Figure 5-8 below.
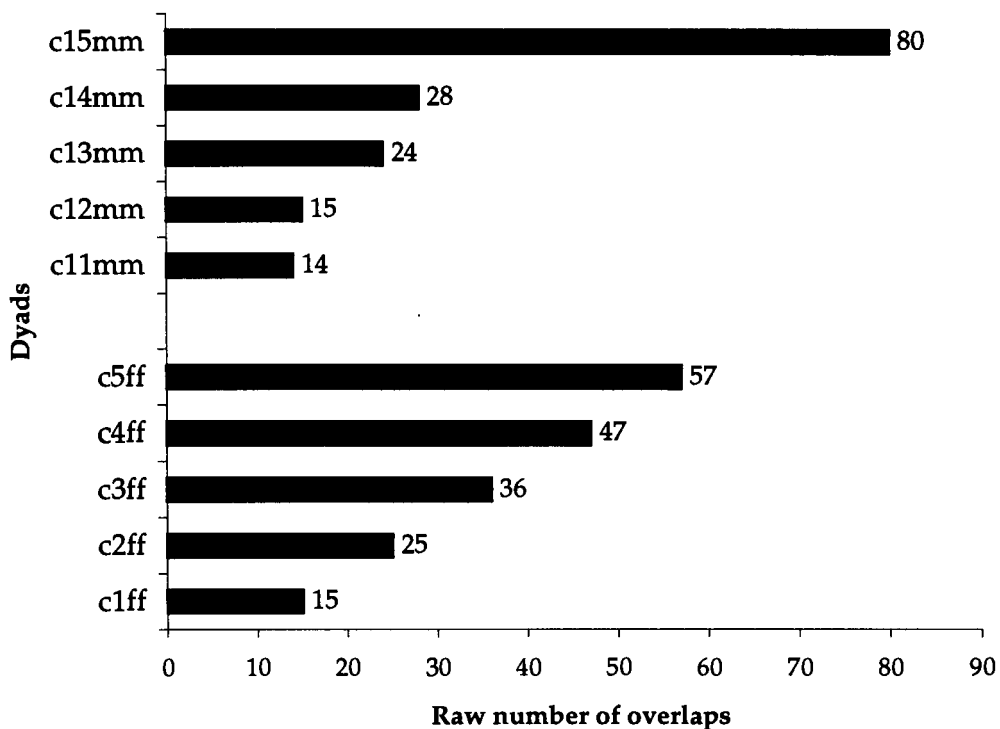
Figure 5-8 Raw number of overlaps in Chinese F-F and M-M dyads

As can be seen from Figure 5-8, Dyad c15mm in the male dyadic groups has the highest number of overlaps among the 10 dyads, including 5 male dyads and 5 female dyads. This may to a great extent explain the unexpectedly small difference in the use of overlap between the two dyadic groups. But it is not exactly clear from the conversational organisation itself why Dyad c15mm stands out so remarkably in the use of overlaps. From the information the two participants provided, they come from the same city; and from what they were talking about in the conversation, they may have been classmates when they were in the secondary school. Their long friendship, which was probably not matched between speakers in all the other dyads, might be a potential explanation for their exceptionally high involvement in the interaction.

Now we can look at the mixed-gender dyads and compare them with the two same-gender dyads. First, there do not seem to be any major differences between the mixed-gender dyads and the female dyads in any of the measures except perhaps in the Transitional overlaps, where the mixed-gender dyads have a mean of 26.8 and the female dyads a mean of 21.4. Thus on the whole, the involvement level of these two dyadic groups is not very distinguishable. Then, when the mixed-gender dyads are compared with the male dyads, the situation is similar to that of the comparison between the female dyads and the male ones. That is, the mixed-gender dyads score slightly higher than the male dyads in total number of overlaps used. But this is almost entirely attributable to the use of more Transitional overlaps in the mixed-gender dyads (with a mean of 26.8) than in the male dyads (with a mean of 19.2), as the number of Nontransitional overlaps is nearly the same

with means of 12.8 and 13 for the mixed-gender dyads and the male dyads respectively. Another major difference between the mixed-gender dyads and the male dyads, like that between the two same-gender dyads, lies in the use of the two resolution strategies. While the speakers in mixed-gender dyads use a higher percentage of Continuing (63%) and a much lower percentage of Dropping (37%), the speakers in all male dyads use about the same percentages of Dropping (48%) and Continuing (52%) in their resolution of the state of overlap. Thus in general, the mixed-gender dyads are more involved conversational interactions than the male dyads.

The following involvement scale (Figure 5-9) roughly illustrates the involvement level of the three dyadic groups in intracultural Chinese conversations, i.e., the male dyads, the female dyads and the mixed-gender dyads.
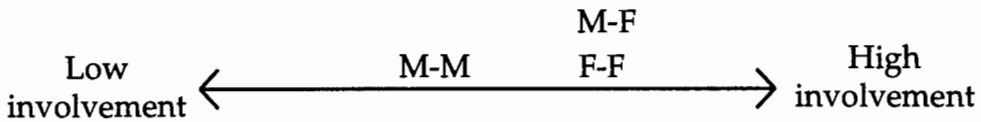
Figure 5-9 Involvement continuum for male, female, and mixed dyads in Chinese conversations

Compared with the involvement scale for the three dyadic groups in Australian conversation (see Figure 5-6), the above continuum (Figure 5-9) shows a relatively clustered picture for the three dyadic groups in Chinese conversations. In other words, the difference among the three dyadic groups in the Chinese language in terms of involvement level is smaller than those in Australian conversations. This means that the gender patterns in the use of overlaps in Australian conversations

contribute more to the cross-cultural patterns than those in Chinese conversations. It would seem, therefore, that there can be culture-specific gender patterns in the use of overlaps.

4.2.3 Nontransitional overlaps, resolutions and retrievals in mixed-gender dyads

Nontransitional overlaps have been subjected to much more attention than Transitional overlaps in language and gender studies as they are often taken as more serious violations of the turn-taking organisation and of the speaking rights of the overlapped party in the conversation (e.g., Zimmerman & West 1975; West & Zimmerman 1983; see also Section 2 in Chapter 3). Nontransitional overlaps have been given a number of different names by previous researchers, the most notable of which is Zimmerman and West's 'deep interruptions' (Zimmerman & West 1975; West & Zimmerman 1983; West 1979). In their studies, the occurrences of Nontransitional overlaps, their resolution and retrieval were all accredited with micropolitical significance of male dominance and female submission (see especially West 1979). But as we have shown in the preceding sections, their interpretations do not seem to be able to explain the gender patterns in the two intracultural conversations, Australian and Chinese. This is especially obvious in that the female dyads exhibit more Nontransitional overlaps and use more Continuing resolution strategy (a strategy taken to be more assertive and obtrusive in West's study [1979]) than the male dyads. These findings rather support the theoretical stance that the occurrences of Nontransitional overlaps and the use of Continuing resolution

strategy are the results of an active involvement on the part of the conversation participants (cf. Tannen 1984, 1994). They evidence perhaps even more engagement by interlocutors in the conversation than the uses of Transitional overlaps and Dropping resolution strategy.

The previous two sections (i.e., Sections 4.2.1 & 4.2.2) concentrate mostly on the differences among the three dyadic groups (viz., M-M, F-F, and M-F) in the use of overlaps with the dyad as the unit of analysis. No attention was paid to the patterns of overlap use by male and female speakers within the mixed-gender dyads. In addition, the analysis was done solely on overlap onset and resolution without examination of how overlapped utterances have been retrieved by conversation participants. This is because to study retrieval procedures for overlapped talk, we need to look at each individual conversational party's behavioural measures rather than the combinational scores for both participants in a dyad. This is made possible and useful when we examine only the Nontransitional overlaps in the mixed-gender dyads. (Earlier, we mentioned that the ownership of Transitional overlaps is inseparable between the two speakers overlapping with each other, thus rendering the study of overlaps on the basis of each overlapping party's behaviour [i.e., their initiation, resolution and retrieval of an overlap] impossible.) Following West (1979), I will, in my analysis of the Nontransitional overlaps in the mixed-gender dyads, take into account only the resolution strategy used by the overlapped party and the retrieval of his/her utterance following the occurrence of a Nontransitional overlap.

4.2.3.1 Nontransitional overlaps, resolutions and retrievals in Australian mixed-gender dyads

Dyad	Initiator		Total
	Male	Female	
a6mf	2 (22%)	7 (78%)	9 (100%)
a8mf	6 (26%)	17 (74%)	23 (100%)
a7mf	2 (29%)	5 (71%)	7 (100%)
a9mf	6 (35%)	11 (65%)	17 (100%)
a10mf	9 (60%)	6 (40%)	15 (100%)
Total	25 (35%)	46 (65%)	71 (100%)

Table 5-7 Initiation of Nontransitional overlaps in Australian mixed-gender dyads

Table 5-7 displays the distribution of Nontransitional overlaps initiated by male and female speakers in the five mixed-gender dyads in Australian conversations. Overall, female speakers initiated more Nontransitional overlaps (65%) than their male conversing partners (35%). Except in one dyad (i.e., a10mf), where the male speaker initiated more Nontransitional overlaps (60%) than the female speaker (40%), the female speakers in all the other dyads initiated a higher percentage of Nontransitional overlaps (from 65% to 78%) than their male counterparts (from 22% to 35%). This finding is in sharp contrast with those obtained in many previous studies, the most prominent of which were done by Zimmerman and West (Zimmerman & West 1975; West & Zimmerman 1983; West 1979). These researchers found that male speakers in mixed-gender dyads typically outdid their female conversing partners in the initiation of Nontransitional overlaps (or

'deep interruptions' in their terminology). Thus on the basis of the above finding, the claim that the male speakers dominated the female speakers in their interaction with each other does not seem to be supported. Rather as we have argued earlier, the use of Nontransitional overlaps indicates an active involvement in the conversation on the part of the overlapping party. In other words, the female speakers in these mixed-gender dyads are not using their overlaps to dominate the conversation but are instead actively engaging themselves in the development of the conversation.

The findings for the initiation of Nontransitional overlaps will be better interpreted in conjunction with how these overlaps are resolved and retrieved by male and female speakers respectively. Imagine a situation where whenever one speaker initiates a Nontransitional overlap, the other speaker drops out immediately and starts again only after the overlap-initiator finishes speaking. This situation will be more likely to happen in a formal interaction where there is considerable social distance between the interlocutors. A more informal situation, as has been shown earlier in the Chapter and will be shown below, is one in which friends interact with each other and one in which the speakers tend to continue with their talk when an overlap occurs. This situation has been well depicted by Coates (1989, 1994, 1996) in her description of all women's talk.

Table 5-8 reports the distribution of the two resolution strategies used by male and female speakers when they encounter an intrusion into their talk at a non-transitional relevance place. As this table shows,

there are great similarities between male and female recipients' responses to Nontransitional overlaps. Both male and female speakers use many more Continuing strategies (80% for males and 88% for females) than Dropping ones (20% for males and 12% for females). This result is again not in conformity with West's (1979) findings, which reported that males and females tended to drop out about half of the time when a nontransitional overlap occurred. This may be because the participants in West's study (1979) were previously unacquainted. It is not surprising that strangers talking to each other for the first time are not so involved in a conversation as friends interacting with each other. The use of Continuing strategy when overlap occurs is more characteristic of an involved conversation than that of Dropping and it will thus more likely to occur in an involved interaction between social equals, especially between friends.

Resolution strategies	Recipients	
	Male	Female
Dropping	9 (20%)	3 (12%)
Continuing	37 (80%)	22 (88%)
Total	46 (100%)	25 (100%)

Table 5-8 Resolutions of Nontransitional overlaps in Australian mixed-gender dyads

In the same way that West (1979) contrasted Continuing and Dropping as, respectively, more and less assertive strategies with respect to the speaker's conversational rights, the three retrievals, i.e., Other-retrieval, No retrieval, and Self-retrieval, were also given an assertiveness value. According to West (1979), the most assertive form of retrieval is Self-

retrieval because "the speaker who drops to resolve an interruption and subsequently engages in self-retrieval is (abeit belatedly) standing up for his or her rights to have been speaking before the drop occurred" (p. 88). Other-retrieval is regarded by West (1979) as the least assertive:

> [T]he speaker employing "other-retrieval" - by acknowledging, requesting a repetition or embedding portions of another's simultaneous talk in his or her own next utterance - retroactively cedes the simultaneous turn to the other. Moreover, one who drops to resolve a state of simultaneity and then other-retrieves further ratifies the other party's prior rights to that conversational space. (West 1979: 88)

No retrieval or the absence of retrieval is taken by West (1979) as less assertive than Self-retrieval but more assertive than Other-retrieval in that it "denies the need for repair or restoration of *either* party's overlapping utterance" (p. 88, original italics). West (1979) did not find any difference between males and females in the use of the most assertive retrieval response - Self-retrieval . She found instead that females used No retrieval much more than males (71% versus 43%) whereas males used Other-retrieval more than females (43% versus 19%). Thus no dominance pattern could be established from this finding. Rather, as we have argued previously (see Section 2.3 this Chapter), the use of No retrieval is in fact one of the results of the participants' recognition and anticipation of each other's ongoing talk, which in turn are evidences of their display of active involvement in the conversations. With this theoretical stance, it is hardly surprising that females in West's (1979) study used a much higher percentage of No retrieval than males as females tend to use a more involved conversational style than males, especially in casual conversations

between friends (e.g., Coates 1989, 1994, 1996).

Retrieval strategies	Recipients	
	Male	Female
Self-retrieval	15 (33.6%)	0
No retrieval	21 (45.7%)	23 (92%)
Other-retrieval	10 (21.7%)	2 (8%)
Total	46 (100%)	25 (100%)

Table 5-9 Retrievals of utterances following Nontransitional overlaps in Australian mixed-gender dyads

We can now examine the use of the three retrieval procedures used by male and female recipients of Nontransitional overlaps in Australian mixed-gender dyads and compare the results with those of West (1979) to see what pattern emerges. Table 5-9 displays the distribution of retrievals by male and female speakers. As it shows, both female and male speakers use No retrieval most. This is especially the case for the female speakers as No retrieval , taking up 92% of the total number of retrievals, are almost the only retrieval strategy they use. For the male speakers, the use of the three retrieval strategies is more evenly distributed, with No retrieval the highest (45.7%), Self-retrieval the second (33.6%) and Other-retrieval the lowest (21.7%). This pattern would seem to fit better with West's (1979) dominance stance in that males use more assertive retrieval strategies whereas females use more non-assertive strategies.   But this explanation would miss out one important fact that both males and females use No retrieval much more often than the other two strategies. As we have shown earlier in this chapter (Section 2.3), the occurrences of No retrieval of overlapped

utterances can be largely due to the fact that there is a large amount of shared and redundant information between friends so that very often (especially in terms of Recognitional overlaps), retrievals of their overlapped utterances become unnecessary as both speakers already know what the other speaker has said in the overlap. Thus, the use of No retrieval at least partially results from the interlocutors' mutual recognition and anticipation of what the other has to say, which in turn result from active involvement on their part.

In summary, by examining Nontransitional overlaps and their resolutions and retrievals in Australian mixed-gender dyads, we can get a general picture of active involvement on the part of both males and females (maybe a little bit more so on the part of females). In terms of the initiation of Nontransitional overlaps, females initiated more than males. In terms of the resolution strategies used, both males and females used more Continuing than Dropping, but females used slightly more Continuing than males. With respect to the use of retrievals, both males and females used No retrieval more than the other two retrieval strategies (i.e., Self-retrieval and Other-retrieval), but females used a much higher percentage of No retrieval than males did. These findings are in conformity with our earlier results that mixed-gender dyads in Australian conversations are the most involved conversational dyads among the three dyadic groups (i.e., M-M, F-F, M-F). We will now examine the use of Nontransitional overlaps, resolutions and retrievals in mixed-gender dyads in Chinese conversations to see whether a similar gender pattern will emerge.

4.2.3. 2 Nontransitional overlaps, resolutions and retrievals in Chinese mixed-gender dyads

Dyad	Initiator		Total
	Male	Female	
c6mf	2 (25%)	6 (75%)	8 (100%)
c7mf	3 (33%)	6 (67%)	9 (100%)
c9mf	11 (55%)	9 (45%)	8 (100%)
c10mf	13 (68%)	6 (32%)	20 (100%)
c8mf	7 (87.5%)	1 (12.5%)	19 (100%)
Total	36 (56%)	28 (44%)	64 (100%)

Table 5-10 Initiation of Nontransitional overlaps in Chinese mixed-gender dyads

First we look at the initiation of Nontransitional overlaps. Table 5-10 shows the distribution of Nontransitional overlaps initiated by male and female speakers in the five mixed-gender dyads in Chinese conversations. Overall, male speakers initiated slightly more Nontransitional overlaps (56%) than their female conversing partners (44%). Among the five dyads, there are two (i.e., c6mf and c7mf) in which females initiated more Nontransitional overlaps than males. In the other three dyads (i.e., c8mf, c9mf, and c10mf), males initiated more Nontransitional overlaps than females did. In general, it may indicate that males tend to involve themselves more in mixed-gender dyads than in all male dyads. Females, on the other hand, do not differ very much in their conversational style whether they interact with same-gender partners or with opposite-gender partners. This pattern seems to be in congruence with the gender-role theory, according to which, women are

socially oriented, focussing on feelings and relationships, whereas men are task oriented, focussing on facts and information (Strodtbeck 1956; Aries 1976; Holmes 1993; Tannen 1990; Coates 1995). In other words, women are able to talk merely for the sake of talk in exchanging feelings and maintaining relationships while men would find it difficult to be involved in a conversation unless for the sake of business and information, especially in the case of all men's talk.

Resolution strategies	Recipients	
	Male	Female
Dropping	4 (14%)	11 (31%)
Continuing	24 (86%)	25 (69%)
Total	28 (100%)	36 (100%)

Table 5-11 Resolutions of Nontransitional overlaps in Chinese mixed-gender dyads

Now we turn to the examination of the distribution of the two resolution strategies used by male and female speakers when they encounter a Nontransitional overlap during their talk (see Table 5-11). As Table 5-11 indicates, both males and females tended to use more Continuing (86% for males and 69% for females) than Dropping to resolve the state of overlap (14% for males and 31% for females). This is quite consistent with the pattern in Australian mixed-gender dyads. The slight difference here is that males used somewhat higher proportions of Continuing than females (86% versus 69%) whereas females used slightly more Dropping than males (31% versus 14%), again indicating an increased involvement in the conversation on the part of male interlocutors.

Finally, we will look at the use of the three retrieval procedures used by male and female recipients of Nontransitional overlaps in these dyads. Table 5-12 displays the distribution of retrievals by male and female speakers. As in the Australian conversations, No retrieval also takes up the highest percentage of the three types of retrieval strategies in the Chinese mixed-gender conversations. Both males and females used 61% of No retrieval. The small difference lies in their use of the other two retrieval strategies (i.e., Self-retrieval and Other-retrieval). While males use a higher percentage of Other-retrieval than females (25% versus 11%), the female speakers use a larger proportion of Self-retrieval than the male speakers (28% versus 14%). But this difference does not seem to be significant in terms of the users' conversational involvement as the combined proportion of these two retrieval strategies (i..e, Self-retrieval and Other-retrieval) is less than that of No retrieval.

Retrieval strategies	Recipients	
	Male	Female
Self-retrieval	4 (14%)	10 (28%)
No retrieval	17 (61%)	22 (61%)
Other-retrieval	7 (25%)	4 (11%)
Total	28 (100%)	36 (100%)

Table 5-12 Retrievals of utterances following Nontransitional overlaps in Chinese mixed-gender dyads

Taken as a whole, both male and female speakers in the mixed-gender dyads in Chinese conversations, as have been noted earlier (i.e., Section 4.2.2.2 above), are relatively involved in the interaction. This is

manifested in the fact that both males and females tend to continue their utterances more than to simply drop out to resolve the state of overlap and they both tend to favour non-retrieval of their overlapped utterances more than retrieval of their own or the other speaker's overlapped utterances. In this respect, the mixed-gender dyads, as involved conversational dyads, are similar in Australian and Chinese conversations. But unlike their counterparts in the Australian mixed-gender dyads, the male speakers in the Chinese mixed-gender dyads may be slightly more actively engaged in the conversations than their female partners in that they initiate more Nontransitional overlaps and use a higher proportion of Continuing. These small differences, however, should not be attributed totally to cross-cultural gender differences as they can be due to such factors as the greater heterogeneity of the Chinese groups (i.e., the participants come from all parts of China) and the greater verbosity of the male speakers in Chinese mixed-gender conversations (e.g., one of the males is a student union president). Moreover, as has been suggested before, conversation is always a two-way interaction and involvement is needed on the part of both interlocutors in a dyadic conversation.

5. Summary and conclusion

This chapter compares the use of overlap by Australian and Chinese speakers in their respective intracultural conversations. Section 2 qualitatively examines, on the basis of Jefferson and Schegloff's work (Jefferson 1983, 1986; Jefferson & Schegloff 1975), the use of overlap in terms of overlap onset, resolution and retrieval in the two languages,

Australian English and Mandarin Chinese. It has been found that Jefferson and Schegloff's description of issues to which participants are oriented in initiating, resolving and retrieving overlaps in British and American conversations applies to a great extent to the Australian conversations as well as to the Chinese ones.

In terms of overlap onset, participants, Australian or Chinese, orient to or act upon either the completeness of a turn (Transitional onset), or the adequacy of a delivery (Recognitional onset), or the flow of the talk (Progressional onset). Additionally, as this study has found, they may orient to the incompleteness of one's own message in a turn (Post Continuation onset) or to the contingency of a reaction to the previous speaker's utterance (Delayed Response onset). In terms of overlap resolution, two basic procedures are followed by Chinese and Australian speakers, as well as British and American speakers in Jefferson and Schegloff's studies. The first one is that one of the speakers drops out to resume the state of one-speakership-at-a-time. The second is that two speakers persevere through the overlap. In terms of overlap retrieval, two major procedures are used by conversation participants, Self-Retrieval and Other-Retrieval, and each of these two procedures can take two forms: Marked and Unmarked. Added in this study to these four procedures is No retrieval, where participants do not perceivably retrieve their own or the other speaker's overlapped utterances.

These commonalities or perhaps universals shared by Australian and Chinese conversations in terms of overlap onset, resolution and retrieval

pave the way for the quantitative comparison of the use of overlap in intracultural conversations in these two languages. The ensuing section, i.e., Section 3, outlines the analytic framework for quantitative comparison. This includes the specification of categories and the provision of decision rules as well as the coverage of the phenomena under study. In terms of overlap onset, two general categories are used, viz. Transitional and Nontransitional overlaps. With respect to overlap resolution, also two categories are employed, i.e., Dropping and Continuing. As to overlap retrieval, three categories are used, namely, Self-retrieval, Other-retrieval and No retrieval. But the comparative study of the three retrieval strategies is restricted only to the study of Nontransitional overlaps in mixed-gender dyads in each of the two languages.

Section 4 reports on the results of the quantitative comparative work and discusses its various findings. These are divided into two major parts, one on the cross-cultural comparison of Australian and Chinese speakers' use of overlaps and the other on the sub-cultural comparison of male and female speakers' use of overlaps in Australian and Chinese conversations. In terms of the former, three aspects of overlap use are compared: the overall frequency of overlap, the relative distribution of overlap types and the use of two overlap resolution procedures. Both similarities and differences have been found as regards these aspects of overlap use. Similarities include: 1) Both Australian and Chinese speakers use a similar number of overlaps; 2) they both start their overlaps mostly at a possible completion point; and 3) they both tend to continue with their talk rather than to drop out when an overlap occurs.

Differences include: 1) Australians use a higher percentage of Transitional overlaps whereas Chinese use a greater proportion of Nontransitional overlaps and 2) Chinese speakers drop out more to resolve the state of overlap while Australian speakers continue their talk more to get through the overlap. The similarities may indicate that conversation participants follow some basic turn-taking rules, which are perhaps universal in nature. But these potential universals can be used and distributed proportionally differently in different languages, making distinctive but overlapping conversational styles for culturally different groups. Thus, language can be both a universal and a cultural act.

With respect to gender patterns in overlap use in Chinese and Australian conversations, the study has first compared the patterns in the three dyadic groups (i.e., female dyads, male dyads, and mixed-gender dyads) and found that there is a tendency for the participants in the mixed-gender dyads to be slightly more involved in the conversations than those in the female dyads, which in turn show more involvement than those in the male dyads. This pattern is more clearly shown in Australian conversations than in Chinese ones, where the differences among the three dyadic groups are relatively small, especially between the female dyads and the mixed-gender dyads. The involvement in the conversations on the parts of the participants is indicated by 1) their tendency to use more Nontransitional overlaps than Transitional ones in terms of overlap onset; 2) their tendency to use more Continuing than Dropping as regards overlap resolution. These two preferences of the speakers in the use of overlap have for a long

time in the history of language and gender research been regarded as evidences of dominance and power assertion in a conversation. This study has challenged this association and shown instead that the use of overlap should be taken as signals of conversational involvement, which in turn makes up one's conversational style. This characterisation of overlap is not just restricted to conversations between friends, but can also be applicable to more confrontational talk like the 'talk radio' show (Hutchby 1992). For example, in a 'talk radio' show, the frequent occurrences of overlaps, which were considered by Hutchby (1992) to frame the speech event as confrontation talk between the host and the caller, can be arguably taken as the speakers' involvement strategies as this event itself requires of an enthusiastic engagement in the talking activity on the part of the participants. The remaining contention, however, is that every conversation strategy like overlapping can be subject to different interpretations by different people, especially when they do not share the same conversational styles. In the case of overlaps, their excessive use by one speaker can be either a lubricating factor for a lively and enjoyable conversation for some conversationalists or a hindrance for a smooth and relaxed conversation for other participants. This has amply been demonstrated by Tannen (1984, 1990, 1994), who contends the use of similar styles increased involvement in the conversation and the use of opposing styles led to misinterpretations.

This study has also examined another aspect of gender patterns in the use of overlap, that is, the use of Nontransitional overlaps, their resolutions and retrievals in mixed-gender dyads in the two languages.

For the Australian conversations, the speakers in mixed-gender dyads, male or female, are both actively involved in that they both tend to continue with their talk once a nontransitional overlap occurs and they both tend not to retrieve their own or the other speaker's overlapped utterances. This is also true of the mixed-gender dyads in Chinese conversations. But in Australian mixed-gender dyads, female speakers tend to be slightly more involved in the conversations than male speakers in that the former initiate more Nontransitional overlaps, use more Continuing than Dropping as their overlap resolution strategies, and use No retrieval more than the other two retrieval strategies (i.e., Self-retrieval and Other-retrieval). In Chinese mixed-gender dyads, on the other hand, males seem to be somewhat more actively involved in the conversations than females in that they initiate slightly more Nontransitional overlaps and tend to use more Continuing than Dropping as their overlap resolution strategies. These findings suggest strongly that the use of overlap, including its initiation, resolution and retrieval, be best explicated with regard to the participants' conversational involvement rather than their dominance or submission in the conversation.

The next chapter, i.e., Chapter 6, examines another aspect of the interlocutors' conversational style, the use of listener response in the conversation.

THE USE OF LISTENER RESPONSES IN AUSTRALIAN AND CHINESE CONVERSATIONS

1. Introduction

This chapter compares the use of listener response by Australian and Chinese speakers in their respective intracultural conversations. First, it will examine how passive recipiency and speakership incipiency are achieved though the use of listener response tokens in conversations of the two languages. Then I will explicate an analytic framework for the quantitative comparison of the use of listener responses by Australian and Chinese speakers. This will be followed by the presentation of the results obtained by the application of the analytic framework to the conversational data for this study and subsequent interpretations of the findings. The final section summarises and concludes the whole chapter.

2. Passive recipiency and speakership incipiency in Australian and Chinese conversations

Listener response tokens are used by the recipients in a conversation to systematically display their stance towards the speaker's ongoing telling. On some occasions they are used to show the recipients' passive recipiency of the speaker's current turn. In other words, the recipients use these tokens to show their understanding that the current speaker's talk is in progress and incomplete, and that s/he should continue. On some other occasions, the recipients may use certain listener response tokens to

indicate their intention to move towards fuller speakership and topic extension or topic shift. It has been demonstrated that these systematic differences in the use of listener response tokens contribute to the regulation of turn-taking organisation in a conversation, or more specifically, to the otherwise problematic mutual determination by the conversation participants of "who is to speak, for what duration, when and how single or multiunit turns might be elaborated or completed" (Beach & Linstrom 1992: 27; see also Jefferson 1984; Heritage 1984).

Jefferson (1984) is one of the first to systematically study the differences in the use of listener response tokens as display of passive recipiency or that of speakership incipiency. In a close examination of a conversation between two middle-aged sisters, Emma and Lottie, she observed that while Lottie almost exclusively used 'yeah', Emma used both 'mm hm' and 'yeah', with the former for passive recipiency and the latter for claiming speakership. The different uses of 'mm hm' and 'yeah' in recipiency and speakership distinction held with speakers who, like Emma, use both types of tokens when Jefferson examined a whole collection of data in American and British English.

Beach & Linstrom (1992) examined how recipiency and speakership were achieved in Swedish conversation through the use of listener response tokens. They found that as in American conversations, participants in Swedish conversations also used different listener response tokens to distinctively show either their passive recipiency of the speaker's talk (e.g., 'mm', 'mm mm', 'eh huh' and 'eh') or their movement towards fuller speakership (e.g., 'ja'). Thus they suggest the distinctive use of listener

response tokens in the accomplishment of speakership and recipiency be recognised as one of the universal features of conversational organisation (p. 26).

This section examines how speakership and recipiency are achieved through the use of listener response tokens in Australian and Chinese conversations and considers whether a similar pattern in this respect exists across the two languages.

2.1 Passive recipiency and speakership incipiency in Australian conversations

Among the 30 participants in Australian conversations, at least seven almost exclusively use 'yeh'. For these speakers, the use of 'yeh' and other tokens does not reveal whether they are aligning themselves as a recipient or as an incipient speaker. For example, the male speaker in A7mf, during the course of the 10 minute conversation, used 'yeh' and its variations (such as 'ye:h' and 'yeh yeh') 68 times but used other tokens like 'uh huh' and 'oh' only four times. For him, the use of 'yeh' seems to be signalling his way of orienting to his conversation partner's tellings as a recipient as well as showing his intention to move towards fuller speakership. The following excerpt illustrates his use of the token 'yeh' (here in 'A7mf: mRE4, 5, 6, 7', 'm' stands for the male speaker and 'RE' stands for 'Reactive Tokens', a term which will be explained extensively in Section 3.1.2 in this Chapter).

Ex 74: A7mf: mRE4, 5, 6, 7

      F: I mean 'cos you don't know that societies there to be

      F: understood, or not it's [just a big-, sort of, there's a lot of
1 → M: [yeh.

      F: contradictions in it. [.hh   I don't know it might-, I don't
2 → M: [yeh. (0.5)

      F: think we actually really can, sort of-, (.) understand [it, really.
3 → M: [yeh.

      F: (0.2) °I don't know° it's jus'-it's jus' so intensely complex.
4 → M: ye:h.

      M: °there's-°   [there's always a theory, but it's just a theory in the
      F: heh [hhhh

      M: end. like, ...

In this excerpt, M uttered the token 'yeh' four times, all of which occurred at a transition relevance place (the first being the 'Unmarked Next Position' onset, the second and the fourth being the 'Latched'-to-Possible-Completion onset, and the third being the Last Item onset). The first three 'yehs' stand alone and their utterer, M, seems to orient to F's talk as in progress and aligns himself as a recipient. This is more clearly shown when he uses his second 'yeh' in this segment. Before its utterance, F's statement apparently comes to an end as her utterance "there's a lot of contradiction in it" is somewhat a summary-type conclusion of what she has said so far. The lengthy pause (i.e., half a second) after M's 'yeh' further indicates that she is willing to give the next turn to M. But M uses 'yeh' not as a display of his incipient speakership but rather as that of passive recipiency and would apparently like F to continue, which F finally does. Only after F has somewhat paraphrased what she had said

before and done another summary-type utterance "it's jus' so intensely complex" does M take up the turn starting with a turn incipient "ye:h" (the fourth one). Thus M's use of 'yeh' does not disclose whether he is aligning himself as a recipient or as an incipient speaker.

Other speakers, who use different types of tokens, however, do seem to use them for different interactional purposes, in this case for the display of recipiency or speakership. The token which is most often used in association of passive recipiency in Australian conversations is 'hm' with its various prosodic variations such as 'hmm' and "°hm°" (cf. Gardner 1997a) and its incipient speakership counterpart is 'yeh' (and variations thereof). For example,

Ex 75: A3ff: bBC2, 3, 4 & bRE2

```
        A: I woke up-, I woke up late this morning=     like-, I-, I'd
1   →   B:                                         =hm

        A: missed-I put a wake-up call in↑.    .hh and I've slept
2   →   B:                                     hm

        A: RI:GHT through it↑. (.) and like, thingummy didn't like-,

        A: Georgia didn't wake up.   [it sounds like u::::hhh I finally
3   →   B:                           °h[m.°

        A: got up. yeh 'cos this ↑man's like washing my window. (.)

4   →   B: ye[:h who is  it? ]
        A:   [I heard this like]-I heard this big ↑bang on the window↑. ...
```

In this example, B produces two different types of listener response tokens: 'hm' and 'yeh'. It is apparent that B uses the token 'hm' to show

her orientation to A's telling as a recipient and the token 'yeh' as a lead-in for a fuller turn (i.e., an other-initiated repair in this case). A similar pattern can be detected in the following example.

Ex 76: A15mm: bBC5, 6, 7, 8, & bRE9

```
        A: fair enough like everyone should have the right to an

        A: education, but I think you should still like-, .hh (0.2) have

        A: to pay your HECS. [°x.° .hh ↑even though you like-, then
1  →    B:                   [hm.

        A: again, you's, I often wonder where it all goes to like-,
2  →    B:                                                    e:h.

        A: like some lecturers can't be bothered photocopying stuff

        A: or, u:m (0.2) what would you say, (0.5) they sort of don't

        A: really, (0.6) like you know, don't use too much of this

        A: or don't use too much of that [and you're saying well
3  →    B:                               [hm.

        A: where-where is all my HECS money going. [you know,]
4  →    B:                                         [hm.      ]

        A: obviously it's into the lecturing but, .hhh
5  →    B:                                         na yeh but the

        B: resources as well I mean. .hh .hh (0.2) you know, they-

        B: they do provide a good education here.
```

Again it can be seen that the different types of listener response tokens used by B (i.e., 'hm', 'eh' and 'yeh') serve different interactional functions. The tokens 'hm' and 'eh' are used by the utterer (i.e., B) to maintain his passive recipiency whereas the token 'yeh' is used to preface an expanded

turn. It is interesting to note here that B in his final turn, though in disagreement to what A has talked about, uses 'yeh' (immediately after his negating 'na') as his lead-in token towards a fuller turn. Thus 'yeh' serves a Janus-faced function in that it acknowledges the receipt of the previous speaker's turn on the one hand and prefaces the upcoming of a fuller turn and topic extension or topic shift by the recipient him/herself on the other.

In sum, passive recipiency and incipient speakership can be achieved in Australian conversations through the employment of different types of listener response tokens. For speakers who use different tokens, they, in most cases, use them for different interactional purposes, that is, to either exhibit passive recipiency or display their movement towards fuller speakership and topic extension or topic change. This resembles greatly the pattern observed by Jefferson (1984) in American and British English conversations and that by Beach & Linstrom (1992) in Swedish conversations. In the following section, we will see whether the distinction between passive recipiency and speakership incipiency holds in Chinese conversations and if that is the case, what listener response tokens are used to achieve them.

2.2 Passive recipiency and speakership incipiency in Chinese conversations

A close examination of the 30 Chinese conversations reveals quite consistently that almost all the participants in these conversations, like a majority of those in the Australian ones, do rely on different listener response tokens to display their passive recipiency and speakership

incipiency. The most-often used tokens in association with passive recipiency in Chinese conversations are 'hm' (and variations thereof) and 'ah' (and variations thereof like 'eh', 'a::h', and °'ah°') and their speakership incipient counterpart in most cases is 'shi ah' (roughly equivalent in meaning to the Australian English 'yeh'). We will first look at some examples of how participants in Chinese conversations display their passive recipiency (Ex 77 & Ex 78).

Ex 77: C5ff: aBC27, 28, 29, 30, 31

```
      B:  ruguo shi nan pengyou ne? (.) jiu buyao che name yuan-,

      B:  buyao shuo yuande, .hh future husband, .h[hh jiushi shuo::,
1  →  A:                                            [ah

      B:  biru shuo ni xianzai zai Guangwai, [you yige nan pengyou.
2  →  A:                                     [ah

      B:  (.) [you yige nan haizi, [danshi nage ren xuexi, ge fangmian
3&4→  A:      [ah                  [ah

      B:  buru ni.        ni shuo ni gen ta zai yiqi, ni hui juede::,
5  →  A:           a:h (0.2)

      B:  [hui bu hui] juede hen happy.
   A:  [bu    hui- ]                    .hh ↑hui.
```

B: what about the boyfriend? (.) let's not go too far-, not talk about

B: something too distant, .hh future husband, .h[hh that i::s, for
1   → A: [ah

B: example, you are now in Guangwai, [if you have a boyfriend.
2   → A: [ah

B: (.) [you have a boyfriend, [but that person is not as good as you
3&4→ A: [ah   [ah

B: in study, in everything.   when you're with him, do you
5   → A: a:h (0.2)

B: think [you will] feel very happy.
A: [no-   ]   .hh ↑yes.

In this example, B's turn starts with a question. But in order for A to answer this question, B offers a series of conditions to embed the question in a specific situation. Thus until that situation is clearly spelt out, B's telling is in a state of noncompletion and is projected as an extended turn unit. This noncompletion was apparent and thus made available to A, who, as recipient at the stage, does orient to B's telling as one in progress: A displays her passive recipiency with five continuers (i.e., 'ah'). Only after B has spelt out the whole situation and reformulated the question does A take up the turn and start her answer to it. The next example illustrates the use of 'hm' as a token for the display of passive recipiency. It is extracted from the same conversation as Ex 77 above and the two 'hm's are produced by the same speaker as the 'ah' utterer (i.e., Speaker A in Ex 77).

Ex 78: C5ff: aBC1, 2

    B: ta yinggai shi, (0.3) ting hui jiaoji, jiushi [shuo, ting you,
1   → A: [hm.

    B: henduo, hao pengyou.   [ah biru shuo, wo bu fandui ta
2   → A: hm[m.

    B: hui chouyan. ...

                              Translation

    B: he should be, (0.3) quite sociable, that is to [say, he should,
1   → A: [hm.

    B: have, many, good friends.   [ah for example, I won't object
2   → A: hm[m.

    B: to him if he smokes. ...

In this short excerpt, B is listing a list of criteria for her future husband, thus constructing her turn to project noncompletion. A, as recipient, refrains from taking fuller turns at talk and displays her recipiency by using two continuers (i.e., 'hm' and 'hmm'). The question now is whether the two types of tokens used by A to show passive recipiency (i.e., 'ah' and 'hm') are interactionally equivalent in meaning and function. In terms of the achievement of passive recipiency, they can be said to be similar as they both are freestanding continuers displaying restraint from fuller speakership. But as the following example shows (i.e., Ex 79), the two types of tokens can be quite different in that 'ah' can be used (and quite frequently so) to preface a fuller turn as well.

Ex 79: C7mf: fBC6, 7, 8

    M: *ChanHuiLu* kaishi jiushi e:r (0.2) xie de zijide yisheng ba.   =
1 → F: hmm=

    M: ranhou yi sheng de suozuosuowei. [ziji:: (0.3) e:r ta: shijishang
2 → F: h[m

    M: bing bushi suowei shenme chanhui, jiushi:: s you nazhong

    M: zizhuan xingzhi. .hhh yinwei ta:: (.) er keneng shoudao nazhong

    M: bu gongpingde duidai. huozhe pohai la. [ta juexin, haiyou
3 → F: h[m

    M: wuxian la, ta juexin tongguo na zijide zizhuan, ba zhengge

    M: yisheng, (.) nage zhen-zhenshide:: [xie chu lai.]
4 → F: [ah na shiji shang] jiu bushi

    F: chanhui lu le. ...

<center>Translation</center>

    M: *Confession* first e:r (0.2) writes about his own whole life.   =
1 → F: hmm=

    M: then what he's done in his life. [hi::mself (0.3) e:r he: in fact
2 → F: h[m

    M: didn't write about the so-called confession, what he actually

    M: wrote was an autobiography. .hhh because he:: (.) er had

    M: received an unfair treatment. or persecution. [he's determined,
3 → F: h[m

    M: or slander, he's determined to, through his autobiography, give

    M: a true-true picture about [his whole life.]
4 → F: [ah that actually] is not really a

    F: confession. ...

In this example, M's turn starts with his telling about the book he has been reading, which was requested by F immediately before the beginning of this conversational segment. Thus M's telling from its inception is projected as an extended turn unit. F in fact exhibits this understanding by uttering three continuers (i.e., 'hm'). The use of 'hm' in this sequential context aligns their utterer (i.e., F) as a recipient passing her opportunities to take a fuller turn at talk while at the same time encourages the current speaker (i.e., M) to continue with his turn. It is not until M comes to a point where F gets the gist of M's telling when she starts her fuller turn prefaced with the token 'ah'. In this example, it is apparent that 'ah' is different from 'hm' in that it is not only followed by a fuller turn on the part of the recipient (i.e., F) but it also marks some kind of change of state in knowledge or information, thus making 'ah' similar to the English token 'oh' (see Heritage 1984b, 1998; see also Section 3.1.2 in Chapter 3).

Now we will look at how participants in Chinese conversations show their speakership incipiency through the use of the token 'shi ah'. The following example illustrates very clearly the use of 'shi ah' as display of the recipient's imminent speakership.

Ex 80: C4ff: aBC7, 8, & aRE9

    B: na xiao shihou, haoxiang shi, (0.2) gen woge qu na:: jian le

    B: xie boli ya. [jian hui:: sui boli ye keyi mai qian de. haoxiang
1 → A: [hmm.

    B: shi, .hh ai zhuan le bu shao qian. .hh buguo na shihou ti xiao

    B: de o.   =xianzai suan qilai jiu hen shou le. .hh zai xianzai,
2 → A: hmm.=

    B: na shihou jiu, dui women xiao haizi lai shuo, [chi ji ge-
3 → A: [shi a::h. na shi

    A: hou you liang *mao* qian dou hen:: liao bu de le. °he-°, hekuang

    A: liang *kuai* qian le.

<div align="center">Translation</div>

    B: when I was a little kid, it seems, (0.2) I went with my brother

    B: to collect some glass. [broken glass could be sold for money.
1 → A: [hmm.

    B: it seems, .hh we got quite some money. .hh but at that time we

    B: were still little kids.   =now that would be very little money.
2 → A: hmm.=

    B: .hh now, at that time, for us little kids, we could [eat a few-
3 → A: [shi a::h. at

    A: that time two *mao* was already a lot. °not-°, not to say two *kuai*.

In this segment, B tells a story about her childhood experience of collecting broken glass and selling it for money. From the very beginning B projects her telling as one which is relatively extended and incomplete. A is apparently aware of that and displays this understanding with two tokens of continuation (i.e., 'hmm') at two of the transition relevance places. But

as soon as B's ongoing talk comes to a point which A feels sufficient and terminable, A jumps in with the token "shi ah::h", which serves to preface A's imminent speakership.

From the above analysis, it would appear that Chinese interlocutors resemble, to a great extent, their Australian counterparts (as well as British and American ones) in their ways of orienting to an extended ongoing turn unit. On many occasions in the conversations of the two languages, different listener response tokens are employed to achieve passive recipiency and speakership incipiency. This is very important as conversational interaction, according to Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson (1974), follows the general principle of "recipient design" (p. 727). That is, the talk by a participant in a conversation "is constructed or designed in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants" (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974: 727). Thus trivial as it may seem, the use of listener response tokens, like that of any other utterances in a conversation, is sequentially implicative (Schegloff & Sacks 1973) and consequential (Jefferson 1984).

2.3 Summary

This section qualitatively compares the use of listener response tokens in the accomplishment of passive recipiency and speakership incipiency in Australian and Chinese conversations. A strikingly similar pattern has been found in this respect in the conversations of the two languages. It suggests strongly that conversations, whether Australian or Chinese, adhere to similar organising principles and that though different forms of

listener response tokens may be used in different languages, similar sequential functions exist and can be performed through them.

The probably universal aspect of the use of listener response tokens having been dealt with, we will turn now to the question whether any potential cross-cultural and cross-gender differences exist in its use in terms of overall frequency, types of listener response favoured, and the sequential positions these listener response tokens occupy with reference to a possible completion point.

3. Analytic framework for quantitative comparison

As we mentioned earlier (see Section 3 in Chapter 3), the present study will base its analytic framework upon Clancy et al.'s (1996) analytic model in its quantitative comparison of listener response use in Australian and Chinese conversations. Their model sets out a well-defined classification of listener response tokens and an operationalisation of Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson's (1974) concept of 'transition-relevance places". The former is useful to determine the frequency of listener response use and the preference of some type(s) of listener response tokens over the other(s); and the latter helps specify in a more systematic and empirically viable way the location in which listener response tokens tend to be placed. But a number of modifications and elaborations will be made in line with the theoretical stance of this present study.

3.1 Types of listener responses

Clancy et al. (1996) distinguished between five types of listener response tokens (or "Reactive tokens" in their term): Backchannels, Reactive Expressions, Collaborative Finishes, Repetitions, and Resumptive Openers.

3.1.1 Backchannels (BC)

Backchannel (BC thereafter) is defined by Clancy et al. (1996) as "a non-lexical vocalic form, [which] serves as a 'continuer' (Schegloff 1982), display of interest, or claim of understanding" (p. 359). While I would emphasise BC's non-lexicality in form and its passive recipiency in sequential function, I would like to treat the latter half of their definition with reserve as the characterisation of BC as display of interest and claim of understanding appears too general and equivocal. As Schegloff (1982: 79) rightly argues, any utterance produced by one speaker following that by another exhibits an orientation to, or an attention to, it. Thus according to him, to say that a listener response token displays attention to preceding talk does not help discriminate it from any other talk, or tell us what a particular token does or can do, and therefore why a participant might choose to produce it rather than something else (Schegloff 1982: 79).

With the definition of BC having been clarified, some exclusions can be quite straightforwardly made. First, any lexical items such as 'yeh' and 'right' in Australian English and 'dui' and 'shi ah' in Mandarin Chinese are not to be taken as BC. Second, not all non-lexical forms are necessarily

BCs. Only those which are used by the interlocutors to show their recipiency are taken to be BCs. Thus for example, if the vocalisation serves as the second pair part of an adjacency pair (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974), e.g., as an answer to a question or as a response to an offer, it is not considered a BC as it constitutes a full turn by itself. This also applies to other types of listener response tokens (see the ensuing sections on other types of listener response tokens). Further, non-lexical vocalisations which serve as assessments such as 'wow' in Australian English and 'ai ya' and 'wa' in Mandarin Chinese (Goodwin 1986; Goodwin & Goodwin 1987, 1992a, b) are not coded as BCs but will be coded as Reactive Expressions (see Section 3.1.2 below) (cf Clancy et al. 1996).

Typical BC forms in each of the two languages found in the data are listed in Table 6-1 (but with their prosodic variations omitted from the Table).

Table 6-1 Typical Backchannels in Mandarin Chinese and Australian English

Mandarin Chinese	Australian English
hm	hm
mhm	mhm
hm hm	mhm mhm
hm hm hm hm	hm hm
ah	mhm mhm hm
ah ah	eh
ah ah ah ah ah	eh ah
eh	uh huh
oh	oh
oh ah	oh oh
oh oh oh oh	ah

Table 6-1 shows that Australian and Chinese speakers use similar types of BC forms in their respective intracultural conversations. This may suggest that the two languages, i.e., Australian English and Mandarin Chinese, share to a considerable extent similar interactional resources in the performance of a non-primary speaker's work in a conversation. But it should be remembered that these listener response tokens, though similar in form in the two languages, may not be in strict conformity with each other in pronunciation and in interactional functions (for this latter point, see Section 2 this chapter). For example, the 'oh' in Mandarin Chinese, which sounds like a shortened 'or' in Australian English, is at least not the same in pronunciation as its Australian counterpart 'oh'.

3.1.2 Reactive Expressions (RE)

Reactive Expressions (RE thereafter) was defined by Clancy et al. (1996) as "a short non-floor-taking *lexical phrase or word*" that a non-primary speaker produces in response to the primary speaker's talk (p. 359, my emphasis). For this definition, I will make two additions. First, assessment-type non-lexical forms (e.g., 'wow' and 'oh wju' in Australian English and 'ai ya' and 'wa' in Mandarin Chinese) will also be included in the category of RE. Second, those lexical phrases or words which preface a full turn (i.e., those lexical phrases or words used to display imminent speakership) are also taken to be REs. Thus the revised definition of RE for this study would be: a short free-standing or turn-incipient lexical phrase or word, or an assessment-type non-lexical form, produced by a recipient in reaction to the speaker's talk. Typical REs in Australian and Chinese conversations in

this study are listed in Table 6-2 (again the prosodic variations of these REs are omitted).

Table 6-2 Typical Reactive Expressions in Mandarin Chinese and Australian English

Mandarin Chinese	Australian English
shi ah 'yeah'	yeh
ah shi ah	yeh yeh
hmhm shi ah	yeh yeh yeh
shi ah, shi ah	yeh oh yeh
shi ah, jiu shi ah	yeh hm
	yeh sure
jiu shi 'indeed'	yeh yeh sure
jiu shi ah	yeh yeh sure yeh
ah jiu shi ah	yeh yeh for sure
	yeh right
shi 'yes'	yeh exactly
shi shi	yeh yeh exactly
	yeh excellent
shi ma? 'really?'	ah yeh
shi ba 'really'	hm yeh
	oh yeh
na shi 'that's right'	oh yeh yeh
na shi ah	yes
na dao shi 'that's right'	yeesh
ah na dao shi	
eh na dao shi	right
zhe dao shi 'it's right'	oh right
na ye shi 'that's also right'	oh right yeh
ye shi ah	that's right
	hm yeh that's right
dui 'right'	yeh that's right yeh
ah dui	ah of course
oh dui	ah of course yeh
ah dui ah	oh excellent
ah dui de	u::h excellent yeh
dui ah	definitely yeh
dui ya	for sure
dui dui	for sure sure

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dui dui dui	oh for sure
ai dui	exactly
ai dui le	eh exactly
ah dui, shi ah shi ah	true
eh dui dui dui	
oh dui dui dui	shit
ah dui dui dui	hm shit
ah dui dui dui dui	oh shit
ah dui dui dui dui dui	shit, that's good
oh, dui dui dui dui dui dui dui dui. dui dui	ah bullshit
	really?
dang ran le 'sure'	oh really?
na dang ran 'that's for sure'	did they?
	are you?
ai ya, tian la 'oh, my god'	is it?
ah na tai hao le 'ah that's excellent'	have you?
hao hao hao 'good good good'	oh have you?
	he has?
zhen de? 'really'	was she?
	was it?
wa	you did?
ai ya	
ai yo	No
	no no
	no no no
	oh no
	oh no yeh
	hm no
	na
	hm na
	no wa
	okay
	ah okay
	oh okay
	hm okay
	ah good
	cool
	oh cool
	god
	oh my god
	gosh
	oh gosh
	wicked

	u:::h wow oh wju AHA::

The simple length of the list of REs found for the two languages in our data seems to show that Australian speakers produce a greater variety of REs than their Chinese counterparts in their respective intracultural conversations. This may suggest to a certain extent that Australians favour the use of listener responses in conversation more than Chinese speakers.

3.1.3 Collaborative Finishes (CF)

A Collaborative Finish (CF thereafter) was an utterance produced by the non-primary speaker to finish a previous speaker's utterance (Clancy et al. 1996: 360). Collaborative sentence construction in conversation has been extensively researched by Lerner (1987, 1989, 1991, 1996). CFs are found in conversations of both Australian English and Mandarin Chinese in my data. I will give one example each for the conversations of the two languages (Ex 81 from the Chinese conversations and Ex 82 from the Australian ones):

Ex 81: C5ff: aCF1

> B: wo ben ren shen xihao wenxue ah.   xingxiang siwei
> A: hmm.

> B: qiang yidian, [wo jiu xuyao wo nan pengyou shi yige,
> A: [hm.

> → A: **lixing siwei qiang [yidian de.**
>   B: [dui, lixing siweil qiang yidian de.

B: I myself very much like literature.   and am better at
A: hmm.

B: thinking in images, [so I'd like my boyfriend to be someone,
A: [hm.

→ A: **who is better at logical [thinking.**
    B: [right, better at logical thinking.

Ex 82: A3ff: bCF1

    A: and she's one of those women. you don't know whether

    A: she's like-,   ↑ye:h.
→ B: **nice or not.**

3.1.4 Repetitions (RP)

When the non-primary speaker repeats a portion of the speech of the primary speaker, it is coded as a Repetition (RP thereafter). Again I will give one example each for the conversations of the two languages (Ex 83 from the Chinese conversations and Ex 84 from the Australian ones).

Ex 83: C7mf: mRP3

    F: Lin Yutang:: you shenme shu ah hai you?
    M: Lin Yutang:::

    M: *Zhongguoren.*
    F: *Zhongguoren* mei kan. wo juede haoxiang

    F: you yi ben Lin Yutang de shenme:: sanwen ji ah.

→ M: .hhh **sanwen ji.**

F: what other books did Lin Yutang:: write?
M: Lin Yutang:::

M: *The Chinese.*
F: haven't read *The Chinese.* it seems to me

F: that Lin Yutang has something like a collection of essays.

→ M: .hhh **a collection of essays**.

Ex 84: A5ff: bRP1

A: I finally I did read it, but um, it was absolutely

A: crappy, stupid thing↑.   Ha:rdy↑,
B: who's it by? (0.4)

→ B: **Hardy**.   ri:ght.
A: Thomas Hardy.

3.1.5 Resumptive Openers (RO)

Resumptive Openers (RO thereafter), according to Clancy et al. (1996: 362), share the same form as BCs, i.e., they are both non-lexical vocalisations. But RO is distinguished from BC in that RO is followed by a full turn whereas BC is free-standing. Normally there is only a short pause between a RO and the full turn following it. In the sequential context, RO serves to "acknowledge the prior turn and commence a new turn" (Clancy et al. 1996: 364). Thus unlike BCs, which serve as 'continuers', ROs signal speakership incipiency.

3.2 Transition Relevance Places

The notion of 'Transition Relevance Places' (TRP) is discussed here as a reference point for specifying the location of listener response occurrences. Specifically, with reference to TRP, we can determine whether speakers tend to place their listener response tokens at either (1) points of possible transition from one speaker to another or (2) during another speaker's turn.

The concept of TRP was first brought out by Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson (1974) in their study on the systematic organisation of turn-taking in conversation (for more detailed review of their system, see Section 2.5 in Chapter 2). According to them, turns are made up of turn-constructional units and the units are syntactically defined (i.e., sentences, clauses, phrases, words). The end of a turn-constructional unit is a TRP, where turn-change from one speaker to another normally occurs. Although Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson pointed out the syntactic nature of turn-constructional units, they did not spell out exactly how they are actually realised linguistically in the conversation context.

To overcome this indeterminacy of TRP, Clancy et al. (1996) and Ford & Thompson (1996) propose the concept of Grammatical Completion Point or Syntactical Completion Point (SCP), which is in practice equivalent to Sacks et al.'s TRP. They set out several criteria for the recognition of SCP (or TRP), which are summarised as follows:

1) An utterance is considered syntactically complete if, in its sequential context, it could be interpreted as a complete clause, i.e., with an overt or directly recoverable predicate, without considering intonation or interactional import.

2) Syntactically complete sentences can always be extended through further additions, so points of syntactic completion may be incremental.

3) Syntactically complete utterances include elliptical clauses, answers to questions, and backchannel responses.

I will illustrate this first with an example in the Chinese data:

Ex 85: C5ff

A: wo::wo guan cha/ guo/ le/.

   I::I observe/ PRT/ PRT/.

   I::I have already observed.

Here in this example, A's utterance contains three syntactic completion points (indicated by slashes). The first SCP occurs after 'cha', which means that the clause before 'cha' is complete. The second SCP comes after 'guo', a final particle indicating an action already finished. It does not mean that the word 'guo' by itself constitutes an independent unit, but that the whole clause up to and including 'guo' is complete. The same procedure applies to the third SCP, which occurs after 'le', also a final particle.

The following example from the Australian data is an utterance containing

a series of SCPs (again indicated by slashes).

Ex 86: A1ff

> B: and I wr<u>o</u>te it./ and er you have to like hand some of the stuff in/
>
> so the teacher can have a look/ at it↑./ (.) a<u>:n</u>d she was sort of,
>
> reading/ and stuff./ and she criticised my whole poem./ (0.2)
>
> except for one line/ she ticked,/ like gave me a double tick↑./

In addition to the notion of syntactic completion point, Ford & Thompson (1996) introduced the terms of pragmatic and intonational completion points to form what they call 'Complex Transition Relevance Places'. But these two terms have proven not as useful as SCP. For intonational completion points, which are defined as ends of intonation units with a final contour, most of these points fall on SCP in Chinese conversations, thus providing little new information as regards the location of listener response occurrences. This may be because Mandarin Chinese is more of a tone language than of an intonational one, which makes it difficult for an untrained ear to distinguish between a final and a non-final intonation. The same is true of pragmatic completion points, which are a combination of intonation and conversational action sequencing. Therefore, unlike Clancy et al.'s study (1996), which used syntactic and intonational completion points, the present study will use only the syntactic completion point (or TRP in Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson's terminology) in the specification of the location of various listener response tokens.

3.3 Additional specifications in the application of the framework

Before the framework set out in the preceding two sections (i.e., Sections 3.1 & 3.2) can be applied to the data for this study, two further specifications need to be made. The first is to do with frequency counts and the second with the whole spectrum of TRP coverage.

We will first look at the issue of frequency counts when two or several listener response tokens occur in close proximity to each other in conversation. Are these tokens to be taken as separate instances or one single complex instance? In this respect, I will adopt the criterion used by Tottie (1991) in her corpus study of backchannel use in British and American English conversations. The criterion she uses is the relative proximity of these backchannel items to each other. If two or several backchannel items are adjacent in time, they would be regarded as one backchannel. On the other hand, if they are separated by several words or by a long pause, they would be taken as separate backchannels. To be more exact, I would propose that if two or more listener response tokens are separated by two or more words, they be regarded as separate cases. Otherwise, they would be taken as a single case. In the following three examples from the Australian data, the first two (i.e., Ex 87 & Ex 88) are examples where the two listener response tokens are coded as one single instance and the third (i.e., Ex 89) is one in which the two tokens are considered two separate instances.

Ex 87: A12mm: aRE6

> B: I did half of-, like nearly all of my-, video, .hhh on Edit

> B: Suite-, (0.3) the good one, Edit Suite [s-   ] seven,
> → A: [>y̲eh<]   >y̲eh.<

> B: and then, for that last shot, where he's jumping off the cliff↑, ...

Ex 88: A13mm: bRE13

> A: there was not one book in this library on, what I needed for

> A: education, and but actually, Curtin has a [journal] article [but,
> → B: [yeh.]   [yeh.

> A: .hh I could have gone and got from there.

Ex 89: A13mm: aRE25, 26

> B: and it's a big chance for all the Nazis to jump on the bandwagon,

> B: (.) b̲a̲n̲ practically anything, from TV. ex[cept,] what they deem
> → A: [ye:h.]

> B: a[s-   =[moral (and new) or-]
> → A: [y̲e̲:h except=[and then you're getting] into censorship again.

Now we come to the issue of TRP coverage, i.e., when should a listener response token be regarded as occurring at a TRP? As was mentioned before, Clancy et al. used what they called the Complex Transition Relevance Places (CTRP) as a reference point for the placement of listener response tokens. They counted a token as occurring at a CTRP "if it occurred in the clear (i.e., not in overlap) immediately after the CTRP" (Clancy et al. 1996: 365). But if this over-rigid concept of CTRP is to be

applied to the TRP, it would necessarily fail to capture a whole range of spots which interlocutors systematically use for the placement of their listener response tokens. According to Jefferson (1983), TRP should not be taken as one fixed spot but it can fall along several different points near that of possible completion:

> there is some flexibility as to what 'at' a possible turn-ending is, which is why we talk of a transition <u>place</u> instead of a transition <u>point</u>" (Jefferson 1983: 3, original underlining).

Thus in line with our previous distinction between Transitional and Nontransitional overlaps in terms of overlap onset (see Section 3.1.1 in Chapter 5), I will use the same principle to distinguish between listener response tokens occurring at transitional points and those occurring at nontransitional points. Specifically, I make the length of two syllables a demarcation point between transitional listener response tokens and nontransitional ones. That is, if a listener response token occurs more than two syllables away from any transitional relevance places, whether it occurs in the clear or in overlap, it will be counted as occurring at a nontransitional point (cf. West & Zimmerman 1983; Clancy et al. 1996). Otherwise, it will be counted as occurring at a TRP. In the following example from the Australian data, the 5 listener response tokens (one BC and 4 REs) produced by B are all counted as occurring at a TRP. More specifically, the second token occurs at the Last Item position, the third at a Terminal position, and the rest (i.e., the first, the fourth and the fifth) all occur at the 'Unmarked Next' position.

Ex 90: A1ff: bRE2, 3, 4, 5 & bBC2

        A: O::H got this stupid thing at work. .hh[h it's called super crew↑.
1 → B: [yeh.

        B: heh [hh heh heh heh
        A: [and you know they try to make us work ha:rd. .hh anyway

        A: there's incentive right 'cos they're all different stations in my

        A: [work↑=like how you cook all the bur[gers an'-, .h[hh
2&3→ B: [yeh.   [yeh.   [what do

4 → B: you do?   [yeh.
        A: um I do front counter↑. .hh like ser[ving people in

        A: dining room and fries and s[tuff like that. .hhhh like o::h you
5 → B: [hm.

        A: will not believe it, er it's so cra::ss

In contrast, the listener response tokens in the following examples (again taken from the Australian data for the sake of space) are all counted as occurring at a non-TRP. Specifically, the backchannel in Ex 91 is a case of Progressive onset and the Reactive Expression in Ex 92 is one of Recognitional onset.

Ex 91: A11mm: bBC1

        A: also I suppose um, that would be sh-that would really be sort

        A: of u::[m, more the distance assassination. rather than the sort
    → B: [°hm°

        A: of-, (0.2) the back of the head, close range kind of deal.

Ex 92: A2ff:: bRE14

    B: but then again, .hh would he be classed as a second year or

→ B: first year.   [yeh. ↑first   year.   ]
    A: fir-he shou-[he would've tried out with all fir]st years.

3.4 Summary

This section outlines the analytic framework for the quantitative comparison of listener response use by Chinese and Australian speakers in their respective intracultural conversations. Based upon Clancy et al.'s (1996) analytic model, it distinguishes five types of listener response tokens --- Backchannels, Reactive Expressions, Collaborative Finishes, Repetition and Resumptive Openers. The ensuing section, by using this framework, compares the use of listener response tokens in Chinese and Australian conversations in three main aspects: the frequency of listener response tokens used, the types of listener response tokens favoured, and the placements of these tokens with reference to a transition relevance place.

4. Results and discussion

This section reports on the results obtained by applying the analytic framework for quantitative comparison which was outlined in the preceding section to the Chinese and Australian data for this study. As in our reports of results for overlap use in the previous chapter (i.e., Chapter 5), the results in this chapter will also be divided into two major parts. The first part will be concerned with the cultural differences or

similarities on the use of listener responses, and the second part will be concerned with the gender-related patterns of listener response use in Chinese and Australian intracultural conversations respectively.

4.1 Chinese and Australian use of listener responses

4.1.1 Overall frequency of listener responses
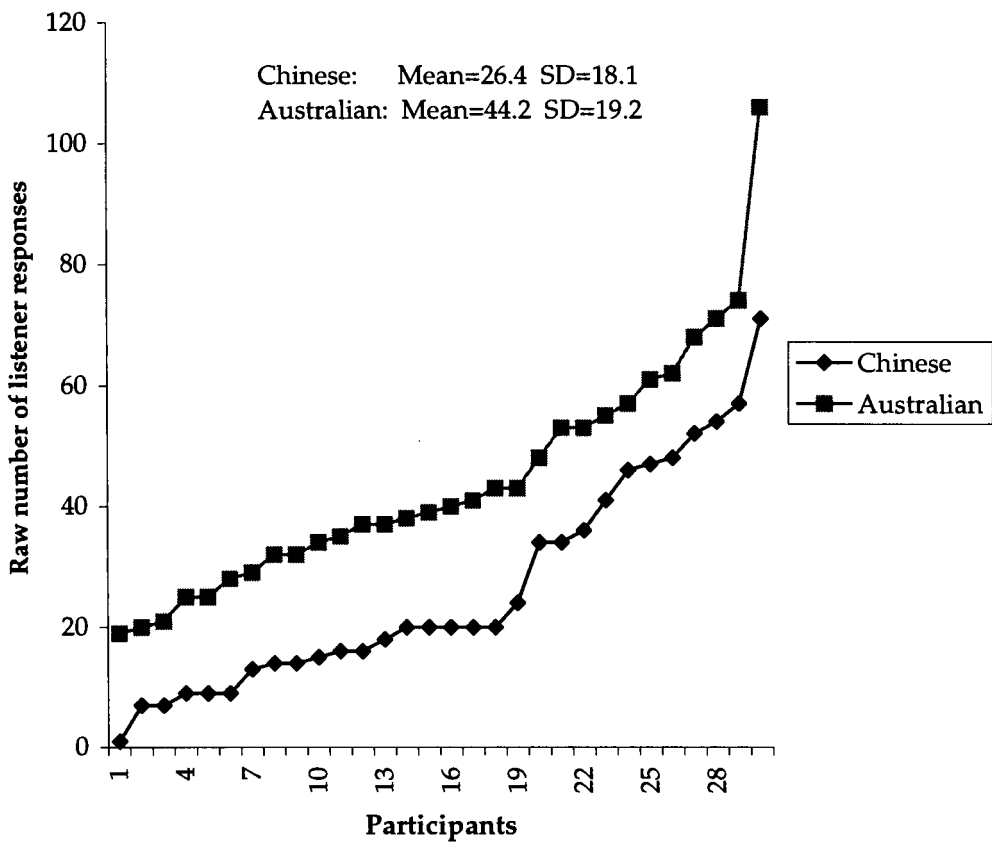
Figure 6-1 Frequency of listener responses in Chinese and Australian conversations

Figure 6-1 shows the number of listener responses that each of the 60 Australian and Chinese speakers produced in a 10-minute conversation. It shows quite clearly that the Australian speakers (with a mean of 44.2)

uttered many more listener responses than Chinese speakers (with a mean of 26.4). The Mann-Whitney U-test results confirm the significance of the difference between these two groups of speakers in terms of the total number of listener responses they produced in the conversation [U (30, 30)=1; p<0.001; 2-tailed].

This result adds strong evidence to the observation by many previous researchers that Chinese speakers are relatively rare users of listener responses in conversation --- in comparison with speakers of many other cultures such as Americans (e.g., Tao & Thompson 1991; Clancy et al. 1996), Japanese (Clancy et al. 1996; Mizuno 1988 [cited in Clancy et al 1996]; Liu 1987 [cited in Clancy et al 1996]), Germans (Günthner 1993) and now Australians. If the use of listener responses constitutes an important (in fact it can be the most conspicuous) aspect of the feedback that a non-primary speaker gives to the primary speaker, then Chinese non-primary speakers, when compared to their Australian counterparts or those of some other cultural groups (such as Japanese, Germans and Americans), may seem to take on quite a passive role in supporting the primary speaker in a conversation. Whether Chinese non-primary speakers use means of reacting to the talk of the primary speaker other than listener responses (e.g., nonverbal cues) awaits further research (for the use of overlaps, see Chapter 5).

4.1.2 Distribution of listener response types

Table 6-3 compares the distribution of the five types of listener responses in Australian and Chinese conversations. The most striking

difference between the two groups of speakers is in the relative frequencies of BCs and REs they use. For the Chinese speakers, the most favoured type of listener response is clearly BC, which occupies 44% of all the listener response tokens they uttered. RE is the second, comprising about a third of all the listener response tokens they used (29%). But for the Australian speakers, RE is obviously their favourite type of listener response with about two thirds of all their listener response tokens being RE (63%). BC, on the other hand, is the distant second, taking up a little more than a fifth of the total listener response tokens they produced (22%). The rankings for the three minority types of listener response are similar in the two languages with RO being the third and CF and RP being the remote fourth and fifth.

	BC	*RE*	*RO*	*CF*	*RP*	*Total*
Chinese	348	228	134	51	31	792
	(44%)	(29%)	(17%)	(6%)	(4%)	(100%)
Australian	288	833	141	39	25	1326
	(22%)	(63%)	(11%)	(3%)	(2%)	(100%)

Table 6-3 Distribution of different types of listener responses in Australian and Chinese conversations

This result does not seem to conform to that of Clancy et al.'s study (1996), where they found that Chinese and American English speakers had similar preferences in the use of BC and RE. In their study, BC was the preferred form of listener response for both Chinese and American English speakers, comprising 47.2% and 37.9% of all listener response tokens respectively. RE was the second most favoured form of listener response for both languages, occupying almost the same percentage of

all listener response tokens (i.e., 31.1% for Chinese speakers and 34.2% for American English speakers). The most conspicuous discrepancy seems to lie in the use of RE for Australian and American speakers. While the Australian speakers in my study use a very great proportion of RE as their listener responses (i.e., 63%), the American speakers in Clancy et al.'s study (1996) used only 34.2% of RE as their listener responses.

This discrepancy between the result of this study and that of Clancy et al. (1996) with respect to the distribution of the different types of listener response tokens (and more specifically to the use of RE) can be due to both methodological and cultural factors. Methodologically, the two studies differ from each other mainly in that whereas this study adopts a definition of RE which includes not only free-standing tokens but also turn-incipient ones, RE in Clancy et al.'s study (1996) may have only included free-standing lexical items or expressions (pp. 359-360). This definitional difference for RE (and perhaps that for BC as well) may account for part of the discrepancy in this respect. But the more likely reason may be that the RE token 'yeh' in Australian conversation, which constitutes a majority of all RE tokens, is very often used by the Australian speakers as a substitute of non-lexical continuers such as 'mm hm' and 'uh huh', which might be the more often-used forms of continuer in American English (cf Schegloff 1982). As we mentioned earlier in Section 2.1 this Chapter, a number of participants in Australian conversations used the token 'yeh' for both displaying passive recipiency and showing speakership incipiency, and they rarely used any other tokens for aligning themselves as a recipient. It can be the

case that the American English speakers in Clancy et al.'s study (1996) may have used different tokens for different purposes, thus resulting in the relatively low frequency of RE on their part (pp. 370-371).

4.1.3 Placement of listener responses

	Transitional	Nontransitional	Total
Chinese	596 (75%)	196 (25%)	792 (100%)
Australian	1153 (87%)	173 (13%)	1326 (100%)

Table 6-4 Number and percentage of transitional and nontransitional listener responses

Table 6-4 shows the number of listener responses which occur at TRP (i.e., transitional listener responses) and Non-TRP (i.e., nontransitional listener responses) together with their percentages of the total number of listener responses produced by Chinese and Australian speakers. The pattern is strikingly similar to the one we got for their use of Transitional and Nontransitional overlaps (see Section 4.1.2 in Chapter 5). First, both Chinese and Australian speakers place a great majority of their listener responses at a point of possible completion rather than during a turn. Second, Australians obviously place a higher percentage of their listener responses at TRP (87%) than Chinese speakers (75%) whereas Chinese speakers place a larger proportion of their listener responses during a turn (25%) than do their Australian counterparts (13%). This difference can be more clearly seen in Figure 6-2.
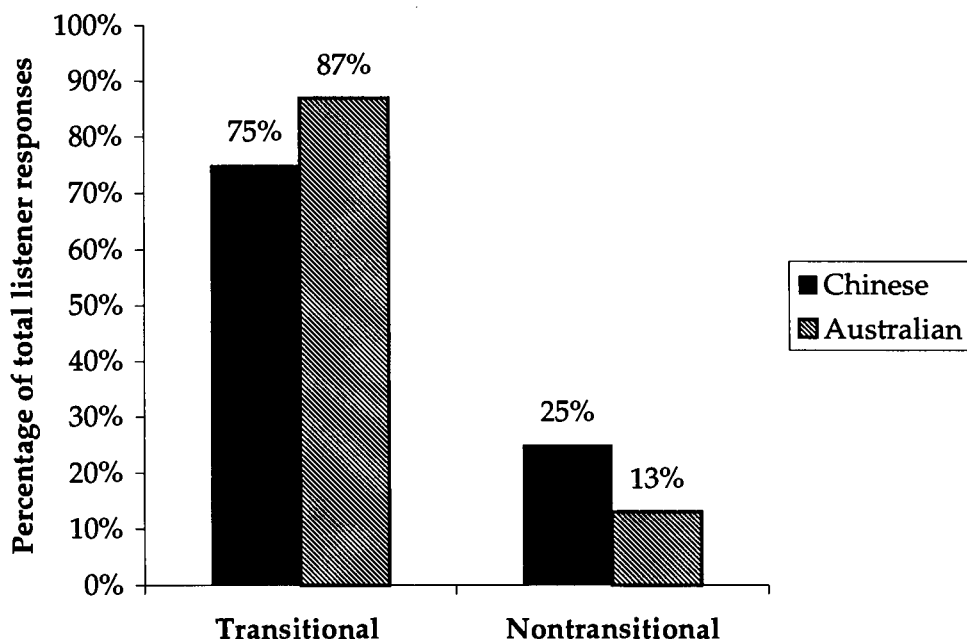
**Figure 6-2 Percentages of Transitional and Nontransitional listener
responses in Chinese and Australian conversations**

This result does not seem to agree very well with that of Clancy et al.'s
study (1996). In their study, Chinese speakers place a higher percentage
of their listener responses at TRP (or Grammatical Completion Points in
their terminology) (88%) than American English speakers (78%). What
is most noteworthy here is that a higher percentage of transitional
listener responses were found for the Chinese speakers in their study
(i.e., 88%) than in mine (75%). This can be due to the different types of
data we collected. The data they collected consisted of eight very short
conversations with no control of gender groupings and group size as
well as no specification of participants' age and social status, whereas
the data for this study are all extended dyadic conversations between
friends of similar age and social status (see Section 3.3.2 in Chapter 4).
But two other factors may also come into play which may have given
rise to this mismatch. The first one is again the definitional differences

for the term TRP between the two studies. The concept of Grammatical Completion Point in Clancy et al.'s study (1996) is much narrower than that of TRP in my study. In their study, they may have only counted a listener response as occuring at a TRP when it occurred in the clear (i.e., not in overlap) immediately after the TRP. In this study, however, we count a listener response as occurring at TRP whenever it falls within two syllables of a possible completion point, whether it occurs in the clear or in overlap (see Section 3.2 this Chapter). It is possible that this technical difference in terms of the definition of TRP may be part of the reason for the two different results obtained by the two studies. One other possible reason behind this mismatch can also be the smallness of the database in Clancy et al.'s study, which finds only 35 listener responses altogether for their eight Chinese conversations (as compared with the 792 listener responses for the 15 Chinese conversations in this study) (see Fig. 1 in Clancy et al.'s study).

4.1.4 Discussion

In this section, we compared the use of listener responses by Australian and Chinese speakers in their respective intracultural conversations. The comparison was made in three aspects: overall frequency of listener responses, preference of listener response types and the placements of listener responses with reference to a possible completion point. In all these three areas, differences have been located between the two groups of speakers. Firstly, Australians use significantly more listener responses than Chinese speakers; secondly, Australians prefer to use linguistic lexical expressions such as 'yeh' and 'right' as their reaction to

the primary speaker's ongoing talk whereas Chinese speakers favour the use of paralinguistic vocalic forms such as 'hm' and 'ah'; and finally, while both Chinese and Australian speakers place a great majority of their listener responses at a possible completion point, Australians place a higher percentage of their listener responses at TRP than Chinese speakers, and Chinese speakers, on the other hand, place a larger proportion of their listener responses during a turn than do their Australian counterparts. Among these three differences which we found between Australians and Chinese in the use of listener responses, the second one (i.e., Australians favour the use of Reactive Expressions more than Chinese while Chinese favour the use of Backchannels more than Australians) may to a large extent be the result of more individual speakers predominantly using one type of listener response (i.e., Reactive Expressions) and not using the other type (i.e., Backchannels) in Australian conversations than in Chinese ones. The other two differences, however, may strongly suggest a culture-specific pattern in the use of listener responses.

The results which show that Chinese use a larger proportion of their listener responses during a turn than Australians and that Australians place a higher percentage of their listener responses at a point of possible completion than Chinese are in parallel with our findings on their use of Transitional and Nontransitional overlaps (see Section 4.1.2 in Chapter 5). This may indicate again the use of different supportive strategies for their fellow participants in a conversation by Australians and Chinese conversationalists and may, as will be discussed below, reflect their underlying cultural patterns of behaviour in general.

The finding that Chinese use far less listener responses in general than Australians is consistent with prior research that Chinese are rare-users of listener responses (e.g., Tao & Thompson 1991; Clancy et al. 1996; Mizuno 1988 [cited in Clancy et al 1996]; Liu 1987 [cited in Clancy et al 1996]; Günthner 1993). Why this is so has been offered a number of explanations by previous researchers. But these explanations have been largely unsatisfactory. For example, Clancy et al. (1996) speculated that the differential use of listener responses by different groups of people is related to "such culture-specific interactional phenomena as politeness strategies" (p. 382). According to them, Chinese recipients' infrequent use of listener responses is an indication of their deference and non-interference towards the speakers' right "to formulate and produce their talk undisturbed" (p. 382). In terms of the use of politeness strategy, they suggest that Chinese speakers use, in their interaction with each other, a politeness strategy of non-imposition/freedom ('Don't impose' and 'Give options') (Lakoff 1973, 1975) or negative politeness (the wish for one's actions to be unimpeded by others) (Brown & Levinson 1978, 1987), in contrast of that of camaraderie ('Make A feel good - be friendly') (Lakoff 1973, 1975) or positive politeness (the wish for one's wants to be desirable, i.e., the wish to be appreciated) (Brown & Levinson 1978, 1987). The more frequent use of listener responses on the part of Australians (as well as Japanese, Germans and Americans) will then indicate their use of camaraderie or positive politeness as their interactional strategies.

While this interpretation may quite fittingly explain the frequency

pattern of use of listener responses alone, it fails to explain the frequency pattern of use of both listener responses and overlaps (for the latter, see Chapter 5) and the pattern of their placements in the conversational context. First, although Chinese use fewer listener responses than Australians (as well as Americans, Japanese, and Germans), they use almost as many overlaps as Australians. Moreover, they use a higher proportion of their overlaps and listener responses at a nontransitional relevance place (i.e., during the turn) than their Australian counterparts. Both these findings indicate that Chinese speakers can be and are at least as 'intrusive' or 'interfering' towards the other speaker's turn as Australians, among others.

In search of a more convincing interpretation for the pattern of use of conversational strategies (such as overlaps and listener responses) and behaviours beyond, I find useful the more culture-specific concepts of individualistic and collectivistic cultures (e.g., Hofstede 1980, 1984, 1991; see Section 3.1.1 in Chapter 2). According to Hofstede (1980, 1984, 1991) and probably many other researchers (e.g., the Chinese Culture Connection 1987; Triandis 1990, 1992; Triandis et al. 1988), Chinese culture is largely one of collectivism, emphasising interdependence and group-centredness whereas Australian culture is one of individualism, emphasising personal identity and independence. However, if these concepts were to be directly applied to the linguistic politeness strategies without examining how they are actually reflected in the cultures themselves, we would anticipate that Chinese would use more politeness strategies related to camaraderie or positive face whereas Australians would use more related to non-imposition/freedom or

negative face. This would lead us to the prediction that Chinese may use more overlaps and listener responses to show their interdependence and camaraderie whereas Australians may use fewer overlaps and listener responses as a reflection of their independence and non-imposition. This is obviously not true according to the findings of this study.

The problem with this explanation is not to do with the concepts of individualism and collectivism themselves, but with the too simplistic, and more importantly, decontextualised denotations assigned to them. Individualism and collectivism may have such overriding meanings of independence and interdependence respectively, but their specific meanings may differ from culture to culture. In other words, cultures which may be said to be collectivism-oriented (such as Chinese, Japanese and Korean) can each have their own cultural characteristics and these characteristics may undergo change over a period of time. I contend that the overarching difference between collectivism- and individualism-oriented cultures may not be so much to do with the relatively dichotomous distinction between interdependence and independence as to do with the extent to which individual rights and obligations in every sphere of social life (including social interaction) are implicitly or explicitly stated (cf. Hall's concepts of high- vs low-context cultures [Hall 1976; see also Section 3.1.2 in Chapter 2]). For Chinese culture, the rights and obligations of an individual seem to be more implicit whereas for Australian culture, an individual's rights and obligations seem to be more explicit. In a conversational context, for example, the rights and obligations of a speaker and a listener may not

be as clearly-specified for a Chinese conversationalist as for an Australian one. Thus there can be more tolerance of more "intrusive" overlaps and listener responses and of lack of feedback on the part of Chinese than on the part of Australians. This contention, however, awaits further scrutiny and empirical verification.

While emphasising the strong culture specificity in the use of listener responses between Australians and Chinese, we are at the same time not denying many other factors which influence their use. For one thing, gender, as we shall see in the succeeding sections, plays different roles in the use of listener responses in conversations of the two languages. For another, great variations have been observed between individual speakers, indicating the existence of within-culture individual differences in the use of listener responses. Furthermore, as the subjects of the study are all university students within the age range of 17 to 26, whether the results can be generalised to other population groups is not known. Finally, as we shall discuss later, there are definitely other contextual factors such as the choice of conversational topics and the degree of intimacy between the speakers which can also influence the use of listener responses (for a related theme on overlap, see Section 4.2.3.2 in Chapter 5; cf. Stubbe 1998).

4.2 Gender-related patterns in the use of listener responses in Chinese and Australian conversations

Listener responses are one of the most widely studied conversational phenomena which have been claimed to show gender-related

differences and be a source of conflict between males and females (e.g., Maltz & Borker 1982). Although a majority of studies in this respect seem to support the claim that women use more listener responses than men do, most of these studies have been based on British and American data of the past decade or even earlier (e.g., Hirschman 1973/1994; Leet-Pellegrini 1980; Fishman 1978; Roger & Schumacher 1983; Roger & Nessohoever 1987) and no similar studies seem to have been done in Australian English and Mandarin Chinese. Although we may assume that Australians' use of listener responses resemble to a certain extent the pattern of use by Americans or the British, we should not feel surprised at all if some drastic changes of pattern in the use of listener responses by men and women have occurred during the past decade(s), as the continual development of feminist linguistic movement during this period can not be said to be without any impact (cf Pauwels 1998). Thus in this section, we aim to find out whether there is a gender-differential pattern in Australian intracultural conversations in the use of listener responses and if this is so, whether this pattern holds true universally or at least cross-culturally in Chinese intracultural conversations.

4.2.1 Gender patterns in Australian conversations

This section will be divided into two related parts, one which examines male and female use of listener responses without distinguishing different dyadic groups and the other which looks at their use of listener responses by comparing the three dyadic groups (i.e., the all female groups, the all male groups, and the mixed-gender groups). For each

part, three aspects will be compared, that is, the overall frequency of listener responses, the use of listener response types, and the placements of listener responses.

4.2.1.1 Gender patterns across all dyadic groups

This section examines whether there is a gender-differential pattern in the use of listener responses across all dyadic groups. That is to say, it will examine the use of listener responses by males and females regardless of whether they are interacting in same-gender dyads or in opposite-gender ones.

Frequency of listener responses

Figure 6-3 shows the frequency of listener responses produced by male and female speakers in Australian conversations. It is apparent from the figure that there is no difference between the male (mean=43.1) and female speakers (mean=45.3) in the number of listener responses they used in the conversations. Thus contrary to the findings of many previous researches (e.g., Hirschman 1973/1994; Leet-Pellegrini 1980; Fishman 1978; Roger & Schumacher 1983; Roger & Nessohoever 1987), no gender-differential pattern can be established for the Australian conversations in terms of the frequency use of listener responses.
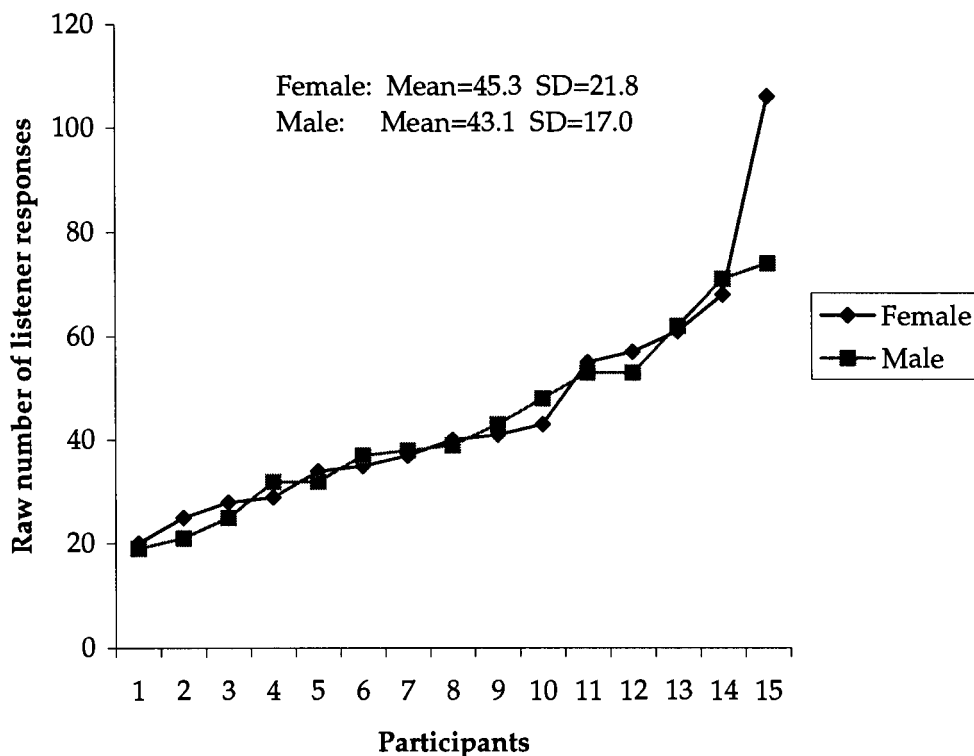
Figure 6-3 Frequency of listener responses produced by males and females in Australian conversations

Distribution of listener response types

Table 6-5 shows the use of listener response types by male and female speakers in Australian conversations. It can be seen from this table that while the preference order for males and females in their use of the five listener response types is largely similar with RE taking up the greatest proportion, followed by BC, and then by RO, and finally by CF and RP, some differences can also be detected. First, while females preferred the use of CF (5%) more than RP (2%) , the reverse is true of males' use of these two types of listener response (i.e., males favour the use of RP [2%] more than CF [1%]). But the figures for CF and RP, which only constitute a very small fraction of the total number of listener responses

for both males and females, may be too small to be of any significance. The more noteworthy difference is perhaps in the use of BC and RE, the two most frequently used listener response types by males and females. Whereas males use a larger proportion of RE than females (71% for males vs 55% for females), females use a higher percentage of BC than males (28% for females vs 15% for males). Whether this difference parallels females' tendency to use more non-judgemental listener responses and males' tendency to use more judgemental ones is not known and, and to establish this, further research is needed to explore the functions of each individual listener response token.

	BC	RE	RO	CF	RP	Total
Male	98	462	69	5	13	647
	(15%)	(71%)	(11%)	(1%)	(2%)	(100%)
Female	190	371	72	34	12	679
	(28%)	(55%)	(11%)	(5%)	(2%)	(100%)

Table 6-5 Distribution of listener response types in Australian conversations

Placements of listener responses

Table 6-6 displays the number of listener responses which occur at TRP (i.e., transitional listener responses) and those which occur at nontransitional relevance places (i.e., nontransitional listener responses) together with their percentages of the total number of listener responses produced by male and female speakers. The pattern is strikingly similar for males and females in that they both use a great majority of their listener responses at a point of possible completion (89% for males and

85% for females) and use only a small minority during the turn (11% for males and 15% for females). Although there may be a very slight tendency for females to use more listener responses at a point of possible completion than males and for males to produce more listener responses during the turn, again the difference is clearly too small to be significant.

	Transitional	Nontransitional	Total
Male	578 (89%)	69 (11%)	647 (100%)
Female	575 (85%)	104 (15%)	679 (100%)

Table 6-6 Placements of listener responses by males and females in Australian conversations

4.2.1.2 Gender patterns in the comparison of different dyadic groups

This section will be directed to the examination of gender patterns in all male, all female and mixed-gender dyads to see whether any gender differences exist between these dyadic groups in the use of listener responses. Through this examination, the gender of partner effects can be subsequently revealed, that is, whether a same-gender partner or an opposite-gender partner makes any difference in the use of listener responses.

Frequency of listener responses

Table 6-7 shows the mean scores (together with the standard deviations) and total numbers of listener responses in all the three dyadic groups, i.e., the all-female, the all-male and the mixed-gender dyads. No

difference can be found among these three dyadic groups in terms of the frequency of listener responses used. This is not surprising as all the dyadic groups exhibited great within-group variations, particularly so for the mixed-gender dyads (SD=25.9).

DYADIC TYPES	Mean (SD)	Sum
F-F	42.9 (16.6)	429
M-M	45.1 (15.6)	451
M-F	44.6 (25.9)	446
TOTAL	44.2 (19.2)	1326

Table 6-7 Frequency of listener responses in the three dyadic groups in Australian conversations

When mixed-gender dyads are compared with the two same-gender dyads, it is necessary to isolate the gender element so that a clearer picture can be seen of the performance of the speakers in different gender groupings. Table 6-8 shows the separate mean scores of the five female speakers and their five male conversation partners in mixed-gender dyads in comparison with the means scores of the five pairs of speakers in the same-gender female as well as in the same-gender male dyads.

	F (M-F)	M (M-M)	F (F-F)	M (M-F)	Total
Mean	50	45.1	42.9	39.2	44.2
(SD)	(31.7)	(15.6)	(16.6)	(20.8)	(19.2)

Table 6-8 Means scores of listener responses produced by females and males in three dyadic groups in Australian conversations
Note: F (F-F) stands for the mean listener response scores of female speakers in same-gender female dyads (i.e., F-F). The same applies to F (M-F), M (M-F) and M (M-M).

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It can be seen from this table that there is a slight tendency for the males to decrease and for the females to increase their use of listener responses in the mixed-gender dyads in comparison with their respective same-gender dyads. Thus males seem to produce fewer listener responses in mixed-gender dyads (mean=39.2) than in all male dyads (mean=45.1). Females, however, seem to produce more listener responses in mixed-gender dyads (mean=50) than in all female dyads (mean=42.9). But with such great variations as in the mixed-gender dyads (manifested by the large standard deviations for both females [SD=31.7] and males [SD=20.8]), these differences may not be of any significance at all. The same is also true of the direct comparison between females and males in their use of listener responses. Although the female speakers in the mixed-gender dyads seem to use more listener responses (Mean=50) than their male partners (Mean=39.2), the difference is obviously the result of one of the female speaker's (i.e., the female speaker in Dyad a8mf) outstanding numbers of listener responses as can be seen from Figure 6-4. Thus apparently no gender-differential pattern of listener response use can be established between the male and female speakers in the mixed-gender dyads.

**Figure 6-4 Frequency of listener responses in Australian
mixed-gender dyads**
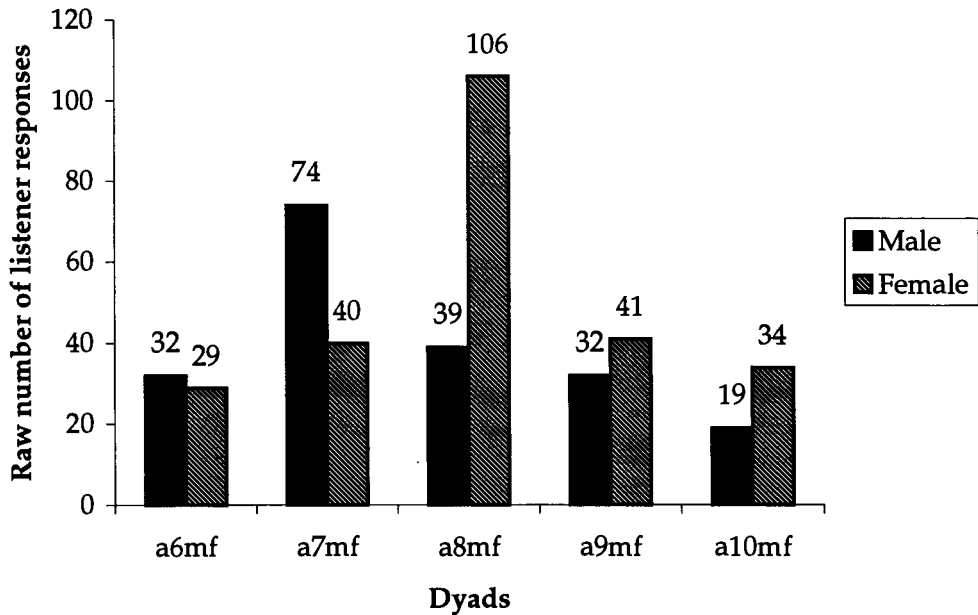
The result that little difference can be found between females and males in mixed-gender dyads in terms of the frequency use of listener responses may be due to potentially unequal opportunities available to them. For example, it can be the case that some of the speakers (they can be either male or female) may have spent a larger proportion of time speaking and a smaller proportion of time listening, thus having fewer opportunities to provide listener responses. Some other speakers, on the other hand, may have spent a smaller proportion of time speaking and a larger proportion of time listening, thus having more opportunities to give listener responses. Therefore, it is possible that a better measure of listener response frequencies would be a proportional rate of listener responses in relation to the amount of speech. There have been a number of studies which have used the rate as their measure of listener response frequencies. But these studies differed from each other either in terms of their measurement of amount of

speech or in terms of their choice of the listener response user's or their partner's amount of speech. First, with respect to the measurement of amount of speech, some studies used the speakers' actual speech duration or talking time as measured in, e.g., seconds (e.g., Roger & Nesshoever 1987; Roger & Schumacher 1983; Kollock, Blumstein, & Schwartz 1985; Malam 1996; Maynard 1997); some used the number of speaker switches or speaker changes (e.g., Tao & Thompson 1991; Clancy et al. 1996); and still others used the number of words used (e.g., Stubbe 1998). Thus for example, in Clancy et al.'s study, the rate of listener responses is expressed as the ratio of listener responses to total number of speaker changes whereas in Stubbe's study, it is expressed as the number of listener responses per 1000 words. Second, while some studies produce a rate by dividing the number of listener responses by the amount of speech that the other participant(s) make (e.g., Roger & Nesshoever 1987; Roger & Schumacher 1983; Malam 1996; Maynard 1997), others seem to have measured the rate by dividing the number of listener responses individuals produced by the amount of speech they made themselves (e.g., Kollock, Blumstein, & Schwartz 1985; Tao & Thompson 1991; Clancy et al. 1996; Stubbe 1998).

For the first aspect, i.e., the measurement of the amount of speech, while the use of speech duration may prove to be too technically demanding and the use of speaker switches may be somewhat controversial and unreliable, the use of the number of words used would seem to be a more viable option. As to the second aspect, i.e., how the rate is produced, if the rate is measured by dividing the number of listener responses one produced by the amount of speech s/he made

him/herself, it would not be very different from the use of raw numbers for the frequency measurement as it does not reflect the (in)equality of opportunities available to the two parties in a conversational dyad. Thus in this study, the adjusted frequency of listener responses used by male and female speakers in mixed-gender dyads will be expressed in terms of the rate of total number of listener responses uttered by one interlocutor per 1000 words of his/her conversing partner. For example, in Dyad a6mf, the male speaker uttered 995 words and produced 32 listener responses whereas the female speaker uttered 1454 words altogether and produced 29 listener responses. Their respective adjusted frequencies of listener responses would be 22.0 (obtained by 32*1000/1454) for the male speaker and 29.2 for the female speaker (obtained by 29*1000/995).

Figure 6-5 shows the adjusted frequency of listener responses for all the 10 participants in Australian mixed-gender dyads. Again, no clear gender-differential pattern can be seen from this figure. Among the five dyads, two (i.e., a7mf and a9mf) have the male speaker producing a higher rate of listener responses than their female conversant whereas the other three (i.e., a6mf, a8mf and a10mf) have the female speaker producing a higher rate than their male partner. Thus although in general females seem to produce a higher rate of listener responses (mean=39.8) than males (mean=31.1), the difference can not be expected to be of any significance.

Figure 6-5 Adjusted frequency of listener responses in Australian mixed-gender dyads

Male: Mean=31.1 SD=12.9
Female: Mean=39.8 SD=20.0
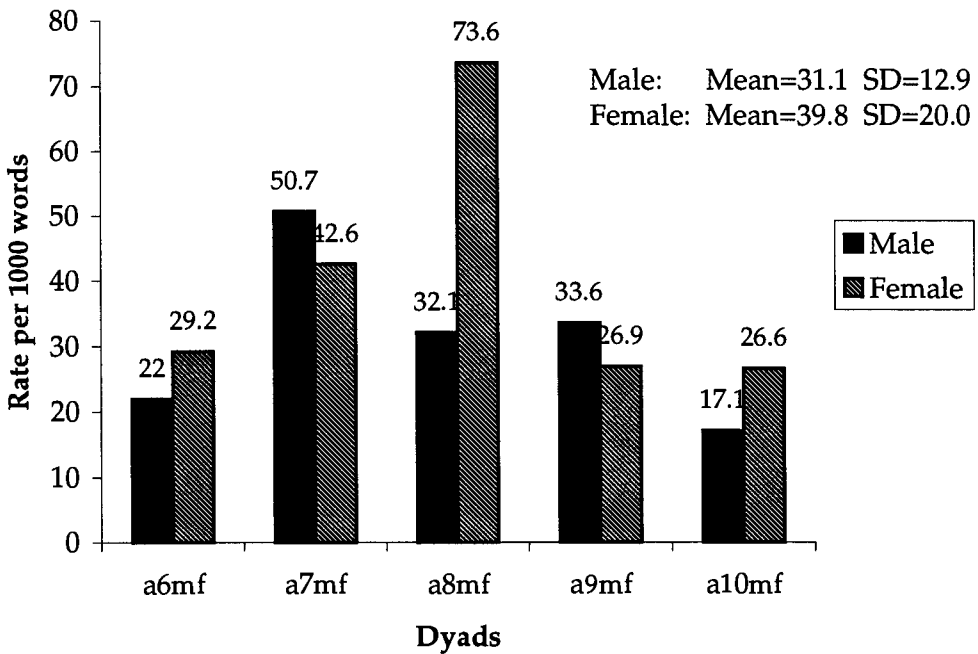
Distribution of listener response types

Table 6-9 compares the distribution of the five types of listener responses in the three dyadic groups, i.e., F-F, F-M, and M-M. In general, for all the three dyadic groups, the most favoured type of listener responses is RE with all their proportions well above the 50% mark. The distant second is BC, taking up less than one third of the total number of listener responses produced in the three dyadic groups. RO comes third, taking up about 10% of the total number of listener responses for the three dyadic groups. The least used types of listener responses for all the three dyadic groups are CF and RP with their percentages ranging from a mere 1% to 5%.

	BC	RE	RO	CF	RP	TOTAL
F-F	122	238	42	21	6	429
	(28%)	(56%)	(10%)	(5%)	(1%)	(100%)
M-M	68	327	43	4	9	451
	(15%)	(73%)	(10%)	(1%)	(2%)	(100%)
M-F	98	268	56	14	10	446
	(22%)	(60%)	(13%)	(3%)	(2%)	(100%)

Table 6-9 Distribution of listener response types in the Australian three dyadic groups

The major difference in the distribution of listener response types among the three dyadic groups in Australian conversations seems to lie in the relative proportions of listener responses they used as RE and BC. For RE, the all male dyads have the largest proportion of RE (73%), the mixed-gender dyads the second (60%), and the all female dyads the smallest (56%). But the order for BC is reversed, with the all-female dyads having the largest proportion of BC (28%), the all male dyads having the smallest (15%) and still the mixed-gender dyads occupying the median position (22%). It is tempting to suggest from this result that the all male dyads used a larger proportion of judgemental type of listener responses than the all female dyads while the latter used a higher percentage of non-judgemental ones than the all male dyads. But as we mentioned earlier, the form of a listener response token is not always a good indication of the functions it performs in a conversational context. For example, the token 'yeh' (one RE form) was used by some participants both as a passive recipient token and as a turn-incipient one. Even here, the distinction between recipiency and speakership will definitely not be the same as judgement or nonjudgement. Further

studies are needed to determine the meaning and pragmatic functions of specific listener response tokens in a conversation.

	BC	RE	RO	CF	RP	TOTAL
Male	30	135	26	1	4	196
	(15%)	(69%)	(13%)	(1%)	(2%)	(100%)
Female	68	133	30	13	6	250
	(27%)	(53%)	(12%)	(5%)	(2%)	(100%)

Table 6-10 Distribution of listener response types in Australian mixed-gender dyads

As to the mixed-gender dyads, it would again be more useful to examine the performance of male and female speakers separately. Table 6-10 compares the use of the five types of listener responses by male and female speakers in the five mixed-gender dyads. It can be seen from this table that the male and female speakers in mixed-gender dyads do not seem to have greatly changed their use of the different types of listener responses from their same-gender behaviours. First, the preference rankings for them remain the same as in the same-gender dyads, with RE being the favourite type of listener responses, BC being the second most favoured, RO the third, and CF and RP the last two. Second, males still use a larger proportion of RE (69%) than their female partners (53%) while females use a higher percentage of BC (27%) than their male partners (15%), though the difference is slightly smaller than that between the males and females in the two same-gender dyads (see Table 6-9 above), which may indicate a very slight tendency of accommodation by males and females from their same-gender behaviours to their mixed-gender ones (White 1989; for the discussion of

accommodation theory, see Street & Giles 1982; Giles 1984; Giles et al. 1987).

Placements of listener responses

Table 6-11 shows the number of listener responses which occur at transitional and nontransitional places (together with their respective percentage numbers) for the three dyadic groups in Australian conversations. No significant difference can be found among the three dyadic groups in their use of transitional and nontransitional listener responses. All these groups used a great majority of their listener responses at a point of possible completion (91% for the all male dyads, 89% for the all female dyads, 82% for the mixed-gender dyads) and only a very small minority in the midst of a turn (9% for the all male dyads, 11% for the all female dyads, 18% for the mixed-gender dyads).

	Transitional	*Nontransitional*	*Total*
M-M	409 (91%)	42 (9%)	451 (100%)
F-F	380 (89%%)	49 (11%)	429 (100%)
M-F	364 (82%)	82 (18%)	446 (100%)

Table 6-11 Placements of listener responses in the three dyadic groups in Australian conversations

A further examination (shown in Table 6-12 below) of the use of listener responses by males and females in the mixed-gender dyads does not seem to show a drastically different picture from that comparing the two same-gender dyads, though both males and females in the mixed-gender dyads seem to have used slightly (but obviously non-

significantly) more nontransitional listener responses (14% for males and 22% for females) than in the same-gender ones (9% for males and 11 percent for females). Thus again no differences can be found in terms of the placements of listener responses between the male and female speakers in the mixed-gender dyads.

	Transitional	Nontransitional	Total
Male	169 (86%)	27 (14%)	196 (100%)
Female	195 (78%)	55 (22%)	250 (100%)

Table 6-12 Placements of listener responses by males and females in Australian mixed-gender dyads

4.2.1.3 Discussion

This section (i.e., Section 4.2.1) compares the use of listener responses by males and females in Australian conversations in three aspects: the overall frequency of listener responses, the use of listener response types, and the placements of listener responses. The findings will be summarised and discussed in terms of these three aspects of listener response use.

First, with respect to the overall frequency of listener responses, no differences were found between males and females when listener response frequency was compared across the three dyadic groups (i.e., the all male groups, the all female groups, and the mixed-gender groups). In other words, females did not use more listener responses in a conversation than males. When we compared the three dyadic groups, they did not seem to differ from one another, either. That is, the

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all female dyads did not produce more listener responses than the all male dyads, and nor did they produce more listener responses than the mixed-gender dyads. In the mixed-gender dyads alone, the female speakers did not utter more listener responses than their male conversing partners. Thus overall, gender did not seem to predict the frequency of use of listener responses in Australian conversations.

Second, in terms of the use of different listener response types, when the three dyadic groups were combined, males and females had similar preference rankings, with Reactive Expressions (RE) being their favourite type of listener responses, followed by Backchannels (BC), and then by Resumptive Openers (RO), and finally by Collaborative Finishes (CF) or Repetitions (RP). The only slight difference lay in their use of RE and BC, the two most frequently used listener response types. Whereas males used a larger proportion of RE than females, females used a higher percentage of BC than males. The same pattern was found when we compared the three dyadic groups. These three groups again shared the same preference rankings, with RE the most preferred, followed by BC, then by RO, and finally by CF or RP. Again the major difference lay in the relative proportions of listener responses they used as RE and BC. For RE, the same-gender male dyads have the greatest proportion of RE, the mixed-gender dyads the second, and the same-gender female dyads the smallest. For BC, however, the same-gender female dyads have the highest percentage of BC, the mixed-gender dyads the second, and the same-gender male dyads the lowest. The difference in terms of the relative distribution of RE and BC between males and females and among the three dyadic groups may be largely due to the fact that some

of the speakers (perhaps more male speakers than female speakers) used predominantly RE as their listener response tokens (see Section 2.1 this Chapter). A slight accommodation may have been adopted by males and females from their same-gender behaviours to their mixed-gender ones in their use of RE and BC in that the mixed-gender dyads were always in the median position between the two same gender dyadic groups in terms of the relative proportion of use of RE and BC.

Finally, in regard to the placements of listener responses, males and females did not seem to differ from each other. They both used a great majority of their listener responses at a point of possible completion and a very small minority of them during a turn. When the three dyadic groups were compared, again little difference seemed to exist among them. All the three dyadic groups used most of their listener responses at a transition relevance place rather than during a turn. This held true for the male and female speakers in the mixed-gender dyads as well.

The findings that males and females did not differ very much in the use of listener responses, particularly in terms of the frequency of use of listener responses, are in strong disagreement with those of previous studies on gender differences in listener responsiveness (e.g., Hirschman 1973/1994; Leet-Pellegrini 1980; Fishman 1978; Roger & Schumacher 1983; Roger & Nessohoever 1987; for review of these studies, see Section 3.4 in Chapter 3). The reasons behind this inconsistency can be methodological, cultural, and/or historical.

Methodologically, previous researches differed from this present study

in a number of respects, including, for example, the phenomena addressed, the participants used, and the gender groupings investigated. For instance, a number of previous studies have examined only a few of the various listener response measures (e.g., Hirschman 1973/1994; Leet-Pellegrini 1980; Fishman 1978), have used conversation samples between unacquainted participants (e.g., Leet-Pellegrini 1980; Roger & Schumacher 1983; Roger & Nessohoever 1987), and have looked into only male-female interaction (e.g., Fishman 1978; Tottie). These methodological differences may contribute, at least partially, to the different results we obtained.

Culturally, previous studies which have found a gender differential use of listener responses were all based on data in languages other than Australian English. They include, for example, British and American English (e.g., Hirschman 1973/1994; Leet-Pellegrini 1980; Fishman 1978; Roger & Schumacher 1983; Roger & Nessohoever 1987; Tottie 1991), New Zealand English (e.g., Hyndman 1985; Gilbert 1990; both cited in Holmes 1995), Indian English (e.g., Valentine 1986), Greek (e.g., Makri-Tsilipakou 1994) and Swedish (e.g., Nordenstam 1992). It can be the case that Australians may have their distinctive gender patterns with respect to the use of listener responses. Thus it would seem to be an overgeneralisation to jump to any universal claim on the gender differential use of listener responses.

Historically, as we have mentioned earlier, most of the previous studies were conducted during the past two decades. It would be rather reckless to generalise their findings to the present era as social life,

including social interactional style, does undergo change over time even though this change may be gradual. Thus even if a gender differential use of listener responses, as evidenced in so many studies, may have existed in Australian conversations sometime in the past, it does not seem to be evident any longer in the present era.

What implications can we draw from the findings of the present study about the two major language and gender theories outlined earlier, i.e., the dominance theory and the difference theory (see Section 4 in Chapter 2)? With respect to the use of listener responses, the dominance theory was originally posited by Fishman (1978), who claimed that women do the routine maintenance work in a conversation and men control and benefit from it. According to her, the differential use of listener responses by men and women helped establish and maintain the hierarchical society of male dominance and female oppression. It is apparent, however, that such claims are not supported by the findings of this study. At least in the Australian context, men do not seem to do less maintenance work than women in a conversation, at least from the perspective of listener response use per se. This applies to conversation in general as well as to mixed-gender conversation in particular.

The difference theory was first postulated by Maltz & Borker (1982). According to them, men and women possess cultural differences in their conceptions of friendly conversation, in the rules they use to engage in it, and more importantly they believed, in the rules they use for interpreting it. Maltz & Borker (1982) argued that males and females come from different sociolinguistic subcultures and have learned to do

different things with words in a conversation. This, they believed, may result in miscommunication when males and females attempt to treat one another as equals.

In the case of minimal responses (similar to Backchannels in this study), Maltz & Borker (1982) suggested that these conversational strategies may "have significantly different meanings for men and women" (p. 202). Specifically, they hypothesised that for women a minimal response means something like "I'm listening to you, please continue," whereas for men they may mean "I agree with you" or "I follow your argument so far" (p. 202). Thus it is one thing to find out whether women use more listener responses than men or vice versa, it is another to discover whether listener responses are interpreted differently by men and women. Although in this study, no differences were found between men and women in, for example, frequency use of listener responses in Australian conversations, further research is needed to examine whether they engage in different rules for the interpretation of this conversational strategy in order to establish the validity of Maltz & Borker's claims (cf Holmes 1995: 58-59).

4.2.2 Gender patterns in Chinese conversations

The gender-related pattern in the use of listener responses in Chinese conversations is one of the least researched areas in sociolinguistic studies. Nothing seems to have been known about whether there is a differential use of listener responses by men and women in Chinese contexts. Recently, a few studies have been done on gender differences

on the level of morphology and lexicon (e.g., Ng & Burridge 1993), phrasal constructions such as proverbs (e.g., Zhang 1992), speech act use such as requesting (e.g., Hong 1997), and social attitudes (e.g., Chia et al. 1994). Some of these studies have shown that Chinese society was and remains one of a hierarchy with male dominance and female subordination (e.g., Zhang 1992; Ng & Burridge 1993). Unlike in many other cultures such as Australian, Chinese culture explicitly dichotomises the two genders into two antithetical though complementary forces, Yin and Yang, in which female represents the negative Yin forces (denoting passivity, weakness, subordination, and darkness) and male represents the positive Yang forces (denoting creativity, strength, domination, and brightness) (Zhang 1992: 601-602). With this polarised dichotomy, we may be able to foresee a more clear-cut gender role differentiation in conversational work in Chinese contexts than in Australian ones.

Like our discussion on gender patterns in Australian conversations, this section on gender patterns in Chinese conversations will be divided into two related parts, one which examines the gender patterns across all dyadic groups and the other which looks at gender patterns in comparison of the three different dyadic groups. Again, three aspects of listener response use will be compared, namely, the overall frequency of listener responses, the use of listener response types, and the placements of listener responses.

4.2.2.1 Gender patterns across all dyadic groups

<u>Frequency of listener responses</u>

Figure 6-6 displays the frequency of listener responses produced by male and female speakers in the 15 Chinese conversations. It shows quite a clear pattern that females (with a mean of 34.1) produced many more listener responses than males (with a mean of 18.7). The Mann-Whitney U-test results confirm the significance of the difference between these two groups of speakers in terms of frequency use of listener responses [U (15, 15)=1; p=0.011; 2-tailed].

Figure 6-6 Frequency of listener responses produced by males and females in Chinese conversations

Male: Mean=18.7 SD=13.9
Female: Mean=34.1 SD=18.9
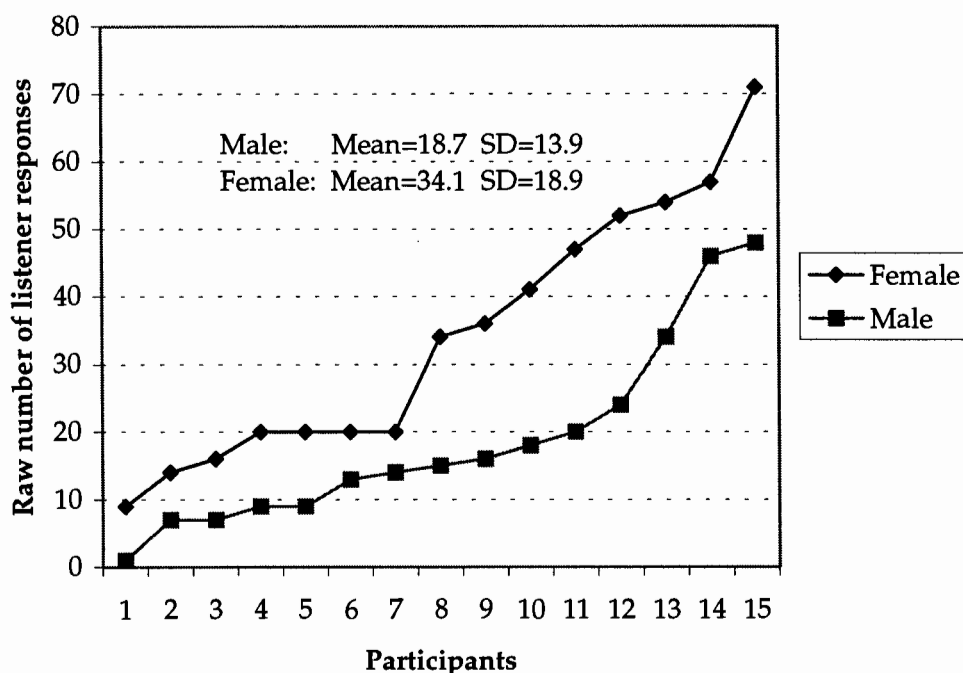
Distribution of listener response types

Table 6-13 shows the use of the five listener response types by male and female speakers in Chinese conversations. No differences can be found between males and females in their distributional use of the listener response types. Specifically, both males and females follow exactly the same preference order for the five listener response types: first BC, then RE, then RO, then CF, and finally RP. BC is the favourite type of listener response for them both, comprising almost half of the total number of the listener responses they produced (42% for males and 45% for females). RE is the second most favoured, constituting about one third (26% for males and 30% for females). RO is the distant third, occupying less than one fifth of the total number of their listener responses (19% for males and 16% for females). CF and RP are the least used listener response types for both males and females, with their percentages ranging from a mere 3% to 7%.

	BC	RE	RO	CF	RP	Total
Male	117	73	53	21	17	281
	(42%)	(26%)	(19%)	(7%)	(6%)	(100%)
Female	231	155	81	30	14	511
	(45%)	(30%)	(16%)	(6%)	(3%)	(100%)

Table 6-13 Distribution of listener response types in Chinese conversations

Placements of listener responses

Table 6-14 shows the number of listener responses which occur at a point of possible completion (i.e., transitional listener responses) and those which occur during a turn (i.e., nontransitional listener responses) together with their percentages of the total number of listener responses produced by male and female speakers. The distributional pattern is exactly the same for males and females in that they both use 75% of their listener responses at a point of possible transition and 25% at a point where transition is nowhere foreseeable.

	Transitional	Nontransitional	Total
Male	212 (75%)	69 (25%)	281 (100%)
Female	384 (75%)	127 (25%)	511 (100%)

Table 6-14 Placements of listener responses by males and females in Chinese conversations

4.2.2.2 Gender patterns in comparison of different dyadic groups

Frequency of listener responses

Table 6-15 shows the mean scores (together with the standard deviations) and total numbers of listener responses in all the three dyadic groups in Chinese conversations. A one-way anova test for these data revealed that the difference in the numbers of listener responses among the three dyadic pairs approaches significance [$F(2, 29)=2.85$, $p=0.075$]. Specifically, significantly more listener responses occurred in the same-gender female dyads than in the same-gender male dyads, as

confirmed by the Mann-Whitney U-test results [U (20, 20)=1; p=0.031; 2-tailed]. No significant difference was found between the same-gender female dyads and the mixed-gender dyads and between the same-gender male dyads and the mixed-gender ones.

DYADIC TYPES	Mean (SD)	Sum
F-F	33.9 (18.2)	339
M-M	16.3 (13.0)	163
M-F	29.0 (19.2)	290
TOTAL	26.4 (18.1)	792

Table 6-15 Frequency of listener responses in the three dyadic groups in Chinese conversations

In order to examine the use of listener responses by male and female speakers in the mixed-gender dyads, we need to study this dyadic type in greater detail. Table 6-16 shows the separate mean scores of the five female speakers and their five male conversing partners in mixed-gender dyads together with the mean scores of the five pairs of speakers in the same-gender female as well as in the same-gender male dyads. Two observations can be made with respect to the figures in the table. First, the female speakers seemed to utter more listener responses (mean=34.4) than their male partners (mean=23.6) in the mixed-gender dyads. Second, both males and females seemed to produce slightly more listener responses when they interacted with each other in the mixed-gender dyads than when they interacted with their same-gender friends, with the increase somewhat higher on the part of the male speakers (i.e., from an average of 16.3 in the same-gender dyads to one of 23.6 in the mixed-gender dyads).

	F (M-F)	F (F-F)	M (M-F)	M (M-M)	Total
Mean	34.4	33.9	23.6	16.3	26.4
(SD)	(22.4)	(18.2)	(16.0)	(13.0)	(18.1)

Table 6-16 Means scores of listener responses produced by females and males in three dyadic groups in Chinese conversations
Note: F (F-F) stands for the mean listener response scores of female speakers in same-gender female dyads (i.e., F-F). The same applies to F (M-F), M (M-F) and M (M-M).

Figure 6-7 Frequency of listener responses in Chinese mixed-gender dyads
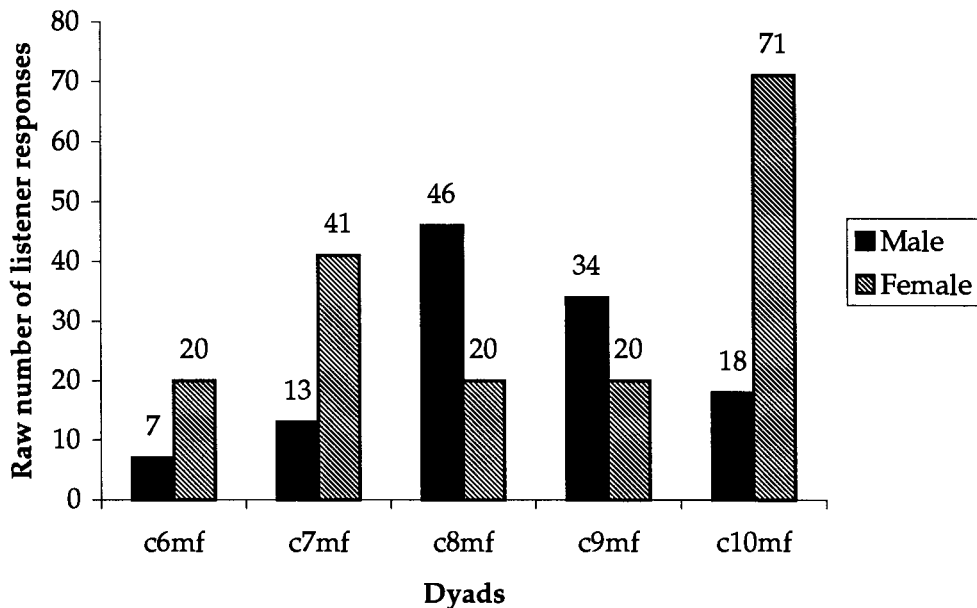
To seek explanations for these observed patterns, we are prompted to examine each individual's use of listener responses in the five mixed-gender dyads. Figure 6-7 shows the number of listener responses by the 10 speakers in the mixed-gender dyads in Chinese conversations. From this figure, we can see that the female speakers did not always utter

more listener responses than their male conversing partners in interaction with each other. For example, in Dyads C8mf and C9mf, the male speakers produced more listener responses than their female partners. Thus the first observed finding of a higher frequency use of listener responses by females than by males in mixed-gender dyads can be an artefact of one single individual's (i.e., the female speaker in Dyad c10mf) outstanding high frequency use of listener responses. As to the second observed finding (i.e., both females and males, but especially males, increase their use of listener responses from their same-gender dyads to mixed-gender dyads), it may have to do with their choice of topics in some of the mixed-gender dyads. For example, in Dyad C8mf, where the male speaker is one of the highest listener response users among all the 15 male speakers in Chinese dyads, one of the major topics in the conversation is to do with the male speaker's excellence in studies and competitions, a topic of great personal relevance to the male speaker. This choice of personal topics may help to increase the number of listener responses on the part of this male speaker, as one of the results of a heightened involvement in a conversation is the relatively frequent use of listener responses. The following example (Ex 93) illustrates this:

Ex 93: C8mf: mBC27, 28, 29; mRE3; mBC30; mRO6

     F: zui haoxiao de jiushi qian yi nian a, [ni chuan de nage hen
1 → M: [ah

     F: you zhi de yifu. [hhh .hh ranhou shangqu ba shou wang
2 → M: [ah

     F: houmian yi fang. [xiang you'eryuan xiao pengyou yiyang.
3 → M: [a::h

```
4  → M: shenme shihou ah? (0.3) [shi zai-          =ah dui dui dui.
   F:                          [ni canjia le liang ci:::.=

   F: di yici shi::, (.) dinianji zu de.=   =dinianji zu de shihou, (.)
5  → M:                          =ah=

   F: zongzhi na shihou na jian yifu hen guai. (.) ye bushi guai.

   F: rang ren juede, hen xiaohao qi. (0.3)
6  → M:                          oh jiu na jian-, jiu shi-

   M: zhe liang[bian shi bai de.
   F:          [hhh hhh ah dui dui dui dui dui.
```

Translation

```
   F: the funniest happened in the year before, [the clothes that you
1  → M:                                          [ah

   F: wore looked very childish. [hhh .hh then when you went up
2  → M:                          [ah

   F: you put your hands behind your back. [you were very much
3  → M:                                    [a::h

   F: like a kid in the kindy.                    [you participated
   M:              when was that? (0.3) [was it-

   F: twi:::ce=                  the first time i::s, (.) for the first
4  → M:        =ah right right right.

   F: and second year group.=   =when you participated in that
5  → M:                  =ah=

   F: group, (.) anyway the clothes you wore was very strange. (.)

   F: not strange. but very childish. (0.3)
6  → M:                          oh it was the-, was-the one

   M: with two [white hems.
   F:          [hhh hhh ah right right right right right.
```

In this segment, the female speaker (F) was talking about the clothes

that the male speaker (M) wore for a speech competition that M had participated in and won a prize in. The topic is obviously of interest to M, as shown by M's offering of six listener responses during the course of F's talk: 4 BCs (i.e., 'ah'), one RE (i.e., 'a::h dui dui dui') and one RO (i.e., 'oh').

Figure 6-8 Adjusted frequency of listener responses in
Chinese mixed-gender dyads
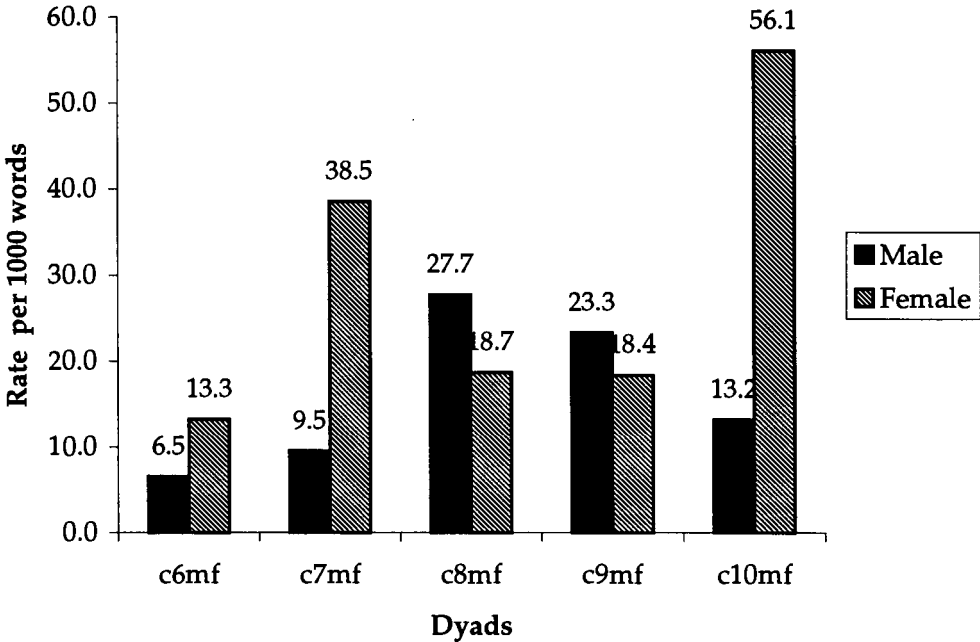
Another potential reason for males' greater increase of listener response use in mixed-gender dyads may be because of the different opportunities available to males and females. It is possible that females did more telling whereas males did more listening, thus creating more opportunities for males to provide listening responses. But this possibility is ruled out when we use a proportional rate to measure

listener response frequencies (i.e., the rate of total number of listener responses uttered by a participant per 1000 words of his/her conversing partner) (see Section 4.2.1.2 this Chapter). Figure 6-8 shows the adjusted frequency of listener responses for all the 10 participants in the five mixed-gender dyads. If we compare this figure with Figure 6-7, we see the general pattern of these speakers' use of listener responses does not seem to differ. In other words, in three of the five mixed-gender dyads (i.e., c6mf, c7mf, and c10mf), the female speakers still uttered a higher rate of listener responses than their male partners. But in the other two dyads (i.e., c8mf and c9mf), the male speakers produced a higher frequency of listener responses than their female partners.

In sum, we find female speakers produce more listener responses than male speakers when they both converse with their same-gender friends. But when they interact with each other in mixed-gender dyads, their overall frequency use of listener responses does not seem to differ very much.

Distribution of listener response types

Table 6-17 compares the distribution of the five types of listener responses in the three dyadic groups in Chinese conversations. Overall, the three dyadic groups had the same preference order, with BC being their most preferred type of listener responses followed, in a descending fashion, by RE, RO, CF, and RP. Slight differences exist among these groups in the relative distribution of some of the listener response types, but they may be too trivial to be worth of any further discussion.

	BC	RE	RO	CF	RP	TOTAL
F-F	156	113	43	18	9	339
	(46%)	(33%)	(13%)	(5%)	(3%)	(100%)
M-M	63	48	31	11	10	163
	(39%)	(29%)	(19%)	(7%)	(6%)	(100%)
M-F	129	67	60	22	12	290
	(44%)	(23%)	(21%)	(8%)	(4%)	(100%)

Table 6-17 Distribution of listener response types in the Chinese three dyadic groups

Within the mixed-gender dyads, the preference order for males and females was again identical, still with BC as their favourite type of listener responses, followed by RE, then by RO, then by CF, and finally by RP (see Table 6-18 below). Though there are some changes from their same-gender behaviour to the mixed-gender behaviour (e.g., males increased their proportion of BC use from 39% in the same-gender dyads to 46% in the mixed-gender ones), these changes would seem to be too slight to be of any significance.

	BC	RE	RO	CF	RP	TOTAL
Male	54	25	22	10	7	118
	(46%)	(21%)	(19%)	(8%)	(6%)	(100%)
Female	75	42	38	12	5	172
	(44%)	(24%)	(22%)	(7%)	(3%)	(100%)

Table 6-18 Distribution of listener response types in Chinese mixed-gender dyads

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Placements of listener responses

Table 6-19 shows the relative distributions of listener responses which occur at a point of possible completion and those which occur during a turn in the three dyadic groups in Chinese conversations. The pattern is almost identical for these three dyadic groups, as about three quarters of their listener responses (ranging from 74% to 77%) in all these groups occurred at a transitional place whereas the rest one quarter or so (ranging from 23% to 26%) occurred during a turn.

	Transitional	Nontransitional	Total
M-M	120 (74%)	43 (26%)	163 (100%)
F-F	253 (75%%)	86 (25%)	339 (100%)
M-F	223 (77%)	67 (23%)	290 (100%)

Table 6-19 Placements of listener responses in the three dyadic groups in Chinese conversations

An examination of the use of listener responses by males and females within the mixed-gender dyads shows again similar pattern for speakers of the two genders (see Table 6-20 below). Slightly more than three-quarters of their listener responses were placed at a point of possible completion and a little less than a quarter of their listener responses were placed during the other speaker's turn. No great changes were envisaged between their same-gender and their mixed-gender behaviour.

	Transitional	Nontransitional	Total
Male	92 (78%)	26 (22%)	118 (100%)
Female	131 (76%)	41 (24%)	172 (100%)

Table 6-20 Placements of listener responses by males and females in Chinese mixed-gender dyads

4.2.2.3 Discussion

This section (i.e., Section 4.2.2) examines the gender effects on the use of listener responses in Chinese conversations, focusing on the following three aspects: the overall frequency of listener responses, the use of different listener response types, and the placements of listener responses in sequential contexts.

First, with respect to the overall frequency of listener responses, females were found to emit more listener responses than males. But this has been shown to be largely due to the more listener responses used in the same-gender female dyads than in the same-gender male dyads, as males and females in the mixed-gender dyads do not seem to differ very much in their frequency of use of listener responses. Second, in terms of the use of different listener response types, no difference was found between males and females, as they both had the same preference order for the following five listener response types with descending proportions: Backchannels, Reactive Expressions, Resumptive Openers, Collaborative Finishes, and Repetitions. No difference was found in this respect among the three dyadic groups (i.e., all female dyads, all male dyads, and mixed-gender dyads) in general and between the male and female speakers in mixed-gender dyads in particular. Finally, with

regard to the placements of listener responses, both males and females used three quarters of their listener responses at a point of possible completion and one quarter of them during a turn. This pattern was quite consistent with the two same-gender dyads as well as with the male and female speakers in the mixed-gender dyads. Thus no differential pattern can be established between males and females in this aspect of listener response use.

Now we can discuss the findings of this study with respect to the two language and gender theories originally posited by Fishman (1978) and Maltz & Borker (1982) respectively. The dominance theory as postulated by Fishman (1978) presupposes the differential use of listener responses by men and women, especially in the mixed-gender conversations. This presupposition, however, does not seem to be well supported by the results of this study, as we did not find a great difference between the male and female speakers in their frequency use of listener responses in the mixed-gender dyads. This does not mean that the hierarchical nature of the Chinese society with male dominance and female oppression has vanished, but it may mean instead that 1) the use of listener responses on its own is perhaps not a sufficient indicator of the unequal status of men and women in a conversation as well as in society; 2) in a conversational situation like the one in this study, where no status contention is needed, speakers may opt for the harmony-oriented aspect of communication, accommodating to one another's styles. Thus to establish the validity of the dominance theory, future research should be directed towards how gender is actually constructed and how gender power is enacted in a web of various contextual factors

through a combination of conversational strategies in a real social situation (cf Cameron 1997; Kendall & Tannen 1997; Swann & Graddol 1995; Sunderland 1995).

Maltz & Borker (1982), who likened the gender differences to those of culture, maintained that males and females learn to do different things with words in a conversation during their childhood, mostly with their same-gender friends. These ways of doing a conversation are then carried into adult relationships. The basic assumptions under their difference theory can be somewhat summarised as follows: 1) the conversational behaviours such as the use of listener responses differ between males and females in their respective same-gender conversations; and 2) these same-gender conversational behaviours would be transferred to their cross-gender interactions; 3) this transfer may be a source of mutual misunderstanding or even conflict. The findings of this study only partially support these assumptions. We do find that males and females differ from each other in the frequency use of listener responses in their respective same-gender conversations, thus supporting the first of the above assumptions. But the second assumption does not seem to be well supported at least with respect to the frequency use of listener responses, for differences in the mixed-gender conversations narrowed down with males seemingly moving somewhat away from their same-gender behaviours and adopting 'females' way' of using listener responses. This happening has been accounted for by the intervention of some (possibly higher-order) contextual factors such as topic. As to the third assumption, this study is not yet ready to verify it and further research is encouraged to locate

specific instances of misunderstanding or conflict brought about by the differential use of listener responses (cf Tannen 1990).

To conclude, the findings of this study caution us against wholesale acceptance of either of the two language and gender theories, i.e., the dominance theory and the difference theory. For one thing, listener responses alone do not seem to be used by members of one gender to dominate or oppress the other, as speakers of both genders use comparable numbers of listener responses to support each other's talk in their mixed-gender conversations. For another, although females use more listener responses than males in their respective same-gender conversations, this gender-specific pattern is no longer so conspicuous when they interact with each other, thus refuting to a certain extent the claim that members of both genders use their same-gender conversational strategies in the mixed-gender situations, resulting in misunderstandings and conflict. We do find it necessary, however, to examine in future studies whether it is really the case that listener responses have different meanings to or are perceived differently by speakers of different genders. The answering of this question would be prerequisite to the support of underlying assumptions of both dominance and difference theorists.

5. Summary and conclusion

This chapter compares the use of listener responses by Australian and Chinese speakers in their respective intracultural conversations. Section 2 qualitatively examines one aspect of listener response use, i.e., to

signal passive recipiency and speakership incipiency in a conversation. It has found that the two distinctive uses of listener responses (i.e., to show passive recipiency on the one hand and to signal speakership incipiency on the other) are available in both Chinese and Australian conversations. Although different forms of listener response tokens have been used in the two languages (e.g., 'hm' or 'ah' and 'shi ah' for Mandarin Chinese and 'hm' and 'yeh' for Australian English), similar sequential functions are present in conversations of both languages and can be performed through them. Chinese and Australian speakers resemble each other to a great extent in their ways of orienting to an extended ongoing turn unit.

The similarity in the organisation of Chinese and Australian conversations forms the basis for the quantitative comparison of the use of listener responses in intracultural conversations in these two languages. The ensuing section, i.e., Section 3, outlines the analytic framework for quantitative comparison. This includes the distinction of five types of listener responses, which are based upon Clancy et. al.'s analytic framework (1996), as well as the specification of decision rules on frequency counts and on the coverage of Transition Relevance Place (TRP). Thus, the analytic framework spells out three aspects of listener response use for quantitative comparison: overall frequency of listener responses, preference distribution of listener response types, and placements of listener responses relative to a possible completion point.

Section 4 reports on the results of the quantitative comparative work and discusses its various findings with reference to relevant cross-

cultural communication or language and gender theories. These are divided into two major parts, one on the cross-cultural comparison of Australian and Chinese speakers' use of listener responses and the other on the comparison of male and female speakers' use of listener responses in Australian and Chinese conversations. In terms of the former, we located differences between the two groups of speakers in all the three areas being compared. Firstly, Australians use more listener responses than Chinese speakers in their respective intracultural conversations; secondly, while Australians prefer to use linguistic lexical expressions such as 'yeh' and 'right' as their reaction to the primary speaker's ongoing talk, Chinese speakers favour the use of paralinguistic vocalic forms such as 'hm' and 'ah'; and thirdly, whereas both Chinese and Australian speakers place a great majority of their listener responses at a possible completion point and a small minority of them in the midst of a turn, Australians place a higher percentage of their listener responses at TRP than Chinese speakers, and Chinese speakers place a larger proportion of their listener responses during a turn than their Australian counterparts. Among these three differences, we found that not all of them could be taken as completely culture-specific. For example, the second difference (viz., Australians prefer to use contentful lexical expressions while Chinese favour the use of non-lexical vocalic forms) is largely the result of more individual speakers predominantly using one type of listener response and not using the other types in Australian conversations than in Chinese ones. The other two differences, however, do suggest a culture-specific pattern in the use of listener responses.

First, the finding that Chinese use a larger proportion of their listener responses in the midst of other speakers' turn than Australians whereas Australian speakers place a higher percentage of them at a point of possible completion is in parallel with our finding on their use of Transitional and Nontransitional overlaps (see Section 4.1.2 in Chapter 5). This may indicate again the use of different supportive strategies for their fellow participants in a conversation by Australian and Chinese conversationalists and may reflect their underlying cultural patterns of behaviour in general.

Second, the finding that Chinese use far fewer listener responses than Australians is in conformity with those of previous researches that Chinese are rare-users of listener responses. This, together with the difference between them in the use of different listener response types, has been explained as mainly due to the different extent to which individual rights and obligations in social life (including social interaction) are implicitly or explicitly specified in Chinese and Australian cultures. In Chinese culture, the rights and obligations of an individual seem to be implicitly specified or even vaguely implicated, thus leaving him/her a less clear-cut boundaries for what s/he can or should do in a particular social event. In Australian culture, however, an individual's rights and obligations seem to be more explicit, thus providing him/her with more clear-cut criteria for his/her behaviours. In a conversational context, for example, the rights and obligations of a speaker and a listener may not be as clearly-spelt for a Chinese conversationalist as for an Australian one. Thus more tolerance can be expected of more "intrusive" overlaps and listener responses and of lack

of feedback in a Chinese conversation than in an Australian one.

In this chapter, we also examined the effect of gender on the use of listener responses in Australian as well as in Chinese conversations. In this regard, we found that these two cultural groups did not share the same gender pattern in the use of listener responses. In Australian conversations, no major differences were found between males and females in the three aspects of listener response use (i.e., frequency, preference distribution, and placements). Females did not produce more listener responses than males, nor did they receive more listener responses from males than males received from them. They both showed more or less the same preference for the five types of listener responses listed in descending order of preference: Reactive Expressions (RE), Backchannels (BC), Resumptive Openers (RO), and Collaborative Finishes (CF) or Repetitions (RP). In terms of the placements of listener responses, both males and females used a great majority of their listener responses at a point of possible completion and a very small minority of them during a turn.

In Chinese conversations, however, we found a somewhat different pattern for males and females in their use of listener responses. Although no differences were found between males and females in terms of the distributional use of listener response types and the placements of listener responses, they differed in their frequency of use of listener responses. Specifically, females produced more listener responses than males. But this has been shown to be largely due to the more listener responses used in the same-gender female dyads than in

the same-gender male dyads, as males and females in the mixed-gender dyads do not seem to differ very much in their frequency use of listener responses.

The findings on the gender patterns of listener responses in Chinese and Australian conversations put together do not seem to be supporting the dominance theory originally posited by Fishman (1978), as this theory has as one of its main underlying assumptions the differential use of listener responses especially in mixed-gender interactions. Thus at least from the evidence from the frequency use of listener responses, we find it difficult to jump to the conclusion that only women do the maintenance work in a conversation and men simply control and benefit from it. The findings of this study are still insufficient to support the difference theory as originally postulated by Maltz & Borker (1982), who claimed that men and women have different rules for interpreting various conversational strategies (including listener responses). This is obviously a promising path for future probes into this conversational phenomenon.

1. Introduction

This study has compared the use of overlap and listener response by Chinese and Australian interlocutors in their respective intracultural conversations between friends. It has also examined the effect of gender on the use of these two conversational strategies in these conversations. In this final chapter, we will first summarise the findings of the whole study. This will be followed by a discussion of implications for cross-cultural theories and language and gender theories. This chapter will be concluded with a number of suggestions for further research.

2. Summary of findings

The findings will be summarised in regard to the two different levels of comparison: cultural and gender. For each level, the findings will be summarised with respect to the two conversational phenomena being comparatively studied: the use of overlap and the use of listener response.

2.1 Findings on the cultural level

2.1.1 Findings with respect to the use of overlap

Both similarities and differences were found between Chinese and

Australians in the use of overlap. Similarities include:

1. Both Australian and Chinese speakers have the same set of issues to orient to or act upon in their initiation of overlap. The various issues being oriented to in overlap onset include: 1) the completeness of a turn (Transitional onset); 2) the adequacy of a delivery (Recognitional onset); 3) the flow of the talk (Progressional onset); 4) the incompleteness of one's own message in a turn (Post Continuation onset); and 5) the contingency of a reaction to the previous speaker's utterance (Delayed Response onset).

2. Both Australian and Chinese speakers resort to the same two basic procedures in resolving the state of overlap. The first one is that one of the speakers drops out to resume the state of one-speakership-at-a-time. The second is that two speakers persevere through the overlap.

3. Both Australian and Chinese speakers observe the following three procedures in retrieving their overlapped utterances: Self-Retrieval (i.e., the continuing party refers to his/her own talk in overlap), Other-Retrieval (i.e., the continuing party refers to someone else's talk in overlap), and No Retrieval (i.e., the absence of either self or other retrieval procedures following the resolution of overlaps).

4. Australian and Chinese speakers use a similar number of overlaps.

5. Both Australian and Chinese speakers start their overlaps mostly at a possible completion point.

6. Both Australian and Chinese speakers tend to continue more with their talk than to drop out when an overlap occurs.

These similarities may indicate the universal nature of the turn-taking organisation proposed by Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson (1974). Conversation participants do seem to follow a number of basic turn-taking rules common to many, if not all, cultures. Given similar interactional and sequential environments, similar interactional resources may be resorted to in the management of moment-by-moment contingencies in the interaction.

Two specific differences have been identified in the use of overlap by Australian and Chinese speakers. They are:

1. Australians initiate a higher percentage of their overlaps at a point of possible completion whereas Chinese initiate a greater proportion of their overlaps at a point with no transitional relevance.

2. When overlap occurs, Chinese speakers drop out more to resolve the state of overlap while Australian speakers continue with their

talk more to get through the overlap.

These differences suggest that different groups may use different strategies for doing the same interactional work, in this case indicating involved participation in the conversation. Chinese speakers achieve their involvement by starting their overlap midway in the other speaker's utterance and dropping out quickly when an overlap occurs. Australian speakers, on the other hand, signal their involvement by starting their overlap at a possible completion point but persevere through the overlap with their conversation partners.

2.1.2 Findings with respect to the use of listener response

Again both similarities and differences have been found between Chinese and Australians in the use of listener response. The similarities lie largely in the ways of orienting to an extended and incomplete turn unit by Chinese and Australian recipients in a conversation. Available in conversations of both languages are the two distinctive uses of listener responses, that is, to show passive recipiency or to signal speakership incipiency. Although different forms of listener response tokens have been used in the two languages (e.g., 'hm' or 'ah' and 'shi ah' for Mandarin Chinese and 'hm' and 'yeh' for Australian English), similar sequential functions are present in conversations of both languages and can be performed through them. Another similarity between Australian and Chinese speakers in this respect lies in their predominant use of listener responses at a point of possible completion. These similarities may again indicate the sharing of similar organising

principles by Australian and Chinese conversations.

The differences that have been found in this study between the two groups of speakers in the use of listener response include:

1. Australians use more listener responses than Chinese speakers in their respective intracultural conversations.

2. While Australians prefer to use linguistic lexical expressions such as 'yeh' and 'right' as their reaction to the primary speaker's ongoing talk, Chinese speakers favour the use of paralinguistic vocalic forms such as 'hm' and 'ah'.

3. Whereas Australians place a higher percentage of their listener responses at a possible completion point than Chinese speakers, Chinese speakers place a larger proportion of their listener responses in the midst of the other speaker's turn than their Australian counterparts.

While the second difference may largely be the result of more individual speakers predominantly using only the linguistic type of listener responses in Australian conversations than in Chinese ones, the other two differences do suggest a culture-specific pattern in the use of listener responses, the implications of which for cross-cultural communication theories will be discussed later below in Section 3.

2.2 Findings on the gender level

2.2.1 Findings with respect to the use of overlap

No consistent cross-cultural patterns have been found with respect to the use of overlap by male and female speakers in Chinese and Australian conversations. In other words, gender has not played an identical role in the use of overlap in conversations of the two languages. Gender differential interactional patterns may to a great extent be culture-specific.

In Australian conversations, the participants in the mixed-gender dyads have been found to be more involved in the conversations than those in the same-gender female dyads, which in turn show more involvement than those in the same-gender male dyads. The involvement in the conversations on the parts of the participants is indicated by 1) their tendency to initiate overlaps during the other speaker's turn more than at a possible completion point; and 2) their tendency to continue with their talk more than to simply drop out in the resolution of the state of overlap. Within the mixed-gender dyads, female speakers tend to be slightly more involved in the conversations than their male partners in that female speakers initiate more overlaps during a turn, continue with their talk more when an overlap occurs, and tend not to retrieve their overlapped utterances more than male speakers.

In Chinese conversations, participants in the mixed-gender dyads and the same-gender female dyads have been found to be slightly more

involved in the conversations than those in the same-gender males dyads. This is evidenced by the fact that in the mixed-gender dyads and the same-gender female dyads, there are more overlaps in general and a stronger tendency for the speakers in these dyads to continue with their talk than in the same-gender male dyads. But little difference has been found between the mixed-gender dyads and the same-gender female dyads. Within the mixed-gender dyads, both male and female speakers are relatively involved in the interaction. This is manifested by the fact that both males and females tend to continue their utterances more than to simply drop out to resolve the state of overlap and they both tend not to retrieve their overlapped utterances. But comparatively speaking, male speakers in the mixed-gender dyads may be slightly more actively engaged in the conversations than their female partners in that they initiate more overlaps during a turn and tend to continue with their talk more when an overlap occurs.

2.2.2 Findings with respect to the use of listener response

Again we found no consistent cross-cultural patterns for Australian and Chinese intracultural conversations with respect to the use of listener response. In Australian conversations, no major differences were found between males and females in the three aspects of listener response use (i.e., frequency, preference distribution, and placements). Females did not produce more listener responses than males, nor did they receive more listener responses from males than males received from them. They both showed more or less the same preference for the five listener response types which are listed here in descending order of preference:

Reactive Expressions, Backchannels, Resumptive Openers, and Collaborative Finishes or Repetitions. In terms of the placements of listener responses, both males and females used a greater majority of their listener responses at a point of possible completion and a very small minority of them during a turn.

In Chinese conversations, however, we found a somewhat different pattern for males and females in their use of the listener responses. Although no differences were found between males and females in terms of the distributional use of listener response types and the placements of listener responses, they differed in their frequency of use of listener responses. Specifically, females produced more listener responses than males. But this has been shown to be largely due to the more listener responses used in the same-gender female dyads than in the same-gender male dyads, as males and females in the mixed-gender dyads do not seem to differ very much in their frequency of use of listener responses.

2.3 Chinese and Australian conversational styles: A summary

Summarised below are Chinese and Australian conversational styles with exclusive reference to the use of overlap and listener response. No attempt is made to paint a picture of their conversational styles in their totality, as it will be a daunting or even an impossible task for one single study. As was mentioned early in the thesis, the term 'conversational style', following the definition by Tannen (1981: 384), is an all-encompassing term which simply means "ways of talking", that is, "the

use of language in all its phonological, syntactic, paralinguistic, and pragmatic variety" (see also Tannen 1984: 8-9). Moreover, conversational styles are not static, but can rather undergo changes over time and may even vary under different situations. Thus the Chinese and Australian conversational styles are characterised below only with respect to their use of overlap and that of listener response in dyadic interactions between friends.

2.3.1 Chinese

The Chinese conversational styles feature relatively frequent use of overlap but very infrequent use of listener responses (at least in comparison with those of Australians). In terms of the use of overlap, we would expect less than two thirds of their overlaps to occur at a point of possible completion and a little more than one third of them in the midst of a turn. When an overlap occurs, they would be expected to continue with their utterances 60% of the time and stop talking 40% of the time. Gender in general does not play a significant role in the use of overlap.

In terms of the use of listener response, Chinese speakers use it very sparingly. But when they do use listener responses, they would most probably use paralinguistic vocalic forms such as 'hm' and 'ah' instead of lexical items such as 'shi ah' and 'dui' or other linguistic strategies like collaboratively finishing and repeating the other speaker's utterances. In addition, they would place three quarters of their listener responses at a possible completion point and only one quarter in the

midst of a turn. Gender plays a significant role in the frequency use of listener responses more so in same-gender conversations than in mixed-gender conversations. That is, females use more listener responses than males, especially in their respective same-gender dyads.

2.3.2 Australian

The Australian conversational styles are characterised by relatively frequent use of overlap and also rather frequent use of listener responses (again in comparison with those of Chinese). With respect to the use of overlap, we would expect most of their overlaps (71%) to be initiated at a point of possible completion and a small percentage of them in the midst of a turn (29%). When an overlap occurs, they would be more likely to continue with their utterances (69% of the time) than to stop talking (31% of the time). Gender plays quite a significant role in the use of overlap. In comparison of the two same-gender dyads, the female dyads use more overlaps (especially more Nontransitional overlaps) and use more Continuing resolution strategies than the male dyads. In the mixed-gender dyads, females initiate more Nontransitional overlaps, are more likely to continue talking upon the occurrence of an overlap, and would retrieve less their overlapped utterances than males.

With respect to the use of listener response, they would most probably use lexical expressions such as 'yeh' and 'right' rather than paralinguistic vocalic forms such as 'hm' and 'mhm' or other linguistic strategies like collaboratively finishing and repeating the other speaker's

utterances. Besides, we would expect them to use about 90% of their listener responses at a possible completion point and only a very small fraction of them (about 10%) in the midst of a turn. Gender does not play a significant role in the use of listener response in Australian conversations.

3. Implications for cross-cultural communication theories

3.1 Contextualisation and de-polarisation of cross-cultural concepts

Many previous cross-cultural communication theorists have used various polarised and dichotomous terms to distinguish different cultures. These concepts include, most prominently (Putnis 1993: 43):

1) Collectivist versus individualistic cultures (e.g., Hofstede 1980, 1984, 1991; Triandis 1990, 1992; Triandis et al. 1988; see also Section 3.1.1 in Chapter 2);

2) High-context versus low-context cultures (Hall 1976; see also Section 3.1.2 in Chapter 3);

3) Task versus people cultures: 'Some cultures emphasize accomplishment with tasks, while other cultures emphasize relationships with people' (Dodd 1987: 92);

4) Doing versus being cultures: Doing cultures 'prefer activity, productivity, measurable accomplishment, and the like ... Being cultures emphasize the meditative issues of a person's life space' (Dodd 1987: 95);

These constructs, in particular that of collectivist and individualistic cultures, have been criticised, among other things, as 1) being too crude, glossing over various subtle differences and qualitative nuances which do not fit in well with the dichotomous concepts (e.g., Schwartz 1990; Sinha & Tripathi 1994), 2) being over-generalised, thus reducing their conceptual clarity (e.g., Kagitcibasi 1994; Cheng 1997); 3) having ethnocentric connotation which is too biased towards Western values (e.g., Chinese Culture Connection 1987; Choi & Choi 1994; Cheng 1997). Another major problem of these constructs would be that they are mostly theory-driven without examining actual cross-cultural interactions (cf Putnis 1993). Thus the validity of these constructs for the explanation of interactional differences between culturally different groups is dubious and their direct applicability to the account for interactional phenomena may render contradictory predictions.

In the case of individualism versus collectivism, for example, Chinese culture is considered one of collectivism, emphasising interdependence and group-centredness whereas Australian culture is one of individualism, emphasising personal identity and independence. If these concepts were to be directly applied to the prediction of interactional behaviours, or more specifically the use of overlap and listener response, we would anticipate that Chinese speakers may use more overlaps and listener responses to show their interdependence and group-centredness whereas Australians may use fewer overlaps and listener responses as a reflection of their independence and non-imposition. This is obviously not true according to the findings of this study.

The same is true of the distinction between high-context and low-context cultures. East Asian cultures like China and Japan are regarded as high-context cultures in which the sharing of information is assumed, while Western cultures such as Australian and American are low-context cultures in which information is explicitly shared. The direct application of these concepts to the use of overlap and listener response by these cultural groups might lead us to the prediction that Chinese (and members of other high-context cultures like Japanese) would use fewer overlaps and listener responses than Australians (and members of other low-context cultures like Americans). This is because Chinese (and Japanese), as members of high-context cultures, are considered to value silence more and explicit talking less than Australians (and other low-context culture members). This prediction is only partially right for Chinese, who use fewer listener responses than but as many overlaps as Australians, but completely wrong for Japanese, who reportedly use more listener responses and possibly more overlaps than Americans (for the comparison of Japanese and American use of listener response and overlap, see, for example, Hayashi 1988; Murata 1992, 1994; Maynard 1986, 1997; Hirokawa 1995; also see Sections 2.3 & 3.3 in Chapter 3).

To overcome these problems, a cross-cultural communication theory would need to take into consideration different characteristics of different cultures without attempting to polarise them into different dichotomies.

3.2 The relativity of rights and obligations: A tentative theory

This study proposes the use of cultural groups' sense of rights and obligations in a society for the explication of their potentially different social behaviours including interactional behaviours. The concepts of rights and obligations are rudimentary to every society, but different socio-cultural groups may have different perceptions about what one can do and what one should do in a particular social situation. In other words, what is considered to be one's obligation in one society may be taken as one's right or privilege in another and what is considered to be one's clear obligation or right may be regarded as something one can either do or not do.

Based partly on my personal observation and partly on anecdotal references (e.g., Xiong 1999) and related psychological studies (e.g., Cheng 1990, 1995, 1997), I suggest that in Australia (and probably some other Western countries as well), an individual's rights and obligations in relation to those of others are quite clear-cut and explicitly stated. In these cultures, both rights and obligations are somewhat equally emphasised, symbolised by the widespread use of contracts in dealing with social relations (hence the use of the term 'contractual cultures' by some psychologists [e.g., Cheng 1990]). This can be roughly represented in the following figure, with the unbroken line indicating the clear boundaries of one's rights and obligations. This sense of rights and obligations in Australian culture can be traced back to its Judeo-Christian tradition, which emphasises egalitarianism between individuals and stresses the need for divine approval for one's

behaviour, though the residual effect of this tradition may have weakened in the face of secularist influences (cf. Cheng 1997).
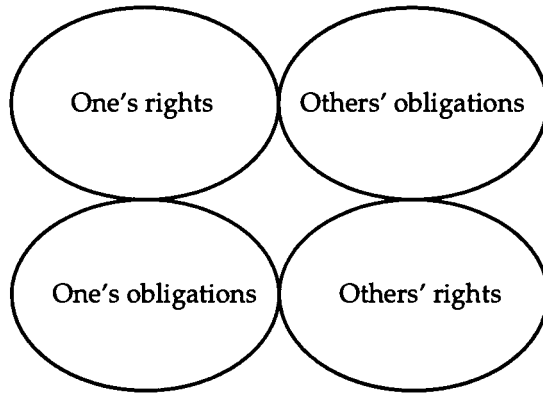
Figure 7-1 Sense of one's and others' rights and obligations in Australian culture

In contrast, one's rights and obligations in relation to those of others in Chinese culture may not be as clearly specified as in Australian culture. Besides in Chinese culture, there may not be a clear distinction between one's rights and one's obligations. That is, in many social situations, one's rights may be taken as one's obligations and one's obligations may be taken as one's rights. There can be considerable overlap between these two. This relationship can be roughly represented in Figure 7-2 below, with the dotted line indicating the implicitness and blurriness of the distinction between one's rights and obligation and the relation between one's rights and obligations with those of others. Part of the reason for this lack of clear division between rights and obligations may be due to the enduring influence of the Confucian ethic, which is confined to the Five Cardinal Relationships, viz., that between sovereign and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother, and between friends. According to Cheng (1990), this ethical system, being too family-centred and too restricted to the dyadic

relationships between individuals, fails to provide any clear guidelines for the multi-faceted relationships between an individual and others in the community (p. 512). Further, this system emphasises the need for human approval for an individual's action in a social situation, though again this emphasis may differ from group to group (cf. Cheng 1997).
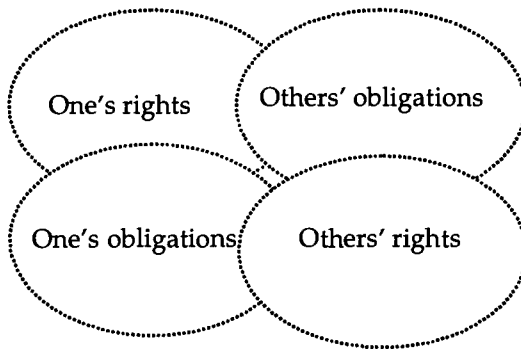
Figure 7-2 Sense of one's and others' rights and obligations in Chinese culture

Although Japanese culture is also heavily influenced by Confucianism, it appears to exhibit a very different representation for an individual's rights and obligations from Chinese culture. For one thing, it seems to stress one's obligations more than one's rights. For another, it may have a clearer distinction between one's and others' rights and obligations. This pattern may be attributed partially to the Westernisation of Japanese culture in the last 50 years or so after World War II but in a greater part to its traditional emphasis on the community instead of the Chinese emphasis on the family (cf Cheng 1995, 1997). To the familistic Chinese, obligations are said to be "graded and fall off in intensity the further one moves from the inner family circle" (Fukuyama 1995: 92-93). For them, their self-esteem needs are dependent much more on their family than on the social network outside their kinship system (Cheng 1997: 298). On the other hand, the communal Japanese, who are said to

be least familistic among 11 cultural groups in Cheng's study (1997), depend much less on their kinship groups and much more on related peers and social networks for their self-esteem needs (pp. 298-299). Hence, Japanese have a deeply-rooted dependency need on group approval and group acceptance which is not shared by the Chinese except in the context of the family (Cheng 1990: 514). This dependency has often been linked to the unique Japanese mentality of *Amae*, a concept which was first introduced by a Japanese psychiatrist, Doi, and which referred roughly to the strong psychological interdependency between people (Doi 1973, 1986). Thus Japanese senses of obligations towards a communal group are greatly enhanced relative to their diminishing senses of rights within that group. This relationship can roughly be represented in Figure 7-3 below.
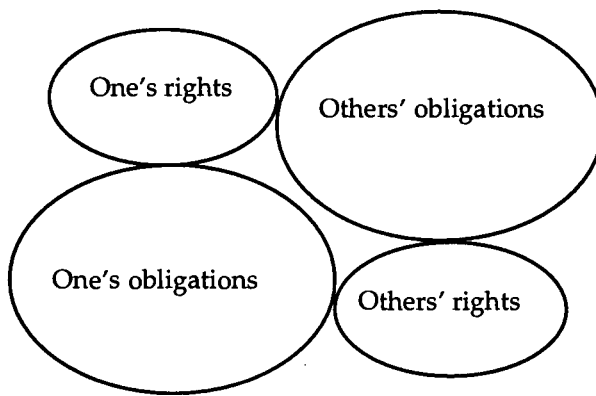
Figure 7-3 Sense of one's and others' rights and obligations within the group in Japanese culture

The above theory on the relativity of different cultural groups' perceptions of rights and obligations appears to be well supported by the patterns of use of overlap and listener response by Australian and Chinese speakers and seems also able to account for the well-documented pattern of use of listener response by Japanese speakers.

As was mentioned earlier, social interactions, like any other social events, involve the coordination of one's rights and obligations towards the other participants. Thus we might expect that the patterns of use of overlap and listener response by different cultural groups may also reflect the underlying cultural differences in their orientations towards individuals' rights and obligations in social interactions. First, for Chinese speakers, their moderate use of overlaps (especially with their comparatively strong tendency to use overlaps at a non-transitional place) and their very infrequent use of listener responses (also with their comparatively strong tendency to use listener responses in the midst of other speakers' turn) do seem to evidence the porous or fluid nature of their understanding of a speaker's and a listener's rights and obligations in a conversational context. Second, for Japanese speakers, their very frequent use of listener responses indicates their tilted emphasis on a listener's obligations towards the speaker and manifests their use of an other-oriented and interdependent style in a conversational interaction (cf. Hirokawa 1995). Finally, for Australian speakers, their moderate use of overlaps and listener responses may show a balanced and equalised emphasis on and a clear specificity of the rights and obligations for a speaker and a listener.

4. Implications for language and gender theories

The findings of this study with respect to the male and female use of overlap and listener response in Chinese and Australian conversations show that gender patterns in the use of these two conversational strategies are largely culture-specific. The presence of cross-cultural

variation together with that of within-culture and within-gender variation cautions us against any universal claims about gender-differential use of a given conversational phenomenon or even a given language structure, whether the claims are based on deficit, or dominance, or difference assumptions in language and gender theories.

Culture-specificity of gender practices has been documented in a number of studies, including Keenan's (1974) analysis of women as confrontational "norm-breakers" in Malagasy and Okamoto's (1995) discussion of changes to traditional Japanese gendered language patterns (see Bergvall 1999 for an extended list and discussion of these studies). It has pointed to the need to situate any studies of language and gender patterns in their cultural contexts. In addition, gender is not an isolated factor influencing language use but rather comes into play with a number of other factors such as the topics initiated and social relationship between the participants. Thus, as was mentioned earlier, future language and gender theories should reflect how gender is actually constructed in a web of various contextual factors in a real social situation.

5. Suggestions for further research

There are a number of areas, both theoretical and empirical, which are worthy of further probe in the cross-cultural studies of conversational phenomena such as overlap and listener response.

On the theoretical level, more cross-cultural studies, either linguistic or

behavioural, are needed to verify the tentative theory posited by this study on the relativity of cultural groups' orientations towards individuals' rights and obligations in a social event. For language and gender theories, more situated studies are needed to seek for a more cogent theory which can account for gender-specific behaviours in a cultural context.

On the empirical level, as this study is confined to the contrastive analysis of Australian and Chinese intracultural behaviours, studies are needed to investigate their respective intercultural behaviours when they interact with each other. This is important as studies of this kind may help to verify the commonly-held claim that intracultural behaviours are brought into intercultural communicative context without awareness on the part of both sides of the communication and the result of this transfer would often lead to misunderstandings and negative cultural stereotypes.

Another potential area of interest would be the examination of the use of overlap and listener response in a variety of real-life conversations involving participants with, for example, similar or different social positions, similar or different age groups, and same or different gender groupings. These studies will help to identify various contextual factors which are prominent in the influence of the participants' use of these conversational strategies.

Even within the experimental paradigm, more studies are needed to confirm the validity of the findings obtained in this study with a larger

sample size, varying group size and gender groupings, and varying age and status groups, to name just a few. This is made increasingly possible by the prospect of the availability of many large-scale conversational corpora in English and in Chinese.

Moreover, studies are needed to examine the use of conversational strategies other than those of overlap and listener response in order to depict a clearer and a more holistic picture of a speaker's conversational style. These conversational strategies can include the use of inter- and intra-turn pauses, turn length, various nonverbal cues such as head, hand and facial movements, and other micro- or macro-linguistic structures such as discourse markers and narrative structures.

With specific reference to the use of listener response, two more areas are particularly worthy of further study. One is the investigation of the various functions of individual Chinese listener response tokens, the sequential environments in which they tend to occur, and how they resemble or differ from their English equivalents. The other area is the examination of the potentially different perceptions that different speakers may have for the use of listener responses. This area seems crucial in the verification of the difference theory in language and gender studies.

6. Conclusion

This study has examined the use of overlap and listener response by Chinese and Australians in their respective intracultural conversations.

Both similarities and differences have been located in these two respects between these two groups of people. Analysis of its findings has contributed to the revision of existent cross-cultural communication theories or shed light on the re-evaluation of current language and gender theories. It is the hope of this study that through the cross-cultural comparison of Australian and Chinese speakers' use of overlap and listener response, intercultural communicators will begin to be conscious of one another's communication style and adopt respecting and accommodating attitudes towards styles which differ from their own.

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CHINESE AND AUSTRALIAN CONVERSATIONAL STYLES: A COMPARATIVE SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF OVERLAP AND LISTENER RESPONSE

VOLUME TWO

by

Xudong Deng

BA, MA (App. Ling), MA (Ling ELT)

A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Award of
Doctor of Philosophy

In the Faculty of Community Services, Education, & Social
Sciences, Edith Cowan University, Mount Lawley Campus

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APPENDIX A

ADVERTISEMENT FOR THE RECRUITMENT OF AUSTRALIAN PARTICIPANTS

Chatting for $10?

A postgraduate student at Edith Cowan University is studying conversation strategies. He requires 30 European Australian (5 *pairs of male students, 5 pairs of female students, and 5 pairs of male-female students*) undergraduate students who have received their primary OR secondary education in Australia. Students between the age of 18 and 25 would be preferable. Participants can earn $10 by chatting for about 20 minutes with one of their friends/classmates/coursemates (with similar backgrounds). The conversation will be recorded on audio- and video-tapes.

Interested students please telephone ███████ (Office) or ██████ (Home) or simply drop in Bldg 10J (1) (demountable) (Mt Lawley Campus). Your help will be very much appreciated.

APPENDIX B

INFORMATION SHEETS FOR AUSTRALIAN AND CHINESE PARTICIPANTS

Please fill in the following information about you. Thank you.

1. Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female

2. Age: _____

3. Subject of study: _____

4. Year of study: ☐ 1st year ☐ 2nd year ☐ 3rd year

5. Place of study: _____

请填写下列有关你个人的资料。谢谢。

1. 性别: ☐ 男 ☐ 女

2. 出身年月: ---------- 年 ------ 月

3. 所学专业: ----------------------

4. 所在年级: ☐ 二年级 ☐ 三年级 ☐ 四年级

5. 读中学所在地: --------------------------

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORM

Consent to Participate in Research Project

at Edith Cowan University

This study intends to analyse the conversational strategies of Chinese as compared with those of Australians in casual conversations and aims to help increase an individual's awareness of his/her communicative style as compared with those of others and thus help promote understanding and empathy between people from different cultures.

The data will be collected by using the following procedures: (1) Students will be invited, one pair at a time, to a classroom, and asked to chat with each other about anything they like for about 20 minutes; this will be audio- and video-recorded. (2) At a later time, they may be asked to answer the researcher's questions as regards their talk. Answers will be audio-recorded.

Students who participate in the study are free to withdraw from it at any time and their further care will not be prejudiced in any way by their refusal to participate.

Any questions concerning the project entitled <u>Chinese and Australian Conversational Styles</u> can be directed to <u>Xudong Deng</u> of <u>Department of Language Studies, Edith Cowan University</u> on ███████

I (the participant) have read the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this activity, realising I may withdraw at any time.

I agree that the research data gathered for this study may be published provided I am not identifiable.

Participant   Date

Investigator   Date

APPENDIX D

DISCUSSION TOPICS IN ENGLISH AND IN CHINESE

1. Talk about how you think your educations will affect your futures.

2. Talk about television violence and whether or not you think it has influence on society.

---

1. 你认为你所受的教育对你的未来有什么影响？

2. 谈谈电视暴力的问题以及你认为它对社会是否有影响。

APPENDIX E

ADVERTISEMENT FOR THE RECRUITMENT OF TRANSCRIPTION ASSISTANTS FOR AUSTRALIAN DATA

FREE TUITION IN CHINESE LANGUAGE

Chinese research student is seeking help in clarifying transcripts of Australian conversations.

He is offering to provide Chinese language tuition in exchange for some assistance in clarifying transcripts of Australian conversations.

Please phone ███████████ or call into Demountable Building 10J (1) at back of Building 16.

APPENDIX F

TRANSCRIPTS OF THE 15 AUSTRALIAN CONVERSATIONS

A: got an assignment due tomorrow↑.　　　　.hh °you got [one.°
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　hm. (0.2)　　　　　　[got one on Fiday,

B: haven't started yet my essay. .hhh° so I've got a long day, an' yesterday

B: I was like-, in uni in Joondalup↑. (.)　[and a friend of mine like we were in
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　ye[h.

B: primary school together↑. and um, we're like playing pool and stuff in a

B: tavern. and then he came over↑. then he went home like about six thirty

B: he wanted to go out to training↑.　[then I came back like about nine an'
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　ye[h.

B: my whole day was like-, (.) so busy and I'm so tired. .hh and today's gonna

B: be another long day↑. hhh heh　　　　　　　　　　　　　fo::ur.
A:　　　　　　.　　　　　　why what time do you finish today?

B: °so-°
A:　　I know yeh I'm here till five. so I've got eight to five. .hhh then you

A: know Deborah Sullivan?　　=she's picking me up↑. [because um, ey.
B:　　　　　　　　　ye:h.=　　　　　　　　　　[°she-°

A: she's back at workin' at McDonald's [now↑. .hhh and so:, (.) she's picking
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　[yeh.

A: me up↑. (.) and um, (0.3) zeh .hh and we're gonna-we're gonna go over to

A: her house, 'cos we've got a meeting↑. O::H got this stupid thing at work.

A: .hh[h it's called super crew↑.　　[and you know they try to make us work
B:　[yeh.　　　　　　　heh [hh heh heh heh

A: ha:rd. .hh anyway there's incentive right 'cos they're all different stations in

A: my [work↑=like how you cook all the bur[gers an'-, .h[hh　　　　um
B:　[yeh.　　　　　　　　　　[yeh.　　[what do you do?

A: I do front counter↑. .hh like ser[ving people in dining room and fries and
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　[yeh.

A: s[tuff like that. .hhhh like o::h you will not believe it, er it's so cra::ss hh
B:　[hm.

A: heh heh.hh they reckon that-, 'cos there's forty stores in WA↑. .hh and they

A: reckon that if you: win↑, .hh um like'cos there's two front counter ones↑

A: =[you got like double chance sort of thing↑. zeh heh so they reckon, if you
B: =[yeh.

A: win tha:t↑, .hh you get like er hh heh .hh you get-,   a trip to singapore.
B: hhh

B: really?=   h[hh heh
A: =yeh for four da̲ys. [five days or something, .h but do you know

A: what-, one of the days you have to work at the McDonald's in Singapore↑.

A: [hhh hhh heh heh the point of that i:s? [hh heh heh (0.3)
B: [hhh hah hah   [hmm.   are you going hhh

B: heh heh [what is it double? or-
A: [(y)eh.   no just one like-, .hh every- because

A: [there're nine sta]tions, there're ten station[s.   .hhh (.) yeh so every
B: [(they may self)]   [hm̲m.

A: person, that-like the best in each station, from-, (0.2) like whole WA, 'cos

A: every store [goes in it. .hhhh wins so like there's ten trips to [go.
B: [ye:h.   [hm̲m. (0.2)

A: it's all right, I suppose.hhh .hh [you get to go to Singapore, but then you
B: [°hm.°

A: got to work in-, they [reckon it's the busiest store↑.
B: [°heh heh°   ((yawning)) be good

B: experience though ey.   working as though I worked in a different
A: yeh. .hh .hh

B: country. hh ih heh   [hm.
A: yeh I suppose. that'd be good for you hey [go do your

A: modelling. .hh °(you [did)°. hhh that'd be good.   ye::h so there you
B: [hm.   hm. (0.6)

A: go.
B: my hair's growing. (0.2) you gonna cut it again or growing it out.

A: growing dow[n.   'cos
B: [°are you°? have you been cutting it you have hey. (0.3)

A: you got to-, I ca[n't hack it, it just [gets so ta[cky and everything. .hh so
B: [ye:h.   [nice.   [hmm.

A: boring. (0.3) °(none of it)° .h[hh heh heh heh heh no it's just yuck. .hhh .hh
B: [hm hhh

A: I'd better do my readings ey.   [got exams in two
B: hm. I know. °I work my [job.°

A: weeks. [hh hah hah heh heh oh no:. (0.3) [I just want to get this essay out
B: [hh °hah°   [hmm.

A: of the way. (.) .hh Cherie's coming to help=you know Cherie? hh[h she
B: [ye:h.

A: used to do [TAFE in Joodalup↑. .hh she's coming to help me do my um,
B: [yeh.

A: photography↑.   tomorrow↑. heh heh   (what about Bob)=
B: hh heh heh   °yeh.°   =

B: what did she do? (she often do-), oh she did [(   )]
A: [(very satisfactori]ly). yeh.

A: she's changing it, she's going to Perth next month↑.   'cos
B: hm. °how come?°

A: she-she's at Joondalup, she reckon it's too far.   are you setting any
3:   hm. (0.2)

A: units at Joondalup next year?   next °semester I mean.°
B: mm hm.   °ah.° it's just

B: 'cos I had to, that's all, but-, (0.2) hopefully I won't have to. Jo[ondalup
A: [are you

A: going to have them all here?] (.)   'cos I was going to do one at
B: next semester.]   yeh.

A: Churchlands right↑.   .hh but I want to change now↑. hh I hope I bought
B: yeh.

A: that form ey. .hh because um, (0.2) I want to change to photo media

A: again↑.   do Photomedia Two, °but-,° (0.2)
B: hm.   well is that here or at

B: Church[lands?   [°oh you got one] er° (.)
A: [here. ↑but I-, I put in to do one [at Churchlands.]   Critical

A: Thinking↑, [so I could like analyse my work properly [an' stuff↑.
B: [yeh.   [yeh.

A: ((sneezes)) sounds all right. but I can do that anytime. [you know like
B: [hm.

A: photogra[phy and all. she said (they took the photos out). .hh took. with
B: [hm.

A: Jack hh   [(I did a whole) like nudity with him↑. [.hh °he's not too
B: ehh [heh hh   [hm.

A: impressed but-°   h̲e̲h h̲e̲h h̲e̲h .hh now 'cos we're doing
B: heh heh heh

A: picturing in the d̲a̲r̲k, [so I thought, you know what can I do. (0.2) then I
B: [yeh.

A: thought er nudity. (0.2) film?   ='cos everyone's taking photos of Ken
B: hm.=

A: (isn't she)? [°(what is it.)° .hh yeh that's pretty [interesting↑. (0.5) I took
B: [oh?   [°hm.°

A: a few of [Ted.   (0.4) [hm it's weird.
B: [bit differenct heh heh heh   [°hm.°   °(ye:s)° (0.3) what

B: did people do last year? (0.5)
A: o̲h the̲y̲ showed just some. and there's like this

A: woman, she's like wrapped up in a sheet standing in front of a window and

A: [stuff↑. .hhh and there's other one↑. .hh and they use it like um (0.3) you
B: [°yeh.°

A: know anything like photography↑. or, if you-, hold the: she-er she do like

A: e::r normal release shutter speed or whatever they call=I [don't know. .hh
B: [hm.

A: it can-, like this girl on the freeway↑. she held her shutter, e:r shutter speed

A: down. so it kept the:, (0.2) lens open↑. (.) so it gets more light↑. .h[hh and
B: [yeh.

A: she's done the freeway↑ and you know how like cars go. well, .hh there's

A: c̲a̲:rs and there was like ↑li̲:nes where the lights have been↑. (.) [was for
B: [really?

A: about yeh. thirty seconds or someth[ing↑. .hhh looks really good. .hh and
B: [hm.

A: this other guy got on a roof↑, and did it with a to:rch↑, and it was like all

A: like lines and stuff↑. .hh   I wanted to get like sparklers [but-,]
B: °hm,°   [ye:h.] (.) I

B: know. yes probably a change from candles for some hh
A: yeh heh heh heh

A: [heh   [°but um°, for what else but-, .hh they come up with
B: [°(as well)°(0.3) °hm[m.°

A: some pretty good [stuff.
B: [↑ye:h. yeh. (0.2) creative with some] good ideas. (0.3)

A: °(that's g[ood)°
B: [°it's° coming up with the idea. I have to do a mo-, er monologue.

B: °I also have to do a° monogra:ph↑. (.)   [also Lan]guage and Writing in
A: what's [that?]

B: English↑. (.) it's just like you gotta publish a book↑. (0.3) and stuff↑ hh .h

B: not you know full on publishing with a big publishing place but-, you know

B: just some binding [you have. all the proper pages and all of [that.
A: [.hh   [you have to

A: write it? (0.2)
B: got a-, you have about three or four different things, you can

B: do like-, (.) um short stories↑. about three short stories, or-, all poems, or

B: you can do short stories and poems or-, like plays, (0.2) or you can do like

B: a kid's book or whatever↑.   I don't know. I haven't really
A: what did you do?

B: done [that. it's due like] next week. .hh (0.2) [yeh.] I might do poems [um
A: [I   did   poems-]-   [°shit°.]   ['cos

A: that'll be easy='cos you like write from your heart sort of thing↑ and they

A: can't really say, no er er [er.   did they.=
B: [(that's what they) do↑.   =and it's not

B: really good um, 'cos I wrote one, one day. (0.2) it just go, but I was really

B: really um, (0.2) you know when you just feel like writing a poem?
A: yeh.

B: and I wrote it. and er you have to like hand some of the stuff in so the

B: teacher can have a look at it↑. (.) a:nd she was sort of, reading and stuff.

B: and she criticized my whole poem. (0.2) except for one line she ticked,

B: like gave me a double tick↑. and the whole thing it was like, she said o:h

B: you shouldn't use this word because it's passive and not active an'-, this

B: isn't right in the sentence and u:m, this word I don't know what you mean

B: by this=maybe you should use a dictionary or a thesaurus and check it out

B: an'-, just like every single line, oh I think he should break [into (two
A: [hm °shit.°]

B: sections.)] and it sort of defeats the purpose of writing, when-,
A: 'cos it's

A: [from y-   ]   yeh I know.
B: [(it's all about] mood.)   because I just sat there. I didn't even

B: have to think about it=I just went-, (.) like that. and I can never write poem

B: like that↑. but that day, that night I just sat there and I just wrote out, like

B: fuus-, (.) [you know, (x me) I was just going for it. 'cos words were just all
A: [ye:h.

B: coming to my mind↑.   [and then often-when] I go back, (.) it never really
A: ye:[h. a lot of a-]

B: happens to me↑. [and then you go back and someone criticizes your
A: ye[h

B: whole poem and says oh you should change this and change that. and then

B: you sort of constructing it.consciously and it's different you know. [it's not
A: [yeh I

A: know.   ]   it doesn't feel the [same↑. .hh 'cos I
B: the same] as when you write it↑. (.)   [yeh.

A: wrote this-, like for school, we had to write, a poe-in year eleven, [you
B: [hm.

A: have to write poem about like-, .hh a fam-, 'cos you know it was the year

A: of the family↑.   you have to write that↑. .hh and I wrote this poem about
B: yeh.

A: my mum. .hh you know in, how she's sick and st[uff. and just everything
B: [°hm.°

A: in the life and stuff↑. and they-, gave it to er like a teacher. I don't really

A: think she liked it-but like-, .hh I just writing, and I didn't even know where

A: it comes from, and my mum's got it like framed in her room↑. .hhh and

A: like-I read it sometimes and just the-, hh where the hell did that come from

A: ey. [like I just-, I don't even know how I came up wi[th it↑]   it's so
B: h[m.   [yeh exac]tly.

A: wierd. .hh (.) [°so-°
B: [the best writing was done in a-, in a night. (0.3) not

B: consciously thinking of what word should I [put in and-, (0.3) [°(it's still
A: [ye::h.   [°it's good.°

A: =you should do] a children's book then. (.)   'cos then, (.) or do they
B: x x)°   ]   ye:h

A: have to be [like a novel,] o:r,   can you write-,   [CAT is playing with
B: [°is it easier°]   um   no [like

A: the dog. [you know, is that what you normally (wa]tch)↑. and then draw a
B: [°yes.° I suppose you could.   ]

A: pic[ture↑.   [eh
B: [hh heh heh heh heh .hh ye:h. and I'm hopeless I can't [draw. can't

B: illustrate.   °no.°
A: do you know anyone who can? (0.4)   if they like drew it↑.

B: ye[h.   hm. (0.3) I suppose. say in year
A: [and you colour it in, that'll be all right.

B: nine, (0.3) [in my English class, and I thought oh yeh I'll give that one up
A: [° x °

B: heh hah .hh but I can't, 'cos um like it was an actual book. [that you had to
A: [yeh.

B: make↑, and um, the pictures were really bad, 'cos I drew them. I had like

B: copyright 1991 or 92 or [whatever. (ok).] hh .hhh heh heh .hh it didn't pay
A: [o:::h   no::.   ] heh heh heh

B: to date it 96. heh heh   yeh.
A: heh heh heh heh to the six e::y   hhh heh no .hh (.)

A: [I reckon] the children's-'cos if-, it-can you write a novel but then-, (0.3)
B: [°it can be that.°]

A: be too long.   you got to [write it↑.]
B: hm.   [um,   ] about, two-, two five to five thousand

B: words. I think that's what it is for short stories or whatever↑.
A: two five to

A: what?   [yeh.
B: to five thousand and something like that. [oh at least two thousand

B: five hundred words. (0.3)   yeh. (0.4) and if you do poetry, it's not
A: it's a lot.

B: that bad. 'cos you can put like less in, or you can make a-, .hh see I can't-,

B: I don't write that many poems, I've written a few. but you know, not really

B: that many. (0.2) so I thought if I put some of those in and put like, one or

B: two short stories in↑.   like even one, if I can write one
A: oh that'll be all right.

B: good one heh hh (0.3) yeh it's got like [work   (like   us),   essay.   ]
A: [oh that's just like creative wri]ting?

B: ye[h.   it's okay yeh. (0.4)   it's not too bad but it's a lot of
A: [is it good?   °wicked.°

B: work. we have like a file, ((clears throat)) which I handed up yesterday. and

B: um, after every class you have to write about reflections↑. it's sort of like

B: what you did the whole day↑. and then you have to have like your lecture

B: notes down. [you get all marks and like everything↑. (.) then you have to
A: [((clears throat))

B: do your own reading at home and say like-, what you've been reading and

B: all the new words that you found, then you got a little notebook↑. °you see

B: what I mean.° .hh an' you got a-, just write-
A: so you have to read heaps of

A: books.   [did   you   do like all the-]? you
B: kind of. (0.2) you just got [to show you did the reading↑.]

A: should (get a secondary) hoh hoh hoh heh heh hhhhh I would have done

A: [that.   heh heh [heh heh
B: [that's what I do another subject↑.   [well this studies are (readable)

B: 'cos like that one in-, som-you know you <u>have</u> read it. [hm.] so-,
A: [<u>y</u>eh.]   heh heh

A: hh that's [true.
B: [so another subject. you have to have like press tables↑, you have

B: to go through the newspapers↑. cut out all these articles and stuff under the

B: eight different headings↑ and put that in and write about them↑. (0.2) then

B: with a notebook you have to write, you know dreams and ideas that you

B: ha:ve and, just bits of conversation, yeh stuff like that↑.
A: pretty a lot ey.

B: that's [what I mean, that's a lot ey. (0.4)
A: [to do ey.   but is it for like-, (0.4) you know

A: your foundation [you really just have to (0.3) do [a lot of readings and
B: [hm.   [yeh.

A: journal. (0.4) °(   )°

B: is there anything on tonight? (0.5)
A: u:m (0.3) you can always-, you can

A: always look for an SBS documentary. they've always got [good ones.]
B: [ye:h.   ]

B: .hh my sister's doing the same-, you know how she's doing the same unit↑.

B: [.hh ↑HE:R lecturer has put video tapes in the library↑, and they have to
A: [hm

B: take one out of the library and do that↑, (.) [so um, I should have asked
A: o:[:h

B: [Richard today.]   YEH. just tape. he's [put videos in the
A: [he's taped some] this year? (0.2)   [((coughs))

B: library. A::ND .hh because he took so long to put them IN the library↑,

B: .h he's given them a week extension. (0.2)
A: oh that's not fair=oh who else

A: has got, .hh u:m Alex's, (0.3) English class have got an e-, e::r week

A: extension on the::, ↑Eng[lish assignment. [because their] teacher, oh who
B: [ohhhhhhh   [how'd they get that?]

A: was it? (0.2) Edward Sim[pson, or something yeh] Edward Simpson↑, .hh
B: [Ed-,   yeh   ]

A: he: didn't give them their story until much later than we got ours↑.   so
B: oh.

A: he gave them a week of[f.
B: [no. I'm glad it's done. 'cos imagine having↑, (.)

B: the-lesson plan due, th-Thursday↑, of next week↑. and what the media due

B: Wednesday.   =yeh.
A   we've got the-, drama program in the next week as well?=

B: so, for the next four consecutive weeks, we've got an assignment due every

B: single day. (0.5) because we've got, I mean every one day a week. 'cos

B: we've got-, ↑this Wednesday we've got, the::   =media↑. no-, th-this
A: Media=

B: Thursday, [we've got this. .h next Wednesday we've got Media↑. following
A: [yeh.

B: Tuesday we've go:t (0.2) programming↑. .hh and then the following

B: Thu:rsday, .h we've got that show.=   who's in your
A: =°performance, o:h shi:t.°

B: group? (0.4)   =oh that's a [cool group.]
A: Sherie, (.) Sherie, Tanami and Joan=   [we've got

A: really good-, we've] got really good articles, too. oh well ↑I've chosen

A: heaps of good ones like, .hh 'cos Rolling Stone magazine always has like a

A: politica:l, (0.3) thing. or most of the time and that. .hh I found ones on um,

A: (0.3) violence and the blacks in the slums in Los Angeles↑. 'cos he said

A: you can do:, .hh you can do um, suppression (0.2) not necessarily in a third

A: world country=you could do suppression within a, .hh like a, advanced

A: country↑, but [you can show how=but to show in the performance, how
B: [hm

A: THAT is related to the rest of the society sort of thing↑. .hh then I've got

A: other ones. ↑o::h I've got them like on, Women in India. how their class,

B: o::[hh   tha]t's what I [want to] do.   [have
A: [and how-]   [there's-]   I've got a really good article on [that,

A: we're] probably not going to use it. it's from Marie Claire magazine↑,
B: you?]

A: .hh it is on-, .h wim=there's women in these villages in India↑. their

A: husbands have been like, taken away by the wealthy land-, land owners to

A: work for them=and they're left there. .hh they get raped and pillaged and

A: mur[dered, and everything and these women, .hh have armed themselves
B: [o::h.

A: with guns and stuff like that, an-, they-they describe this big battle scene of

A: when they-, .hh fought off all the land owners=when they came not just

A: throwing rocks and sticks an-, .hh they got all these um like a pretty crappy

A: guns but-,   but they actually scared them off.
B: coo:l.   well (Anna) actually gave

B: us a big sheet. (.) and um, he said, .h what you do is, next to each heading,

B: there's heaps and heaps of headings, .h there's a price↑, so-, three dollars↑,

B: you send away, you pay three dollars and you get all the information on this

B: thing↑.   [but I've given it to Fiona. .hh don't know what she's done
A: oh real[ly?

B: with it. .h so:: I'd-↑I'd like to get on to that now:. .hh 'cos it's gonna take a

B: wee[k   to   get   it.   ]
A: [>do you know what else I've got a really] good article on (a)<↑, ssss

A: on um, (.) Li:fe (.) in Poverty in Cuba.   [it's so:: good. it's got BRIlliant
B: heh[hhh

A: pictures.   =with this ah-it's just really really good ones↑. but um, every
B: hm=

A: time heh hh every time we try to get serious with those guys.   =they-,
B: ye:::h=

A: they start the-, (   )=we were looking at the articles and they were

A: talking about X-Files, then "oh we want something with Sculley and

A: Molder". .hh and they were saying se-, oh what was the other one they said

A: um, (.) Sculley and Molder? a:nd (0.4) something about Jones from the

A: Eagles theme, we should put him in the performance=they're just mucking

A: around but-,   [yeh. °off task.°] heh huh huh .hh oh go:d.
B: but it's still off ta:[sk. OFF TA:SK.] heh heh hhh

B: .hhhh heh they're so funny. .hh do you know I've-, I've spoken to them

B: MO:RE. these last few days 'cos of this assignment. than I ha::ve the whole

B: year.   e- like Sheri:e and (0.2) Anna,   [Joan,
A: who?   rea[lly? u:m, ye:h I suppose, but

A: [I talk to them, in-, in classes.] yeh.
B: ['cos-, 'cos I've done it in my classes.]   see you know how we want to

B: get together s-, still yesterday↑,   there's too many people.
A: hm.   yeh I know.

A: ↑more people found out about it and they've decided to-, (.) you know what

A: we should do, we should get together for this? (.)   =oh the topic for
B: for what?=

A: the assignment. how they wanted to talk about it in groups or something. (.)

B: o::[h   did they?
A: [they wanted everyone to get together and discuss it↑.   I think

A: so.
B: o:h ↑° didn't hear. ↑no I I was talking about the: planning workshops=

B: too many people.   'cos the classes were joined together. (.) [I think it's
A: o::h.   [but that's

B: 'cos   the   DipE]ders. if it's only, (0.4) fou:r, (.) five (0.3)
A: 'cos the DipEders.]   °Joan and Peter,

A: Carl, Debbie. (0.3) that's about five or si[x?° °I can't remember all of them.°
B: [h::m.

B: five Dip'ers, but then we got two. two min(ors), Wally and (0.2) and Joe↑.

A: .hhh Alex?   [yeh.
B: °but isn't he-,° I know he's not [in the class is he. ↑how did Mary

A: I don't know. maybe (she not-), maybe Alex
B: stay in the class but not him?

A: just chose not to do it.   but Alex does another drama unit (after)
B: no. (0.2)

A: next year doesn't he?
B: yeh. they're probably swapping over. so he's doing

B: what we're doing. he might be doing stage class two now or something like

B: that.   .hh can't wait to find out=I was thinking today in the cla:ss, when
A: hm.

B: they sa:y who's going to be:, (0.2) their um (0.2) English lecturer↑, they

B: might split us up↑, for our English lectures next year↑, next semester↑.

A: what do you mean?
B: well you know how we cannot do teaching English

B: two. there's only one English u[nit↑.   =they're going to have to split
A: [yeh yeh yeh=

B: us up=they can't all have us in the same. .hh so somebody's got to probably

B: have one lecturer and someone's going to have another↑.
A: oh like we did this

A: year.   this semester.
B: yeh.   yeh. but then somebody's going to be lucked out,

B: aren't they?   so I was trying to think of, if I can like change,
A: yeh I suppose.

B: if I'm not happy and stuff like that, .hh ↑do you know the provisional

B: timetable's up? (.)   oh you were
A: ye::h. I know. I've got one on the twelfth↑.

B: with me.   huh huh [huh hh
A: was I? oh yeh I was.   [heh hhh hh .hhh twelfth, seventeen

A: [the twentieth.   [is that right↑. twelve]-seventeen, twentieth?
B: [heh hhh hhh hhh hh .hhh I for[get,   yeh.   ]

B: so one the first week, and two the second week.
A: °go:d. they're all at night

A: time as well↑°. (0.2)
B: that's good though. 'cos you got the whole day to

B: cra:m. (0.3)   but then again you're stressing, like if you finish it, you
A: h::m.

B: can go home and start the next one.
A: .hhh ((yawning)) I don't know, I find

A: that when I have an exam at night time, I'm more eager to finish it↑. [so, I
B: [o:::h

A: speed through it more. (0.2)
B: did you go out, what did you do after the Friday

B: one, remember when we had education first semester last year↑. (0.6) it

B: was six o'clock on a Friday night.   [did you go out?]
A: oh yeh yeh [yeh   yeh   yeh] I don't think

A: so=oh yeh yeh yeh I think I did=I think I actually went to the, um .hh

A: °into the (   )° °(probably did   )°. °I [can't remember. who's
B: [o::h

A: been with you.°   o:h you'se went [out out.
B: at three I went to:: the Queen's.   [>oh<

B: ye:[h   we went all together.   to getting to know you
A: [no way.   ((yawning))

B: thing. (0.4) [o:h. heh   [I know you used to sit
A: [o:h. I did not know anyone last year. [°x°

B: by yourself all the ti-, .hh you used to sit on that <u>back</u> <u>brick</u> <u>wa:ll</u>. (0.4)

B: n .hh and [we used to sit on that hill]=you know the Sound of Music Hill?
A: [°the   back   brick   wall°]

A: yeh?   =of the thea[tre=this one that's just here=
B: and there's a wall, at the side=   [yeh   =

B: yeh. you used to sit there.   [(that's right.)]   [.hh
A: oh [ye:h but then-,] no:: I [don't know. I just-

A: (0.4) no I think I think it was just because I smoked as well. and nobody

A: smoked and I just didn't want to sit around anyone.   that's-that was my
B: hmm

A: reason I just didn't want to sit near anyone↑. now I (kind) wasn't-, (0.2) I

A: don't know.   everyone just looked too cliquey.   they <u>did</u>.
B: too: heh hhhhhhh

B: everyone's cliquey now though.   [e:::h   ]
A: not really. [I suppose we are] sometimes.

B: hm. (0.5) the pla:n, I'm so proud the plan's in.   so cool.
A: heh heh heh heh hih

A: it's just everyone but (mystery Jane's not enough.)
B: hmm. she's only o:ne.

A: ((coughs)) and can you imagine if John had've been in the full=he's much

A: better than everyone=   =but he can't get in. can't believe it actually.
B: =I kno:w=

B: that was a bit dispointing. and he found out on that day when he turned up.

A: ((coughs)) what did Jamie say to him do you know?
B: oh na. all I found out

B: was-, somebody said to me oh John's not auditioning, he's not allowed to

B: audition. (0.5) .hh but it's not-, hh (0.7) I don't know. (0.2) [it's fair but
A: [but if-but if

A: you op]ened yeh, I know if you opened it up to him=you'd have to open
B: it's-]

A: it up to a lot of other people. .hh <u>but,</u> HE has done so much. (0.3) for the

A: drama department, [like he done a lot of things↑,   =and I think he
B: [ye::h   ye:h=

A: should have been able to do it.
B: .hh but then again, .hh would he be classed

B: as a second year or first year.   [yeh. ↑first year.]
A: fir-he shou-[he would've tried out with all the

A: fir]st years.
B: and what are the first years all gonna say, if he was the first

B: year that got in. (0.3)   [and   he's not
A: it doesn't mat[ter he's a first year like them.

B: very responsible though. he wouldn't really be able to-, do things for next,

A: °hmm°   I bet he was good with The Crucible.   [he was
B: next time. (0.4)   ye[h

A: there all the time.
B: hm. (0.2) .hh ↑have you ever done an assignment with

B: him?   .h mhmmm .hh fu::n   [no   yeh   ]
A: °no°   is it? [ey you've done a cou]ple with him,

A: haven't [you?   is that the one for Roslyn's
B: [one. he never turned up for rehearsals.

A: Class?
B: mhm. I was surprised we got the mark, and he did really well too.

B: hhh .hhh you know.   °I can't remember yours.°
A: °that was good really.° (0.6)

B: (0.4)   ↑o:h tha[t's right,
A: °when you'se did. bu:t we di:d,° we did Top Girls.   [we do our

A: assignment.]   [I-   [(is it?)   [it was just-,] (0.4)
B: that   was] good. [that was good, [°I like that.° .hhh °I [like the film.°]

A: you-you know what I want to say, it was really (some of us have marking

A: it) hh   she goes for that abstract crap.
B: ye::h.   hm. ↑did you get a good mark

B: any way?   =oh that's all right. (0.8)   =what're
A: I think I got a B minus=   °(yeh)°=

B: we going to do about this education thing?   that
A: what education thing?

B: marking?
A: °I want to go see the-,° we've got to go see the (people)=it's not

A: fair. ↑↑THEY DIDN'T. THOSE GUYS THAT DID THEIRS,
B: did not

B: deserve it at all.
A: they get thirteen, we get thirteen↑. we get thirtee:n (0.3)

A: for doing heaps of work, and the only thing that er we got faulted on was,

A: .hh um not using the overhead projector,   [and (actually) and tal]king
B: and [talking too fast.]

A: too fa::st. .hh that is it. and that is-, put it this way, that's exactly what he

A: faulted Sherie and them for as well=[maybe they've-they got fifteen.]
B: =[.hhh I ↑kno::w. I   can't] believe

B: they got fifteen out of fifteen.   [I mean-] it was really good an' all. BU:T,
A: it's [not fair.]

B: you know there was a couple of faults but-, .hh and the way he just added a

B: mark↑, he goes o::h, the class gave [him   twelve.   ]
A: [so just because of his ir]responsibility

A: for showing up late. he decides o:[h, oh I feel bad.] oh I want you'se to
B: [oh oh I'll give you it.]

A: like me, so I'll give you an extra mark.　　　　　　　[and that was the
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　I know, he's full [on.

A: last one, wasn't it=everyone's done theirs no[w.
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[no:, there's ohhhhhh we're

B: not doing the (bullying) model, are we? ['cos there's two more models left=
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°hm°　　　　　　　　=

A: yeh I know, but we haven't got enough groups in the [class.
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°a:::::h° do you know

B: we're the only group that-, four people↑. I reckon that's why she marked

B: us down as well.
A:　　　　　　　　°it's not fair.° (0.4) but-but she said, didn't she say when

A: we did it-, get into groups of four.
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　she goes "get into groups of three and

B: four" ri:ght↑, and then we s-we got into groups, and we said four and then

B: she said, ↑o::h you guys might find it dedelelele a little bit harder because,

B: .h oh you're in groups of four. .hh um you should be in groups of two and

B: three↑=and I felt like saying well you just said three and [fou:r.
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[we could've just

A: gone me and you.　　　that is not [fair.
B:　　　　　　　I know.　　　　['cos there's heaps of twos. (0.5)

A: so I like keep on meaning to get it off people. ((sound of shuffling)) so I

A: don't know. and she's one of those women. you don't know whether she's

A: like-,   ↑ye:h. like 'cos she's real like sort of [a-,
B: nice or not.   [has anybody-

B: remember that lady that you saw last week and asked 'er if she's commented

B: abou[t it.
A: [no::. no I haven't seen her. I haven't seen her. that was like really

A: freaky that I bumped into 'er.=   [that she would-]
B: =yeh. [then you lost] the keys for your ca:r.

A: heh heh [.hh   =
B: [da:g. don't lose your dad's keys. ey. what's he driving?=

A: ((sneezing)) e:r Ford Falcon↑.   =er it's just-, it's just under
B: oh very ni:ce.=

A: four years [old. and I was like driving along today. oh 'cos I thought I was
B: [hmm.

A: gonna be late↑, like 'cos-, (.) I woke up-, I woke up late this morning=
B: =hm

A: like-, I-, I'd missed-I put a wake-up call in↑.   .hh and I've slept RI:GHT
B: hm

A: through it↑. (.) and like, thingame didn't like-, Tallia didn't wake up. [it
B: °h[m°

A: sounds like u::::hhh I finally got up. yeh 'cos this ↑man's like washing my

A: window. (.)   [I heard this like]-I heard this big ↑bang on the window↑.
B: ye[:h who is it?]

A: .hh it was like-, °fuck° what's that, what's that and then all of a sudden, (0.2)

A: I went it's just the window cleaner↑. .hh ↑then u:m (0.2) yeh so I had to

A: rush and get everyone ready↑. and I was like-, .hh I thought I was gonna be

A: late but ( ) in the ca:r. (it was) wu::::::h [heh heh .hhh hih heh .hhh
B: [heh heh hah hah hah heh hh

A: usually mines like putt putt putt heh heh .hhh and so I just voomed, I

A: voomed the whole way here. [and so I ended up getting here on time. s-, uh-
B: [ye:h

A: otherwise I would've if ↑I'd been in my car, .hh I would've been about

A: fifteen minutes late.   °(something's happened)°=
B: ye:h.   =that's like-, did he say

B: it's ok for you to-, <u>drive</u> his car?   [ye:h
A: yeh I have to. 'co[s, my car doesn't have a

A: bolt for the ba[by seat↑.]   [a:nd so::, yeh but-↑<u>my</u> dad lends me
B: [a:h   ] of course. °ye[h°

A: his car all the time [hey. .hh he's like always-, I don't know-maybe he just
B: [yeh

A: finally took out insurance that I can like use it↑. ['cos he's always-, do you
B: [hm.

A: want to take the car? <u>do</u> <u>you</u> <u>want</u> to take the <u>car</u> .hh   [but-, °(sort
B: maybe [he's hoping

A: of)°   ]   [heh heh heh heh .hh actually he's getting a
B: you'd write it off.] so he can [<u>heh</u> heh heh heh .hh

A: new car.   ='cos like u:[m
B: oh cool=   [you'll be getting the old one. or he's going to

B: trade it in=
A: =no: he's going to trade it in. oh no actually a guy from his work

A: is buying it↑. °but° u:m   [it's only worth-, it's only
B: hm   oh my eyes are really [sore.

A: worth about thirteen grand now↑.   he bought it for for I don't know
B: <u>hmm</u>.

A: what=   yeh. °so:: I don't [know what it's worth now.°]
B: =trade in?   [do you know what I did this] morning↑.

B: got out of bed late↑. it was about, e::r twenty pa:st seven↑. I've got to be

B: here at nine. but I-, .hh had to get Matthew dressed, had to give him his

B: breakfast,   [he won't-he's-]
A: I woke [up at a quarter pa]st. I woke up at a quarter past seven.

B: he's into: like jigsaws at the moment↑. .h[h Na:na good bo:y. .hh (.) we
A: [hm.

B: play jigsaws? hh-honey be hurry up=it was like-, .hh Paul's feeding him,

B: I'm doing the jigsaw with him=I put his socks on=he sitting on the [potty.
A: [hm.

B: .hhh heh [hh putting his top on him .hhh hh [there's his-, there's his arms
A: [°hih hih hih°   [°heh°

B: coming [from all di[rections and the po]or little tacker. .hh so:, (.) ye:h
A: [huh huh.   [mhm   mhm   ]

B: [then we um, (.) Alan's mum and dad have been on us about-, (.) getting-,
A: [huh h

B: 'cos we got this, you know the big sandpit we got home?   [it's like
A: yeh y[eh.

B: three metres by two metres. .h um on at us about-, can they have a bucket of

B: sa:nd, for their little-, (.) one metre by half metre, sand box that they've got

B: in their back yard. [.hh   and like Matthew's in there all the time. so he's
A: [hmm

B: like throwing the sand all over the place↑. all the time so it's like got really

B: low↑. [.hh   so I said to Alan before he left, ↑can you go and get me a forty
A: [ye:h

B: litre bucket I couldn't get-, (0.2) bloody thing [in the car. it was like-, .hhh
A: [hh huh huh .hh

B: [ge ge ge ge ge ge   hhh   hhh   hhh   [trying to get it into the
A: [hih heh heh heh heh heh heh hah hah hah hah [.hhh (I used to have a

A: bucket.)] my parents actually finally got us a sand pit like (   ).
B: car.   ]

B: you had the best sand [pit.   no?   [a:h
A: [never played in it.   no, huh huh fin[d out really.

A: .hhh we want a sandpit, we want a sandpit, got one, played in it I think

A: once. heh [heh °which is°, oh but we were about nine. .hh [but I was about
B: [why::?   [o:h that's a bit

B: too late. the little ones would like] it↑.   [we got
A: nine   but   he   told   me-]   yeh, oh it's a different house [now.

B: him-, we built it just after Christmas. (0.2) [then like-, always, always I
A: [hm

B: mean, in summer it was beau:tiful 'cos the [sand was so coo:l, and
A: [hmm

B: everything like th[at. .hh but then it was like-, (0.2) ↑winter it's getting
A: [hm

B: leaves in it, so it's a bit dirty=but you've been playing in it on the weekends

B: as long as it's warm.   got to keep [spraying it 'cos] the mossies're [going
A: hm.   [we went to-]   [we

A: went to pick] um, we went to pick up Tony yesterday↑. .h and she'd been
B: there↑.   ]

A: in the um (0.3) [that   is-]   [↑yeh. ↑this is it. .hh y]eh (they -),
B: [that brings] home that-, [a   bootful of sa:nd.]

A: they'd been outside playing and stuff↑, .hh and they've got this like lovely

A: sandbox, all this like white sa:nd↑. .hh and she's like-, ↑BLACK sand. she's

A: played with black dirt all round huh huh [she hasn't been not the one and]
B: [(I would can't saw all his place)]

A: stuff. [.hhh heh hh at le]ast she gonna-she had like play they made playdo
B: [coming for his-, heh]

A: or something and she had it like all crusted on 'er-, [like everywhere↑.
B: [ye:h

A: .hh she had black di:rt jus' a:ll down here. all hask her, sand, [sand heh heh
B: [sand

A: [heh yeh sand black sand. [(not this time now.)]
B: [sand.   [ah (all right) yeh well if I] pick up Gordon from

B: day care and he's tired=I put him to bed↑. but if [I-, .h put him in his bed.
A: [hm

B: then I'll take his shoes off and there's like-, (0.2) a whole [bootful of sand hh
A: [hhh hhh hhh

A: hhh   hhh   hhh   hhh   [gross ey huh
B: goes on the bed=it's like-, .hh [the poor little tacker's just starting to go off

B: to sleep↑. (.)   [and they go voop, whip him out of bed [wow wow wow
A: °([ )°   [hih hih heh heh heh

A: heh hhh .hhh   [yeh
B: wow wow wow (0.6) (that was a little bit swarm who sand [out). .hh do it

B: later, then put him back to bed.   °(   )° (0.2)
A: hmm   (thanks). °I was

A: going to say something before.° (0.6) before you were talking,
B: cars? (1.1)

A: not cars. it's gone.   °er er er.°°u::h°. today's my worst day for the week.
B: hm.

B: oh ye:[h
A: ['cos I get home sic-about six. .hh there's a woman this woman that's

A: supposed to be looking after her='cos she's picking her up, at four↑.
B: °hm°

A: and the:n, at six she's um, (0.2) she's supposed to drop her back. and see I

A: was supposed to pick her up on the way back↑. .hh but she said oh no,

A: she'll have her till seven thirty. she's gonna bath her and feed her. [hhh
B: [°a:h°

B: good.   ni::ce. [so you can go 'cos you weren't going to go to drama last
A: °(ah)°   [°yes°

B: week, w[ere you?
A: [na:. na but we (worked out) this women. 'cos I haven't been. (0.3)

B: I got [to go to my dentist.
A: [°it seems to-° .hh ↑yeh that's what I was going to tell you. this

A: woman's-this woman's my teacher. (0.4) she's all like-, she's a:ll like-, (.)

A: ye:s. (0.3) and it's all really forced and really .hh   [um, my-, (0.2) theatre
B: wh[o?

A: teacher.   you know, and she's like rea:l, zeh, a::hh hmm and
B: oh right ye:h.

A: like-, I'm now being positive towards you. and so you just have no idea

A: what she's really think[ing↑.   hm heh
B: [hmm. are you a bit worried about going?

A: heh heh .hh it's like one of those-, I: don't think I'll go. again kind of thing.

A: (0.2) I just wish I hadn't missed that performance=I wish I had done it↑.

A: (0.2)   no but I haven't done it. (0.5) like I've got
B: will you still have to do it?

A: something but it's really crap. (0.5)
B: but it's unfortunate, because you didn't

B: see what the others were doing↑. 'cos you might not have gone first. so you

B: could have improved yours. °ra[ther than (before)°
A: [°totally.°   though I suppose yeh

A: everyone's just like really different. (.) but um, (0.3) still right or

A: someth[ing or-, I don't know. 'cos I was talking to this other girl about it,
B: [°hm°

A: and stuff. (0.2) just before I'd lost my keys.
B: hm. zeh can't believe Karen

B: wimped out today. I was going to ring her last night↑. honestly I was

B: ↑really going to ring her [last night and say to her, .hh if -'cos she's given
A: [hmm.

B: up work now, her partner's-, sort of done her the-, (0.3)
A: done her the right

A: deal?   [hmm
B: no, no [he's-he said-, you can-, .hh (.) choose, I believe this is what

B: like second- hand information. .hh choose between the kids↑, (0.4) him↑,

B: (0.2) his-her w:ork and her studies. she can't have all four. (0.2)
A: her partner

A: or he:r like-, [her ex.]
B: [like she-,] her her partner, her current partner, not her

B: husb[and, her ex- husband.]   yeh.   yeh. [yeh. he-he was not
A: [oh the one that works a]way. (0.4)   yeh,   [right.

B: going to, 'cos he was like-, like-, saying well what about time for me-time

B: for me. .hh ↑while-while he was down for the week,   she didn't go to::,
A: hm.

B: her-, (0.2) um (.) myths and legend class↑.   which she-, got failed for,
A: mhm

B: last-, you know, [for her last exam. her last semester. e:m   =
A: [hmm   assignment=

B: assignment↑. .hh um, because they had to buy dinnerware. went into town.

B: I said well why don't you go on a Thursday night.   and she said, oh oh,
A: hm.

B: what and take two kids↑. (0.4)   =I do it.   anybody else that's
A: uh oh. yeh=   ye:h

B: got kids do it↑.=   zeh you've got your-, priorities right?
A: =hm   yeh hih heh heh

A: heh heh .hhh heh heh .hhh   [rities. heh heh heh heh
B: this is my big word prio[riti:ze.

A: .hh   [so what did she=I don't
B: you can't try, there's not such a word as trie[s.

A: understand. so she can't have-, (0.2) HIM. she can have-
B: he's -he's made

B: her decide, (0.2) whether or not to, um,
A: what-you think she may be giving

A: up her studies?
B: no. no she's not giving up study-she's giving up work. so

B: she's not working any more=that's why I can't understand why she's not

B: here. (0.3) she's had the whole-, she'll have the whole day to herself today,

A: yeh.
B: because normally she would leave at twelve to go:, (0.2) to work for a

B: couple of hours,then pick the kids up at three or four-four o'clock.   but
A: yeh.

B: she gave up work last Friday. (0.4)   so she's had the whole day off.
A: oh-   ye:h.

B: and I: don't know why she wouldn't 've turned up today. ['cos he's not
A: [°hm°

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B: <u>here</u>. (.) she would've had it by herself, unless she was so frightened

B: because .hh she hadn't done s-her transcript, (0.4) but she got the myths

B: and legend, assignment in. (0.2) hh (0.4) she did really needs to know the

B: information we give today↑.   [from-, from the lecturer. .h she's going
A: °mhm [mhm°

B: to do her assignment as in-, one assignment for one, one assignment for

B: week two, and then put a conclusion. summarising the two together. (she's)

B: certainly lost the plot. I don't know whether to help her or not. but I was

B: going to ring 'er up last night and say, .hh [if you're not going to work and
A: [hm.

B: y've not got anything I'll help you with your ITR↑, 'cos you-[their class is
A: [ye:h

B: so behind.
A: yeh last night I-you know how you can go to the high-last night

A: I was wondering if you'd like show me what to do.   [°hmm°
B: no. (.) no [well um

B: Stacey and I were going to:, (0.3) our computer lecture last week,

B: [which we never made it to.   [so we actually went into the: um ITR labs,
A: [°huh°   °.hh[h huh huh hih .hhh°

A: ye[h
B: ['cos we were gonna do some of the-, assignment and get it all like

B: formalized↑. a:nd Georgia and Sue, and their classes were in there↑. and

B: they're like three weeks behind-they were right at the very start, of opening

B: Excel↑. and im[porting, backwards and forwards. so I sat there and I-I
A: [ohhhhh

B: helped Georgia↑.   =and Fiona helped Sue. and we got them all done,
A: yeh=

B: up to scratch for where we are. for Powerpoint this week.   =ye:h. .h
A: °o::h°=

B: but their lecturer is that woman that leaves fifteen minutes before hand↑.

B: (0.4) you know in the ITR lecture up the [very front with-[with Terry's
A: [hm   [hm

B: Terry brighty sits hh
A: .hhh .hhh heh heh heh heh heh heh heh heh heh heh

A: [heh .hhh heh heh heh .hhh   he [has. .hh hih hih
B: [.hh I can't figure out if this guy has had a hair cut,   [or whether he's

B: jelling it down the hhh   .hhh all I [can figure is that he's
A: hhh   hh hah hah hah hah   [he's got it

A: layered.] .hhh he's got it layered I think. [(oh I can see it↑)]
B: heard.]   [all I can think of is] that he has-,

B: heard some[body comment I've-I mean-, someone was calling him Jimi-
A: [hm,

B: Jimi Hendrix last week↑. huh huh hhh [hh hhh   [Jimi wouldn't be
A: [heh hhh heh heh [heh

B: happy if he heard that.   yeh but
A: heh heh .hhh he is such a (boring man).

B: there's a woman that sits next to him and she always wears a scarf on 'er

B: neck, and she's in the library, and she always leaves fifteen minutes before

B: the end of the lecture, that's when you know that the lecture's finishing

B: 'cos she always gets [up and walks out. she [must have something to go to,
A: [yeh.   [hmm

B: .hh but their workshop-, [person↑,   and she doesn't know, she's only
A: [mhm mhm hm

B: learning she's- ↑their lecturer, or the ITR thing.   this thing. but [she
A: °ahhh°   [°hm

A: no°
B: said to them, don't worry. none of you will fail=I'll make sure you all pass.

B: 'cos individual workshop people are-, marking it. (0.6) something [like-
A: [°that's°

A: fucked.   what are we supposed to there be. (0.4) [°not so sure.°
B: ye::h. (0.4)   [and we-we, I

B: would say our class is going to get the top marks.   =provided they
A: °hope so°=

B: have a structure for marking.   =otherwise it's going to be like so biased
A: yeh=

B: if they want-they don't want their kids to repeat it again↑. (0.3)
A: hm. (0.6)

A: .hh just like this girl I pick up on Mondays.

A: but yeah don't, I mean, don't rush into anything. (0.2) 'cos there's

A: something if-, (0.2) even Paul said there's [something-]
B: [I   ] KNO:W. well yeh p-,

B: Paul says something is not right. but I mean [what-]
A: [↑MAY]be that's just how he is

A: tho-=
B: =that's what I was thinking=I mean you can't-, (0.3) not everyone can be

B: the same as everyone else. I mean I can't=like you said before I can't compare

B: him to Samuel.   [completely different people.]   but I get on s::o
A: they're [quite   different.   ] hm.

B: well with him like-,   [we just talk about everything=
A: ye:[h   =it's funny though

A: ho:w-, (.) when I was talking about, my brother's girlfriend, he asked what

A: nationa[lity she is↑.] I was-, (.) wondering about [that. I thought-]
B: [I KNO::W.]   [I know 'cos you-,] 'cos

B: you said why did you ask that for=
A: =↑yeh he goes on. nothing I am not racist

A: or any[thing. but I thought-,   yeh
B: [yeh.   why would you ask.   .hh maybe he thought

B: like-, (.) Europeans have to be with Europeans↑. type of thing↑. (0.3) 'cos

B: like he's polish. he's p[robably expect]ed-, (.) [to   know-   ]
A: [a::h,   ]   [I don't know,] because we

A: were talking about, (.) how she was very, (0.2) um (0.3) [like they're]
B: [loud   ]

A: always, very, possessive, [°(sort of thing.)°]   yeh I don't know.
B: [o::h right. (close] together.)

B: that was wierd.   I have no idea.   I don't know. ↑I know it was
A: ye:h.   °sh-°

B: wierd I mean='cos I know-,   I don't know. (0.2)   [although he's not-,]
A: hm.   .hh [but   he's   nice.]

B: ↑yeh well- .hh I mean like-, (0.3) Friday night, when we went out. he said,

B: like the-, the-like when we said goodbye, it was like you call me↑. it was

B: like well you've got my phone number=don't be shy=give me a call. I said

B: ok I'll call [you↑.]   [so-]   [↑yeh.] so
A: [yeh.] 'cos he's the [one] who called all the other [°(times.)°]

B: like-, the ball was in my court. I was supposed to call him. whereas last

B: night he called me↑.   and said I'll meet you for lunch↑.=   so ↑he's-,
A: hmm.   =ye:h.

A: he's the one [who is-   ]   [effor]t. ye[:h
B: [who makes] all the ef[fort.]   [I haven't like done

B: anything. (.) except for today when I said we should book for Saturday

B: night.   heavens. [isn't it great. .h]hh yeh I know was it I mean, say,
A: heh hah   [°(that's all of it)°.]

B: (0.2) he seems keen. and then he said um, (.) I'll just see you Saturday

B: night. so he might come in to work Thursday. [but I don't] know. (0.4)
A: [hm.   ]

A: ye:[:h
B: [see if you don't make but-, (.) one-one way I sort of think we:ll, (0.2)

B: it's a bit casual↑. (0.2) is he:, keeping his options open=is he seeing

B: someone else.(0.5)   o[r maybe he's-]   'cos I've been
A: but, [put yourself] in his sho:es, like-,

B: pretty casual=
A: =ye-yeh you want exactly the same thing anyway, don't you.

A: you want to be casual. you don't wanna-, (0.4) settle do:wn, (0.4) you don't

A: want to just look at him and not to look at anyone else.   so he's
B: yeh. (0.3)

A: [like-]   you don't know=   [o : : : : : : h hah
B: [I don't] know hhh if I do. .hhh   =I don't [know heh heh hh

B: .hh I don't know,] if that's not-, sort of-, u:h that's what I can't work out.
A: hah   ]

B: .hh I don't know whether I-, (0.2) want something ca[sual↑.]
A: [do you] think that

A: he's u:m   but do you
B: I can see myself having a full-on relationship. he is-,

A: think that he's, a compatible?
B: so I don't know yet. .hh or from what, from

B: the-, other two times we've been out like-, that night at Vultures (but-), .hh

B: that day, Friday we spent two hours on the phone just non-stop talking,

B: wicked like he [never shuts] up. .hh and the[n-   =I know=
A: [hmm   ]   [yeh I kno:w=   =I thought

A: he was going to be quiet, and °just sit [there.°]
B: [↑no:.] no he never stops talking.

B: and then, .hh at Vulture's we never stop talking and like it was really good.

A: hm[m
B: [but then say like-, I was just like one like you know sort of-, (0.3)

A: heh [hah   n::[o   ]   [it's] hard though whe:n, (.)
B: [a bit embarassed. [°cos] like he-that's [one a-]

A: they [meet your friends be]cause-, (0.3) you don't know how to-, ho:w-,
B: [°starting off as well.°]

B: how to ha[ndle   it.   ]
A: [your friends]'re going to react to him and how he's going to

A: react to your friends↑. [°it's   hard   to-°]
B: [I didn't know what you] thought I was trying to

B: look at you sort of-, .hh [(can   he-)   ]   n::a. [I'm I'm=
A: [↑couldn't you] tell?   o::[h   =did you think

A: I was a bit apprehensive like-, (.)
B: oh no. 'cos you're talking to him pretty

B: like easily, so I thought that's good but-, didn't know you thought he was

B: [too (good), and you thought] like-,   [oh that's good. .hh yeh
A: [ye:h   ye:h   ]   no, I did. heh [heh hah hh

B: no:[w °it's-°, I mean that's (noticeable). yeh.]   I mean the only
A: [but that-, ye:h. he's-he's nice. he's a] nice gu:y. (0.2)

B: way I'm going to find out is, (.) you know,   keep going, and
A: yeh exactly.

B: see how it goes. (0.2)   [°but you know.°] (.)
A: ye[:::h   ]   at least you know what-, or

A: how yo:ur life's-, (0.2) in that department's going↑. [heh heh heh heh heh
B: [hhh hhh hhh hhh

B: hhh .hhh you're not sure, still.
A: hh .hhh   no::(0.4) just so many factors. you know is-,

A: (0.4) [hmm   ]
B: [then like the thing is] now though the-, (0.2) now that you two are

B: back together↑, (0.4) when he calls up, it's gonna-, (gen-gentlemanness).

A: hmm
B: your mum's gonna be going oh you're-you're leading him on your-,

B: [.hh   you're gonna be thinking you're leading him on but-, like-, just
A: [ye::h

B: make it, make it really clear=that you're just friends and that you still want

B: to speak to him on the phone. (0.3)   so-but I mean tell him not to call
A: hmm.

B: too much and that you just call [him.]
A: [well] I rang him, last night, and said, after

A: she found that that letter, that he wrote-, [hih hih hh   [I said-   ]
B: [°ohhhh right.° did [you tell him?]

A: ↑yeh, I said-,   =I said don't ring me and don't send me
B: what do you say?=

A: anything, for the-, moment↑, you know↑. just-, let me sus out what's going

A: at home↑.   °'cos° it's so hard, 'cos they don't want-, (0.4) you know
B: hm. (.)

A: they don't want-, me to see him because, ↑I THINK it's because he's not.

A: European [but-,]   =they don't say that to me↑=
B: [yeh.] you don't know=   =it could be.

B: O::R but it could be a mixture of everything like-, [your dad and his] dad,
A: [your, she's-]

A: yeh. yeh.   or she's aiming at-, <u>at</u> because his parents committed suicide.
B: like-

A: an[d that he's got no] family. ↑they think, o::h don't get mixed up with
B: [unstable   ]

A: this guy, because he's-, (.) you know, (0.2) he hasn't got a-, family

A: background, and when he needs talk to someone, he's got no one to talk

A: to=that's why he's c[linging, <u>clinging to you.</u>]   yeh,
B: [↑<u>it is</u> sort of-, it is] true in a way though. (0.2)

A: I <u>kno:w</u> it's [true   but-,]   [you can't jus-] hmm
B: [if you come-,] if you come from [a kind- unstable-,]   it

B: like if he comes but from an unstable background,   if something does go
A: hm

B: wrong, he he mi:ght, (.) go to the extreme↑. [whereas most people-]
A: [that's   exactly,   ] that's

A: exactly what they [say.   but-]
B: [yeh. see most] like people like us, they're like pretty stable,

B: family close [knit↑.] if we have a problem we'll go to someone↑. whereas
A: [hmm]

B: he hasn't got anyone↑.= [so he can only go to you.]   [I mean it's
A: =ye:[h, that's exactly what] Mum say[s.

B: true=your mum's right.   [yeh. but there's no
A: you know I hate it. huh huh [huh

B: reason [to break up with him right.] (0.3)
A: [she's always   right.   ]   but then again, (0.4) everything

A: will be so much easier if I did. because I won't get the shit from mum all

A: the time and-,
B: yeh it'll be easier (.) s-so, okay, be easier like with your

B: relationship with your mum and dad. (.) but how about you↓. I mean

B: you've got to think of yourself. (.) [you can't just] do it to please them.
A: [ye::h.   ]

B: you've gotta plea[se yourself as well.]
A: [I wouldn't do that] but-, .hh (0.4) because I know that if

A: the::y, did accept him, (0.4) that-, I would be with him↑. (0.3)   [but
B: yeh, .hh [be

B: a   lot   easier.   ]
A: because they don't-,] (0.2) i-if I went to-, to sa:y I've broke up with him↑,

A: and I went and found someone else, who .hh was .hhh [meet their-,
B: [grea:t Europea:n,

B: yeh   ]   °it de[pends on yourself°.]
A: expectation] sort of thing↑. the:n, (.)   [I   know,   ] I could

A: have it so good. like [they'd just-, (0.4) I'd be able to do [so many more
B: [°yeh.°   [.hhh

A: [things and-,]   [it   is-   ]   [ye::h   ]
B: [see I didn't-,] I didn't, (.) [know that.] (.) like [when you said last] night. I

B: thought, .hh 'cos I thought your parents just didn't want you to have a

B: boyfriend↑.   [but-,   it's   not   like]   that=obviously if like he's European,
A: hm[m no, it's °not that.°]

B: got a good [family,]   [ca:r   job.   ]
A: [°hm.° it's] horrible [thinking that-,] (0.3) that they-, could be

A: racist=but I don't think it's that. (0.3) 'cos mum said to me, you know I

A: just want you to be happy an'-   [have the best-,]
B: but didn't you should [say I'm happy.]

B: (0.3) say John does make me happy.=
A: =yeh, but she says you-you see these

A: things now, but in the future, °.hh° (0.2) you don't know what's happened

A: because, his background an'-, anything can happen an'-, (.) you know.

B: just [((that he's awful-)]
A: [that   his   father] was a gambler an'-, just 'cos ev-all his-, (.) past has

A: been so horrible. (0.4) is-they just don't think that-, (0.2) they think

A: something's going to happen like-, (0.7) mm I can't explain it.
B: .hh I mean

B: they probably got a point though. (0.2) I mean-, didn't you say that he gets

B: like depressed heaps an-,   like he had to go to the doctors.
A: yeh he does. (0.7)

B: you know I mean that-,   I mean that's a bit of a worry, [say if he
A: ye::h (0.2)   [that is,

A: y]eh. tha[t is a worry.
B: gets-,]   [say if he gets a bit too depressed and starts you know thinking

B: about-,   suicide=I mean I don't know=that-that's [the extreme. but-]
A: hmm   [I know, yeh.   ]

A: this is exactly what they're saying. (0.4) but um (0.2) but I don't-, I don't

A: want to have, (.) I don't-not going out with him because I think oh he's

A: it=I'm going to marry this guy [blabla. (0.2) u:m (0.3) I just want to-,
B: [yeh

A: [like-, go out with him] for the-, ↑yeh. [for the time being sort of thing.
B: [just good for the moment.]   [°yeh.°

A: (0.7) not-, (0.3) you know. (0.2) I'm not-, ah I'm not saying, (.) oh look

A: mum and dad. (.) here's John. (.) he's going to be:, (.)   ye[h   (1.2)
B: '.   it. [hhh   o:h

B: go:d it's hard one. (0.3) [and what-, you two don't wanna-, (0.3) keep it
A: [°hm.°

B: casual just-,
A: he::, well he said to me yesterday that-, (0.3) wants to get back

A: together an' jus'-, like-,   [(no:, things out a bit↑.)]   hm. zeh so: it
B: like it [wa:s   o:r,   I   see.] yeh.

A: doesn't intervene our studies because-, (0.2) he's doing, (.) psychology

A: and that's got. (.) he's got so much work. (0.2) ahead of him↑. .hh and I've

A: got a lot of work too in media but-,   hm hmm huh
B: .hh ye:s, those essays.

A: huh [huh hh   [they're rea]lly getting done, aren't they? hm.
B: [see you can start [there.   ]   ↑but

B: I mean like-, ok we're going out Saturday ni:[ght↑.
A: [doesn't interfere with (me).

B: ye:h, like ↑we-, (0.2) Saturday you wo:rk↑. Saturday night say you go

B: out↑. you've only got Sunday. normally you-what you'd see John on

B: Sunday?   [°that's
A: .hhh hh Sunda:y u:h (0.2) maybe Sunday nights, but not du[ring

A: the   da::ys.   ]   yeh.
B: right°=as long as] you-, make the most of the time you got on Sunday↑.

B: to do it. .hh so ↑I try like not do anything on Sunday↑. not go out at all.

B: (0.3)   [that's what I try to do↑.]
A: yeh. [I-I   like   that   ] too, but I've-, my life is so busy and rushed

A: an'-, all assignments coming at once an'-, (0.4) it's just hard to make time you

A: know.   [I kno:::w.   [hmm.
B: especially with exams coming. o:h (don't [know).   grea::[t.

B: hhh heh hh .hh I cannot wait till the holidays. (.) a month isn't it a [month.
A: [I

A: KNO:W, all my exams are at] the start. so-
B: yes.   a:hhh   ]   o:h I might go sus out mine

B: actually.   [has it got like-, (0.2) wha[t-   [course   code.   ]
A: .hhh [hm.   [yeh it tells like [goes by the code,]

A: in-, order.   [time,   ] day,
B: and it has got like just the, actual time as well↑, [every day?]

A: date.   hmm (0.4) yeh.
B: °o:h (see that)° I'll have a look.   at least I'll know which one

B: it's like to prepare for first↑.   =has it got the room they're in, on there?
A: ye:h=

A: zeh no: I don't [think they've] organized that yet.   but appareently
B: [not   yet.   ]   oh (0.3)

A: they've do:ne, (0.3) in the u:m, zeh, (.) you know where the::, the

A: administration is upstairs↑. an' there's a classrooms up there↑=
B: =yeh that's

B: where I've got my English up there.
A: oh right. yeh they do the exams in

A: there. (0.2)   heh- our exams are two hours long. how- (0.3)   =
B: °a::::h° (0.3)   u:m=

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A: how long are yours?                                    hmm
B:                      my English's three. history's three.      sociology's,

B: yeh three. why not (three hours)                              =heh
A:                              .hhh go:d. hhh hh I've only got two=

B: hhh
A:     luckily.
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A: so what did <u>you</u> do yesterday?   yeh?
B: what did I do yesterday? I did some

B: practice, [and hung around here↑.]
A: oh [excellent. I   did]n't do any practices yesterday heh heh

A: [hhh none at all]
B: [oh it was not very much.] hung around here for a while, (0.3) <u>went home</u>.

B: (0.3) that's about all.   no I did my-, formal analysis homework.
A: good salt?   is that

A: [for on Friday?] (0.2)
B: [°a bit boring°] yep. ↑no. is it due Thursday or Friday? I know we

B: have it on Friday but not sure [when it's due.]   oh it's not on Friday.
A: [no. it's due in] class.

A: 'cos I haven't [done it. is it h]ard? (0.3)   not
B: [(did you start it)?] it's taken me ages, because um-

A: necessarily hard, [but you've got] to think about↑.
B: [no::   ] and I had to go through

B: every single little-, [note to try and work out what to] do=
A: [ye::s, I kno::w you have to-] =all that Melisma

A: shit.↑ [puhhh
B: [yeh. and then-, work out the devices used or °something I don't

B: know.°   I don't real[ly know.
A: e:r e:r e:r   ['cos when you don't listen in the original

A: thing, it's kinda hard, isn't it. heh [hh .hh I don't know heh heh [hh
B: [it's got- heh heh heh hh .hh [it's got on

B: the front what to do, but it's a [bit-,
A: [yeh it's harder, it's easier said than done

A: isn't it, (I thought). so it's [harder when it's-]
B: yes. [when it was, 'aw I did it] for half an hour.'

A: .hh aw but Roslyn's a [bloody, bitch,] mate, she just does everything in half
B: [u ::: h]

A: an [hour.   what did she do?
B: [did you hear about her on Saturday?   she was so::

B: depressed.   [someone, drunk herself into some state. (0.2) she was like-,
A: was [she?

B: cry:ing, bawling. she's so stressed about [her cou::rse. (0.3) and about all
A: [Roslyn?

B: the stuff she has to pla::y, and everything.↑
A: really? .h yeh I can see that,

A: because Roslyn comes across as a really=   [confident and tough] and
B: =cool and [tough.   yeh   ]

A: all that.   [and-]   [that's-, that's sort of shit that I do.
B: apparently [she just] broke [down?

A: (0.2) .hh um (0.3) like um   [and also-]   =yeh=
B: and she had to drive home [all by her]self=   =

B: and everything and she's just a bit fucked. (0.4)   heh heh heh hhh
A: that's ok.   heh

A: heh heh [heh heh heh heh hhhh   yeh, that's
B: [don't worry about the swear words. you can edit it later.

A: okay, 'cos it's-it's-, chatting, [and they want to see how we chat.
B: o[kay.

A: SERIOUSLY THOUGH, WHEN I WAS AT [DORAY'S.] I was sitting
B: [I think-]

A: there saying to each other, CUNT YOU RAH RAH, .h everyone was just

A: going o::hhh [and-   yeh they're only mucking around and
B: [the family said this?

A: [they hay hhh heh hhh hay hh maggot breath [and they're calling each other
B: [yeh   [heh heh

A: all these names, and I'm just sitting there going e:r e:r e:r e:r
B: we could have

B: got the nice couch.   [I mean,]
A: °hh hhh° ↑yeh we could have sat [on   th]ere. maybe

A: that's [for   um   ]   maybe that's [for-, oh [yes   should
B: [it's a bit grotty,] these chairs.   [↑oh   [what.

A: have seen one of the chairs that I had to sit on. (0.3) looked like someone-,

A: hhh hh hh had pooed themselves, [heh heh heh heh hhh there was a [big
B: [heh heh heh hhh   [heh

B: hah hah hhh   [in a-, in your concert?
A: brown stain on there heh [heh heh heh heh .hhh hhh ye:h, man, I was

A: disgusted.
B: what about that big walk out at the end? that was good. UH

A: oh you   =oh this is yum.
B: I really should have got a drink=   is it a good one?

A: have a bite, this is yummy.   mhm ((eating
B: I will. it's VERY SMALL.

A: noise)) small and sweet.   hm nice. apple huh huh huh huh hhh
B: (hm I think)

A: right here. I need ten bucks. ((eating))
B: don't you feel though, it's like one of

B: those American low budget film things?   [that you go to like the Luna
A: yeh, [°like-°

B: to see or something.   [through the] whole
A: seriously, we're talking about [films.   ]

B: film=   [it's just two people talking about shit.]
A: =this mo[vie we watched last night. they've all] these motif in it. this

A: is what-, (0.4) her mum told me, 'cos [she she did media↑. it was her first
B: [(oh yeh)

A: course=she didn't actually [do her Di]pEd↑,   and um   and she was
B: [oh right.]   yeh   hm

A: taught, teaching me about this motif in the movie↑. it was so: pa<u>thetic</u>,

A: like there was all this sort of deja vu shit,   [and stuff. .hh and um, (0.3)
B: e::[:h

A: it was like a rich family and all this an-, .hh and when he killed this girl.

A: this train drove past and it was like-, carrying ca:rgo:, like from their factory

A: or something like with the family names stamped right on it and all this shit,

A: .hh moti::f,   u::h.(0.2) EXCEL[LENT. yeh.]
B: u::h   [we used to do things like that] in English

B: last year. [these films.   in last film. (0.4)   no.
A: [oh really these films.   you didn't enjoy it?

B: (0.6) hm what novels did you do last year? (0.3)
A: um (0.4) The Collector↑,

B: ye:h↑ (0.8)   [huh huh
A: Tess of the Durbavilles↑ hhhh bloody boring piece [of shit that

A: was. and I still write the best essays on it↑.=   I never actually read
B: huh huh hh .hhh   =yeh. (0.3)

A: the whole book [until about the week be[fore TEE. .hh um 'cos like-, we
B: [hhh hhh   [what-

A: talked about it so much in [class,   and all   this, .hh an'-] I all I did I
B: [yeh you didn't have to read it then.]

A: read about the first chapter and like the last three pages or something, and I

A: knew everything that happened. [I didn't really know and I thought I knew.
B: [hmm

A: .hh so I'd write these absolutely fabulous essays and get As and shit for them.

A: and the stuff that I read and I really thought it's great stuff, I used to like get,

A: (0.4)   [Bs and Cs for that=and the [thing I haven't read=I was getting these
B: ye[:h.   [hmm

A: really good marks for. [.hh and um, no I finally I did read it, but um, it was
B: [yeh

A: absolutely crappy, stupid thing↑.   Ha:rdy↑,
B: who's it by? (0.4)   Hardy.

A: Thomas Hardy.   =but we did um The Perfectionist, [.hh by David
B: ri:ght.=   [mm hm

A: Williamson, and it was one of our plays↑, 'cos we did two novels and [two
B: [oh,

B: yeh, two plays yeh.]   [you didn't do any Shakespeare? (.)
A: plays and (↑)] .hhh [and-   um (0.4) our

A: other play, no we didn't, we did Pinter. (0.4) which is the um, The

A: Caretaker,   [sort The Caretaker, .hh THE Collector, .hh THE, THE
B: mm [hm

A: THE THE, um (0.5) °.hhh .hh° an' and we did-, poetry. we did um,
B: oh yeh

A: um we did Bruce Dawe. (0.4)and um, (0.4) Wordsworth,   which sort of
B: hm.

A: [made   up   for] not doing Shakespeare and that↑.   all that crap about
B: [should be enough.]   yeh

A: daffodils and whatever.↑ (0.8) send you sick man.   I
B: °what's° that noise?

A: don't know.   ((clearing throat))
B: it could be coming from next door. (0.9)

A: postmodernism. put it debate now. (0.4)   but [you have passed heh heh]
B: u:h   [you have passed heh heh]

B: an open lecture.
A: ((read)) conversation filming here, please come in. YE::H.

A: I think if you could see through the door, you would. (0.5) h[m later]
B: [yeh we're

B: doing] some budget film for some-, (0.6)
A: yeh. but her mum said she made

A: a documentary or something=   =and I was just [thinking, oh] wow,
B: =oh really.=   [where did she do

B: it?]
A: how cool. I don't remember what she said it was on, but you know, you

A: could just imagine like, (0.2) ↑they ['ve been so] cool [heh heh
B: [walking-   ]   [walking around

B: the screen (just) now? [huh   h[m.
A: [heh .hhh I-I wouldn't mind that↑. (.)   [being a film

A: maker. [heh heh heh heh   [unfortu]nately
B: [yeh. because you could make some really really [cool stuff.]

A: I'm only a poo[r musician.   [you know what I heard.]   I heard
B: [°an'-°   and have [heaps of   good messa]ges in it?

A: a hot gossip yesterday.   this guy from Melbourne,
B: what did you hear?   mhm

A: he's a like, (.) excellent trombonist.   really really talented like-,
B: yeh.   one of

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A:  in second year or something.           ((eating)) a bit amazing. oh I don't
B:                              oh right.

A:  know where these all really talented trombonists come from.    [but-, we
B:                                                      ye:[:h. they

B:  seem ] to be springing up from everywhere.
A:  have-]                                        Jason Redman↑. (0.3) who's-,

A:  principal in Queensland Symphony↑.      and he's like really excellent=
B:                                          hm.

A:  he's about twenty-five now or something=he's been principal since he's

A:  about nineteen or something↑.          =and um                    [Warrick
B:                            oh go:sh=          just like this ye[ar.

A:  Tirrel was the same. (.) he was-, um principal in, (0.4) ASO at eighteen or

A:  something.                                          hmm no. (0.2) I'm
B:            can you imagine being principal at eighteen?

A:  eigh[teen↑.                                        ((talking while
B:      [↑what a responsibility that would be. oh my gosh.

A:  eating)) you'd be shitting yourself.                    [hm] hm. (0.4)
B:                            I KNOW. (0.3) unbelie[vable.]

A:  now I'm going to be the first female principal trumpet.        in the
B:                                                      are you?

A:  Australi[an Orchestra.]                ((eating)) I wish.
B:          [o : : : : : ] : h wju::::::::.              huh huh huh

B:  pretty proba[bly you can.]                              oh right. but
A:              [I think there]'s a female associate principal↑.

B:  [not   a   princi]pal. (0.3)              but there are a lot of females who
A:  [in Melbourne.]          hm. ((eating))

B:  play the trumpet, obviously not.                    yeh?
A:                            NO. IN PERTH?      there's me:, (0.2)

A:  and Catherine James=I'm-I'm [counting people who count.
B:                          [hm                    ye:h, not,

B:  [right.          Michael °(or [his-)°
A:  [in rank order↑.              [female trump players in rank order in Pe:rth
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A: .hh (0.2) u:m, go::, (0.2) u:m, this woman who doesn't play any more and I

A: can't=Margaret Fenn↑. (0.3) she was absolutely fantastic=she won like

A: the:- (0.2) instru[mental   con<u>cer</u>]to competition or whatever.
B: [she doesn't teach?]   she doesn't

B: teach?=   oh [my   go:d.]
A: =no she's an accountant now heh heh hh she's-   [she won like-,]

A: what-what is now the young performer's a[ward=she] won that↑. [and
B: [oh   yeh]   [wow]

A: she's] like, [like sort of-,   mum's age.] °well° she didn't want to do
B: [why did she go to accountancy?]

A: music anymore.=   =so there's he:r, but she doesn't really play
B: =°hm hm°=

A: any[more, so she doesn't really cou:nt. then there's Jenny Coleman,
B: [yeh

A: who's-, (0.2) puh nearly-, thirty or around there:↑. [.hh and she's very very
B: [yeh

A: good. (0.3) .h and she's like the sort of-, (.) top casual for WASO and

A: [stuff↑.   ]   and then after he::r (0.5) I would venture to say a woman
B: [for WASO,] hm

A: called Fiona Jackson, who Michael loves, who had my trumpet hm .hh,

A: pla::ys with fifty bucks and all that shi[t hh .hhh   yeh that one.
B: [oh that one ye:h   yeh.

A: um and I-I find her quite a shit player actually↑.=   yeh.
B: =but Michael loves her?

A: .hh and then-and then after her there's Karen, who used to teach me

A: also↑.   .hh Adrian taught me as well↑. .hh and-and there's Karen↑.
B: oh yeh.

A: and she's-. (.) u:m (0.4) all right↑. and then there's Sandra and then

A: there's me. and then there's like Michael and Donna Thompson.
B: yeh.

F: you start the conversation.
M: okay. what did you do on the weekend. hah hah

M: hah [hah hah   really?=
F: [I had the worst weekend ever.   =I don't even want to mention

F: my friends=they're so stupid↑.
M: yeh. I-I agree. I had one of those weekends

M: as well. [°but-° no tell me you can't say that an' then s[top.
F: [yeh.   [well we-we-the first

F: night we went out to a movie↑.   [°whi-which-° (0.3) Primal
M: hm. what did [you see.

F: Fear↑. Richard Gere↑.   ↑pretty-pretty good. I liked it. sort
M: mm hm.

F: of like-, got an ending like Usual Suspects↑. you're like going, shit didn't

F: know that was gonna happen↑. .hh or maybe I jus' didn't know °that° was

F: gonna happen °an'° Burt Reynolds did.   yeh. so that was pretty cool.
M: yeh heh.

F: (.) an' the:n, we went back to my hou-. we went out for a coffee an'

F: everything was shut↑. .hh so we went back to my house. an' like-, jus' sat

F: there until like two talking↑.   °which° pissed me off because I had to
M: yeh.

F: work at [eight the next day. an' I am like-, .hh e::r dying.
M: [heh heh heh heh heh   O::H ↑WELL it's

M: been a good night.
F: yeh↓. but anyway, so I got rid of them at two. an' then,

F: (0.3) the next night, (.) I wanted to go out. we went to the Planet to the all

F: ages gig to see Effigy↑. [°because Effigy are really° cool. .hh an' then um,
M: [yeh.

F: (0.3) we went out for dinner↑. in Freo↑. .hh an' the people were so rude.

F: these waiters and waitresses. we walked in an' said, can we have a table

F: for three you know. .hh we don't look that good. but still, you jus' <u>treat</u>

F: people with res<u>pect</u>. .hh we walked into this restaurant an' they said, yeh.

F: there's one. .hh she °said° oh <u>I</u>'ll check °an'° walks off, comes back °an'°

F: says, .hh <u>yeh</u> there is one. an' so like-, .hh s-an' then we go over there.

F: °an'° they sit us in front of this big wall. it's [like-, <u>this</u> <u>wall</u> an' they've put us
M: [hhh heh hah hah hah hah hah

M: hah hhh heh hah heh hhh]   [heh heh
F: at a table, where we're like] looking at this wall. [huh huh huh huh .hhh

F: ↑<u>well</u> you know here's the bar. you couldn't see [anyone else in the
M: [heh heh heh heh

M: heh hhh   ]
F: restaurant. an' my] friend just went, I AM NOT SITTING HERE. we

F: couldn't get up an' leave. you know, you can't get up [an' leave. [we have
M: [hhh   [of course

M: you can.]
F: done that] before. us three have done that before. °but° we said no no no.

F: .hh we're really hungry. °it was° nine thir[ty at night. [.hh so we said no no
M: [ah.   [yeh.

F: no. we'll just stay here. so then, the guy that was harrassing us, the barman

F: I think he thought that, we were the youngest people in there. so he was

F: gonna harrass us. .hh so he came over an' hih heh huh huh huh. you know

F: how they do. .hh an' then he came up to the table an' we said can we sit

F: like, somewhere like there↑ an' like separate the table so that's like <u>two</u>

F: four seater tables↑. .hh an' he goes yeh↑, an' left it a six seater table↑. .hh

F: so we moved, sat down. (.) an' the lady comes up an' goes, .hh you <u>can't</u>

F: sit there. what if we get six people coming into the restaurant. we went,

F: °well° put us somewhere else=we're <u>not</u> <u>sitting</u> <u>near</u> <u>that</u> <u>wall</u>. huh huh .hh

F: an' they looked at us <u>so:</u> badly. an' then, an' so we sat down somewhere

F: else an' then they go, .hh what have you girls been on tonight before you

F: came here.=   [↑jus' like-, we're drinking water. we were <u>not</u> pissed. we
M: =hoh [hoh hoh hoh hoh

F: were not on any in-under any influence↑. .hhh an' they're in-insulting us↑.

F: .hhh so we thought, that's fine. we'll let that <u>go</u>. an' then we went, an'

F: ordered. an' my friend ordered the snapper. .hh the <u>fish</u> of [the <u>day</u> was
M: [snapper.

F: snapper. but it was grilled↑. she wanted the snapper that was like basically

F: fish an' chips↑. .hh so they go off. an' come back an' they go, .hh sorry

F: you can't have sauce with your wedges an' then she goes, why [not. an'
M: [°huh°

F: they said, 'cos you don't get wedges with the fish of the day. °an'° she's

F: going, I didn't <u>order</u> the fish of the day, I ordered the <u>snapper</u>. .hh an' they

F: go, <u>no</u> you didn't. an' we're like fighting with this woman. an' <u>she</u> was the

F: only one that had fish of the day anywhere in her brain °an'° we hadn't

F: mentioned it at all. .hh so then she realized she was wrong. an' she gave us

F: some free bread. an' then the-the [b::read heh heh heh .hh you're supposed
M: [hh heh heh heh hah hah hah hah hah hh]

F: to get free] bread <u>anyway</u>.   =<u>then</u> the manager came over↑. an' he's
M: hm.=

F: like-, .hh you're the girls °that°-, w-wan-wanted the wrong fish an' stuff

F: like this an' they're abusing us↑. .hh <u>an'</u> then um (.) zeh the-, waitress was

F: jus' so mean↑. .hh that we-,   [jus'   left.   ] heh h[eh hh
M: why [didn't you jus' like-,]   [starts

M: spilling stuff an' say sorry we've decided to eat somewhere else °an'°

M: [jus' walk out.]
F: [<u>well</u>,   ] I wasn't thinking about it. 'cos they were so mean. .hh but

F: we were so hungry heh hih hih hih [hih hh hh [by   this   time   it   was]
M: [fuck'em [there's got to be something-]

F: ten o'clock.   oh yeh, there was.
M: oh there's got to be something else open at <u>ten</u>.

F: but we-we left somewhere else an' went there for coffee. .hh it was really

F: nice food though. it was <u>really</u> [nice.   s[o-
M: [SOD THE DAMN FOOD. [you'll find nice

M: food somewhere else. somebody treats you like that.
F: .hhh yeh. so I had a

F: bad weekend. [what did <u>you</u> do? huh heh .hh
M: [hn.   <u>me</u>, god. Friday night I got

M: pissed. hhh heh hah hah .hhh [<u>played</u> <u>Nightmare</u> for all of twenty minutes.
F: [°heh°

F: o:h Nightmare's the worst <u>game</u>. [heh heh heh [I am the gate <u>keepe:r</u>.
M: [it's so   stu[pid.

M: yeh.   yeh↓. that one. [well,]   ugly bastard
F: is that the right one?   [<u>I</u>'ve] played that.

M: come[s to the screen.   ·   <u>hm</u>.
F: [°ugly guy.°   ↑<u>ye:h</u>. an' you got to say it at the same time?

F: or something to the gate keeper↑ an' then he lets you free em?
M: problem

M: [is-,   ] we had like seven people playing. (.) but only one person knew
F: [°(stop)°]

M: how to play↑.   [<u>so</u> I was just lying back] there, you know,
F: huh huh huh .h[hhh   hh   heh   heh]

M: sort of heh it was like-, [<u>my</u> <u>turn</u> yeh roll, there you go (for it) heh huh huh
F: [°yeh right.°

M: .hhh what have I done. am I there, oh damn what a shame.   but um,
F: <u>hm</u>.

M: kind of bailed out on that kind of quick.(0.3)   .hhhh WE::LL,
F: an' then? (.)

M: hhhh I'll skip that part. we went [down to the Coolahbar. °of°, [which is
F: [°huh hh°   [what

F:] Coolahbar.   you live in Morley.
M: a-,]   it's a tavern. down near ah, in Morley.   zeh

M: no↑.   I live up at Tuart Hill. [but the friend's place I
F: oh you live near <u>here</u>.   [°(hm.)°

M: was <u>at</u> is lives down at Tuart Hill.   u:m puuu bought some
F: oh okay.

M: alcohol. bought some more alcohol. bought some even more alcohol.

M: went back,   hm. (0.3) it was a good <u>night</u> though.
F: this is the same night?

M: it was a very good night.   .hh <u>o::h</u> hh it was only a
F: yeh?   how many people.

M: small thing about ten.   but lots of them were under age girls na
F: ten people.

M: a[bout   [four of them were under age girls who are-,] not
F: [huh heh heh heh heh [hh hh (x x x x)   ]

M: under age. but eighteen an' don't know how to handle their piss. give

M: 'em-, we [bought a-we <u>bought</u> a, [we <u>bought</u> a <u>Goon</u>]. we <u>bought</u> a er cask
F: [hey   <u>I</u> [<u>could</u> be that <u>girl</u>.]

M: of Goon. .hh [two glasses, they're fucking] <u>go:ne</u>.
F: [goon   skulls   goon   skulls.]   we do that all the time,

F: goon skulls goon skulls.   °tha[t's painful.°
M: yeh. (0.2)   [zeh an' then Saturday night I had a

M: boring night=I jus' went an' watched the movies at er, at er, zeh my

M: friend's house.   .h zeh oh she rented some crap ones. she got
F: what movies?

M: like um, ((clears throat)), zeh <u>oh</u> we <u>saw</u> Nightmare on Elm Street Three.

M: which is pretty good. (0.4)   [°yeh.°
F: I don't think-, I <u>must</u> have seen it. heh [I've

F: <u>seen</u> them <u>all</u>.
M: m yeh. that one's all right. <u>that's</u> when a-, .hhh zeh they have

M: e:r the young kids in those psychiatric hospitals↑. they all start killing. an'

M: they all start dying. [°an'-°   [°hn°   [°yeh.°
F: [<u>that's</u> <u>right</u>. I've [seen that one. [an' what's-what's the

F: woman's name?   didn't you take any
M: .h puuu, °I don't know. was drunk.°

F: notice?   [ehhh
M: I was <u>drunk</u>. [I was-, ↑<u>dark</u> room on the couch with the friend.

F: huh heh heh ho[h hh   [weren't you watching the] movie.
M: [you're not paying atten[tion to the god damn video.]

F: hih hh   [°well then°
M: no. I [saw little bits of it. saw the bit where Freddy-, the first guy he

M: kills. he like-, (0.2) he [gets him as a puppet↑. yeh↓. he sits in the veins of
F: [he   pulls   out the   vei:n,   ye::h   (x x x

F: x x)   .hh that's aw[ful.   yes.
M: the puppet,] <u>o::h</u>.   [that was kind of sick. (0.3)   an' then

M: Sunday I went an' saw the Eagle's game. Eagles North Melbourne, which

M: is,   [<u>bloo:dy</u> good. <u>no</u> it was a fucking good game. (.)   an' it was
F: foo[t, °ohhh°   I see.

M: packed. (0.3) an' I [was sort of], yeh. I used to work at Chicken Treat.
F: [↑was   it?]

M: an' they had this manager there who-, we never got on. ↑<u>ne</u>ver got on. °I

M: mean° he was-, .hh he was <u>gay</u> but that wasn't an issue for me. [no s-no
F: [heh heh

M: seriously I mean <u>he</u> [<u>if</u>-<u>if</u>-
F: heh   [°he was gay.° ↑<u>why</u> did you have to tell me that if it

F: wasn't [an issue.
M: [no. 'cos I'm saying, as I was about to say, everyone sort of

M: assumed, 'cos he was a gay, we never got <u>on</u>. (.) 'cos I know somebody

M: who assumes that I'm homophobic, [which I have no idea why.   but
F: [oh right.   yeh.

M: that wasn't a reason, and he was like-, 'cos Chicken Treat had these

M: mobile, (0.2) you know selling things at the-, check↑, you know at cricket

M: an' foot[ball an' stuff↑. .hh so I'm like-, I might have some Chicken Treat
F: [oh yeh yeh.

M: because I knew the kitchen hand there↑. walk up, the guy comes an' serves
F:

M: me. I go, o:h fuck. an' his name's John as well.   [so it was like,
F: hh heh [heh heh

M: how're [you going John. yeh, how are you going. ye::h. can I get someone
F: [°same name.°

M: else to serve me please yeh fuck off.   =oh never got on. just from
F: ↑really?=

M: the [first day-]   yeh. from the first day, he
F: [you asked] someone else to serve you?

M: ↑never liked me. I mean-=   well↓. °till I got him
F: =then he was your boss.

M: fired.° °but° heh he[h till   till I got a] transfer [from the store, ['cos he was
F: [yyyou got him fired?]   [°ah.°   [°ah.° why

F: 'cos   the   boss   ] was homophobic? heh hh
M: the assistant manager.]   no no no he was assistant

M: manager, and I was getting on really well with the manager↑, [at the time↑.
F: h[m.

M: (0.2) .hh and I jus' went up to him an' said look, heh heh heh .hh we are not

M: having a-, you know, we're not getting on well. so she was like, ok, gave

M: him no shifts, he got transferred to another store. (.)   ye:h.
F: that's all right.   I

F: did that, I jus' go, I don't like that girl↑. get rid of her,   [an' I-I like, I
M: yeh [heh heh

F: work every [night of the week. heh heh .hh and I say, I don't want to work
M: [°heh°

F: with her any more. she annoys me. so that girl loses all her hours [heh heh
M: [heh heh

F: she gets-, and I keep mine.   [so she gets Tuesday, the only day] I
M: heh heh [heh heh heh heh heh heh .hh]

F: don't work, she's working↑.   [oh yeh.
M: it's good to have power like that, [isn't it?

M: [°I said-°   [oh.   ] I said-, the-, >when I worked at Chicken
F: [four <u>years</u> worth of power [though.]

M: Treat I was the delivery driver↑.<   and I was the first one on↑. an' we
F: hm,

M: used to-, you got like these two guys, so we used to have like youngs guys

M: coming on to do it↑. an' like, I was in charge of them↑. .hh so I remember

M: nights when I didn't use to go out an' do deliveries. it was like, yeh you

M: do this one, you do this one, an' when you come back, you do this one.

M: hoh I was sitting down there, you know, doing nothing.
F: o:h scum bag.

M: an' I got paid twelve bucks an hour to do it.
F: heh heh for delivering, you

F: order you didn't do a[nything heh heh .hh   [°I see.°
M: [yeh exactly.   ah sweet, [sweet old days. (0.2)

F: oh what else can we talk about?   Super Value.
M: where do you work?   oh that's

M: right. (0.3) [check out chick?   [so:: <u>executive</u>
F: [huh huh   <u>no:</u>. I'm in charge of front end. [I started off-,

M: check-out chick.
F: I started off as a check-out chick. I got promoted to the

F: service deli↑.   where I got to cut everyone's ham. .hh but then that was
M: O:H.

F: really bad with hang-overs. I remember   [I remember heh heh
M: <u>hhhhhh</u> [heh hah hah hah hah hah

M: hah hah [hah hah hah hah .hhhh heh heh ((coughs))
F: [no no no no. I remember going to work at eight o'clock on a

F: Saturday morning. openning the door of the meat cabnet, all the meat

F: smells come pouring [out, .hh an' like] the shop's been open five minute.
M: [o:::::::h   ]

F: no. actually it's probably ten o'clock. .hh my brother's friend came in↑. .hh

F: and I like-, was just like about-, an' they 're going, we want something,

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F: and I went, OH NO huh hh an action NO NO NO. I'd lie. I lie. I'd had the

F: morning off an' started at one an' I was still really seedy↑. .hh and I

F: thought, I 'd better have some McDonald's. huh huh .hh so I had

F: McDonald's before work.   [an' um, so I got to work an' so I was, there
M: o::[::h.

F: like half and hour. so like at one thirty. an' these people came in. an' I said,

F: .hh can't serve you. and I like ran to the toilets. in the shopping centre, the

F: toilets aren't in the shop↑. .hh [had to run down this mall, into these doors,
M: [hoh hoh hoh hoh hoh

F: get the key. .hh I:: like just make it to the toilet but it's sort of missed. .hh

F: [and I hhh hih hih hih hih hih hih hih [this is so humiliating.] hih hih hih hih
M: [hhhh heh heh heh .hhhh sort of [missed. so are we talking] forty percent

M: in with a sixty percent miss rate or]
F: hih hih hih hih hih hih hih hih .hhh] oh the-the bit I missed sort of got

F: on my clo[thing hih hih hih hih   .hh[hh it   was   so
M: [O::::H that's the worst type of miss.   [that is the the worst type

M: of] miss.   [o::h   [heh heh heh heh
F: bad.]   so I had to clean my clothes an' get [back to serv[ing. heh   heh

F: heh heh heh .hhh an' I'm like serving them an' going, .hh no. don't get
M: heh hh

F: anything heh heh .hh an' um, I think I threw up twice more that day heh

F: heh at wor[k.   yes.
M: [an' you're still employed at this er, .hh at Super Value.

F: 'cos no one found out. none of the bosses knew.   well, I hope. [huh
M: no hhh   [heh

M: heh heh [.hh
F: huh   [but yeh so: I think that-that might be one of the reasons why I

F: don't drink anymore.   [yeh.
M: so in charge of front end, you're the people [who,

M: in that little box in between the check-out chicks.   [no, I-I-I can't find
F: no. [I well 'cos anything-,

F: we've been through this.] we've only got four check-outs. so I'm in the
M: a   bracelet.   ]

F: little box at the end↑, selling cigarettes↑.   [hh heh heh heh heh heh
M: hhh[hh HEY, LITTLE KID,

M: GIVE 'EM BACK.
F: .hh heh heh heh .hh I asked this boy for ID yesterday↑.

F: he's probably, nineteen heh heh probably my age. .hhh and he goes, that's

F: fucking ri<u>diculous</u>, an' walked off.

A7mf

F: I don't jus' have [things like-, .hh [I don't know wh]at a murderer's
M: [ye:h   [I   agree.   ]

F: mentality [or hhh something you know.]
M: [yeh,   yeh,   sure.   ] yeh like-, so you're coming out

M: like the same [person, heh hh at least or someth[ing or
F: [mm.   [I suppose it's people who

F: do it, what-, °uh° (0.3) I wouldn't say you'd be doing it, so that you could

F: fit i:n, or something like that.   but 'cos you know how we had
M: yeh. (.) but-

F: that-that question↑, one of those first activities that we had to do↑, we had

F: to um, (0.4) we::, (.) about why you're doing this↑.
M: uh huh. (.) oh at the

M: medias, media course [u:m, zeh um, (0.3) yeh I just said out of interest
F: [ye:h.

M: like, I'm sort [of interested in jus'-, furthering my education, jus'-, to see
F: [hm.

M: where it goes. but it's still, a really broad thing↑.   jus'-, to-, to know
F: hm.

M: what you're going to learn↑. (0.3)   [°(and what was that.)°]
F: °ye:h. I [know heh hh yeh.°] .hhh

F: [ye:h   [°hm.°   I mean 'cos you
M: [just also creat some artistics [°something like that yeh.°

F: don't know that societies there to be understood, or not it's [just a big-,
M: [yeh.

F: sort of, there's a lot of contradiction in it. [.hh   I don't know it
M: [yeh. (0.5)

F: might-, I don't think we actually really can, sort of-, (.) understand [it,
M: [yeh.

F: really. (0.2) °I don't know° it's jus'-it's jus' so intensely complex.
M: ye:h.

M: °there's-°   [there's always a theory, but it's just a theory in the end.
F: heh [hhhh

M: like,=   =you know,   [theories based [on hypo-, hy-, °pothesis
F: =hm.=   but is it-, [is it-,   [if it was jus'-, if it was jus'

F: one theory, you could understand it.] you know, but it's not.=it's about-,
M: um°   ]

F: you know it's however many people there are, [you know, every single
M: [yeh.

F: person makes their little contribution somehow. [even if] you: .hhh don't
M: [ye:h.]

F: get into the government, .hh like, um, like you know like you're not-you're

F: not a government worker but you're still in the system=so [you're still
M: [yeh.

F: making some kind of impact. even though it's little-. [°even if it's a° small
M: [yeh.

F: sort of impact but it's still-, an impact you know.   make you different
M: yeh.

F: because someone might, (.) yeh you might-, like talk to someone over a

F: counter one day. and you might change their <u>life</u> somehow. [you know↑.]
M: [yeh.   ]

M: yeh.=   ye[h   sure,] like, sort
F: =like you might <u>say</u> something and they might,   [you know.↑]

M: of have revelation for them or some[thing with the sense,]   [yeh.
F: [yeh   like   a   passive] domino ef[fect or

F: something you [know that's-, °hm.°]   [er?
M: [o : : h h parable.] heh [heh hhh .hh it's a parable or

M: °something° yeh.   [yeh.
F: °eh° (I feel [like the type of person that actually would).

F: what the hell is a paradox.   hm=
M: (.) a paradox,   =um, like, (0.4) it's a classic

M: paradox. (0.4) ahh. think I can't, (0.5) think of a classic paradox. (0.3)

M: [I know what a paradox is. but I just can't define it °really.°
F: [hm.   there're

F: (verses) um, (0.6) na it's not in the dictionary. heh hhh ohh [ohh
M: [hhh um, what

M: was I going to say, w<u>e</u>ll like-, (0.2) I think for me like, a-a lot of people

M: education might, (.) alter sort of their, (0.2) you know financial status in-,

M: (0.2) [in life you know. like=   [yeh.   ye]h.
F: [°mm.°   =get themselves into a good well-[paying job.]

M: but I mean-, for a-, I-I don't know like=I don't want to get a job out of this,

M: you know [like,   [a better job you know.]   yeh. [it's
F: [no:. I mean I [do this, so I didn't have to get] a job.   [huh

F: huh hhh .hh] 'cos so your parents hassle you ab[out,   [you know.
M: the same.]   [definitely ye[h.

M: yeh.   just not so I'm unemployed and just wasting my life either
F: °cos° ye:h.

M: you know so I'm-,
F: yeh I mean like 'cos <u>e</u>ven that break after li:ke, .hh like

F: year twelve an'-, stuff I suppose. .hh <u>you</u> remember those days [heh heh
M: [yeh. yeh.]

F: heh hhhh] like you-, like, <u>e</u>ven just that three months' break and you've

F: sort of-, okay. that's over but you're still thinking, .hh hey I'm still relaxed,

F: it's just like school holidays, you know.   but then-, you know, after that
M: yeh.

F: it was like, ohh well I've got to start doing someth[ing n<u>ow</u> you know.]
M: [you sort of reali]zed

M: that. you're not-not forced to, to do anything anymore↑, like, (.) [yeh.
F: ye[h. °it's-°

M: you now are sor[t of,   ye:h.   ]
F: [o:hh you sort of <u>are</u>.] if you live with your parents. I

F: mean well ah >some kind of force not perhaps not the sort of force you get

F: when you're at high school [but as you get older they're not going to force
M: [yeh.

F: you so much. they're going to g<u>ui</u>de y<u>ou</u>.<   °yeh right° heh heh hh
M: yeh.

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F: [hhh   yeh. [um,
M: [°that's it.° hhh   [what else we-, (0.6) do you want to talk abou the

M: second question at all or?
F: °(well) talk about television violence.° .hh hh

F: u:m hhhh I don't know it's hard to talk about that because um, ah, suppose

F: I mean like-like the news used to-used to freak me out when I was little

F: [like, like s- crying and screaming an' the kind of shit [like, .hh but-, um
M: [yeh.   [uh huh.

F: that's 'cos it was real↑. (0.2)   that-, that was the scariest thing about
M: ye:h.

F: that stuff that was real an', .hh like you knew it was real 'cos it was news

F: or something you know, [an',
M: [but I mean like, consciously you only learn about,

M: ((clears throat)) death and violence. you don't actually, (0.3) like you-you

M: wouldn't actually know that you die unless-, (.) you only learn through it.

M: because,   through you know, being alive or something so,
F: (hm) hm.   °yeh° and

F: also having pets as well. [yeh heh hhh [heh heh heh hhh] .hhh good to get
M: [yeh.   [true,   true.   ]

F: [hurt.   [°hm.°
M: [yeh. that's yeh. a lear[ning experience. but also um, (0.4) like, do you

M: think some television violence can incorporate a lot of fear into our

M: society becau[se   =yeh you have so mu[ch sort of killing
F: [ohh for sure man=   [I remember talking

F: about,] talking about this in um,   [er in one-one of our] things I was just
M: like,]   °um [in   our   society.°]

F: saying, .hhh you know it's control, through fear↑= [you know if-if
M: =ye[h.

F: [they can] get us scared [like they're our only security or some[thing,
M: [°for° sure.]   [yeh.   [that's it.

M: yeh.]   [the government-,] the- yeh then you've got the police
F: then] they've got it [you know↑.   ]

M: which'[s the government's sort of a-, you know, we're providing you
F: [°mm.°

M: protection. (0.2) er or something yeh. but um,
F: yeh it's like I mean-, like

F: Mum freaks out, you know like um when we go, like we go down to the

F: weir. [you know, and she's, ohh you know last, year some-, someone got
M: [uh huh.

F: shot out there taking their dog for a walk, [or something. an' like, it's sort
M: [yeh. yeh.

F: of well, (0.3) you know um, if-, it's-it's one of those freak chance things

F: =it isn't like you: wa:lk, you know like you walk yourself, into a situation

F: y'know, if that situation would find you it's going to find you↑. like if

F: you're going to get hit by a bus tomorrow, you're [going to get hit by a
M: [yeh. yeh. for sure.]

F: bus. you know.] a:nd I mean whether that's-, I mean that you k-, there's

F: a sort of fate, (.) you know, n=so that you don't actually get yourself killed.

F: like intentio[nally like, so it's] basically kind of suicide even though you
M: [yeh. yeh.   ]

F: don't do it yourself, [but you .hh you know you somehow, get someone
M: [yeh.

F: else to kill you but-, .hh and that's sort of like well, I'm not going to live

F: in fear [you know,]   and hh
M: [yeh.   ] yeh.   but TV, like teaches us to fear death, in a

M: sense like, because death is portrayed as a bad thing not as a good thing↑.

M: [you know like, there's so much emphasis on death being such a bad thing.
F: [yeh.

M: an' we should be scared of [dying.   [a:n'] tha[t-, yeh. it-it really
F: [hm. I mean [this is,]   [yeh.

M: causes a lot of paranoia and fear in society [you know, [an'
F: [hm.   [I mean 'cos it's

F: like,   basically if-if I:, (.) die now=>I mean not that I'd even be
M: °so°

F: thinking about it afterwards.<   but um, (0.2) I mean then if-, if any
M: yeh.

F: actual-, I mean 'cos I wouldn't-, (0.2) like big scared of dying↑ because

F: I feel, .hh that um, I mean I don't regret anything in my life you know↑=
M: =

M: yeh. [yeh.
F: [um, .hh and I-, (.) I felt like I mean-, each day you sort of, (.) like

F: you, (0.5) like you-like-I feel like-like I've achieved a lot↑.   sort of
M: yeh.

F: thing↑. an' like, I, (.) I mean the future's sort of one of those things that

F: oh maybe it would be better to die now you know like, (0.2) I don't know

F: I mean I wouldn't be too fussed.   [I don't think↑. 'cos I mean the future
M: ye[h.

F: seems pretty kind of bleak at the moment↑. I'm just trying to figure a

F: [way to be safe↑. [you know↑.]
M: [yeh.   [but I mean,] you know like, a lot-a lot of people I think,

M: maybe fear death because they haven't had that sort of golden moment

M: in their life, that they're still striving for and hoping [for that it's going to
F: [hm.

M: happen↑. (.) an' (.) why,   [why else would you yeh.
F: it's kind of [likes,   it's kind of

F: like, the idea of sort of heaven in a wa:y [you know.]
M: [yeh.   ] yeh. that's it. but I

M: mean-, (.) if you sort of rationalize it, you sort of think, what I'm one

M: person out of a six and a half billion people in this planet,   =you know,
F: hm.=

M: an' I've got a sort of life, (.) you know, (0.3) hhh, an' like you know,

M: what's my life's span, in-in sort of the existence of the eternity you know.

M: [what does it really mean you know, like why should I fear death, if-, if
F: [hm.

M: my life's just [such an ephemeral force, you know.]
F: [it happens to everyone every-, well,] lots of people every

F: day you [know↑.
M: [yeh that's it. as long as you enjoy the moment now, ye-you

M: shouldn't really [regret anything you know.]
F: [I mean 'cos I mean, h h n] that's nature and we what so

F: that we [learn to fear nature as well [you know. I mean-, .hh well not,
M: [yeh.   [yeh.

F: perhaps not fear nature but-, to-, (.) think oh we have power over nature,

F: an' we can manipulate it [like it's something, that, naturally, is wrong, so
M: [yeh.

F: we've got to make it right↑, or something↑. [you know it's sort of maybe
M: [ye:h.

F: something to do with that as well↑. .hh but eh maybe then it's all right to-

F: to wipe out, [you know, (0.3) ah it's just sick. heh heh hhh [basically.   ]
M: [ye:h.   [it's bizarre.]

M: yeh.   but um, (0.6) I don't know. yeh there's not re-really
F: °e:r I don't know.°

M: um, (0.2) any programmes on TV that's sort of-, portray death as a-, a

M: really sort of beautified thing. I mean e[ven in certain mainstream cliched
F: [mm.

M: movies, death's always, the sort of, (0.3) you know a:h, (.)   [or it
F: I mean [a-

M: what-, causes sort of conflict an' resolution [an' emotional intensity or
F: [mm.

M: something you know [like, (.) yeh without it, (0.2) °(that's sort of crazy).°
F: [yeh.

F: I mean what-what colour, what colour do you think when you think of

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F:  mystery and I think of black. (0.3) you know=                    even when
M:                                                =yeh I suppose.

F:  you think of mystery, you know I mean, an' why I mean,
M:                                                    an' why is that

M:  'cos it's connotated with death or something you know.
F:                                                  yeh you know

F:  I m[ean why is-, I mean the unknown isn't something to fear=I mean,
M:     [yeh.

F:  that's-, that's exciting an' [it's-it's a chance for something different↑.
M:                               [yeh.

F:  you know something, (0.4) I don't know I mean 'cos I-, (.) love to like,

F:  I mean that-, could be something like, say like if you travelled around your

F:  whole life↑, [you know like, if you never really, (0.2) like had sort of a-,
M:               [yeh.

F:  a secure kind of home or, som-I mean like you have something where you

F:  can go back to like,      parents or family °kind of thing but-°, I mean but
M:                     yeh.

F:  th<u>a</u>t, th<u>a</u>t would be exciting 'cos everyday you know=you don't know what

F:  might happen you know=some of those countries are pre-, (.) cor I don't

F:  know, they're pretty hos[tile. .hhh an' like anything could happen. sort of
M:                          [yeh.

F:  thing and that. .hh I don't know just at least-, that, you know like-, that's

F:  the most depressing thing like-, .hh when everyone-, sort of, people think

F:  that they know what-, what your-, what your life's going to be↑.     =you
M:                                                                 yeh=

F: know like,=     well you know you gonna, (.) get to this age an' then you're
M:           =yeh.

F:  going to get married or something. and then-, .hh you're gonna have a

F:  career an', (.) you know, all this stuff's going to happen an' it's sort of like

F:  um, it's just a routine↑.    sort of [thing like, (0.2)
M:                          yeh.         [yeh.              it's-it's like if there's
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M: sort of a trap to put you in fear in a sense↑. like if you're scared of death

M: you can really play the victim in a-, (0.2) hostile scene↑, you know like,

F: hm=   [you don't mean [like,
M: =<u>an</u>' you know, [er   [the aggressor really plays the

M: aggressor. and [the victim really plays the vic[tim↑ you know [like,
F: [an'   [an'   [an' they

F: fall into [their, their roles instead of, (.) you know perhaps, being, an', jus',
M: [yeh.

F: ↑y<u>e</u>h then I mean like the aggressor isn't necessarily the aggressor unless

F: you let them be↑. [you know like, er,] I mean like they can sense fear↑.
M: [yeh. yeh. sure.   ]

F: [you know like the same as, (.) any kind of you know [like any-anyone can
M: [yeh.   [yeh.

F: sense fear an' it's-if you know just the upper hand you know [like, (0.2)
M: [yeh.

F: [hm.   [I mean if someone,]
M: [there's also this con-controlling thing. I: [don't   want   you] to attack me, I

M: don't want you to be aggressive I mean, .hh but but why really like you

M: know why-, why not just sort of stand up for yourself or something and

M: just, (.) ↑not be afraid of things, just try to enjoy your life but you know,

F: hm[m.
M: [ah. (.) but you know paranoia in any sort of situation attracts

M: somebody like even in a social situation if you're paranoid.   [people pick
F: ye:[h.

M: up on stuff you know [like,   [an'   you play the, (.)
F: [yeh an'-an' you [jus' yeh heh hhh

M: the- paranoid person you've then you've-you know, your fear sort of,

M: becomes your reality or something you [know, or something happens.
F: [hm.

F: °yeh.° (0.2)   [I   know,   ] y<u>e</u>h. it's strange e:r very strange.
M: yeh. °it [was just bizarre.°]   yeh.

F: personally it's a waste of time. ↑b<u>u</u>t he s<u>ai</u>d you can either do that, o:r .hhh

F: you can write poetry↑, or something↑.
M: I stick it in a poem, format. .hh

M: something like that make it into a poem. (0.2) ['cos I think-'cos that's
F: [°hm,°

M: wh<u>a</u>t <u>I</u>'ve done=<u>I</u>'ve just got-, (.) u::m (0.3) 'cos some people only put

M: down a couple of words↑.   and I put down like boring or wouldn't have
F: hm.

M: it on my wall. .hh [um couldn't see much of it.]   [why:, I did, I
F: [yeh. you did a funny one.] that's why [hih hhh hh .hhh

M: really slammed but because, a lot of it's-, .hh I think a lot of it's crap. lot

M: o[f-, lot] of the artwork do they do they put up um, .hh <u>o:</u>n, (.) on this-on
F: [hmm.]

M: the: (.) like a podium type of thing=I [think it's] a lot of bullshit they-, .hhh
F: [yeh.   ]

M: it's all these, people that kind of, sit there and think, ↑wow man [that
F: [that's

F: wicked, yeh.   ]   [I can admire a few] of them but-,
M: should-, that's great] but there's, .hh [(no one) is not-]

M: <u>h</u>[m.
F: [I like the ones at the end. but the ones at the beginning were all jus'-,

F: they're a sp[lash of paint↑. I think that's just a waste of [time really.]
M: [ye:h.   [well ↑<u>I</u>-, well] <u>I</u>

M: should think it's-, it gains a good effect. [an'-an' it might look nice, but
F: [°hm.°

M: there's not-, much, there's not much ar[twork in it↑.=
F: [hm.   =an' they get paid like

F: millions [of doilars↑.   (heh heh   heh)]   [.hh   [hm.
M: [well that she said, that-that's why I think] it's-, [it's-it's [rude.

M: because you get some pictures in there, they were [.hh] there were really
F: [hm.]

M: good.   a::n' they just don't get-, oh they [just don't get thei:r,] their
F: hm.   [°that's   right.°   ]

M: warrant, (0.2) or the-the recognition they deserv[e.
F: [hm. someone did a really

F: good-I think it was Rob. (.) but Jason did a really good explanation of it=

F: they-,   =of those paint-the sequential paintings.   °which is°
M: ye:h.=   °yeh.° (0.2)

F: pretty good. but [I can't-]   [I can't look
M: [well they] actually both did them quite well [°an'-°

F: into paintings↑. .hh like even that Brett Whiteley=I just stood there an' I

F: thought-, .hh hm you know that lady coming out to sink↑, or something↑.

F: he had this-he-, did a picture with his wife where she was coming out of

F: sink↑, in the bathroom or something↑. .hhh I jus' sat there looking at

F: them, [an' I thought,] how can you get inspiration from your wife in the
M: [mm hm,   ]

F: bathroom? .hh being [like-
M: [oh ye:h, I-I think he might-, I mean being on drugs

M: he probably-, (0.2) must have a warped view.
F: hm. he had some wit-or even

F: that u:m,   you know that one work, there's all newspaper↑. (.) he had all
M: .hh

F: like cuttings and [I jus' sat there an' I was trying to read it↑ an' like have
M: [hm.

F: no relevance=like if it was on like one topic [so only you know. .hh but it
M: [hm.

F: was like-, .hh [huh huh huh hh
M: [most of the time, I think most of the time especially with

M: pictures like here, you've got to- you've got to sa:y, (.) why. what they're

M: they trying to gain [from it↑. (.) a:n', I think someone like-, some of the
F: [hm.

M: pictures the reason why, >I mean everyone reckons I hate Brett Whiteley

M: but I don't.<   I jus'-, I'm more picking at the-, (0.2) at the reason why:,
F: yeh.

M: they put these pictures up on the wall an' call them,   great [pictures jus'
F: hm.   [works of

F: art,   yeh.   ]   [hm.
M: because he's] jus' 'cos he's gonna-, (.) (pick your-, paint it [all well). .hh

M: an' that's not fair, when he jus' gonna done like-, .hh a couple of li:[nes
F: [(it's

F: all they're going to say.)]   yeh.
M: and   says   ] that's, (.) my wife.   I think that's, that's a bit-, hhh

M: .hh this is-, not-, it's not fair.   [but even-, even some he an' those, big blue
F: hm. [like-

M: ones, big blue [jacaranda an' [called jacaranda or something like that-a [view
F: [yeh.   [yeh.   [yeh.

M: from the, .hhh from his joy. .hh an' they were nice an' big an' colourful an'

M: that. but the actu[al-   [well the artwork, but that's the:, the
F: [that's about it. [hm.

M: actual quality of the artwork you know,   [>wasn't anything
F: it's nothing. [yeh.

M: special I mean<↑I could do that if I sat down an' spent, .hhh e::r a couple

M: of da:ys, [a:n' I had enough money to-, to buy the [paint.   ↑I
F: [yeh.   [buy the stuff hm.

M: could do that. (0.2) [and   the   thing's   jus'   not-]
F: [like the only thing that actually-,] showed that he was

F: good was-you know a big American dream?   [that   one a:n']
M: yeh? [I-, the American]

M: dream's good.
F: the one about how he had god in the middle being, baptised

F: an'-,   [er Bombay or something on the [side=↑they were the only two:,
M: ye[h.   [°yeh.°

F: .hhh that I actually saw [and   I   appreciated.   ]
M: [°what°-would you see Rembrandt↑.] .hhh is

M: Rembrandt the ac[tual picture of the guy's head coming out?] tha[t was-,
F: [.hh yeh.   there   was   a   face,   y]eh. [that

F: was-,   that   tho:se-   ] huh huh   yeh.
M: >I thought that was very good. that-<] see that took years.   that was

M: something [that took] time [an', an' effort. even he's-, he did a-, .hh he's
F: [°that one.°]   [hm.

M: one of Vincent Van Gogh when-   [but I didn'-I didn't understand] that
F: yeh. I [saw   that,   °(happen).°   ]

M: 'cos it had like a mirror there. (.)   a:::n', an' had-, (0.2) like Vincent
F: °hm.°

M: Van Gogh like looking-, kind of-, 'cos you'd we-, to stand so that you're

M: looking in the mir[ror.   u::m the:, the wires would come out an' they
F: [yeh. hm.

M: were pointing like where you'll be standing↑,   [so: .hh   was a funny
F: st[anding, yeh.

M: thing. he's looking at you while you're looking [at yourself in the
F: [look   at   your-

F: self   ye]h.
M: mirror↑.]   I, I mean I-, because I didn't see I didn't pay for that-, .hh (.)

F: pho[ne.   [yeh, see I did.]   .hh but the phone didn't-, like for
M: [the little-, [handphone thing] in↑.

F: the ones you couldn't make up what it was=you can fair enough but the

F: ones you could, you didn't really say much↑.   =like for a few of them it
M: hm.=

F: said like um, zeh oh he did this when he was so many years old after this

F: had happened in his life and stuff, which was fair e[nough but-,] .hh
M: [yeh.   ]

F: personally I thought it was waste of money hih hih hh [.hhh] hh
M: [yeh I:,]   I ↑guess

M: that it opened my-, eyes to a bit of different view but-,
F: hm. I ↑think we

F: [needed to go to them all, instead of just Bret Whiteley like they should
M: [°hm.°

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F: actually take us, we should've gone [(with   him   there).   ]
M: [it would've-it would've] been good to

M: [have a class [like a class excursion for-, for a few hou:r[s,   thr<u>ough</u>
F: [°yeh.°   [<u>y</u>eh.   [hm. (.)

M: the-through the gallery, ju[s' quickly] go on through the gallery. an' [Geoff
F: [yeh.   ]   [it

F: would've been better if he explained it. yeh.]
M: could   expl<u>ain</u>   things.   .hh   or   e]ven if i-if you ask questions wh<u>y</u>:

M: an', .hh an' things like that, then [he could have expl<u>ain</u>ed it. .hh I think that
F: [°<u>h</u>m.°

M: it would be a lot better than-, than the way we did it but-,
F: yeh, they should-,

F: because he told us-he said um, .hh if you want to appreciate art a bit more,

F: go an' see some more exhibitions an' then I said, .hh <u>I</u> don't really have the

F: time an' I said I don't drive, I don't have tr<u>an</u>sport=[I said I've got no way
M: [°hm.°

F: of getting to things like that. I said yeh I wouldn't mind g<u>oing</u>, .hh[h but I]
M: [hm.   ]

F: said I've just got no way of doing it, you kn[ow. an'] he was jus' like yeh
M: [yeh.   ]

F: well you know that's your [own problem=   [huh huh
M: [°hm.°   =an' that's-, [well see the <u>o</u>ther

M: thing is, that I mean, (.) because if we were doing art as a speci[ality, .hh]
F: [<u>y</u>eh. that's

F: what] I s[aid.]   <u>y</u>eh.
M: [th<u>e</u>]<u>::n</u>,   that'd be fair enough. you-you'd want to g<u>o</u> an' see,

M: [an' so >that you can understand especially if we did-I mean <u>I</u>< .hh I know
F: [°hm.°

M: a reasonable amount abo<u>u</u>t art an'-,   I've been to enough galleries. .hh
F: hm.

M: but-, (.) for someone that-, that wants to go an' do ss, but art specialisation

M: but hasn't got [a big art background, .hh you-you really do need to go and
F: [hm.

M: see some [galleries but-,] .hh we're only doing this as one u[nit,   ]
F: [ye:h.   ]   [I know tha]t's

M: =everyone only wan[ts to get the stuff done. (.) [a:n' they are not
F: =   [yeh.   [hm.

M: interested in going an' see any more bloody galleries.
F: I think we should

F: have more but-, more art stuff any way. it's just stupid like-you think of

F: it-if [we had, one semester of art. .hhh an' has to survive us through our,
M: [°yeh.° hh

F: whole, you [know teaching care[er. that's-, like-]
M: [ye:h.   [I think that's-, ↑w]ell I think, you gonna-,

M: I mean with-, with all your teaching, with all your actual your pracs an' all

M: that, [you're going use bits of art [anyway. .hh so::::, I guess you're gonna
F: [°hm.°   [yeh.

M: use-, use a bit of it along the way but- .hh[h   I'm not sure if there's
F: [°hm.°

M: anything that really gives you a-, (0.2) this is how you teach↑.   they
F: yeh.

M: kind of just give you [all this in]formation [an]d, .hh you['ve got to make
F: [°(some)°]   [°hm.°]   [°(own)-°

M: your own, (0.2) all your own assump[tions, I   guess.]
F: [assumptions, y]eh. that's the same

F: trouble I'm having with religion=I'm doing this religion assignment right.

F: .hhh and it's two thousand word essay↑. .hhh and it's on one of the

F: sacrements. but instead of just like-, teaching us how to teach it to the

F: children what the general basis-we're going into like-, .hh theology, the

F: Vatican Two. [aspect-   ]
M: [so you-you're doin']-you're doin' Catholic religion or the

M: ones from non-governmen[t school.] Catholic [°oh°.
F: [Catholi]c.   [Catholic yeh. .hh an'

F: they're going to stuff like the Vatican=now we'll never have to teach the

F: Vatican to::, Year one to Year seven=I didn't know about that until about

F: year [ten. that's only because I'm a [Catholic.   ]
M: [hm.   [you-you might]-you might hear about

M: the Vatican [°an'° the Po]pe being th[ere, but you don't know nothing
F: [yeh.   ]   [yeh.   an'   that's   it. you

F: know.   ] a:n', we're doing stuff like scripture, theology, I had to go to the-,
M: about it.]

F: education an' get books out, which you won't-, need to do:↑. .h[h [like the
M: [hm[:.

F: most you'll be getting is jus' may be confirmation in year seven. .hh an' [that's
M: [°yeh.°

F: enough-'cos we all like-whoever's there is, you know Catholics who have

F: been baptised [confirma]tion an' all that. so we know the [basics-   ]
M: [hm.   ]   [most of the] kids

M: are gonna know more, gonna know more than [what-]   [than-than
F: [more] than ↑yeh. ['cos we

F: are so out of tou]ch type of thing. [you know↑, an'-]
M: you know anyway].   [I jus'- well,   ] see I think it's very

M: difficult, .hh (.) to get people to:::, to-to teach religion,   if you're not a
F: hm.

M: practising, if you're not like-,   prac-practi[sing religion an' tha]t's half
F: yeh.   [°practising° yeh.]

M: the reason why I'm not gonna bother doing [religion.] I'm specialising in
F: [hm.   ]

M: PhysEd-because I'm not-, .hh I'm not practising,   [religion. s o : : :]
F: yeh. [since it's a kind of a

F: contradiction.]   [°hm.°
M: I feel, an' I feel like very, .hh very contradictive [a:n' (.) an'

M: that's another thing. I might forget somethings, [a:n' one of the kids will
F: [hm.

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M: come up and say [no that's not right.]   [I   say
F: [hey. yeh.   ] .hhh an' [then you beat him huh

F: huh .h]   oops heh [heh heh heh .hh
M: o::::h]oh yeh okay.   [so::   but-, <u>an'</u> in most of the time, I

M: know especially out in the country, .hhh um (0.2) zeh we ha:d, we had

M: the:-the sisters. [the:-the sisters from the from the parish [around the area
F: <u>h</u>[mm.   [yeh.

M: and even some of [those priests an' that. .hh an' ↑<u>they</u> would come in an'
F: [°(hm.)°

M: [th<u>ey</u> would take us fo:r, (.) [for religion an'], with-with the non-
F: [hm.   [religious. yeh.]

M: government they just had someone from the-, (.) from the pa[rish in there,
F: [what you say.

F: yeh.   ]   [hm.
M: someone] from the church jus' come down an'-, .h[h an' take the rest of

M: the class. an' it was only oh I suppose. .hhh half of a dozen of us.
F: hm. see

F: in [most Catholic schools now like I know, (.) °if° y<u>ou</u> do primary each
M: [°(still).°

F: teacher, has to hold their own religion class=↑I don't want to teach in

F: s[tate-,] state schools, 'cos I jus'-, [.hhh I always had like a fear about it,
M: [yeh.]   [yeh.

F: 'cos I jus'-, I don't think the kids are controlled enough for state schools↑.

F: so I want to do [a Catholic] school=you know that's my dad was-, taught in
M: [°so y<u>e</u>h.°]

F: Catholic schools an' stuff, you know.   so:::, that's I'm just going to
M: y<u>e</u>h. hhh

F: have to hack through religion for another year. [.<u>hhh</u> [so::
M: [ye:h. [no it's-, seem like

M: [too much,   =junk to me=I don't know [why I-I don't know
F: [(((clear throat)) hmm.=   [°hh .hh°

M: whether I'm jus' gonna specialize in physi-Ed or whether I'll, try an' grab

M: another couple of units or something [out of something else, but-,
F: [hm.   yeh.

F: 'cos we get-, how long does your PE go for, till next year?   [°hm.°
M: zeh well [no. I-I

M: got-I got Physi-Ed all the way through.   >yeh.< 'cos I'm
F: oh have you?

M: specialising in it, goes all the way through [but, we also get-, .hhh one or
F: [°hm.°

M: two, (0.2) [next semes-, must be next semes]-next semester where you
F: [that specialisation like yours-]

M: actually do physi-Ed.   [an' that's-]   [ye::s. well that's]
F: yeh. yeh. [like health an'] ITR °an' [that°, yeh.   ]

M: stupid though I mean, .hh there's only health, (.) a::nd (0.2) was actu- with

M: Physi-Ed I think there's health a:nd, you do dancing=
F: =dance. yes all, put in

F: one hhh [.hhh
M: [but that's-, I mea:::n there's so much I don't know if there's

M: much on sport or what we do another Physi-Ed unit o:r,
F: I don't think we'll

F: do another Physi-Ed unit at all. that's what like-, if you want-if you want to

F: special like-like, can't like major in [Physi-Ed, then you're gonna have to
M: [ye::h.

F: do it yourself.   'cos I know we have to choose specialisation pathway I
M: yeh.

F: think it's- (.) half way through next year↑, which everyone has to be in

F: that-you know that big blue booklet that we got↑, [orientation↑, .hh we
M: [hm.

F: have to pick one from there. or something like that. .hh that's what I want

F: [to sort (off my units.)]   [↑have you.]   so that's Physi-Ed.
M: [I've already picked] that. [that's Phy]si-Ed.   yeh. (0.5)

M: an' that's why well [see what are you specialising in religion [o::r
F: [°hm.°   [yeh.

F: religion. that's very but-, [↑I have to choose again.]
M: [you-are you going to be a reli]gion, religion

M: teacher.   [okay. wha̲t do you want
F: no. I just want that to add to my degree. [like   that   I   can

F: teach-]   everything.
M: to teach] in?   music or no but-, you've-that's what I mean

M: you've got- .hh I̲'ll still be a teacher, [in a primary school but I'll], .hh I'll
F: [.hh oh right but in a-]

M: be the Physi-Ed coordinator of Physi-Ed [teacher for that school.
F: [oh-   well I

F: won't do religion. I don't think I can hack that-I wo̲u̲ld li̲ke to do music,

F: but I was talking to Jenny an' music's a lo̲t different from-'cos I̲'ve done

F: like-, oh about seven years of-, (.) music.   =like theory an' practical,
M: hm.=

F: I've done all the exams an' stuff but-, .hh from what she's talking about,

F: it's a lot about singing, and about voice an' >stuff like that-I'm [not
M: [yes.

F: interested in it-I'm interested in the music.< I can, you know, play for a

F: choir [an' stuff. .hh[h   [but-   [ye̲:s.
M: [yeh.   [but there's-i[t's all a lot of sin[ging. °yeh° I mean we̲-

M: whe̲n we-when we̲ did, .hh when I was in primary school, .h in-I mean, I

M: suppose all the way thro̲u̲gh. [most of the stuff we did wa̲::s, it was
F: [°hm.°

M: singing↑,   u:m carry-being able to carry singing along↑.=   a̲::nd
F: ye:h.   =yeh.

M: u:m, .hh and also I mean just use (buddy tho:se), that thing with all the

M: bottle tops on [a-, hm   [as-   [↑ye̲h. (clap sticks an') [an'
F: [yeh hh .hhh [that little (clap s[ticks) huh huh huh .hh [hm

M: the rackets an' stuff like that.

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F: um. (.) o::h I guess, <u>one</u> of my cousin's crazy an', he watches hhh hhh .hhh

F: like Ninja Turtles and stuff, and [then he'll do kicks an'-, (.) [that's pretty]
M: [o:::h hhh   [oh   that's-]

F: bad ey.   [b<u>u</u>t-   [y<u>e</u>::h.
M: I mean all children [mimick. but-, [that's why some of these shows

M: should be sort of-, I think that sort of stuff a:nd um, (0.4) zeh what's that

M: other one? u::m (.) °hh not° Ninja Turtles. i-t-e:m, (0.4) P<u>ower</u> Rangers.

F: Power Rangers [as well. [yeh. yeh [heh heh heh [.<u>hhh</u> heh heh .<u>hhh</u> that's
M: [o : : h. [o::h.   [na.   [I think u:m,

F: a funny show.   heh heh heh hh   heh
M: I think they should-   really watch

F: .<u>hhh</u>[hhh [Play   School] heh heh hh
M: [like, [p<u>u</u>t shows like th]at on at least-, ↑th<u>a</u>t's an educational learning

M: programme[s, it's nothing rea]lly-, I mean the only educaion you're getting
F: [<u>h</u>:m.   ]

M: out of er Power Rangers is-, (0.3) I mean you get your basic good versus

M: evil, but then you-you get carried a bit too far.   even Superman's
F: heh hhh

M: tame compared to that sort of stuff, an' that's [an   adult   film.]
F: [superman's very] tame.

F: [see the kids' sho:ws nowadays are so much different than when we were
M: [°hm.°

F: kids don't you th[ink?
M: [oh I remember-I remember stuff was like R<u>ai</u>nbow,

M: George Zippy and B<u>un</u>gle and °it was [all-,°   [cartoons and °sort of,°
F: [hh heh heh [heh hhh .hhh heh heh

F: h e h h h h h h h   [.<u>h h h h h</u>   [heh heh hhh .hhh   do
M: .hhh l<u>ea</u>rning things, [like oh let's read a [b<u>oo</u>k, you kno:w. heh heh

F: you remember HR Puff'nstuff↑. it was on Channel two↑. °it° goes HR

F: Puff'nstuff.   ["where do you [go   when   ] things get rough."
M: o::[:hhh   [when was that?]   'cos I was

M: in England before °(when this [was   made.)°   ]
F: [o:h you probably wouldn't have] known. you

F: might of-na it was Aus[tralian show.]
M: [>oh do you know what I-,] you know what I<

M: remember on um, channel two?   the um, (0.3) that-, it's a little-, (.)
F: what?

M: guy sat in like a bubble or something an' there was a cauldron an'-,
F: heh heh

F: [heh hhh .hhh heh heh heh heh h h h .h h h [o::h   Pud]dle Lane, [ye:h,
M: [wizard an' they came, ↑Puddle La:ne storie[s orsomething.]   [°it

F: ye:h.   ] heh heh [heh heh hhh .hhh heh heh hhh .hhh heh
M: was like-,° du du du du.]   [you face with the story=it was like ye:h

M: okay heh hh heh .h[h h   [a::h.]
F: h h h .h h h   [oh no [ye:h.] did you get your um, assignment back↑,

F: for-, [film and video.]   [(do you get)
M: [which one, video.] no no no. oh I can't wait next week. [so you got

M: se-, you got seventy] percent.   [and you
F: ( ) in a row?]   oh I was so surprised. heh heh heh [hhh

M: jus' did yours on the [day. [there's hope] for me, ye[h. because you-]
F: [.hh [is it.   ]   ['cos it was due on]

F: Wednesday, an' we did ours on Monday, edited it on Tuesday↑. (0.2) and

F: then did our like um story board, u:m five minutes or half an hour before.

F: we did jus'-did you do a big story board? (0.3)
M: ↓oh hh. it's like seven

M: pages with four boxes on each one describing each scene.
F: did you colour

F: them in and stuff?   heh heh heh [heh hhh .hhh heh heh hhh .hhh
M: no.   [no they were jus' hand-drawn sketch

M: sort of things. they were quite crude for- .hhh er hah hhh [o::h.   ]
F: [who drew them?]

M: (.) °ah Dorothy.° [°then we just traced them.°   [hey this
F: [°oh.°   Dorothy, yeh how is [Dorothy

F: going.   ]   it could be:. [h e h h e h h e h
M: could be a big] scan. this could be like-,   [this could be a police

M: investigation=where they're tryin' to-, run out [drug dealers [from the
F: h h h h h .h h h h e h h e h h h h h h   [.h h h h   [don't talk

F: about] drugs.   [h e h h e h h e h h e h h h h .h h h h e h
M: school.]   we'll jus' [talk about some information about people we

M: know that are doing naughty things you know.]
F: h e h h e h h e h h h h .h h h h e h h h h .h]h h h e h .h h so: you stole

F: um cigarettes from your work huh? [h e h h e h h e h h e h h h h
M: [↑yes. I've heard that happens

M: occasionally, with certain people.]
F: .h h h h e h h e h h h h h   .h h]h h heh .hhhhh and how's Dorothy

F: going? [((clears throat))]   [I haven't talked to you about] this in ages.
M: [o:h   ] good [ye:h.   °yeh.°   ]

M: oh, we're fine. ye:h. [heh heh hh] oh we (weren't [the-)]   [stagnate,
F: [ye:h?   ]   [sta]gnating? [no, (that's

F: gonna-)   ]   [oh   that's   good.]   uh hmm.
M: ↑no we're okay,] we're pretty happy. [just got our new cou]ch.

F: how much did that cost?
M: °a::h° I think it was nine hundred. I bought it ages

M: ago. and we got it and the seats. like see on that one there=[they-, they]
F: [ye::h.   ]

M: slope back, the one we looked at was [flat.   someone's coming out to
F: [hmm.

M: check on it.   [but-, what were we just talking about-, about the um,
F: °(yes [so-)°

M: (0.3) um, (0.4) different speech between Asian-, (0.4) sort of students an'-,

M: (0.5) Australian, natural Australian students, like you know, it is fast. .hh

M: there's one guy that comes into work, °you know,° (0.2)↑he jus'-, he [jus'
F: [°huh°

M: whooh .hhh   [he's-he's an Asian. he speaks English, [but he
F: huh huh huh [huh hh   [o:h I

F: saw   him.] yeh. 'cos we went there [the] other night. an' he was there. and
M: still speaks-]   [h̲m.]

F: John was saying °he's-° made a joke or something=
M: =oh he speaks-he speaks

M: English like he still speaks-, n-maybe Can[tonese whatever he's just like-,]
F: [y̲eh.   really   fast.   ]

M: bhooohhh. an' I'm [just like-, ↑y̲e:h. no I do-I do understand it but some
F: [heh heh heh heh hh .hhh heh heh heh hh .hhh hh heh

F: heh hh .hh
M: people just like wha̲t. you know it's like y̲eh. heh hey it does. °yeh° we talk

M: about movies a lot. like John Woo films heh [.hh °seem like-°]
F: [uh have you seen,] seen a

F: violence. Clockwork Orange is on at the Lumiere till Thursday.
M: do you

M: know how it's never been released on video? [it was only on laser disc↑.
F: ye[h?

M: it's being released this June. [°for the first time.°] y̲eh.   [°(and-)°]
F: [and   video.   ]   °(uh uh I [don't

F: know.)°]   because I've never seen it before. but um-,
M: yeh.   well I̲'ve got it on

M: video.   [like a-, naughty copy] of it, y̲eh. it's missing twenty minutes.
F: but [you miss the end to-]

F: where did you get that?
M: .hhh a friend of Dorothy's did it an'-, he didn't

M: realize that his tape was stuffed up on the video. °didn't record the last

M: twenty minutes.°
F: heh heh heh heh heh hhh .hhh yeh I'm going to see it

F: tonight. hopefully.
M: oh it's pretty-, (.) pretty good film. so you've never seen

M: the whole thing, or you've seen bits of it.
F: I haven't seen any of it. I've read

F: the [book twi]ce, but-,   no.   [heh heh heh .hhh
M: [oh.   ]   going with John? (0.3)   no, [°who are you going

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M: with?°          [°it's° good-, ]          °it's a good film.°
F:           my sister, [and her boy] friend.          he has to work.

F:  he's working like, °tonight, tomorrow night, Wednesday night.° (0.2) o:h

F:  Saturday night, Sunday night. he works so much.          [it's not
M:                                        hhhhhh .hhh h[hh

F:  fair. [and I have no] money.
M:       [that's like me.]          I've got too much work. all my money's going

M:  on things. (0.3)
F:                    oh I went um, (0.2) 'cos I really °(need a job)°, (I doesn't.)

F:  I told you I'd get my license↑. I got my li[cense↑.]    [I  did.  ]    [first
M:                                        [you  di]d? [oh oh oh] oh. [well

M:  done.]                                        [shit there's] hope
F:      go ]:: heh heh hh .hhh it's not safe to drive on the roads [any  more.]

M: [for me then isn't there. [and      (if-)          ]    no, not yet.=
F: [heh heh heh hh          [haven't you got your]s?          =oh shit.

F: [heh  heh  heh  hhh  heh  heh  .hhh    [I didn't know that. [so you've
M: [we're working on it. working on it. heh [heh hh                [.hhhh

F:  gone for it before. (0.4) no?
M:                            °ohh° how many years, about three four years

M:  without °one°. hh[hh              it's slack=I've st[ayed      without
F:                    [I can't believe it.          [so that's why you

F:  didn't get-] haven't got around to getting a car.      you never told me that
M:  one.     ]                                        yeh.

F:  you didn't have it?
M:                        oh, I do have um, (0.4) other things which I waste my

M:  money on though instead of cars and licences an'-, [.hhh
F:                                        [like cigarettes and

F:  drugs and alcohol?          hhhh [hhh          [.hh heh heh heh
M:                        e:r sort of.   [my addics, [na::          you can

M:  work it out, but n[o. you know how-,    [I like to set up-, I'm [trying to set
F:                    [heh heh hh          .hh[hh                [((clears

F:  throat))                                        [ye:h,          ]
M:  up my home cinema sort of thing. with the big TV and the [new video and
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M: stuff.] .hhh [I'm buyin-]   I'm buying a new amplifier. [you know that
F: [well you say] so.   [are   you?   ]

M: one I]'ve got that grey one, by NAD? you would've seen it. °with the

M: volume and all that stuff on it.° oh, .hh anyway, I'm trading that in at Myer.

M: (.) and-, he's knocking three hundred dollars off the price of a thousand

M: dollars like-, really chunky. d<u>o</u>es everything it like does all different

M: sounds. .hh but what it's going to do, it's gonna have my norm-, you know

M: my big speakers? they're going to be at the front. then I'm going to get a

M: middle one above the TV. (.) and then, he's doing me a deal on these ones

M: at the back=there's going to be t<u>wo</u>, and one in the bass just brilliant.
F: heh

F: heh heh [h h h .h h h h [surround] soun[d.   [ooh I want to come] and
M: [I can't wait °un[til yeh.°]   [<u>h</u>mm. [real   sound.   ]

F: have a listen.   [heh heh [hhh heh   so you're going
M: oh <u>y</u>e[h.   [I w<u>a</u>nt to get a house, before.

F: to get a house.
M: eventually. we'll get a car first. we're looking at a Honda

M: Civic. (.) [o:h hh]   [get a loan to buy one. [see there's no point-,]
F: [Honda] Civi[c.   [a n<u>ew</u> Honda Ci]vic. (.)

M: I know they're expensive. [but what's the point of getting second-hand
F: [ah heh hhh .hhhh

M: there's only about] three grand off the price of what you buy a brand new

M: one for? they've got such good resale [value.]
F: [hm.   ] three grand's quite a lot.

M: °mm.°   yeh. but um, (0.3) oh, (0.3) I mean if you're going to b<u>uy</u>
F: it depends.

M: stuff,   °hm no, I'm [the bread winner.° heh heh .hh[hh
F: does Sylviana work?   [((clears throat))   [does

F: she get a dole?   [Austudy, yeh.]
M: no, she's on-she's got Au[study though.] °you know°. not

M: working at all. [°(I wish she would observe me for the [x x x x .)°]
F: [hm   [yeh that] would be

F: [good.]   (banana chills one of [°that)°]   [oh heh
M: [smoke] detectors heh .hh   [no]: no thanks. [heh heh

M: hhh heh heh .hhh [°e:r°
F: heh heh hhh .hhh [yeh. 'cos I was supposed to be at a job interview on

F: Friday↑, and I had a media assignment due↑. and I was just like-, I had to

F: go to [that interview↑.]   [is that due till] two-I
M: [o: : :] : h. one at two that was due in. [o::h hhh   ]

F: thought it was due at twelve and I just went fuck °I'm [not going to make it.°]
M: [o : h the panics.   ]

M: 'cos I was-, writing out my rough draft at work that night↑.   [finished
F: ye:[h.

M: at seven [or   eight↑.] came home. (.) tried typing it up. heh er e::r, just got
F: [heh heh heh]

M: it done sort of thing and E::R it was-, I'm not sure if it was that good to be

M: [honest.]   [heh hh   °hh[h°
F: [heh heh] heh hh [.hh   na mine didn't even have an argument.   [only

F: a really dodgy one.]   [hm. oppositions] and
M: o : : h,   ] is it the one on binary analy-optio-[oppositions=oh.]

F: analysis of-, [hm.   narrative   structures   °and   stuff   yeh.°]
M: [that is like male female sort of stuff, isn't it and like-,] American

M: Indians American settlers sort of s[tuff, that could be one.] oh hh it just went
F: [yeh. yeh.]

M: [on an' on.]   [I-I wish I'd gone to
F: [and so I] didn't understand really what I was talking a[bout.

M: the tutorials and stuff. (.) I hadn't covered any of those I didn't know. I

M: couldn't even find stuff in the book about it.
F: °zeh° what I've missed like-,

F: there was as I was saying for my English course I missed um, (.) 'cos she

F: said to me in the last class=she goes, °.hh° would I be able to see you

F: afterwards and I was going fuck like I'm [dead.]   [and she goes,
M: [oops] heh heh [heh heh heh

M: hh   ]
F: 'cos I had]n't got my assignment back. and then I said to her, I haven't got

F: my assignment back and she goes, it's probably because you haven't been

F: here for the last three lessons.   [and I said, m::::::::m.]   [and she
M: u:::::[:::::h heh heh hh .hhh] (x [hh) .hhh

M: heh hh]
F: goes, if you] miss one more then you fail. I was going, shit. I don't really

F: care though. I mean sort of I got a bit cut, but then she-I said, so how did I

F: do for my last assignment. (.) she goes, not very well.   [heh heh heh hhh
M: o::[:::h.

F: [.hhh   heh   hh   .hhh   ]   yeh. (0.3)
M: [that's like what's-what's the one we did today?] film-no media?

M: god, I got my-=   [journal back.   barely a pa[ss.
F: =what did you [ge:t?   yeh.   [hh heh heh

F: [hhh   .hhh   heh   hhh   .hhhh   ]
M: [and he goes, ↑judging by your first assignment though, I do believe] when

M: you come to finally hand, the final, one in it will be up to scratch you will

M: pass. I hope I pass. [I know I'm going to pass] everything else I have.
F: [shit.]   'cos

F: if y[ou fail or-]
M: [hey, ↑when he] comes back, I hope we get to resolve the conversation

M: instead of just leave it hanging and sort of stop the video [heh   heh
F: [I know. what

F: do] we do. we have to end off in a [good way.]   [heh heh heh .hhh
M: °so-°]   [°m :] : m.° °I [know°

F: [you (x x x x).] .hhh heh heh [hhh .hhh [heh hhh .hhh I know, so
M: [go off with a bang.]   [oh   [o:::h.

F: you're doing anything this weekend? [(((clears throat))]
M: [u : : m   ] (0.7) °this weekend,

M: fuck.° °sa-° Saturday night, I'm working till midnight.   [just like this-, how I
F: °oh [yeh.°

M: worked this Friday night from-, (0.2) e::r seven till midnight. an' this lady

M: in a Civic came and spilled petrol everywhere.   [it's like rude
F: heh heh heh [heh hhh .hhh

F: heh   hhh   .hhhh   heh   .hh   ]
M: though for a man to sit in the car↑, (.) and she'd get in. it's okay for her]

M: get[ting him to stee]r.   he just sat there reading a book while she's
F: [was he just-   yeh.

M: pu[shing the car and doing all the manual work, you know he didn't [want
F: [h e h   h e h   h h h h   .h h h   h h h   [.hhh

M: to get his [suit   dirty.   ]   I didn't mind doing
F: [he probably thinks that] you wanted to do it.

M: it. but hey, it would've been nice if he at least offered, I probably would

M: have said no it's okay.   [°no.°
F: huh huh hhh [she spilled petrol what-all under her

F: [car?   [°ah°   ye-ye:::h.   ]
M: [all under her car. I mean [you can't start a car like that. it'll] just go bang.

F: o::h hhh god. what a week[end.
M: [I should have let them do it, burn in °their car.°

F: heh heh [hhh
M: [I mean hey. it's a little bit hard. it's okay pushing a car by

M: yourself as it is but-, with one person, yeh it gets a bit difficult, but with

M: two people in this one car, (.) like that with a heavy engine and it's a little

M: bit difficult.   good?
F: heh heh hh I went to Red Hot Chilli Peppers on Friday.

F: no heh [heh heh heh .hhh [I don't like though, I] mean, 'cos John rang me
M: [no I-, I wouldn't [have gone at all actually.]

F: up (on this) on Thurday right and he goes, guess what guess what, I got

F: tickets for the Red Hot Chilli Peppers↑.   ye[:h. I
M: and you went oh great.   [y-

M: ye:::::::h thanks] John. [heh   heh]   [.hhh hhh heh .hhh
F: pretended that I-]   [I pretended] I'm going oh, it's [good heh heh .hhh

F: heh heh .hhh [hope he doesn't see this. anyway heh heh hhh .hhh [heh heh
M: [oh   [(like) heh

M: heh heh heh .hh]
F: heh   hhh   .hhh] that would be a bit bad. .hh and um yeh. then just (the like),

F: mm I said, ye::h huh hhh .hhh but anyway,=   [it   was   bad.   ]
M: =o:h [you got so many forms]

M: of rhythmic [groove you know when they first started out.]   heh heh
F: [h e h   h e h   h e h   h h h h   .h h h h] heh hh

M: heh [heh hh
F: [but he bought them like two months ago and he forgot about it. (.)

F: he bought them for some other girl.   ↑oh [she was, y]eh.=
M: oh then you feel-,   [special.   ]   =

M: you feel s[pecial.] heh heh heh .hhh heh hh
F: [heh heh] heh hhh   so hhh .hhh so we had these

F: really bad seats upstairs. uh. [couldn't see much. but [that was pretty
M: [yeh.   [↑that's bad 'cos you

M: can't] do anything, you can't like you know,=   [get up and slam it.]
F: boring.]   =na. [well everyone was]

F: standing up. [and sort of um,]   [°n-na.°
M: [yeh, it's not like you] can dance about or any[thing, 'cos

M: you're like you're in ro:w[s an', you can't go dow[n the front, but then
F: [yeh.   [°can't   move.°]

M: there's] already fifty people in front of you getting like he::::h give me

M: some air [he:::h   [heh hh
F: [heh heh heh [hhh .hhh heh .hhhh

F: ↑okay. let-we've got these questions here. talk a[bout   ti:]-television
M: [(all right.)]

F: violence and whether or not you think it has influences on society. .hh

F: [hh   [.hhhh
M: [whether it has influences on society. ↑u::[m, that should be pretty easy

M: we've been [doing language and media↑.   [(so: get-)   ]
F: [hhh   no no no. I [don't want to do

F: more] of that. let's take it from a cartoon point of view. .hh do you reckon

F: cartoons can-, (0.4) can influence, .hh ↑say you got your little kids right,

F: an' they're watching the Roadrunner an', that he's trying to kill Kiyoti.

M: ye:h? (0.2) .hh ↑I don't reckon.   [but they think
F: I don't reckon at all ei[ther.

M: you've done-, doing it because that recent, massacre in um Tasmania.

M: they're thinking of [um cutting up [television videos an',   having
F: [.hhh   [a::hh   .hh

M: those you know those special censorship things in America, [right?]
F: [I think]-I

F: think that's stupid. I think .hhh I mean I think that-, certainly there's a point

F: that there's an extent to violence that you can watch. because they always

F: have the copycat killers like you know with that-, video, .hhh Woody

F: Harrison that video? (0.2)   [at-   ye:h. an'
M: ye:h. [with that Natural Born Killers?

F: they [reckon there was a copycat] killers off that. but-, .hhh ↑I don't
M: [with   e::r:m   ]

F: know hhhh.   yeh [but cutting
M: ↑some videos to an extent yeh may be but-,   [°may-°

F: it out altogether=I mean that's a bit pathetic=we're just trying to

F: represent everyday life in society, an' that's what happens any[way.
M: [°hm.° an'

M: violence isn't gonna stop just-, if we-, (.) cut-, you know, (.) [maybe gun
F: [yeh.

M: laws yes maybe.   o:h I don't [know about gun laws,]   [you know.]
F: .hhh   [gun   laws.   ] .hh no [the gun]

F: laws do you know-, (that-), I think↓, this is true I'm not really sure that-,

F: WA, (.)   has the s[trictest gun   laws.   ]
M: °hh .h° has the: strictest,   [yeh. I heard about that] °as well.°

F: I mean-, (0.3) but- hhh   I think the-the whole, the Federal
M: ((clears throat))

F: government should make-, the same gun law, that's applicable in WA

F: applicable to all the rest of the states. it should be, it should be written

F: down in the law. the state shouldn't be able to-, shouldn't be able to

F: decide.   ye::h (0.3) not to worry. (0.2)
M: .hhh ye:h (0.4)   hm (.) °yeh° it's not,

M: °I think° I don't-,   [think much about these gun things. ↑what
F: ↑a::hh .hh[h   hhh   hhh   hhh   hhh   hhh

F: hhh   [so I don't] want to talk about gun laws. so I'm going to change
M: were you [going to say?]

F: topic .hhh so how is your girlfriend? hh
M: o::h go:d heh heh .hh oh yeh she's

M: good yeh. um (.)   [°x°   [ah   no:. but er, her
F: is [sh-she's not sitting her [TEE is she ?

M: studies are falling down. so that's why I can't see her as often a[s-
F: [really

F: hhh[hhhh .hhh   hhh   hhh   hhh [.hh I know ex]actly what you
M: [an' her parents are getting a bit jacked [off.   so-]

F: mean. when-, when-, you know when you've got work to do like-, these

F: assignments an' then you go out an' see people during the week and you

F: do it all on the night before .hhh [an'-, you kno:w not everytime, everytime
M: [hm.

F: I used to see Andrew, I used to think, o:::h shit. I am going to get my

F: assignment done on time.
M: plus I had work all a-, all like through the

M: weekend and everything at night.
F: did she, you can't take her out very-, (.)

F: much can you. 'cos she's not eighteen. so every week you can take [her
M: [her

M: parent're s]trict. (0.2) [but er]   hmm   [so Alex, the guy I'm
F: out, °(but-)°]   [oh real]ly? (0.3)   hm [heh hh

M: staying with can see his girlfriend anytime like-, that's my bes-that's my

M: girl-friend's best friend Susan↑. I in[trodu-I introduced them. .hhh an' he
F: [hm.

M: can see her anytime.   [(anytime at all)]   good. .h[hh
F: how [is that going?] between those two?   [so::

F: [they got over that thing↑.] .hh[h
M: [oh   oh   oh   he   o::h   ]   [but in a way, .hh sort of-sort of good an'

M: sort of not. um (0.2) what happened, er she's like, the flirty type↑. an' like

M: she was at a party an' like she got really drunk an' like-,   [she
F: .hh an' she [came

F: up and she] gave you, yeh. hhh
M: um   ]   yeh an' she came up an' she you know

M: gave me a kiss on the cheek going up and' saying I love you right in front

M: of Alan↑. (0.2)   and Alan just looked at me an' just went, (.) oh okay.
F: °.hh°

M: [(I)-   =I
F: [an' you just went hey man, I didn't touch her, I didn't do anything=

M: didn't. he could see that=he saw, he saw that happened but then-, oh our

M: other friend Damien, .hh who Alan's a bit jacked off with-, jacked off

M: [with-   u:m, (.) Damien took advantage of the situation and e:r (0.2)
F: [why::? (0.2)

M: grab-, grabbed her breasts↑.   in [the car   [in the
F: .hhh   [ah hah heh heh heh .hhh heh [heh .hhh

M: car. .hh[hh a::nd], in other places and um, he was not very impressed with
F: [e:::r.   ]

M: him. so yeh.   [hmm   [sss   so   er   ]
F: .hh [o::h. hh oops see::: [obviously went for the big] wrong

F: move then.
M: well Damien's never been with a girl before. he's never even

M: kissed and he's eighteen an' he's never kissed a [girl   before.]
F: [then what on] earth

F: possessed him to grab her breasts.
M: well because he's jus-, he's just

M: desperate. I don't know. he-he's jus he's nice guy. he's really shy. but he's

M: just despe[rate.   zeh he's not ugly. (.) [he's not-]
F: [is he ugly?   [then why] doesn't he have a

F: girlfriend?   [hhhh .hhh hh
M: well I-I don't L I can't tell guys are [ugly or beautiful hoh

M: [heh heh .hhh well he's not [ugly and he's not wonderful, but you know
F: [↑yes you can.   [huh hh

M: he's-, he's all-he's [°all°-, he-]   he used to have-
F: [he   just] looks like a normal guy. (0.2)

M: he was a-in year seven he'd had no hair. 'cos [his hair fell out↑, he's-
F: [heh hh

M: he's got this disease that his hair falls out↑. .hh not cancer or anything.

M: but it's just something to do °with-°
F: really. did he chemo treatment or

F: something. n[o?
M: [um, he had his special light which went onto his head, and

M: er, [he's got all these for-]   this light↑. this chemotherapy light that
F: [he had this little wh]at?

M: shined on his head, that could grew the hair back.   [he wasn't sick or
F: .hh[hh

M: anything. an' he's like got all these [bald patches li:ke, it was really
F: [hhh

M: funny. .hh [an' so pulls his hair and it comes out.]   [no,
F: [so: he   wears   a : :] a a hat. (.) [or things

F: like that.
M: ↓no. (0.4) no he's jus' got like little bald spots like there. not

M: really noticeable but it's like there and there. sh-, stuff like that.
F: .hh

F: hm[m   °a-° ye:h. .hh[h   hhhhh   [.hhh
M: [so it's not really that bad.   [yeh.   but anyway, [did

M: you work at the weekend? [((clears throat))
F: [ye:h. hhh yes I worked on heh hh Saturday.

F: .hh day before Mother's Day an' I had to set out-, .hhh[h   [seven
M: [I didn't [even see

F: hun]dred crossointsss. I had to set out two hundred danishe::s. I had
M: my mum.]

F: to set out all this crap. i'-'cos they're all frozen for the bakers to come in at

F: midnight↑. heh hh do you know what I did? .hhh with-, 'cos we've got

F: like about-, .hh I don't know about twelve ovens. I set all the timers on

F: all the ovens to go off at ten past twelve↑. .hh so when they are all

F: [walking in they'd be starting to [make their first dough and all these,
M: [hhh .hh   [hhhh

F: e:r timers will be going bi bi bia bia bia bi:a bi:a .hh all the ovens and I

F: just thought well that was my little joke um, on my work heh .hhhhh heh

F: .hhh okay th[en.   oh my
M: [I didn't even see my mum for Mother's day. °so-°

F: mum's [°gone.°   =what did
M: ['cos I jus' worked. but we gave her a present but er=

F: you give her?   oh you're such a [sss suck] hole.
M: a big basket of goodies.   [my girlfriend

M: goes-] [well my girlfriend goes out oh I should like-, she should, with
F: hh .hh hh[hh heh

M: her-, she was going to come with my friend, with her friend and-an' pick

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M: out-, (.) individual things↑, instead of getting a big basket of °some kind

M: of stuff.° °it was° just like-, .hhh this is easier [than   just   like-]
F: [did it have chokey]s and

F: stu[ff in it?   o:h [you're such a °su(ck)-°]   I gave her
M: [yeh.   °hm.°   [well what did you give] to your mum?

F: nothing. [.hhh   she's not here. hhh   she's gone to
M: [hoh hoh you're joking.   hm.

F: America.   it's like [this-
M: that's right. (0.7)   [but um (.) ↑I go home for every ti-I

M: go home for tea every night↑. (.) so I don't have to-, make myself tea.

M: where I live. heh heh hh .h[hh   [so I've been living out of home like,
F: [oh hh [heh hh .hh

F: does [your mum give you money,] to move out of [home? (.) so no wonder
M: [just   two   weeks.   ]   [na.

F: you go home for food and shit.
M: I just go home for, I get my own

M: breakfast an' lunch. an' just go home for dinner. (0.5) bonus.   [.hhh
F: ye[:h. yeh.

M: I was only going to stay home for one week. but now I'm staying home

M: two-for two:, home for two. (0.4)   [which should be cool.
F: ah that's all r[ight.

F: yeh.   [.hhh hhh
M: a:nd I need to study for exams an' assignments an' all of-, [that.

F: °o:::h, [my god.° I haven't even s[tarted that a]ssignment that's due on
M: [(I'll-)   [fall behind.]

F: Thursday.   [you've] got the book [though.]
M: I haven't even looked-oh I've [looked at-]   [I've got

M: the] book and everything. that's [good.]
F: [I know]-that's not FAI::R. .hh (I was

F: sitting here) going symbol.   ye:h like read the [story, you've got to
M: hhhh   [but er, how are you

M: supposed to]   [no no no. how are you supposed to um (0.5)
F: tell me the] symbols in [it.

M: how are you supposed to e:r in a beginning. (0.2) explain to a year nine

M: class. that u:m (0.3) what a symbol is. .hhh [well from a year nine level,
F: [well-

M: .hhh and I thought, like for mother. (.) like you jus' tell the students you

M: know for mother you know jus' like um (0.2) zeh a symbol is loving. .hh

M: she's gentle. she's ki::nd. you know she's supportive, (.) <u>fa</u>ther, (.)

M: strength. you know, a:h protective, (0.3) u:m [that   symbolizes-]
F: [but how-how-how] was that

F: shown. a symbol is showing something so you-how would you-, (0.2)

F: then you've got the wrong idea I think. .hhh of what symbol is. hhh

M: er? .hh a symbol represents something else. it-it's in [place of something.
F: [yes.

M: else.
F: yes. how do you represent strength. to show them that that's what-,

M: your father's strength=a rugby player's, [symbolism of rugby player's
F: [<u>o</u>h

M: strength.   [u:m   a::h what's another example I don't
F: yeh [you've got the idea.

M: know. (0.2) yeh just strength. (0.2) u::m   [o::h
F: °zeh° [.hhh the symbol of your

F: coke can that you're holding just now. (0.2)   that you're
M: what's that?

F: supposed to, .hh what does coke. the image of coke represent. [just
M: [oh it's

M: supposed to symbol]-it symbolizes it's supposed to be happy [an' joyful
F: holding the coke can] .hhh hhh   [hi I'm

F: cool <u>ye:h</u>]   hhhh   hh °huh° °I don't
M: ye:h   ] heh heh heh .hh (0.2) mhuh   hn but °er°

F: know.° .hhh ((yawning))
M: you're gonna-, (.) keep on working in the

M: bakery, for ever? (0.5) [or are you gonna change jobs or are you going to
F: [zeh

M: stick to it or?   is it?
F: I don't know it's a really easy job.   .hh well it's easy for

F: me. because, (.) [I   thought-   ]
M: [you put me off ba]kery food now ever since you said

M: that u:m they are=   [don't] wash their hands.   [I didn]'t-I
F: =I was [only-]   I was [only-]

F: [joking.]   I was only joking. .hh now see I've
M: [didn't eat] that bun. heh heh hh

F: already been the-in the managerial position at the bakery↑, so I know

F: how everything runs, so I don't have [to   work.]   .hh what? (.) no I
M: [are you ma]nager?

F: u[sed   to   be.   ] when we first opened, I was. (.)
M: [or you have been.]   why, do you jus--

F: because I went back to uni so I can't do the hours.   so I know
M: oh right.

F: how everything runs=so it's easy for me whenever I work, an' if there's

F: anybody else [on, I'll always supervise them.]   ↑no. .hh my
M: [but they're not that unhygie]nic are they or?

F: god, we'd be in deep troubles if we were.
M: °.hh zeh° they'd never ca-you

M: can never catch. (0.3) like, .hh if someone doesn't wash their hands or

M: anything, or smoking a cigarette doesn't wash their hands, you can

M: never catch. (.) a person's not there to-, (.) supervise you twenty-four

M: hours a day. (0.2) [so:: and this guy at work=
F: [ye:h.   =so what about when you

F: work? [an' you have a fa]g break. (.) do you always wash your hands?
M: [yeh I know.]

F: (0.4)   ye::h hh my ass you do. .hh look at your eyes just went,
M: sometimes

F: yeh sometimes heh [hhh hih hh hhhh .hhhh heh .hh hm I:::: don't know.
M: [no I some-sometimes I do.

F: heh [hh .hhh   so where is Sarah today?
M: [°sometimes.°   um, I don't know=well I rang

M: her on Friday,   an' I said are you coming, and I didn't get-, she
F: yeh?

M: didn't get back to me and she wasn't in class today.
F: .hhh she was

F: there [yesterday. I don't think she was very happy about missing out
M: [(ssserious.)

F: on Fast.   no. (0.2) .hhh no I think she was a bit-. hhh
M: oh really.   why:

M: what was she [thinking   then.   ]
F: [peeved I don't know.] she was just-, just wasn't in a very

F: good mood↑. (0.2) [.hhh   [.hhh
M: [ye:h this morning I was a bit-, (0.2) [cheesed off.

F: hh [.hhh   I can understand, I just-, [↑when   I-]
M: [°was a bit-°   [there's these] ↑three people

M: that missed out. out of the whole lot. an' you feel really bad. you feel

M: like °you° haven't got any talent. [your acting a[bility's lapsed.   =an'
F: [.hhhhh   [na-,   no::=

M: like you feel totally li:ke,   [you know an' like-, an' then an' then
F: NO:::::[wa

M: Marnie an' that on the lawn, (.) go up on the lawn an' they go o::h hh

M: I'm so glad we all went to Fast=we've got such a great team. zeh and I

M: was sitting there just going, (.) and then someone asked, I think it was

M: Chris=he goes o:h, who got into Fast, and I was going, .hhh oh no-to

M: Marnie. an' Marnie just listed off the people's names and I was just sitting

M: there. ↑lucky I had my sunglasses on and I was going.
F: .hhh heh .hh yeh I-,

F: the point is, I didn't really want it-, .hhh I-, I saw it when it went up on

F: Friday↑, and I was standing there an' we were just reading it with amaze

F: the first time. when Jane walked up behind us. an' Jane hadn't got in. and

F: I had a smoke outside and I said, ↑oh I'll just go an' finish off my smoke

F: because I didn't know what to say. .hh 'cos if I was in that same situation

F: I just be thinking exactly-I'd just be going. o:h hoh hoh [hh .hh hhh .hhh
M: [what did Jane

M: react to it?   I thought
F: hh .hhh I think Jane just went ↑oh, rightio. (0.3)

M: Jane would've got in.
F: I thought Jane would have got in as well. (0.3)

A11mm

A: if you look back especially historically, u::m (.) there are definitely periods

A: which are more violent than others. (0.2)
B: yeh I mean, (0.6) I think if-if

B: there was no violence on-, (0.5) on TV it would st-it would still emerge in

B: the culture=it's like if you remove violent influence you know, if you

B: remove all history of war an' °whatever°, an' people would still-it's in

B: human nature. .hhh   you know it's probably true that-
A: ye:h. (0.3) bu̲t- (0.4)

B: .hhh I thin:k the federal government is gonna go crazy on it though because

B: yeh ever since,   .hh 'cos in Port the Port Arthur thing this Martin
A: ah yeh.

B: Bryant guy, he's apparently he was a big renter of, of-of [like u:m] Missing
A: [e:::h ah]

B: in Action type movies. .hhhh so:: there's °gonna° [be a big witch hunt an'
A: [yeh.

B: that sort of thing.   heh hhhhh[h   it
A: °yeh° kind of. (0.2) re̲eks of,   [media beatup.

B: does quite badly. °quite badly.°
A: °yeh.° ↑I suppo̲se they're going to have to do

A: something an' chances are they're not going to be able to get any um, (0.2)

A: any u::m:: gun restrictions, particularly widely spread, (0.2) unle̲ss the-,

A: unless the federalization of, u:m, .hh gun laws is made um,
B: .hh

B: Howar[d's pushing it out at the moment.] he's um, he's-he's launching this
A: [standardised.   ]

B: big plan with um, (0.6) yeh well he's going-he's like planning to buy (it)

B: back, (0.4) guns from gun owners. (0.2) u:m like-so you'd like, (.) he's

B: gonna-he's gonna ban semi-automatics. (.) so they'll be bought back

B: compulsorily=anyone else who wants to turn any sort of gun in will be

B: bought back.   a::h
A: <u>at</u> what sort of rate though? (.)   probably a pittance.

A: [I °mea°n-, (.)   really.
B: [↑<u>hm</u>m   I think I think around their second hand value.   hm.

B: (0.3) could get quite expensive bu[t-   hh hh
A: [ye:h that's what I was thinking.

B: .hh especially in Tasmania, where like ever since the Port Arthur thing, .hh

B: an' the talks (with semi out of) automatics being banned, ↑all Tasmanian

B: gun shops are selling out of all their high how-high powered semi-

B: automatic rifles. [.hhh people in Tasmania are getting scared she'll be not
A: [ye:h.

B: available soon.
A: °yeh°. well do you know it's going to be accompanied by an

A: amnesty? 'cos if it is-,   <u>see</u> th<u>a</u>-th<u>a</u>t w<u>ay</u>, people can
B: six months' amnesty.

A: steal as many as guns as they want an' sell them back to the government.

B: huh hh hh hh   °it's° probably true.↑<u>o</u>::h I-I i<u>ma</u>gine
A: it's fairly ludicrous. (0.2)

B: though you get when you turn the-depending on the state though.
A: ye:h. I

A: sup-, maybe I °mean° if they ask for the licence it's one thing but=
B: =then it's

B: not an amnesty, is it .hh[h   heh heh [heh hh
A: [no.   [unl<u>e</u>ss they sort of-, (.) u:m a-, ss

A: accept them back if they're sold if it's an amnesty, and I °mean°-, (0.2) u::m

A: take them backhh, u:m if you have proof of ownership. and otherwise jus'

A: sort of-, (0.4) um (.) don't give you any money.   .hh I
B: °huh huh huh huh°

A: can't see it being a huge incentive for people who ha-have illegal guns

A: really.   °hm°. [kind of stink<u>s</u>.
B: yeh. (.) yeh. (0.3) °I don't know°. °it's hm° (.)   [°it's-°

B: o::::h it's just such a ludicrous debate. .hh an' th::: I was reading last night

B: that at the moment, °.hh .hh .hh zeh° in WA, Bob Falconer police

B: commissioner right=he's the one right behind, banning all semi-automatics,

B: you know, jus' jus', doesn't want semi-automatics in. .hhh an' which is

B: pretty much behind the federal, you know behind the Howard's, (.) stance.

B: (0.2) ↑but, Bob Weiss like the current Police commissioner has said, oh no

B: no. I'm a farmer in Wagin and I own a semi-automatic rifle, [and all
A: [(heh)

B: farmers need semi-automatic rifles. .hh[h   [so he's like refusing, to-to back
A: [ye:[:h.

B: banning semi-automatics on the-, (.) basis that farmers need them=it's

B: like-, (0.2) why does a farmer nee:d a semi-automatic rifle=you know that a

B: bolt ac[tion or pump action won't do [you know.]
A: [hhhhh   [. h h h   ]h ye:h it's this-, (0.2) o:h I

A: guess you can't click off quite as many shots hhh. (.)
B: er it's just silly. it's

B: jus' really really silly. I mean, (0.5) .hhh um-, and if he did back down=he

B: was saying that u:m, he-he'll consider, a ban. if you can get-he had a really

B: good argument on high powered semi-automatics, .hh but he'll never-, (.)

B: consider a ban on like-, (0.4) semi-automatic twenty twos. I'm jus' thinking

B: well. °if a° twenty two was a twenty two. (0.3) [considering with a bolt
A: [hm

B: action, you'll probably get a rate of fire of, (0.2) one an' half to a second

B: anyway if-if-if you're keen enough, .hhh u::[m
A: [ye:h. (.) ↑also I think um the

A: twenty two s::: um the preferred choice for u::m, (.) lots of organized crime

A: syndicates. just for um sort of for executions. (0.3)   .h ye:h. generally
B: really.

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A: sort of-, just um twenty two to the back of the head. [it's an ideal]
B: [yeh   right.] I thought

B: they'd be more like twenty two calibre pistols though.
A: yeh. °pistols°. even so.

B: twenty two rifles a kind of,   a bit
A: hh .hh a bit cumbersome really I suppose.

B: hard to hide under your jacket [(bullet)]
A: [hhhh .hhh] yeh. unless you got a damn big

A: jacket.
B: °it's° I mean you're gonna go all through the risk of carrying a

B: rifle around to shoot somebody with=then you want to make it a (damn), a

B: decent one I think.   °ye[h.°
A: ye:h. (0.7)   [also I suppose um, that would be sh-that

A: would really be sort of u::[m, more the distance assassination. rather than
B: [°hm°

A: the sort of-, (0.2) the back of the head, close range kind of deal.
B: °do° you

B: think so? you think so?   .hh ye:h. (0.5) hh hh .hh ye:h so I think,
A: °hm.° (0.3)

B: (.) I don't know I'm definitely going to get rid of my guns. yeh I'm going

B: to do it this year as you know. but fuus-
A: well you're going to um, I m°ean°

A: are they owned by Alex now or? (0.3)
B: a:h a:h a:h a:m no but if he puts them

B: onto his licence which is all we wanted it to do befo[re.   (.) I can take
A: [.hhh

B: them off mine. (0.2)
A: ye:h. (0.2) oh I mean how many guns you actually

A: own? (0.2)   u:m (0.3) both rifles? (0.3)
B: two. (0.2)   a:::h yeh. °yeh I used to

B: have a sh-,used to have two shot guns as well.but now it's just two rifles.°

A: °hm. hm.° (0.5)
B: an' they're both yeh they're both twenty-twos. (0.3) ye:h.

B: (0.3) although, (.) °(no I can't have it)°. .hh °Alex was going to sell one, to

B: (x x x x)° (.)   he can't have done it (an' it was like-), (.)
A: °(yeh)° (0.4)

A: yeh. so (insure) um (insure).   °(as well)°
B: yeh.   >and I was only really keeping

B: them both for sentimental reasons anyway=one-one because it was dad's

B: gun an' the other one because it was grand dad's gun. I mean granddad's

B: gun, (it's great that's a piece of) work. I mean it worked we_ll<. (0.4) it's a

B: bolt action with a magazine and stuff.   so (then) you could-you could
A: yeh.

B: feed a round into the chamber, one at a time, (.) on the bolt °if you did it

B: that way it'd be a pain in the ass.° .hhh
A: ye:h. (0.3) .hhh they're fairly groovy

A: guns.   ye::h. I remember you had one old
B: °o::h yeh.° (.) °the-° the bolt action?

A: gun down the farm. (0.4) that was probably your grandfather's.
B: ye:h it

B: would've been the one=that was the one that was wrapped in green canvas

B: in my bedroom. [.hhh   yeh. (0.4) hm
A: [yeh. it sort of had a nice rustic look to it.

B: it probably would've needed a good oiling an' whatever before it was fired.

B: .hhh (.)   although I dare say, Alex being the-, the money
A: °yeh.° (1.1) °hm.°

B: grabber that he is. .hh if the government started buying back he'd probably

B: sell them. (0.2)   [which'd be fair enought because-, hhh hh (0.2)
A: y[eh.   do you

A: know what they'll be planning to do after the government does buy back all

A: these guns? (1.1)   [that's what I
B: probably sell them to Afganistan or some[thing heh heh

B: .h h h   ] hhhh ye:h. na I mean I-I d<u>are</u> <u>say,</u> (0.7) I dare say somebody'll,
A: was thinking.]

B: °you know°, they'll be destroyed or dismantled or, .hh something like that but-

B: (.)
A: °ye:h.° but I mean I could see it be-coming a very expensive exercise.

A: (0.3)
B: <u>o::</u>h they were budgeting some enormous amount for it three hundred

B: million or- °.hh hhh°   ye[h.
A: ye:h. I suppose they've got to do something.   [at

A: least look like they're doing something.
B: for sure, sure. (0.9) .hh I think the

B: main areas of concern are Tasmania and Queensland=I think everyone

B: else's guns law, gun laws are really reasonably-, (0.7) wi=I'm not sure

B: about the semi-automatic thing ah. (0.4)
A: I can see it's use for um doing

A: things like the um the mass cullings of u:m (.) sort of introduced species

A: like um goats etc. °without sort of-° (.) um destroying natural habitats. (.)

B: .h[hh   ye:h.   ] yeh. (0.2) .hh hhh you know you could-, you could
A: [°the native fauna.°]

B: change the licensing system again so it's like you know, you can have an

B: extraordinary licence sort of thing=but ↑<u>a</u>t the moment in-in-in WA it is set

B: up well because-, (0.2) zeh I think there's already three or four categories

B: of licensing. (.) well there's a high calibre low calibre licence, (.)
A: °yeh.°

B: u::m (.) oh on the low calibre licence there's no restriction you can have.

B: >no I think it's three=I think the low calibre licence there's no restriction=

B: you can have a semi-automatic weapon.< (0.2) [if you want.
A: [°really.°   I didn't know

A: that semi-autoes were available in WA.   °<u>h</u>m.°
B: semi-automatic rifles yeh.

B: u:m (0.4) oh hunting rifles. (0.2) [u:m (0.4) that's yeh that's what Bob(by)
A: [ʰm°

B: Weiss was talking about the farm in Wagin (y'know). ye:h Alex just bought

B: one .hhhh hhhh
A: well to get you:r high calibre licence, do you have to have

A: your first one, um your low, calibre lice- um ri-, zeh rifle licence first?

B: ((yawns)) I'm not sure. you jus' need a damn good reason for having one.

B: .hh u:m you need to be like a professional 'roo shooter o::r .hh (0.2)
A: °yeh.°

B: or no:, actually you're not going to get this. I think-, (0.7) I think you can

B: call yourself a recreational hunter of something big actually an'get-get a

B: high calibre rifle which is pretty-which is pretty wrong=I think, you should

B: actually prove like-, professionally need a-, [°(high calibre)° rifles for
A: y[e:h.

B: something.
A: yeh I think that they should be pretty damn discerning to, who

A: they give them out to.
B: yeh. .hh but I've-, I'm pretty sure there's a high

B: calibre class, something or other which means you can have a high calibre

B: semi-automatic, .hhh u:m, (.) or up to a certain-, (.) .hh I've->↑no I think

B: actually the biggest semi-automatic you can legally have in Aus-in WA

B: is-is a triple two.< .hh which is not nearly as big as-, you know like, (.)

B: the three oh six, semi-autoes an' stuff they have in-, .hhh Tas an'

B: Greenland. hih [hhh   .hhhh   =oh you can
A: [yeesh .   but that's some scary shit that is=

B: get bigger than that=they have like the um (0.2) ((clears throat)) the um,

B: zeh like forty-four calibre, (0.3) semi-auto rifles with like thirty shot clips,

B: that there's no mail order rackets. hhh heh .hhhh hhh
A: that's that's scary.

B: ye[h.
A: [it's almost as though Tasmania's sort of a tiny little America. or at least

A: sort of a tiny little down south.
B: yeh, yeh. .hh very much got that puritan,

B: (0.3) state happening, right-wing government.
A: ye:h. (0.3) oh it's the

A: conservatism, apart from anythings I think sort of-, (0.3) maybe that

A: becaus::e because there's sort of-, (0.2) some level of repression generally.

B: °eh°
A: .hh sort of emerges through people wanting to shoot very big guns.

A: (0.3)
B: yeh I mean °huh° .hhh it's a kind of a state that was founded on-on-,

B: (.) killing all the aboriginals' present. you know so they-they had that nice

B: big racist genocide thing going an' .hhhhh then heh over the last few years

B: they've established themselves as like-, (0.2) with their l::k-lack of

B: complete tolerance of gays an' .hhh [u::m an' minority groups in general
A: [yeh.

B: an',   an' then the gun law thing it's jus' yeh it's jus' all a little bit too
A: yeh.

B: Mississippi Burning really. .hh[h hh
A: [ye:h. yeh.

B: he's using an old MS1.   heh heh   M3.   [oh
A: yeh. hh   MS, M 3 actually.   seven[teen

A: years old, I] had to get=I used M3 on my-, my project. .hh [you know the-
B: no   ] heh heh   [well-

A: the-the shots with the er CIA agents? .hh at the outside the- hh with the

A: guns and drugs?   [that was on M]3.   [yeh.]
B: o:::h yeh [yeh yeh yeh.]   was it? [oh] yeh of course. and

B: you just put the numbers on it as well? the like the-the date and time and

B: shit?   [no:: should] have yeh.
A: no I didn't. [should have.]   but I-, I had to change it to nineteen

A: eighty seven, if I did. 'cos I [backdate it all.
B: [heh heh heh hhhh hhh hhh trying to get a

B: camera too. .hh try to convince the camera that it's actually nineteen eighty

B: seven. hh   heh heh [heh heh heh heh .hhh
A: oh I really just couldn't care.   [heh heh hhh hhh .hhh I just

A: had to shoot it.   but they're funky little cameras, °it just (spins)
B: oh yeh.

A: around.°   you've seen Allison's a cool camera? (.)
B: they're light. (0.6)   ay?

B: ye::h. [she showed it to me.]   and it-it takes little tapes like this.
A: [the one her parents bought] her.

B: it's this big.   [and you put it into: this-, carrier. (0.3) which goes zi
A: y-yeh. ye[h.

B: zi zi, .hh and then, you can put it into a normal video record.
A: but then em,

A: Edit Suite Six. (0.3) you can put in um, (0.3)   you can put those [little
B: .hh   [oh

B: yeh yeh.] the litt- [yeh. you got little (light in).]   .hh [ye:h.]
A: tapes in.]   [.hh (instant buttons   ] and little) button.   [an'

A: suppose] ↑I DON'T KNOW HOW 'COS like-, .hh does it bring up another

A: tape, carrier, do you think?
B: taped, o::h right. o:h two-. so: instead of having

B: the tape carrier, outside the video recorder, it has an inside built-in and just

B: brings it up. (0.8)   [and   you   set   the tape
A: yeh. yeh. like-, yeh. yeh. [yeh. so like you know you've

A: got-] you've got your big tape. you put it in.   [.hhh when you press the
B: in,]   ye[h.

A: button to, change the small tapes, or if it brings up, another little, carrier

A: inside the big tape carrier put it in. .hhh
B: probably. I don't know. (who will

B: this be.) yeh it's pretty funky little (letters for inside.)   you can do
A: yeh.

B: anything. heh hhh .hhh except for slow motion. .hh yeh if you want to do

B: slow motion, Edit Suite Six, (0.2) goes jump jump jump jump.   [Edit
A: na [Edit

A: Suite-,] Edit Suite Six doesn't jump.   [no-
B: Suite-]   o:[:h maybe it's Edit Suite Seven

B: the[n.   [one-, one of them jumps.] and one of them doesn't↑. .hhh and I
A: [Edit [Suite   Seven   jumps.]

B: did half of-, like nearly all of my-, video, .hhh on Edit Suite-, (0.3) the

B: good one, Edit Suite [s-   ] Seven,   and then, for that last shot, where
A: [>yeh.<]   >yeh.<

B: he's jumping off the cliff↑,   I had to change, 'cos somebody else came
A: yeh.

B: in↑.   and of course it fucked up the whole thing. jump jump jump jump.
A: yeh.

A: ye:h that Edit Suite Six is my favorite.   [I-
B: ye::h heh [personal fave. hhh heh

B: [heh
A: [oh yeh. you-, you do. you know, I used to be-, .hh everything I used to do,

A: it went back, an' second year was Edit Suite-, Three.
B: Three yeh. Three was

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B: the only one to go to.
A:                              you said it was Edit Suite Four? (0.2) they've

A: champed down from Cleely.                        it's like fully SVHS
B:                              >what do you mean?<

A: now.          [.hh hh           no. li[ke  Three.] but not-, (0.3) it's
B:        joking, [like Six and Seven.     [like Three.]

A: different to Three.                     yeh. different machines. and it's
B:                       it's different machine.

A: sort of hu[ge panel, .hh with wires going into everything. patch wires it's-
B:            [°(we-)°

B: you're joking.     [o::h no:: heh heh [hhh
A:                it's to[o- hhh          [as it's got like a tiny little edit

A: control thing. it's like about that big. .hh
B:                                      an'-, o::h right yeh. 'cos it-I'm,

B: do you see the Frontline documentary?     it's got like a-, for its computer
A:                                      yeh.

B: editting thing↑,       it's just got this tiny little control panel.=
A:                >yeh.<                               =>yeh I'm

A: going to get one of them for my computer.<    [they're like-]
B:                                        a:::[:h    of  ] course the new

B: computer you can ye:h.
A:                       they're like-, seven hundred dollars for a good

A: one↑. and it's like a card you put it in the back. (0.4) [but it-, like for a-,
B:                                                    [and you-, and you

B: get little control.]
A: for  a    twelve] hundred you can get one that actually-, edits onto:, digitises

A: your-, images. and then, .hh edits back. but of course you get digitised

A: i[mages from the screen so that's no use.] .hhh hh          =but like
B: [y e : h    exactly,   comes   up   pre]tty chunky, doesn't it?=

A: this one, you can use it on (offline) Edit Suite. you just-, get all your

A: images on the computer. (0.2) .hh edit them,    and it retains them on the
B:                                            ay.
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A: computer. you need fuck loads of memory.   and then
B: ye:h. I can imagine.

A: um, it re-retains all the title codes when you edits↑.   [and you just take
B: hh [hah hah hah hah

B: hah .hhh   o::h ye:h.
A: the disk, go down online edit suite↑,   (grill) your tapes in↑, (0.3)

A: [buhh and it'll just edit it for you.]
B: [yeh excellent. edit through (ban]k). yeh. 'cos yeh. it will just be a memory

B: thing, you just sit there, watch it edit a::ll together.
A: .hh so that will be a

A: cheap-, (0.3) way to start getting production company happening↑.
B: yeh.

B: 'cos it'll only take-, you wouldn't have to hire much edit time↑. because

B: it'll only take, an hour maybe. to edit your own little-, [thing together.=
A: [>yeh.<

B: 'cos you just go bang do it now. it'll [go   quickly   through.   ]
A: [well you've got your whole] offline

A: editting. [and it's-]
B: [yeh   ]xactly. you do all your main stuff, in your own home, no

B: cost.   yeh.=   exactly.
A: the price just comes in hiring in the gear↑.   =the crew.

A: like, (0.4) you could do it, I suppose.
B: that's the only way that we're going

B: to get jobs I think.   [won't be
A: how much is a ns-MS4 cost I wonder. (0.3) [around six

A: grand   or-]
B: that much. yeh.] six grand, something like that. it'd have to be, if you want

B: to start off your own production company it'd have to be-, loaning from the

B: bank first.   and then-,
A: >yeh.<   .hh it need hh (0.5) hh I reckon about, fifty or

A: [sixty grand.]   .hh [and you have to find a little
B: [fifty   thou]sand dollars, yeh. exactly.   [(hm)

A: market.
B: yeh exactly what were you gonna-, what are you gonna produce.

B: local ads, I mean. they're easy enough↑. look at Craft Decor. [we can do
A: [hhh hhh

B: that kind of shit heh heh heh hh .hh
A: no I wouldn't mind-, going to-, (0.3)

A: strengthen television skill,   =has it getting it, [credit with edit]ting,
B: °ye:h.°=   [°going to do.°]

A: [.hh I reckon if someone get it like-, .hh you hear-you hear of all this like
B: [yeh.

A: first time directors=but you never see them again↑.   ['I just want
B: yeh exact[ly.

A: to° first time direct a great movie, [but-,   [let's go.]
B: [let's go heh [heh and then] nothing.

A: ((clears throat)) then nothing after that. [.hhh
B: ['cos you can add, what-, add um

B: this college o[ver there↑. you can do, (.) specializing in video editting. o:r
A: [hhh

B: film editting or something [like that.]
A: [.hh yeh.] well Australian Film Television

A: school, you can do your degree in-, producing, directing, editting, writing,

A: .hhh [a:::h   ] lots of stuff.   [cinemato]-
B: shi[:t, that's good.]   the whole, the whole school [exists.   ]

A: graphy.   yeh. I think I'd
B: ye:h cinematography, that's what I would choose.

A: choose, (.) editting and cinemaphotography.
B: yeh. (.) for sure. .hh I-I could-, I

B: don't think-, I-, have enough, (0.4) u::m I don't know I couldn't do directing.

B: [which is °(very) different.°]
A: [but yeh.   if   you-   ] if you did directing like-, (0.3) you direct your first

A: film, (0.2) and then you might-that might be it. for [your whole career.
B: [yeh.

B: e[xactly.   ]   [then
A: [whereas,] if you make your name, in editting or cinematography, [.hhh

B: you always got-,   [and then you make
A: you make your name in that, and then [you can go up to

A: up to directing.]   [and years like-, you ac]tually you work on crews, so
B: your   own   fil]m yeh. [hh heh °use that fame.°]

A: you know, how it all works.   [but-   [yeh.   ] I reckon that
B: yeh. [that's a good idea ac[tually.]

A: I might do that 'cos like-, I-, (.) I don't want to just waste three years [here.
B: [°eh,°

B: exactly. .hh 'cos yeh. (0.3) e::r wasting if-if-, if you just do three years

B: here you know, you're going to get out of there, an' you just gonna go.

B: hm. (.) okay, (0.2)   [wasted three years.   [(have-)
A: .hh what I do no[w.   yeh heh .hh [back to

A: McDonald's to work.
B: heh heh heh heh hhh .hhh ey McDonald's is not a bad

B: job hhh heh [heh heh .hhh oh wouldn't that be ss, knowing that sucked=did
A: [hhh .hh .hh

B: you ever work with McDonald's?   [Pizza delivery,
A: A::H, NA-, I DID, [hh

A: Pizza delivery [for Silvos man. .hhh [A:ND-]   I actually had two Piz-
B: [heh heh heh heh .hhh [o:h   ] no.

A: two Pizza careers in my life so [far.   [lots of realism free for-]
B: [heh heh heh [((it's very-), I heard about

B: your] at your twenty first they stood hhh, they stood up and said, how many

B: pizza jobs you had. [.hhh you worked at, Gosne:ls, I could name the
A: [hhh °heh heh hhh°

B: suburbs you worked at.   .hh you know the whole of Perth
A: yeh. oh yeh.

B: street directory off by heart.
A: I do. literally yeh. the only bit I don't know

A: is the northern suburbs an'-   =the southern suburbs like-,
B: yeh.=   apart from

B: those? [heh heh heh heh heh hhh   any-, or what you mean,
A: [yeh. the rest hhh I can drive anywhere.

B: you can=don't know about, (.) fuck an' Joondalup, [I reckon.]
A: [ye:h I've-] I've been to

A: Joondalup once in my entire life.   I, it is gr<u>ea</u>t up there, it's <u>so</u>
B: <u>y</u>eh. me too.

A: nice.   it <u>is</u> subur[bian, b<u>u</u>t-, it's I-I could
B: it's like-, it's suburbia though.   [.hhh hm. .hh

A: not live up there, b[ut it's-I-<u>I</u> thought it would just be a hovel really.
B: [hm.   and

B: it's actually built.   [the only] time I went up there, (.)
A: and it's actually built [nice an'-]

B: was on the train↑, when they first opened the northern suburb rail[ways,
A: [yeh.

B: .hh we-, like we are on-, we're in town or something. Christie goes, let's go

B: to Joondalup. see what's like. and it was just sand there.   just sand
A: <u>h</u>m.

B: everywhere.   °ehh° you hear
A: I went there about a month and a half ago. (0.4)

B: about people-, I was starting to meet people they're actually living in

B: Joondalup now↑.   [it-it used to-, used to like, say, who lives in
A: y<u>e::</u>h, [I-

B: Joondalup, nobody-,   and you run into people that say, <u>y</u>e:h. my
A: uh huh.

B: mate lives up in Joondalup. (.) [oh wow heh heh heh [.hh   you l<u>i</u>ve
A: [hhh   [heh hhh

B: th<u>ere</u> heh heh heh [hh   hhh °ehh.°
A: [it's scary mate.   now I can live in mountains.

B: yeh. for sure. mountains.   [north. Subi hih hih <u>y</u>eh hh
A: 'cos I've lived in-, [S<u>u</u>bi.

A: Swanborne, yep. °.hh[h hhh°   yeh. °(I [had to-)°]
B: [<u>y</u>e:h. anywhere round there.   [sunburn-]

B: .h ↑Calvin's parents are living in Argentina for three years at the end of this

B: year.   [ye::h heh heh so::, they leave Australia↑. they leave the
A: Argentina::[:

B: house. they're not selling the house. (0.3)   [Calvin's
A: Calvin's living in the hou[se?

B: living in the house by himself. (0.2)   [heh heh heh heh heh hhh .hhh
A: AHA[::

B: I've got my game-play all worked out↑. heh heh hh .hh   hih heh
A: resident.

B: heh heh heh   heh heh hh .hh [heh heh hhh .hh it's
A: resident of the projects.   [hhh .hhh

B: going to turn into the projects .hhh [heh heh hh but it is my (phobia).
A: [heh hhh hhh .hhh   heh

A: heh heh come on, no homie talk.   [hhh heh heh heh hh
B: hh heh heh heh hh [.hh o::h no:: heh hhh

A: hh .hhh a:nd THAT'S THAT'S set. that's set. [you got a place, [I need to
B: [hm.   [yeh.

B: exactly.]
A: get out.] I mean I can't handle (any of your problems) anymore. I just have

A: get drived for everything anyway.   .hh no just don't-, I-can't
B: °Kalamunda.°

A: see a little way of getting out↑.   pardon?
B: did your parents buy you the car?

B: did you [buy it par-] yeh.
A: [ye:h.   ]   most of it=it's actually under my dad's name.

B: if I:, lived in Kalamunda, my parents wouldn't-, (.) like-, don't-, (.)

B: wouldn't say buy-I'll buy you a car↑. [so I'll have to fuck the rest of my
A: [>hm.<

B: life.   [°yeh. ° so I couldn't-]
A: .hh they, they basically had to. ['cos they couldn't handle.] and like-,

A: they gave-they got me the Panel van. (0.3) because, that way I can-, sleep,

A: [in the back without having to try to] worry about getting home to
B: [ye:h °(it   had)°   exactly.   ]

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A: Kalamunda. [.hhh but it's <u>actually</u>, it's b<u>a</u>sically my dad's car, it's not my
B: [°hm.°

A: car.   [in the long] run.   [so-   yeh=
B: yeh. [what-   ]   a:h yeh. .<u>hh</u> [that's like Chris, see his car?   =

B: it's totally sh-shoddy now. [even from dri-driving up, and down from
A: [>eh.<

B: Darlington.   his car, .hh when he bought it, it was like-, just
A: <u>y</u>eh. (0.2)

B: normal Laser↑. [and they're pretty nice cars right the eighties cars.   .hh
A: [<u>y</u>eh.   <u>y</u>eh.

B: it's just gone to the-, dogs. it's completely-it's got rust everywhere, it's

B: <u>sh</u>oddy, the wheels have, [<u>fu</u>ck   °hm.°
A: [<u>ye:</u>h I've got to do some work on mine.

B: [just from driving up and down all the time.   [°hm.°
A: [.hhh   yeh. [am I-as if you ever wash

A: it. [hhh hhh   [hhh hhh
B: [heh heh heh heh heh .hh my last wash, what's that, [heh hhh hhh hhh I

B: still have to get my first car. I even haven't had a car yet.
A: my mate at Mumei

A: who is twenty one, doesn't even have a licence yet. (.)   =his girlfriend
B: serious=

A: just drives him everywhere.   [and mate, she's got
B: hoh hoh hoh hoh hoh hhh [.hhh

A: it set. ((clears throat)) her dad made it big in fertilizing↑.   [like-, (I s-
B: yeh? [heh

A: put a swear,)] he made it big in shit. heh hhh .hhh he's a m<u>ul</u>timillionnaire.
B: fertilizing shit.] hhh heh heh heh heh heh hhh .hhh

A: I think we should talk about this, a:h .hhh television violence, and whether

A: or not you think it has influence on society.
B: oh I reckon hell yeh it does.

A: ye͟:h?   I think it er desensitises people a lot.
B: yeh. (0.3) I reckon it does.   yeh.

A: but I don't think it makes people go out and kill people.
B: no I think you

B: have to be-, like-, at the very-, (0.2) base of your personalities psychotic to

B: do that.   [yeh]
A: ye:h it's like kids who commit suicide after hearing a song [you

A: know.]   [I'm sure the song] could be about suicide, but=
B: exactly. it doesn't happen [to normal people.]   =

B: you could be the most depressing in the world. you could feel like cra:p

B: but-, you have to be like suicidal persona[lity.]   ye:h.
A: [ye:h.] a bit of an idiot.

A: to be doing it.
B: exactly. (0.2) .hh as there, (.) that's like the whole thing um

B: the whole censureship thing. °everyone° else gets really up tight about it.

B: °.hh° 'cos they think °that he-° he can't censure it but-, .hh I mean I think

B: it's u:m, there should be some limit [(   )] or something, you know.
A: [(((coughs))]

B: (0.3) I mean like you-, you w-you would remember like the first time you

B: ever sa:w, like someone get shot on TV. or not like-just like kuhhh but

B: like full on you know like the proper big thing. I remember,   seeing
A: °hm.°

B: thi[s picture film when I was about eight. when all those guys] chopping
A: [(((coughs))   ]

B: each other in the face an' this blood coming out=↑I thought it was really

B: cool but-, [you know,] the first thing you do is you go home and
A: [ye:h.   ]

B: immediately chop your brother in the face or something [hhh heh heh
A: [hhh hh .hhh

B: .hhh not like-, to hurt him but-, (0.2) you °jus'° think it's wicked.
A: but like-,

A: (.) kids, I don't °think° kids would see violence [as like-, .hh they] see it
B: [yeh. as er-, °as-°]

A: as violence but it's not really real to them↑.   [you know.]
B: yeh. [it's   ] more like um

B: 'cos it's on TV. it's like-it's like er, Daffy Duckling eating dina[mite] or
A: [yeh.]

B: some[thing.   hn.
A: [yeh exactly.   °it's like° showing families where no one gives a

A: shit about each other and that↑.   that can be more disturbing to a
B: yeh.

A: [ki:d   ] like Rambo, an' [they (blow) about fifty [people.]
B: [exactly.]   [huh huh huh hhh   [it's jus'-,] it's just s-stupid,

B: you know=   some guy jumps out of a helicopter an' just like blows up a,
A: =yeh.

B: you know, a Southeast Asian jungle full of-, (.) you know, little viet-cong

B: guys or something. °an'° they-they're not-, that's not going to affect them

B: as much as seeing some screw-ball on TV. (.) you know. like abusing his

B: children or [°something°.]
A: [yeh.   ] yeh. for <u>sure</u>. that's like that-, Tasmanian,

A: massacre thing [like-, (.) that guy apparently got into those Chucky, (.)
B: [yeh

A: [films those horror movie ones↑.]   [yeh, it's like] you can't
B: [yeh. exactly. the little-   ] (.) with a knife [or something.]

A: blame the TV for that. that guy's obviously a freak.   [you know↑.=
B: ye[h.   =I mean

B: he chose to watch those videos that was like his own select, viewing

B: normal people don't go out and just get [all violent films you know.] [like-,
A: [((coughs))   ] [yeh.

B: (.) I mean (everyone does), .hh like he watched u:m (.) tha:t (0.4) e:r

B: Nightmare on Elm Street, everyone else has seen those things, we haven't

B: [killed anyone. it's hundreds of [millions of people.=   you know. I
A: [yeh.   [yeh   =true.

B: mean we watched that an' we think it's a laugh, you know. Freddy Kruger,

B: sla[shing (all over the place). yes, inspirational. [(pull) you gun, you know.
A: [ye:h.   [heh hhhhh

B: (.) °yeh, it's a bit crap.°   do you reckon like-, they should, like I mean
A: hm.

B: have limits to violence on TV or anything, like do you reckon they can

B: pretty much show absolutely anything?
A: e::r (0.2) ↑I don't know. I think

A: television now:, like especially in Perth is so primitive, you [know. .hhh I
B: [yeh.

A: think e:r (0.3) like soo:n, with all the technology an' that, people'll be able

A: to choose how much violence [they want,] [an'- .hh 'cos like they're
B: [yeh.   ] ex[actly.

A: bringing out these new digital,   [video   discs↑.   ]
B: ye:[:h like they had them in um,] England.

B: those [animal like] scramble up the violence unless you had a decoder↑.
A: [yeh.   ]

A: ye:h. you ca[n-you can choose how much violence you want or,   how
B: [°yeh.°   yeh.

A: much sex [scenes you want] or that.   and that'll leave it up to personal
B: [(anyone-)   ]   yeh.

A: choice. [.hh but then again they're going to say, you know all the freaks
B: y[eh.

A: who want to-, watch all that whole violent ones and go out and kill people=

A: they're still going to have problems [with that, °or-°]
B: [yeh exactly.] I mean it's-, the whole

B: thing's a bit naive of people to think that-, (.) um (0.2) there's never ever

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B: such things like a history, violence in popular culture↑, like in books an'

B: stuff=I mean fairy tales for goodness' sake=they used to have like-, Red

B: Riding Hood. she got eaten an' her grandma got eaten=there's no such

B: thing as the woodcutter=the wolf just ate everyone an' that [the (whole)]
A: [ye:h.   ]

B: point, you know. °the° moral of the story don't go out in the woods [heh hh
A: [heh

A: heh hh   [.hhh   ye:h.
B: you [know.   °but-° (0.2) I mean it's stupid 'cos they get like

B: everyone thinks you know, (.) we should jus' totally sanitize television. but

B: I mean all that makes you then is that it doesn't-, (0.3) sort of I mean [it'll
A: [

A: ((coughs))   ] yeh.
B: make people sensitive to violence, but it makes them] naive as well.

B: you know↑. (0.2)
A: I think sensitive-, censorship in television's a big

A: problem.   'cos I mean, fair enough you can say a:h little kids shouldn't
B: yeh.

A: watch this person get murdered but then-, .hh who gets the final say

A: [in what you see, you know.]   ye:h.
B: [exactly   what-,   what   ] age determines what you're going to see.

B: °I mean°, by twelve everyone hasn't matured into these, fine examples of

B: humanity who can handle, you know. °.hh° oh yes murder, yes I learnt

B: about it in grade six. so I'm ready to handle this now.   I mean chances
A: ye:h.

B: are one day, mum's going to be out an' the kids gonna find the remote °an'°

B: see something on TV anyway=   yeh.
A: =oh for sure, it's unavoidable.   I don't

A: think it's-the problem's not in what the kids see on TV.   it's the
B: yeh.

A: problems in what's inside the kids' head [already↑.]
B: [°exactly.°] an' it's more to do

B: with how the parent would raise the kid in the first place. [°you know°.] I
A: [sure.   ]

B: mean if you got like generally speaking a happy family, you know, I mean,

B: everyone has their problems but-, (.) then you're not going to have a kid

B: that's going to be likely, if he comes from some family where, .hh his dad

B: was like an alcoholic an' threw-[threw him out of a window or something=
A: [ye:h.

B: he's going to be a little bit more messed up, I think.   you know. an'
A: for sure.

B: he will react more to something, (.) that's a lot less violent than a kid from

B: a good family, reacting to something-, a lot more violent °if y'know what I

B: mean.°°yeh.°   .   yeh. (0.2) and it's a big chance
A: yeh it's just a big excuse I think.

B: for all the Nazis to jump on the bandwagon, (.) ban practically anything,

B: from TV. ex[cept,] what they deem a[s-   =[moral (and new) or-]
A: [ye:h.]   [ye:h except=[and then you're getting]

A: into censorship agai[n an'- they don't like violence, but then what if they
B: [exactly.

A: don't like, some kind of religious campaign or [some kind of radical
B: [yeh.

A: viewpoint or [something then-,
B: [exactly.   they think it's a disruptive, morally e:r

B: you know, (.) and they think that-, it's going to destroy their, (.) the:, basic

B: elements of their society or something which is-, admirable °an'° must be

B: upheld. [it's a-yeh it's the same old thing. it's like you know, (.) they
A: y[eh.

B: think ah something-, (0.2) is just out now. (0.3) like pornography or, you

B: know, it's violent. or it's jus'-, going to screw some[body up, you know.]
A: [((coughs))   ]

B: 'cos they just feel threatened by it.   fair enough I mean, we channel
A: ye:h.

B: our personal opinions an'-, I mean each of us is gonna think something is,

B: like pretty disgusting or corrupt, and others of us will think it's normal. but

B: I think we should have-, like a least, (.) a limit of respect an' say fine. we're

B: going to [watch it, keep it to yourself, otherwise yeh. (.) and other people
A: [°hm.°

B: go yeh, you know. (.) [you can't do-]
A: [yeh   the] kids don't want-, if parents don't want

A: their kids to see violence, then don't let 'em watch it. [you know↑.
B: [heh heh hhh switch

B: the TV off for good[ness' sake 'cos you're the parents.
A: [ye:h.   talk to your kids.

B: ye[h   too many parents I think (get) bullied round by the little brats,
A: [y'know.

B: you know. ((immitation tone)) I get to watch TV whenever I [want.
A: [yeh. (0.3)

B: °an'° parents think they can't do anything about it, 'cos you know. (0.3)

B: we're a modern society. °an'° children need to be respected.
A: you know what

A: I think it is, I think um (.) zeh parents are a bit concerned, I think e[::r
B: [yeh.

A: their whole system, is completely fucking up at the moment↑.   an'
B: ye:h.

A: they're just scared. they don't know how to handle all this technology

A: you [know.   I'm so much for a generation gap war. (.) [at the moment.
B: [exactly.   [hhh huh hh

A: heh .hhh I think we need one. I think parents have lost touch.
B: ye:h. I don't

B: think it's just parents=I think it's er (0.2) but authority in general. [°you
A: [well

A: yeh.   ] but I mean, it's their system↑, [you know.   ye:h.
B: know.°]   h[m   they construct it.

A: it's their system in which we live an'-, (0.4) [if we don't like it then, it's all
B: [ye:h.

A: their fault.
B: yeh. (0.4) I mean what makes a kid, (0.2) who they are, by the

B: time they-, (.) I mean the-by the time-, they're about our age, you know↑.

A: su[re.
B: [it's their parents an' it's where they grew up an'-, (.) it's who said what

B: to them an'-, [did what to them when. (0.3) you know. (0.4)
A: [ye:h.   interesting

A: viewpoint. we're going to go to an ad break. [and we will be back after this
B: [hh huh heh hhh

A: commercial. heh heh hhh this is too wierd.
B: hhhh how long do we go on

B: for?   I have no idea.
A: u:m what time do we get in here?   ten thirty-fi:ve.

B: roughly?   that's not bad. [bit longer.
A: ye:h. that's now ten fifty. (0.5)   [°hm.°   okay let's

A: talk abou:t how you think educations will affect your futures.
B: my:, future,

B: a question really °you [know.°
A: [h::m. I think if the government has its way, (.) my

A: future will be determined by how much debt I owe.   [because I want
B: heh he[h hhh

A: to get education.
B: ye:h. (0.2) the whole reason why we are here an' not in

B: some gutter, (.) [you know, mas[terbating or something or-]
A: [hm.   [°we're°   here,   can't] get any money

A: from the government↑.   the dole gets more money, an' people sits on their
B: yeh.

A: arse all day,   an' we try an' study full time, [to   get   a   good
B: exactly.   [that's the damn, that's

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B: the] biggest damn irony. if you're not um, ready to commit yourself to full-
A: job↑,]

B: time work, you don't get the [dole (   )] unless you're like-, your mother's
A: [((coughs))]

B: a single parent or something or you live like in the country or something

B: stupid=the average peron, (.) gets jack shit.   =because I mean I had the
A: yeh.=

B: problem, .hh I wanted to, go to uni part time. and I want to work part time.

B: 'cos I wanted to earn my own money an' be able to pay for this myself, you

B: kno[w.   didn't want to have to like-, .hhh suck any money out of the
A: [yeh.

B: government. trouble is, .hh um, in waiting to get any kind of work, which

B: is-, there's precious little out there. [in a-, um, (.) they won't help you out at
A: h[m.

B: all. you know. [you're expected to-, .hh pay for university. (.) I mean they-
A: [yeh.

B: they want you to get education. an' they want you to work. but they won't

B: let you, try an' combine it↑. you either work. or you get [an education.]
A: [yeh.   yeh.] for

A: sure. see I've never been on the dole. [and I don't par[ticularly want to go
B: [yeh.   [°only-°,

A: [on the dole↑.]   .hh but, I mean and I-I would be happy with-, working
B: [no   way.] exactly.

A: like having a part time job and supporting myself. [.hh but then you know
B: [yeh.

A: fifty bucks a week rent assistance, (.) would do it, [for-, for-, hun]dreds of
B: [yeh exactly.]

A: people you [know.   [((coughs))]
B: [and it's not-not like [we're gonna get-, starving-starving↑. hell

B: I work] eight hours a week. I get seventy two dollars. I can't live on that.

B: you know.   I can't live on that by myself. so I mean I [have to] live out
A: yeh.   [sure.]

B: in Swanview. an', you know, take an [hour and a half (   ) to get
A: [((coughs))]

B: here,] which means I have to get up like six o'clock in the morning, to get

B: here in the morning=which is simply ri[diculous, °you know°. .hhh an' so
A: [ye:h.

B: like tonight completely, (.) destroy myself, I'm only going here part time.

B: you know. so it's jus'-, I mean it's [crap.
A: [yeh it jus' seems that they care, an'

A: support people who don't have a job.   more than they do people who are
B: hm.

A: [working,] to get an education, to get a good [job, you know.]
B: [that's right.]   [and it's-it's not] jus'

B: students, I mean it's all-it's the whole, thing like that. if you .hhh literally

B: are doing absolutely nothing an' you intend to do nothing, you'll be more

B: s-, generally you'll be supported better. than if you're like, you know trying

B: to e:r, be something in where you live you know. [trying to get a job.
A: [sure.

B: talk about what you think [education-,] hmm.   [I can't say anything
A: [boyish now,]   mmmm[mm

B: on there now.   °eh.°
A: eh you can say what you like. (0.2)   and they know it's

A: only you and me. (0.2) ['cos I can't go anywh[ere hhh   hhh (0.2)
B: [heh heh heh hhh   [and multimedia.

A: [(you-)   °no° course not.   [I'm a little bit
B: [no um, hh °no.°   but I need to go °(out[side)°

A: worried about Hazel? (0.3)   hm.
B: what do you mean? (0.2) she likes you.

A: (0.3) she wants me to be-, (.) God. (0.4)   [hhh hhh hhh .hh hell she
B: hhh hhh [hh hh .hh why.

A: does. as-, soon as you said something about the Saint. (0.3) straight away.

B: like a little guide dog.   [does she want to change you] or she want-,
A: yeh. [she   is   (choosy).]   na,

A: she wants to change me I think.   yeh. because, I've done the
B: convert you.

A: devil's work. °huh.° (.)   °yeh.° (0.2) and wreak terror.
B: hm Indian philosophy.

A: (0.2)   °mhm.°
B: yeh.   guess I'm really (stuck with her.) she's pretty hard line.

B: (0.3)   [I don't think] you can face the camera and speak.
A: she's full on? (0.2) [she want-]

A: I'm not facing it=   [a::h yeh if it puts you off.
B: =u:m [she-   she probably would-hang

B: on, we should probably face each other. ((moving chairs)) the art of

B: conversation.
A: I agree. totally. but in the cafe we got the table there to sit

A: next to.   [move your bag a bit.]   pardon?
B: mm. [be nice to have a beer] too.   have a chat over a beer.

B: (0.2)   [huh huh huh huh .hhh   [yeh for next
A: (yeh) heh heh heh [hah we better recommend it hey. [hhh

B: time I want ten bucks and a jug.   h[hhh
A: oh ten bucks and a jug.   [and then you

A: get some real conversation.   hm.=
B: true. ah, tw<u>o</u> jugs.   =start filming after the

B: first. [after the second.   [they're going ah hhh ah hhh
A: [heh hah hah hah hah hah .<u>hhhh</u> [hhh   h<u>e</u>h h<u>e</u>h

A: h<u>e</u>h h<u>e</u>h h<u>e</u>h .<u>hhhh</u> o:::h that stupid bloody bitch what's her name.
B: (0.3)

B: Sue?   hhh heh heh [hhh hh .hhh
A: Sue. I hate her. (0.2)   [I really do. I don't know what I'm

A: doin'.   hey?   why not?
B: I don't hate her.   I don't hate her.   (no, nothing to me,

B: my boy.) (0.5)   [heh heh hhh
A: hh [heh heh hh .<u>hhh</u> (you'll get the hard rib them off.)

A: hh[h h<u>a</u>h h<u>a</u>h .hhh so I gave it to her. heh heh heh [heh heh heh heh heh
B: [heh heh hh   [h<u>e</u>h h<u>e</u>h hh heh do it.

A: heh .<u>hhhh</u> heh heh ((farting noises)) [heh h<u>a</u>h h<u>a</u>h h<u>a</u>h .<u>hhhh</u> .<u>hhhh</u>   [( )]
B: [h<u>e</u>h h<u>e</u>h   oh [no]

B: that's [terrible.
A: [no that's terrible isn't it hey? twenty-five year old doing that. heh

A: [heh hah hah hah hah hah hah .<u>hhhh</u> o::h it's pretty bad. hm.   bad Ken
B: [heh heh hhh   hhm.

A: what a dick head.   hhh [°hm.°
B: hm. (.)   [especially after the hard work he did last

B: year. (0.3) just chucked it all [°in.°
A: [he did four weeks of hard work. that was it.

A: well two weeks of hard work.
B: hm that's all I did. (0.6) I suppose I turned

B: up a bit more=but he turned up heaps last year but not this se[mester.]
A: [hm.   ]

A: ↑na. (0.4) how many education lectures have you seen him in? ((whistles))

A: zippo.   hm.   hhhhhh
B: hm first one.   that's my bane too. education lectures.

A: [it goes too] long?
B: [especially-]   when they're on Monday morning, I never used to be

B: able to turn up after footy. (0.4)
A: oh well it'll be interesting to see when

A: they're on next semester. Thursday an' Friday again.   but we're
B: but um,

A: later, we're not earlier.   we go back to the two to three.
B: hm. (0.4)   that'll be

B: good. hhh   but what about the
A: two to three. instead of twelve to one.

B: education lecture on [Thursday?
A: [that's on-ah Thursday the same. °hh° nine to eleven.

A: or nine to ten=I think it's only an hour. (0.3)   [o::h.
B: the only thing I hate-hate [is

B: the early-early lecture on Friday. 'cos I got to work late. (0.5) [I've got to
A: [°hm.°

B: change that job. (0.4)
A: why do they have exams at six at night for. (0.4) was

A: it-I would go it after. 'cos I haven't got anything till next week.   [°hhh°
B: hm. [but

B: now-   [up to the Guinness. [or well you have to
A: unless you've got to work to [do.   [ye:::::h.]

B: go to work] straight.   no I'll get a night off.   can't afford another
A: ye::::s.   yeh.

B: day off.
A: but I mean, that means we would have finished, (0.6) social

A: studies. an', (0.2) education?   [then all we've got] is maths.
B: two half months. [most of it.]

A: the following, Wednesday.
B: social studies won't be too hard 'cos it's only

B: worth-, twenty percent. twenty-five percent. (0.4) [which   are   °x°   ]
A: [o::h we've already done]

A: some.　　　　　　　　　o::h it's thirty five.　　　　[no it's　forty.]
B:　　　thirty-five °for me.° (.)　　　　　　　thirty five, [↑thirty for us.]

A: (0.2)　　　　　　　　　　what's that assignment worth?
B:　　　no it's twenty-five and forty.　　　　　　　　twenty

B: f-oh that's worth forty.　[hm.　　　　　　　　it's twenty five.
A:　　　　　　　　　for[ty? the other one must be twenty.

A: twenty five?　　　　so the exam's only thirty five. (.)
B:　　　　think so.　　　　　　　　　　actually was it?

A: it was ten I think. (0.3)
B:　　　　　　　oh that's right. 'cos they changed every year. twenty

B: five to ten. we've had ten. spewing. no it's all right I fucked that up

B: anyway.
A:　　　　so it's fifty fifty percent of marks you get through here. now you

A: have the fifty percent for the-, exa:m. it's [fucking easy. (0.6) what's e:r,
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°hm.°

A: what are the five, things that'll be questioned. (0.6) uh　　　five
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　or themes,

A: themes.　　　　eh.　　['cos heaps-]
B:　　　a new talent?　.hhh [I reckon heaps of] it will be on the readings.

B: [you know I reckon heaps of it will be on the readings.
A: [hey?　　　　　　　　　　　　　((taps chair)) better

A: deal. (0.4) damn. °put it-°
B:　　　　　　　it's getting late and everything. so better hurry

B: up.　　　　　　　　　　°hm.°　　　I think that
A:　　well we've got-, three weeks. after, this week.　　hhh

B: week off's er n<u>o</u>t a fallacy.　　　　　　　='cos Jack-Jack's
A:　　　　　　I think it is. (0.6) I'm sure it is=

A:　　　　　　　Jack, (0.2) [Fluffy.　°hm.° (0.2) no I can't see
B: determined that that is.　　[°hm.° °hm.°

A: that. (0.4) see what happens.　　　　　　　　　　[it sucks.
B:　　　　　　　　so every er other uni does except us. [oh I hate

B: that.]　　　eh.
A:　　] ↑s<u>u</u>cks.　why should we an'-, .hh they-they °get-°, um, (0.5) public

A: holidays or what?   no=
B: no.   =we were the last uni that had public holidays.

B: (0.3) [even though we get Anzac day for it.   and so the
A: [so-   so we should.

B: Queen's birthday.   I think we do.
A: so we don't get-, Foundation day off. (.)

B: Foundation day and Anzac day. (0.3) Australia Day Australia days. [before
A: [gone,

B: uni starts.   ((clears throat)) (0.2) [but last year we got what. got them
A: gone.   [hmm.

B: all. when I was at Murdoch, we-, got-, two. and one of them was Queen's

B: Birthday. (.)   you are not allowed too much.
A: °hm.°   °yeh.° I got a um, (0.2) guy

A: come and see me about AFL Grand Final ticketsssss[ssssss.   don't
B: [how much?

A: know. he's coming Saturday. into the shop, to see me.   to see me. I
B: see you.

A: read his cards, and he's put an'-, give me his proposal.   .hhh hhhh
B: hm.

B: read a-, a very rich future and you won't need any money.   [heh hh
A: yeh. [a:nd,

A: [I want to-]   yeh. [that
B: [everyone's] keen and Andie's going, he's got frequent flyer so-,   [we

A: won't be a problem.]   [this   guy]'s organized it for the
B: just   have   ] Rebecca, Jack and me. [four days-]

A: last three years. [him and his friends. so he said, oh, just put together same
B: [>hm.<

A: sort of package. [but we have to join one of their clubs. (0.4) as a member, like
B: [°hm.°

A: Laurie, he was selling the stuff. [like-, like probably one unit. (0.2) and get
B: [hm.

A: tickets out of the bag °Fitzroy°. (0.4) Fitzroy won't be there.
B: we can save

B: them.   [ye:h
A: hhh hhh hhh .hhhh double the membership in one fucking go. [hah

A: hah hah hah hah hah hah hah hah hah .hhhhh e:h
B: six people heh heh heh   I can't wait I really like to

B: go see [it. I think it's time running out. to get some tickets for that↑. they
A: [°ah°

B: sell them pretty quick.   wouldn't mind a couple
A: oh no be all right. but still.

B: of ex-going for a couple of extra days.
A: no we'll see, each of the club. I̲'ll

A: go for a couple of extra-, [things, it depends on when the exams are.]
B: [hm. 'cos (it depends on where is the club.)]

A: (0.6) I think it-, fini it starts on the: end of exams↑.
B: is it after Prac? (0.6)

B: [what days have we got] a performan[ce, is that October?] (0.3) good. 'cos
A: [September,   ]   [October.   ]

B: otherwise we won't [°(be finishing Prac.)°]
A: [o̲ : : h   ] it is. we finish Prac that Friday. (0.3)

A: yeh? then we can fly out. (0.3) [then we'll have to stay the week after='cos
B: [°(most)°

A: you get the week after Prac, off. (0.5)   done deal.
B: done.   we can bum around. I

B: got some rellies where we can go up and stay, own a hotel.
A: .hh yeh, I got

A: friends over there too. runs Cash Converters over there.
B: °hm.° so we can

B: stay in the back of Cash Converters heh hah
A: ah Ferntree Gulley he lives in.

B: °hm?°   [oh Andie's got rellies over there] too.   so we'll be
A: nice area. (0.4) [(trench)   ]   eh?

B: able to bounce around for a while.   [he's been-]
A: cool. [it's only] a week. a week after.

A: (0.3) [just bum around. (0.5) and have the best parties. ohhhhh just get
B: [hm.

A: Mandy.   [waste ehh=
B: °(Mandy [who)°   = the only thing is I hope that's long enough

B: after the Grand Final for us. 'cos we are definitely going to be in it.
A: eh.

B: I mean no teams going to win ten games this °season°. (0.3)
A: oh you guys?

B: mm.   =yeh should be. about two
A: °fuck°. that should be after your Grand Final=

B: weeks after hopefully. but I mean, if we win, (0.3) it will be about six

B: months worth of parties so-, (0.4)
A: Kenwick haven't won for a long time eh?

B: yeh won-, last one was a Colts one. the one before that was League.
A: yeh.

B: and three rezzies before that↑.   actually the two rezzies
A: how long ago? (0.4)

B: were after. last one was ninety one. (0.3)   =as Colts
A: oh that wasn't too bad.=

B: won and the whole club, went off for about a month. so if the League and

B: the Rezzies win, which is, big chance.   be non stop.
A: big-big time.   mm. (0.3)

A: excellent.   oh Howard hhh you're animal.
B: ((farting noise))   conversation topic.

A: ye::h that's filthy.   [but I mean heh heh .hhhh that's the second one you
B: heh [heh hhh .hhh heh .hhh

A: done.   oh who did the other.   =ah
B: er that's the first one I done mate.   you=

A: bullshit.
B: hhhh I think the video is going to pick up that you go shall rip one

B: off.   [heh hhh
A: heh heh heh heh [heh .hhhh o::h well no way. u:::h ye:h. I was thinking

A: about that. ((taps chair (0.4))) two (before) girls and how they're-,

A: becoming plainer and plainer. I notice that.   [yeh.
B: part're the same. the sort [of

B: thing but well-,
A: yeh. (0.4) got children? (eh he jar er dis) (0.3) (your order

A: pio) (0.5) shouldn't try and talk Arabic eh?   not a real conversation. (0.3)
B: hm.

B: that's interesting when you're talking about that (anymore).
A: ay. (0.2)

A: probably some sort of a, (0.3) [coincidence.   [an omen.]
B: [hm.   omen. [an omen.] Arabs're

B: going to take the world o[ver.   [is it an Arabic becoming an
A: [eh. oh well [°fuck.°

B: (unArabic)?
A: e::r Maderina °(he got er)° Santeliez, it's Spanish eh? (0.4)

A: Santelian? Anagarda,   Diorca, that's-, Italian. (0.5) so
B: °couldn't choose it°

A: it's a mixture. probably er South American. (0.2)
B: probably, (.) Chile. (0.4)

A: they're all a bit mixed up, aren't they? Spanish and bloody Mexican an'-,

A: (0.3) or that [or-   [Portuguese. Spanish and Portuguese.   .hhh
B: [instance [hm.   °x x x°

A: and Portuguese're the first to get there weren't they. it's one thing I learnt

A: from social studies. (0.2)   on the-out of my
B: this year on your assignment,

A: assignment.   hm from your assignment.
B: I learned nothing.   er from culture

B: and values.
A: I learned that Marco Polo spent-, nineteen years in China.

B: hm. yeh that's right he bought spaghetti back.   pasta.
A: yeh. and,   Columbus

A: brought back-, (.) potatoes.   yeh. and-and cigarettes. never
B: hm. and coffee.

A: had cigarettes before then.   tobacco.   °mh̲[m.°
B: tobacco.   mm. (0.5)   [so he was

B: responsible for coffee and tobacco?
A: yeh all the worst bloody fuckin'-, (0.2)

A: diseases that,   social drugs. apart from alcohol. which they
B: social drugs.

A: probably already had any[way.   °ye:h° filthy pricks. (0.7) what
B: [ye::h. among tribes.

A: a time. you know his ship wasn't very big. (0.5)   Columbus's.
B: who hh.   how

B: big [was it?   hm.
A: [something like fifteen metres long by six metres wide.   can you

A: imagine travelling around the world in that?
B: zeh do you know what I find.

A: you are off the subject here. heh heh heh hh .hhh

B: oh we don't have to-you

B: don't have to talk a[bout] that, you just [need a normal conver[sation.

A: [yeh.] [yeh. [oh that rally

A: for HECS. ye[h, na. °na°. but that's peaceful now.

B: [yeh. yeh I don't get-I mean

B: it's-it's, you know, it's an extra bloody, (.) you know, (0.2) two cents a

B: week or some-, it's something ridiculous like that, it's nothing at all. and,

A: what-, is that what they're doing.

B: yeh they're just increasing HECS. if you

B: don't pay up front. I think if you don't pay up front, they doing um, .hh you

B: pay more, you pay interest on your HECS↑. [no. (

A: yeh you do anyway. .hh [I think

A: that <u>when-when-when</u> they're doing, they're say]ing you get a reduction

B:) you paying the same amount.]

A: like, a big reduction if you pay up fr[ont↑. [but that's the-,

B: [if you pay up front, [yeh.

A: what-what I mean what's that-, the government makes money of HECS

A: anyway. they-they make money off fucking, .hhh what would you say,

A: .hh[h [sorry it's not in the conversation.

B: [((I owed about three hundred↑.) .hh [heh heh heh heh heh .hhhh .hhh hh

B: .hh [hhhh

A: they-they make money off u:m, (0.2) [you know people going, (0.2) like

A: all those first years you'd think, like how many first years drop out, [in the

B: [hm

A: first year, [.hhh and like how much money do they] make off those,

B: °yeh,° [°and they make heaps of money out of that°.]

B: ye[h. [well I'm with you.]

A: [people and that-↑<u>they</u> still have to pay that HECS [like <u>my</u> <u>mate</u>], .hhh

A: he-he's-he was at uni for three years and he started working. .hh like an' (.)

B: hhh hhh

A: he got a letter in the mail, saying oh you owe this amount of HECS. you

A: have to start paying. .hh and like-, he wasn't earning um (0.2) .hhh like-,

A: (0.2) you-he didn't have-, like-, on his base of say you know he's earning

A: this much per month.   like 'cos he's doing like all these jobs at <u>once</u>, on
B: hm.

A: that base of that much per <u>month</u>. he started having to pay his HECS back.

A: but he-he wasn't actually getting over twenty seven a year, if you know

A: what I mean↑.   and like they just do that. .hh but um, yeh.
B: ·   yeh. (.)   what's

B: the-, how much is it a ye-a semester anyway? or a[bout.
A: [oh it's twenty five

A: hundred a year. (0.4) aproxi[mately. .hh so I mean er .hhh <u>but</u> then again
B: [yeh.

A: that's-, I mean it's pretty optional=you don't have-if you don't get, get a

A: job in Australia, you don't have to pay it↑. [(it's about)   =.hh they pro-
B: h[m   hm=

A: they'll probably change that too. °probably [just,° yeh I mean, (0.4) fair
B: [yeh.

A: enough like everyone should have the right to an education, but I think you

A: should still like-, .hh (0.2) have to pay your HECS. [°x.° .hh ↑<u>even</u> though
B: [hm.

A: you like-, then again, you's, I often wonder where it all goes to like-,
B: e:h.

A: like some lecturers can't be bothered photocopying stuff or, u:m (0.2) what

A: would you say, (0.5) they sort of don't really, (0.6) like you know, don't

A: use too much of this or don't use too much of that [and you're saying well
B: [hm.

A: where-where is all my HECS money going. [you know,] obviously it's into
B: [hm.   ]

A: the lecturing but, .hhh
B: na yeh but the resources as well I mean. .hh .hh

B: (0.2) you know, they-they do provide a good education here.   =and the
A: hm=

B: thing is I mean, if you want to learn, they'll be there, to teach you. °you

B: [know.° it's I mean, [if you want to learn.]
A: [yeh   [and   if   we   paid] so much HECS, why can't we go

A: to our library, .hh an' especially for science, and go and you get a book, and

A: there's just nothing there.   [if   I've   got   to   go,
B: ye::h, yeh but [they'll get the new- they'll get the

B: new   ] library started, a:nd .hh if you-if you think a lot of your-, yeh well like
A: ↑I've-]

B: I said yesterday, a lot of the u:m, (.)the lectures and the outline stuff are

B: [on um are on CD ROM, I mean, that's high-that's pretty good technology
A: [((coughs))

B: you know.   [((clears throat))
A: .hh [yeh.   but um, jus' if you want to like-, every

A: assignment I've done here, to do a science really, .hh to do it properly, I

A: haven't been able to, do it at this uni. like-, [.hh I mean especially ECU,
B: [hm.

A: like you know, (0.2) my example for the James model of my assignment,

A: this is educational, (.) institution=   =basically it tea-, .hh teaches [people
B: =yeh=   [yeh.

B: and you couldn't find that] much ey.
A: education.   ]   and there was not one book in this

A: library on, what I needed for education, and but actually, Curtin had a

A: [journal] article [but, .hh I could have gone and got from there. [like-
B: [yeh.   ]   [yeh.   [yeh. yeh

B: I found that other unis had more information on education than we did here.

A: yeh [and we're meant to have the best] repu yeh, .hhh like-,   [I-I'd
B: [jus'   °(what)°   ]   well we [were

B: teachers',   teachers'   college.   ]
A: say it's probably something to do with government] funding. .hh but

A: there's a certain amount has to do with the university, ˚I [mean˚.
B: [but we're also

B: getting a bit of government funding ˚if we get the [new   library˚
A: [˚that's why-but˚ they're

A: cutting it.]   [they're going to cut,] um, education.
B: started.   ] .hh what are they doing-, [are you going to say-]

A: the education budget. it was on um, the news the other [night.
B: [yeh that's what the

B: rally was for as well.   [but that's not
A: hm. but I don't know if that-, um [includes the

A: university or   not.]   no we'll be out of there by the
B: gonna-that's not gonna] affect us, anyway.

A: time they [do it anyway. hopefully heh .hh ye[:h.
B: [˚yeh.˚   [˚yeh.˚ I don't know. hhh .hh

B: what are they doing up outside the uni there anyway? you know they're

B: doing stuff over the other side↑. you know where the::, drama or the arts

B: section is? (0.5)   ˚er er
A: um, no I haven't seen that. I don't go over there.

B: I don't know.˚
A: I noticed they've dug up all those holes there in um,

B: ˚ye[h˚   what do you think about that second one?
A: [outside the science building.

A: television violence. [but a-   [U::M
B: [yeh what do you reckon [its significant influence or

A: .hh well [I was talking to my parents about that, and they reckon, (.) there's
B: [((clear throat))

A: no need for all the gore and stuff like-, .hh no, like they reckon, they were

A: going on about how it does have an influence on society and I said well,

A: not really 'cos you think about all the old cowboys an' Indians an' war

A: movies, [they still shot each other and kill people.=
B: [hm   =>yeh but they said

B: [the-< ((clears throat))]
A: [but they said like], people jus' used to, you never saw it, you know, if

A: someone got shot from a distance, and they would fall over but you never

A: saw all the blood and guts and [gore of it all. .hhh but u:m (0.3)
B: [yeh   from the

B: same point as her saying, there's no need to see it, there's, no need [not to
A: [I think

A: it-I think it's] more up to the um, the parents to really, like-, you know, .hh
B: see it an'-]

A: tell their kids that it's not real like they really have to, .hh accept that it's

A: fiction. like, they should really explain to the kids, because it's obviously,

A: .hh you know, whether the kid or not starts getting violent, .hh from

A: watching television. it's the parent who really, [should be controlling that
B: [yeh.

A: [factor.   [I never got violent and I saw
B: [°yeh° °I think it's the parental influence [(as well).°

A: heaps of-, [horror movies and stuff on tele.] .hh oh fair enough I used to
B: [ye:h. (it's up   to you.)]

A: play, you know little army games and stuff as a kid [like but, .hh it's not
B: [°yeh°

A: all, serious and you don't actually get violent=it's all mucking round but,

A: .hh u::m I think it does have an influence on society but I think, .hh like

A: now, 'cos you got the second generation of, sort of television kids, coming

A: in like you know,   just now like-, everyone's brought up in front of the
B: yeh.

A: tele like you [know, everyone eats dinner in front of the tele=it's all like,
B: [yeh.

A: you know it's really, .hh it's [like a drug you know [sort of.
B: [yeh   [but I don't agree, I

B: don't agree with who wou-. I mean <u>why</u> isn't wasn't this issue raised, and

B: this issue has ra-been raised in the last week or two obviously after the-,

B: (0.2) the [Port Arthur massa[cre.   [it's stupid that
A: [°hm.°   [oh but they've-they've-=it [has been raised

A: before-]
B: it takes] yeh I know before but it's stupid that it takes a-, .hh you know, an

B: occurrence like that, to make people realise, .hh and then they, you know,

B: in the end it's really just a:, publicity, (0.2) [thing. ( )]
A: [oh   it   <u>is</u>]-it's the government,

A: they basically try and keep the public happy. .hh like they try an', look for

A: every reason in the book they can=why this guy might have done it. an' the

A: fact that he did it was because he wasn't brought up properly [like-, he
B: [yeh.

A: wasn't brought up to realise the difference between right an' wrong.

A: .hh[h like if he did, like if he, did have any, sort of .hh morals or you know,
B: [yeh.

A: you-you implant a certain way of thinking on [your kids. .hh like and if he-
B: [hm.

A: he w<u>a</u>s thinking straight, then he would've really rationalised and said you

A: know this is wrong [I shouldn't do this.]   like so, it really is up to the
B: [it   shouldn't   be] that, yeh.

A: parents to-, teach their children the right values, [you know from an early
B: [hm.

A: age they can't, .hhh you know, then you've got all this bureaucratical

A: stuff. psychologists and stuff.   [saying the best ways to do it
B: ↑wasn't W[A-

A: but-, .hh really you know like most psychologists have all these theories

A: but don't have kids themselves you [know like. .hh   [like it's
B: [yeh.   yeh I know. [yeh but

B: half   ] that-half that you know, psychology, .hh um stuff you know, has been
A: crazy.]

B: like Freud and that have been just disproved, out of-out of sight you know.

A: .hh yeh. I mean, basically, °huh° there's human nature an', human nature's

A: like, .hhh they try and document human nature. like in psychology an' say,

A: .hh you know there's a specific case for every[thing. .hh when they really
B: [yeh.   that's   right

B: yeh.]
A: can't,] because, you know basically, .hh human nature's a feeling.

A: everyone's different=so how can you, categorise people into, being this or

A: [that. like, you just have to say and accept.   [they're a product of their,]
B: [hm   yeh. [you   can't   °advise-°]

A: you know, they're a product of their environment, [and their, you know
B: [°hm°

A: experiences an', .hh that's what's shaped [them. so if you give them the
B: [and   every   envir-every

B: environment's different.]   °(y)eh°
A: right   experiences   ], you'll shape them the right way.   like,

A: obviously, .hh if you give them that television violence an' don't, tell them

A: it's wrong an' don't tell them it's just make believe and that you shouldn't

A: really do that, .hh they're gonna grow up, getting those values. [an' you
B: [(y)eh

A: know. it's like crazy. .hh   [but um yeh. .hhh [um you I think about] the
B: hhh [°huh°   [yeh   why   um-]

A: [gun laws like, yeh, they're [trying to keep people happy, like-
B: [why-   [why-   Pat's um sister

B: went over her, boyfriend moved over to um, (.) Tasmania (0.4) for a-for a job,

B: and he went to Port Arthur an' .hhh Pat's sister went over to um, see him↑.

B: and, she said oh you can walk through, (.) Port Arthur, (.) for an hour and

B: not see anyone↑. it's just like a ghost town, she said.   so I mean, but-,
A: yeh.

B: [it's   pretty   sca]ry because thirty people, .hh yeh well thirty three or
A: [but if you think-]

B: whatever it was and they-, in a <u>small</u> town like that, you [know, you go to a]
A: [thirty-five.   ]

B: country to:wn, [.hh you go to a country town, everyone knows everyone.
A: [yeh.

B: an' it would have been like that you know. [imagine-imagine, (0.2)
A: [<u>y</u>eh.

B: knowing [thirty, thirty-five of your-, friends of yours,]   [of-
A: [having-, thirty people knocked out of the po]pulation [like and

A: tourists but-, .h[h
B: [well imagine having thirty-five of your friends die on one

B: day. I mean,
A: yeh. I mean everyone an' then again you got the issue of the

A: death penalty=I think like if you-, get a gun license out or getting-have to

A: get a gun license=I reckon you should sign a contract, .hhh to sa::y um, zeh

A: like-, okay I accept I'm, taking on the responsibility [of a gun=if this gun is
B: [yeh

A: involved in any way .hhh with me, .h in relation to a murder, then I accept

A: that I will be um exposed to the death penalty.   but then again the
B: mm yeh.

A: guy who had the guns, they're trying to, get rid of semi automatic weapons.

A: .hh but that guy who had the guns like, fuckin', ↑<u>two</u> of them or someth-

A: [were illegal any[way. it's not going to stop, .hh the government's cre[ating
B: [yeh.   [yeh.   [oh

B: you can <u>still</u>] get them, the government create these-
A: like   ]   their own black

A: marke[ts by banning them.]   [<u>y</u>eh.
B: [ye:h,   hey   took-,] yeh, [and they make it look like they're doing

B: something but, [.hh what they're doing] is increasing the black market and
A: [but they're not really-]

B: it gets worse [you know↑.]   [huh .hh
A: [an'   ] making us pay an extra seventy [dollars on our

A: medicare levy.   well I don't want to pay seven-I don't-I don't agree I think,
B: yeh.

A: .hh a lot of people <u>with</u> um, licensed guns are the responsible ones they're

A: licensing them. it's the [ones that aren't, .h licensing them and getting them
B: [yeh.

A: illegally, .hh an' you know, playing Rambo or whatever that aren't, you

A: know, that aren't the responsible ones but-, .hh I think yeh you should have

A: to go-undergo just a sort of certain questioning, .hh before you use the guns

A: as well=like when I went for the army reserve once. .hh they do [sight
B: [but the

B: thing is it's a:<u>ll</u>-]
A: testing   and] they ask all these questions but-, .hh those questions really

A: put together what you're, really sort of, I mean it's-<u>it is</u>, very sort of um, zeh

A: what would you call it superficial but it gives you an idea of whether that

A: person is stable e[nough   to   have   a   gun   like-]
B: [yeh but in the long run it's not gonna] matter because,

B: everyone gets a gun doesn't it? won't go through this process you know.

B: I mean get guns from-, from any[where.   [those guns are
A: [yeh. I mean if then, yeh. [basically you

A: can get a gun.]   [yeh. I had a guy come up to me in a pub one day and
B: from gun stores.] (.) [you know.

A: said oh, .hh u:m, trying to sell me a pistol, like-, (.) from-, (.) um, was like

A: a, military s[tyle pistol. like he didn't have it=but he said oh, you know, do
B: [yeh.

A: you know anyone who wants one. all I want's [like seven hundred bucks.
B: [ye:h?

A: .hhh and <u>I've</u> said, puhhh no I don't think so, [mate. but-,]
B: [(get a bit) fa]ce. ye:h that's

B: ri[diculous.   ]   yeh I know.
A: [but-but you] know that shit happens.   .hh a:nd jus' as you

A: know like-, like I don't know if you know any SAS people, but they can,

A: .hh they can get guns whenever they want. [like-,   I mean it's all-, it's all
B: [oh yeh.

A: illegal, but-, [they're-they're sort of like-, .hh [they're-they're] our
B: [hm.   [above the law.]

A: countries' defences, such like (0.2) you know

APPENDIX G

TRANSCRIPTS OF THE 15 CHINESE CONVERSATIONS

Clff

B: 而且这样人::，挺-挺闷的. 老是好象，.hh 就算想-，想去::搞点什么活动::

B: 也-，(0.2)觉得有点，浪费时间啦::. 到-到时候玩，玩过以后就后悔了.

B: 经常是这样.
A: 　　　　　　对. 就是说，↑这-，这个广外的氛围呢我们觉得好象-，

A: .hh 自己多玩一点就会::被人家抛，.hh［呃，抛下了. 抛 到 后 面 去
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　［啊，其实啊，人家都在学，你不

B: 学 ］你就惨了. 就是那个［意思.］
A: 了.］　　　　　　　　　　　　［.hhhh］结果就什么活动都搞不起来啊. (0.2)

B: 是啊. 别的学校那些什么-，.hh 舞厅啊那些舞林高手是多的很. ［我
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　［.h h

A: h h h h 　　　　　就是. .hh 就象现在我们班要搞一个-想搞一个舞会
B: 们学校很难找啊.

A: 都-，.hh 根本就没有几个人真正会跳舞的. 到处找人，教都找不到.

A: .hh 况且，简直如果在其他的学校的话，肯定-，.hh一般，从大一开始

A: 都已经跳-跳-到-到了高三-，到了那个大三已经是高手了.
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　是啊. 人家

B: 都说，啊你们广外不是-，.hh 要这些什么::，跳舞各方面肯定都很行

A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　就是啊. 而且-，一般社会上的人都
B: 的啦. 我说，不是啊. heh heh heh .hh

A: 觉得，尤其是学外语的是［↑最 擅 长 于: 社 交 啊.］.hh ［呃:: ［对
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　［啊，假洋鬼 喷::. 各方]面好[象都-，[都

B: 很会玩,］搞了很多东西[似的. .hh heh
A: 对对. ］　　　　　［对.　　　　　　.hh huh 就是觉得-，好象-社

A: 会上对学外语的人的认识和我们自己在这里看到的情况就相差很

A: 大罗.
B: 　　　就是. 反正::，(0.2) 总要::，但是::，就算::就算说吧::. 你大部分

B: 精力放在学习上啊，(0.2) 总觉得自己别的方面的那些综合素质不

B: 够. (0.2)　　　［就说- ］　　　　　　　啊::，[°x°
A: 　　　　　.hh ［就光说]学习::，　　　　　[不-就算不说娱乐什么的，就光

A: 说学习我就觉得我们], .hh 除了外语以外::,　　　　[别]的-,
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　别的那[些-,]　　就是

B: [说::]　　[特 击]搏发, 根本发不出来. [没有那种-, [不 够](粹). 就是
A: [学得]太少[太少.]　　　　　　　[.hhh　　　[↑对::.]

B: 说还是不够啊. 以前-, 什么看的什么书啊, .hh 反正总是觉得自己::,

B: 一到-, 特别是一到笔译什么啊, 那些翻译真是啊, .hh 觉得-, hh .hhh

A: hm. 你有没有想过要去看一下史记? (0.2)
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　我家里有啊. 但是, .hh

B: 我那时候本来是::, 呃::去年::, .hh 就今年暑假, 我就想着-, 啧, 一

B: 天::背它几唐-, 背它一首唐诗吧. 结果没有, 什么都没干成. 经[常
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[.hh

B: 是.
A: 　　.hh 我觉得-, 可以-. 象我们这种情况看唐诗, 不一-不能想到什

A: 么. .hh 在规定::, 多长多长时间背一首的. .hh [只能就是说,]　[闲
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[啊 : : : :]有[空::

A: 空-闲的时候, .hh 就::拿出来读一读, 也不用刻意去背. 然后读多

A: 了我想::, 就会有一点感觉. ↑反而是那种-, 背的话, 因为-, .hh 太

A: 在意把它记住, 每个词::. 它每一句每一句怎么说的话, 反而-, .hh

A: 没有领略它真正的那个, 诗里面的意境. (.) 反而[会妨碍我们理解.]
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[那 恐 怕 可 能 也]会.

B: (0.2) .hh 反正-, (.) 小时候学那诗啊, 现在-, 觉得真是很好啊. 但

B: 是都不记得了. 到时候-, 再-再要想用的时候就记不起来了.
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　对. .hh

A: (0.2) .hh 我倒是觉得-, 很多书想看. (0.2) 象::, 尤其那些古文的, 又

A: 难看. 又没有精力. 想了就想什么实际啊. [或 者二十四]史.
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[或者就觉得,]　　.hh 怎

B: 么::, 怎么就说::, 是我们::读书. 就是以前::, 中学小学, 对古文没那

B: 么重视啊怎么样. .hh 我总觉得好象::, 好象我-, 我爸爸他们那一

B:　辈啊. 那些人都-, 都经常可以写些诗啊. [或]者是::, 对对联或者是
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[对.]

B:　那种-, 比较古韵, 比较::, 重-比-, 那种味道比较浓的那些. .hh 或者

B:　随手可以自己::, 呃::, 叫做调记哪一首诗, 然后自己写一首. 那我

B:　觉得我们-好象根本不可能.　不知道为什么.
A:　　　　　　　　　　　对.　　　　　　↑而且, 而且从很多

A:　文章上, .hh 都可以知道好象::, 很多人, .hh 在读大学中间就已-,

A:　就:, .hh 看了很多很多的书什么::, .hh 尤其是那些::文-文史哲方面

A:　的. 而我们好象就-, .hh 根本不可能做到这个.　不知道这些大学

A:　生活到底::, .hh
B:　　　　　　　　　我那时候, 跟我中学老师聊天, 就是说, 哎呀大学

B:　里面真的很想看书. 就是::, 找不出空余时间=他说, °.hh° 啊:这你

B:　就::, 就-就说::, 说得不是很对. =他说, 看书啊就应该是::, 初中啊,

B:　.hh 小学初中, 或者高中比较忙. 可以想的也-, 他就说应该是那时候

B:　就在看了. 搞的, 就是说, 那我们现在简直不可能啊. 他说, .hh 大学

B:　里面真正-, .hh 真正也能看的书不多::. 他说. 除非你是, 就说, 实在

B:　是::, 那种:专业比较::空闲啊. 能够-或者是你, .hh 什么每天晚上看

B:　到半夜. 然后看出::, 看::了个高度近视眼出来. 那些可能你也能看

B:　很多. .hh 但那主要的读书那个:, 阶段我们不在大学. 我觉得-, .hh

B:　必要的时候也能看.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　对. 在中学
A:　　　　　　　他意思是说反而应该是在中学阶段?

B:　的时候. 他那个儿子就是很行啊. (.) 从小学开始, 他就::, (0.2) 小学

B:　才::, 才几岁啊. 自己就写了一本小说. .hh 他各方面那些::, 那些

B:　兴趣啊, 很广泛. 集邮啦, 各国那些国旗国徽, .hh 还有那-, 世界

B:　地理知识啊, 历史啊. 什么::, 还有那些, 他现在是才初一还初二

B:　嘛. 他讲那些:经济已经讲得头头是道. 他看很多各方面的书. .hh

B: 就说他-，他就是，.hh 呃::，（0.2）在那个::，（.）华师附中有一个全省

B: 的特招班. 专门就说::，华师自己出题，全省各地去招. 然后-，（.）一

B: 年一年的淘汰.（.）初一淘汰一批. 反正一年淘汰一批，淘汰一批.

B: 淘到最后，那些全部是:，竟然保送上那个::，华师附中，或者高中了.

B: .hh 他就-，（0.2）他就说他成绩虽然不是说::，呃特别好. 但是他各

B: 方面的综合能力很好. 他的作文很好，就说想象力很好. .hh 然后呢，

B: 主要是他-，（0.2）和-那个::，（0.2）认识-，知道的东西很多啊. 所以他

B: 啊就说，（0.2）整个人看起来就不同啊. °根本就°. °我°觉°得[（x x ）-]
A: [看 起]来

A: 就觉得不同？
B: 看起来就是那种，°.hh° 呃::，虽然他不会说看上去

B: 你觉得很聪明，有点大智若愚那种，.hh 但是就说，你跟他聊啊，你

B: 看他初中啊.   就是说反正::，我觉得真的是，
A: 他一聊啊就可以吸引你.

B: .hh 惭愧的很. ↑怎么对着他都 hh .hhh 所以就觉得就，.hh 可能这

B: 父母方面培养也有挺大关系-他们-，爸爸妈妈反正-，.hh 从小也，

B: （0.2）比较刻意让他去::，接触很广[泛]的东西. 就是说，各方面的一
A: [°hm.°]

B: 些::，.hh 呃::，那些书，经常带他出去旅游，或者怎么样. 反正就::，

B: 让他::，按照他自己所想的那时候-，就是愿意去做那个-，发展他那

B: 个-，各方面的爱好. .h 并不只要求他死读课本啦. 或者是要求他，

B: 按照父母怎么样要求去做. 就是说给他比较大的自由度啊.（0.2）

B: 我觉得这样子挺好的. .hh 这样反正，啧，他-，（0.2）就是让人:觉得:，

B: 哎呀真是::没得比啊 hh heh .h[hh 想想我们那时候在干嘛，在玩呢.
A: [.hhh

B: heh heh   [.hhh   [heh heh   [是 啊]::
A: 就是. 我[觉得我们-，.hh [中学-的确浪费时间太-，[多了.]

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B: 要是::, 能够重活一次那真是.

A: ↑其实, 其实中学那时候, 虽然说有

A: 什么高考指挥棒压着, 让我们好象没时间去干其他的东西. .hh

A: 其实::, 我们真正学习的时间比玩的时间要少呃::. 还要少. 我觉得.

A: (0.2) 喷, [大部]分时间, 比如上课, .hh我觉得我整个中学就, 没有听
B: [hmm]

A: 过什么课. (0.2) [基本上]是, 课堂上就是在和人家, .hh 聊天啊, 玩
B: [°但是-°]

A: 啊. 反正干::看小说啊::.
B: 那我倒-我觉得那时候::, 呃:还是::, (0.2) 挺

B: 刻苦的. 不过就是, .h (0.2) 其实也能抽得出时间来读书. 但是那

B: 时候就没有意识到这一点. 没有就说::, 没有象现在这么强烈的

B: 感受到, .hh 自己那种, .hh 那种积累的东西会-, 觉得这么少. 当

B: 时是, .hh 不会想到大学::, (.) 喷, 到了大学会-会有这样的感觉.

B: [真的一点没想]到.
A: [↑而且当时::,]   当时我觉得和其他同学比, 我还觉得我自己

A: 读的书还比较多了.   [↑但]是, 现在想起来, 还是应该, 当时更抓
B: 啊:. [那-]

A: 紧[一点.]
B: [差远]了. 真的是, .hh 我觉得上课啊老师说起, 呃::, 或者是外国

B: 的中国的, .hh 某个名人和名家说的话, 或者是, 他很出名的一部

B: 书, .hh 好象我们也就, [愣了愣, 问问有时候]就呆在那::, 好象没什
A: [从来就没听到过有些.]

B: 么反应.   [啊::, 对.]
A: 这好象, 确实与:, 那个家庭环境:有[很大 关系]啊. .hh 就算-,

A: 比如说我们, 一般都是::家里还算是:比较重视:教育或者-, 重视-, .h

A: 比-以前读书的时候就-, .hh 注意::, 就是要求你成绩好什么的, 我

A: 们就::这些人, 一般就上了大学. .hh 而那些-, (0.2) 很多工人家庭的:,

A: 平常-, .hh 那些父母只管自己啊, 不管孩子的:那好坏无所谓. 家长

A:　会也不去开的那些, .hh 那些学生尽管就很多也是挺聪明的, 最后

A:　就-, (.) 一般都没上大学. 或者什么呀. 就-很早走入社会了. .hh

A:　[hm.　　] 我-,
B:　[°是　啊.°]　　　　反正我就特别后悔家里很多书, 我爸爸都买书, .hh

B:　我就说::怎么从小对着那一大::堆的书怎么就-, .hh 没有想到去看呢.

B:　hh heh heh .hh　　　　　　　　　[°heh°
A:　　　　　　　　那我倒不是. 家[里的书我还是基本上都会去翻出来

A:　看, .hh 只是有时候很想看书, 也是::, 和现在一样觉得没有时间. 因

A:　为-, 又贪玩::. 好, [玩玩了以后::, .hh 本来::学习压力::, 学习压力又
B:　　　　　　　[°啊::(对).°

A:　重. 上课又没听. 那下课又还要花工夫. .hh 那就:好象什么都挤着.

A:　老是. 尤其到了考试前那一段时间就-根本不可能去看其他的东西.

B:　家里很多好书, 我以前, 小学的时候, 又-尽看那小人书. 反正三国演

B:　义那些我就-我就::懒得去看. 小的时候我就专找小人书来看 hh heh

B:　hh
A:　　　不过我觉得那时候的水平::, 看三国演义的话, .hh (.) 其实也还

A:　是挺难看懂的.
B:　　　　　　那时候有同学看, 但是我说我看的是小人书.　但是,

B:　不过那时候挺小的, 我就觉得我看看小人书也可以了. [heh heh .hh
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[heh heh .hh

A:　对. .hh 好象我-, 我也一样的看过[°那时候°.]
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　[啊, 反正]也知道那些的西游记

B:　啊那些-, 那些不一定是要看那大部头啊. 反正那时候还小嘛.　[但
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　.hh[h

B:　是后来-, 大一点了又觉得, 好象都知道那内容了. 再看也没什么

B:　意思了.
A:　　　　　.hhh 不, 我::, 我是::, 很早就有人送了一套三国演义给我.

A:　.hh 但是我翻-, 有好几次我翻开了想看, 看不下去. .hh 因为它不

A: 是白话文[的.]（.）它-，有很重的文言味道. .hh 所以，.h 尤其是那些
B: 　　　　　[啊.]

A: 人物，.h 呃::，有-又有姓啊，有名啊，有字啊，又有什么，

B: 我当时单是那个-, 黄大为跟我说, 说说我们的, 跟他说:, .hh 这事

B: 恐怕::, 不行. 因为他们有过联谊宿舍嘛.　　　然后我也-, 好象都不
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　hm.

B: 满的. (0.4) °我-°结果我就跟他们说, 我就黄大为说, (.) 恐怕她 们

B: 都不会答应的.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　联谊宿舍:::,
A: 　　　　她们上一回联谊宿舍怎么样啊? (0.2)

B: 说是::, (.) 就说有一次, 一一一起去华南植物园嘛=　　　[说那个-]
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　=啊::, 是[他 们 掏]

A: 的钱? (.)　　　　　啊.
B: 　　　°n° 不是::.　　　.hh 反正就说玩还可以罗. 不过::, .hh 到后

B: 来::, 来的时候, .hh [赵红,] 她们广州都不在罗. 阿[同]也不在 啊.
A: 　　　　　　　　[hm.]　　　　　　　　　[hm.]

B: 然后就是阿丁跟阿梅在罗. he[h heh .hhh 然后, 就把::, 她们俩搞
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　 [哦.

B: 得烦. 老是来找哦 hh. (0.3)　　　[heh
A: 　　　　　　　　　就-, [什么意思啊? 什么叫老是来找啊?

B: 就是说后来, 来的时候就没有-, 你要约定嘛. (0.2)　　　[业余时间,]
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　哦, 也[就 是 说:.]

B: 大家一起活动那样子. (0.3)
A: 　　　　　　　　　就是说来找了, 然后阿梅和阿丁就要

A: 陪她[们玩.]
B: 　　[哎::,] 对. .hh 然后-, 你说广外有什么好-, 好转的? .hhh 结果

B: heh heh [heh　　　　　　　　　　　　好象是部分人. (0.3)
A: 　　　　[就后来是他们七个人一起来的? (0.4)

A: 哦. (0.3) 懂了.　　[明白了.]　　　　　[明白了. 那启不是失望而
B: 　　　　　　明白[是 这]个意思 heh he[h .hhh

A: 归.　　　[不过也不一定哦. 说不定就是要找两个, °女孩子°
B: 　°.hh° [°呃°　　　　　　　　　　　　　(.) 啧

B: 好象说是-, 找老雷的.　　　啊. °hhhh° .hhh hh
A: 　　　　　　　真的?　　　　　　　　见过那个宿舍有多

A: 少人? (0.2)

B: heh .hh 黄大为说大概七个人. 那样-，反正没有七个人.

B: [他-，]他都搞不清楚. (.) [他那个同学也就心脏病宿舍的. (0.3)
A: [你是说-，]   [°hn,°

A: 那个宿舍不是他原来的宿舍吗?   ↑那也不是他原来那个年
B: 不是. (.)

A: 级啊. (0.2)   =↑那怎么会搞不清楚呢. 那你一个
B: 应该是原来那个年级=

A: [系的.]   °hm.°
B: [那-]nn那我怎么知道呢. (0.3)   我也搞不清楚. 现在是完全陌生

B: 的. .hh 到时候恐怕还要::, (.) 解剖啊 heh heh heh [heh heh
A: [heh heh heh heh

A: heh .hhh 哎呀. (0.2)   呃我们班等等等等. 我有点弄
B: 还有我们班那个.

A: 不清楚是怎么回事啊. .h[h 就]是说，黄大为，.hh 呃::，代表那个::,
B: [hm.]

A: (0.2) 男生::,那个宿舍. 就黄大为有. 朋友在=
B: =他的同学::,想找一

B: 个联谊宿舍. (0.4)
A: ↑想找这个联谊宿舍的背后目的是什么? (0.2)

A: 就是说黄大为认为是什么?
B: 我没问过. (0.4) 因为我开始就根本没想

B: 这件事会成. 所以我根本没问很细. (0.9)
A: 黄大为反正就跟你说了，

A: [就说]要::[找]一个联谊宿舍.
B: [啊-]   [他-]   他没说-，开始没有找联谊宿舍. .hh 他

B: 是:::,(.) 那天::过来，然后问我，你们寝室有什么人. (.) 我说你问
A: hm.

B: 这个干什么. 他说::,华工. 然后就没说什么. .hh 然后就说，呃:，有-

B: 有些什么人啊. 然后后来王月跑过来. heh .hhh heh heh hh .hh 然后

B: 他说，.hh 来-来我来帮你回忆. hhh hhh hh .hhh 然后就-就把我们宿

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B:　舍人都说出来了. 然后我说你究竟要干什么. .hh 然后他就说::, 呃

B:　他有个同学::, 华工的. 想找一个联谊宿舍. 问我们宿舍愿不愿意哦.

A:　↑是他同学想找?　　　　　↑他同学又是新到那个宿舍的?　　　那可
B:　　　　　　　　hm. (0.2)　　　　　　　　　　　　是啊.

A:　见这些人多么如饥似渴::.　　　　　　　　　　　　好恶心啊真是.
B:　　　　　　　　　hh hh heh heh heh heh .hhh

B:　啧, 无所谓啊. (0.2)
A:　　　　　　　　呃问题是不是很出奇啊. 那三年级, 你能保证

A:　他们是三年级, .hh 就是说, 这好象七个的这个宿舍里面是谁的吗?

A:　(0.2) 谁都::, ↑nothing. (0.2) 谁都没有. (0.7) [°x x x .°
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[我怎么知道呢? 应该不

B:　会.　　　　　　　　　建筑系. (0.5)　　　　怎么尽是建
A:　　唉::. .hh 啧. 什么系啊? (0.2)　　　　°啊° (0.2)

B:　筑系. °他°上回他们搞的也是什么土木建筑的. (.)
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　↑上回是华工的?

B:　hm. [土木建-]　　是啊. [土木建筑系.]　　　应该, (.) 大
A:　　　[↑也是华]工的?　　[↑是不是一个]系的? (0.2)

B:　的系应该算一个吧. 我不知道他们是具体怎么分的. 反正-, 说是::

B:　[土木建筑-]　　　　　　　　[hhh .hhh 反正-, 他们上
A:　[可 不 要告]诉我再来个307. 我-我杀了他有[多的.

B:　回是跟九三级的嘛. (.)　　[有一个叫, 路刚强的我倒认识. (0.7)
A:　　　　　　　　°h[m.°　　　　　　　　　　　　你为

A:　什么认识华工的路刚强啊?
B:　　　　　　　　啧那次李四::, 带我们去肇庆玩::. (0.2)

A:　　　[哦::,] 对对对对对对对对. .hh [对↑　] 对. 好象是原来-,
B:　然后::还有[那个谁,]　　　　　　　　　　[他们说-]

A:　(.) 好象他追阿四[的::.]
B:　　　　　　　　　[啊::,] 就是-, 他们就说, 这个什么路刚强是醉翁之意

B:　不在酒. °hhhh° .hhh (0.4)　　　　°啧°, 还有我们班, °hm° 不知道
A:　　　　　　　　呃:: (0.4)

B:　张虹她-,　(0.3)　°(可能都)°　(0.4)
A:　　　　　　　　　　　该张虹管吗?　还有一个吧.　第几个?

B:　是啊.　但是::hmmm,　喷,　(0.4)　本来就那么几个男生嘛.　(0.5)
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　↑我们

A:　班男生,　(0.4)　呃:::,　　　　　　　刘里啊,　啊::我找李山
B:　　　　　　　　　刘里,　张虹都不会跳舞.

A:　三.　我要李山三,　你们别要了.　[heh heh heh heh heh .hhh 每当我没
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[heh heh heh

A:　人请我,　多尴[尬呀.　]　　　　　　唉呀,　你神经病啊,　真是.　(.)
B:　　　　　　[你是华]工的情尤啊.　　　　　　　　　　　唉

B:　哟,　老实说,　跳舞我都不想跳.
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　.hh 我也不想跳.　↑但我也不想坐下来

A:　和他们聊天.　　　那我们该怎么办?　(.)
B:　　　　　　是啊.　　　　　　　那只有想一点游戏玩算了.

A:　.hh .hh hm 那么多人怎么玩啊.　你起码十五个要跟他们十五个配对.

A:　.hh 那起码就-,　保证有三十个人.　起码::.　　有三十个人.　　怎么
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　hm.　　　　hm.

A:　办?　[↑三十个]人到哪找教室啊?　肯定找不着的,　不用理算了.　肯定
B:　　　[那　就-　]

A:　找不着.　(0.2)
B:　　　　　ss-那是啊::.　(0.2)　只有我们把桌子抬-抬出去.　hhh .hh

B:　h heh　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　留凳子哦 hhh
A:　　　那也不行啊.　你桌子抬出去,　我们席地而坐啊?

A:　↑那这- hhh .hh 你- hh　　　还不如坐窗户外面呢,　真是.　(.)
B:　　　　　　　　　.hhhh　　　　　　　　　　　　　　°heh°

B:　到排球场去.
A:　　　　　喷.　可以啊.　但是那样的话,　就看不到人的表情.　就不

A:　利于表达嘛.　(.)　hm.　(0.4)　出的什么馊[主 意.　]　　[↑要这样,　就]
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[这样就没]办法.　[你就-,　你就-]

A:　租舞厅罗::=　　　　　　　　我觉得黑灯瞎火的也看不到.
B:　　　　　　=就租舞厅的话::.　.hh　　　　　　　　　　对.

B:　我就觉得上回那个::,　聚会的时候,　黑灯瞎火的我,　.hh 的-,　回来以

B: 后我还是不知道谁是谁 hhh. (0.2)　　　　　　　　　　=因为你-,
A:　　　　　　　　　　hmm 我还::比较清楚吧=

B: 你跟他们走近讲话的嘛. 我都没有. .hh 所以, 反正天黑蒙蒙的. .hh

B: hhh hhh .hh 就在那-, 就只好在那看那个-, 那个电视里的. hm [okay]
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hmm.]

B: 啦. (0.2) hhh (0.2) 喷, 要象以前::, 在那个第三食堂的时候, (.) 坐着

B: 面对面的还可以. ↑进而看清楚几个人 hhh .hh
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　ei 现在那个::, 许明

A: 上一次带你们去的那个地方. (0.6)　　　　就那个小卖部那.
B:　　　　　　　　　　　哪个地方?

B: 怎么啦? (.)　　　　　　　很小的. 很小一块. 你-你呆会去食
A:　　　　那:儿位子够不够?

B: 堂你都可以看到它是-, 往-, 宿舍里面. 凹出来一块的. 很小. 大概::

B: 也就-, 这么多-, 这么大[差不多]啊.
A:　　　　　　　　　[.hhh] ↑ei::, 谁说我们不可以用这::间

A: 教-, 就是说, 就是说类似这一间的教室啊?　　　　[ei 我]
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　也都跟课室差不[多大.]

A: 知道了. (0.2) 那个::, 平台上面, (.)　　　hm.
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　五楼?　　那还不是黑灯瞎火的.

B: (0.3)　　　　　　　　↑那你的平台上面还没有, 那个操-,
A:　　　点灯笼, 或者点蜡烛啦.

B: 那个排球场上好点蜡烛, °那个°点灯笼. (0.2) 那个[排球场上还可以]
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[而且那还有人.]

B: 挂嘛.　　　　　　　　人倒无所谓了. 但是::, 那个地方你可以, 挂灯
A:　　　那还有人. .hh (.)

B: 笼啊, 什么的. 你这儿上面根本不能挂.
A:　　　　　　　　而且风又大. 月黑风高的

A: [晚上.　　　　huh huh [huh huh　　　heh heh heh heh heh
B: [.hh heh heh heh　　　[.hhh 狼来了heh hh

A: .hhh 那天是谁说那句话的. 月高风-, 月黑风高的晚上. (0.3) .hh

A: (0.5)　　　　　　　　　不是. ↑我记得有个男生说过这句话. 月黑风[高的
B: 　　　　宿舍里面?　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[那-,

B: 那肯定是我]们班的男生. (0.2)　　　　　　　　　　　°(咱们还
A: 晚　上.　　]　　　　　　　　不是. 是我们原来班的. (0.3)

A: [谭师同他们吧. 是不是啊? (0.2)　　　　　呃::::不太记得了. 喷, .hh
B: [当)-°　　　　　　　　　　　张可? (0.3)

B: °hm°　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°联谊班°, 简直是没想到
A: 　　　啊:: hh 月黑风高. (1.1) 联谊宿舍::. [°hmm°

B: 会在这个时候搞这些玩艺.
A: 　　　　　　　马上就-, 就其中考了. 联过来联过去真

A: 要联出什么来, fool-foolish.　　　　°是啊°　　　　　　°联谊.°
B: 　　　　　　麻烦 heh .hh　　　hh .hhh (0.2)

A: (0.8)　　　　　　　　　　　　啊, 对啊. (0.3) ↑应该
B: 　　　期中考要到十月底, 十一月初吧? (0.5)

A: 是吧::. 不过这回期中考, 肯定考很多东西的. (0.4) 喷, (0.3) 唉::.

A: (0.4) 还没有(come up).
B: 　　　　　　才十分钟. (.) 还有十分钟, 还有一半的时

B: 间.　　　　　[.hhhh　　　　　　　[唉:: hhh
A: 　得慢慢谈罗[::.　　反正也没所谓. 又没人[盯着. hmm. (0.2) 喷,

A: 唉::. 一晃都三年了.
B: 　　　　　hhh .hh .hh (0.6) 别再谈这件事. 我想了过了三

B: 年我就觉得心慌. °heh°
A: 　　　　　有什么好心慌的. 三年还没过完呢. 才过两

A: 年[嘛.　　　你怕::什么. 大把单位要你. 我才心慌呢. 真是.
B: 　[但这很快了嘛.

A: (0.4) 你::人家都要一米:::, ↑六以上. 我一米六都还没沾着呢. heh

A: hhh 还六以上. (0.4)　　　　　喷再找个人罗::. [随便找个谁
B: 　　　我不想出去嘛::.　　　　　　[°找个人.°

A: 啦.] ei, 叫包风去开公司吧, 怎么[样?]
B: 　　　　　　　　　　[呃,] 那有什么好 heh heh heh .hhh

B:　那我们去打杂 hh　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　他赚的也-,
A:　　　　　　　　　我::觉得真是这样的. 其实越高-,　　　　　我那

A:　回说过嘛,〔我说, 我跟那个-, 同学说. 我说, .hh 我有个事问问你怎
B:　　　　　　　〔啊.

A:　么样, 他就-, .hh 后来我就说, .h 你想-, 如果他还要做的话, (0.4)

A:　他就只可能做, .hh 比这个还高薪金的, 是不是?　　那如果比这个
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　hm.

A:　还高的话, 那还有什么单位呢. 没了. .hh ↑那他除非拿一万多块钱,

A:　那只好做老板.
B:　　　　　　　.hh 不过他搞那个喷漆, 我觉得对身体也不好. (0.3)

A:　你跟他说了没有?　　　　　　唔:::, (0.2)
B:　　　　　　我还没说. (0.2)　　　　　　每次都, .hh 他们在那

B:　瞎聊::. °我都插不了嘴.° (0.5)
A:　　　　　　　　　　哦. 他↑到底是干什么喷漆的? 就-就-,

B: 我说, 啦, 你要是搞不出学生证, 你叫他开张证明啊.   =开证明很简
A: hm=

B: 单::, 证明你是-, 那-, 某个-, 是某个班的学生=然后一盖章. .hh 我说你

B: 就把那个相片贴上去. 因为他很严, 他有-, (0.2) 他这里是好的. 他严,

B: 他那个汇款就不是那么容易给人家冒领了.   =我说你贴相片, 然后
A: hm=

B: 让他-, 给你盖个章, 不就行了吧. .hh 他说, 是啊::, 他能这样做的话,

B: 他就能够帮你把那个学生证搞出来了. 因为根本没有区别的嘛. 我说

B: 是啊. 那为什么不行的呢? 他说我怎么知道. 我说你不敢问老师的

B: 嘛. 他说, 我实<u>在</u>是不敢问他. 要是再气他两气, 他可以根本不帮我

B: 办的.   [那些根本不是老师. 行
A: 哎呀. 那些老师真是. (0.3) (要°我°就[反)

B: 政的人员不知干嘛的. (0.2)
A: .hh 哎呀其实我觉得::, ↑ei, 那么他们

A: 那<u>些</u>::, 那你的::重庆的同学, .hh 那个::, 奖学金, (.) 问题呢?
B: 奖学

B: 金问题我没有问他啊. 我启敢问他. 反正啊, 他::他肯定拿不到奖学

B: 金的. 他肯定也不关心这个问题啦::. .hhh 然后我那天告诉他说,

B: 他只是一个尽的笑啊. 说都是这样的啦::. °这样读书[(没)°
A: [↑<u>哎呀</u>::, 这

A: 些, 我觉得这些事情都是这样. 你别说什么, 唉这个饭堂啊, 就讨

A: 厌死[了.   哎呀一说到饭堂就[气死了.   经常就象打架一
B: [huh huh huh   [heh .hhh

A: 样啊, 拼命::, 呃矣.   [.hhh 你-↑<u>你看那个</u>-,]
B: 呵::. .hh 都是这样. [<u>是</u>, 制度方面有问]题. (0.4)

A: 制度方面. 就-, 我觉得学校里面, 那个办事效率啊, 各方面的事情

A: 啊, 都是-, .hh 很令人不满意的::.   [我 不 但 是,]
B: 是啊. 我都不[知道那行政人]员是

B: 干[嘛的.　]
A: 　　[不但是]::那个整-，不但是:::我们学校这样. 我觉得中国普遍的

A: 大学都是这样啊.［学-　］行政人员就-，.hh
B: 　　　　　　　　［是啊.］　　　　　　　　　　我当时问他，我说，(0.2) 很

B: 讨厌你那个学校哦. .hhh 我说究竟是怎么一回事啊. .hh 我说是不

B: 是-，(0.2) 他那个学校制度啊，所有的学校都是这样的. 我们学校也

B: 很怪的. 什么行政啊，(.) 政治啊那些人，[怪得要命.　]　　　我都不知
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[政治人员就]是::，

B: [干嘛的.]　　然后-，然后[他就说，]　　　他说可能是内地是这样啦.
A: [全 靠位]子.　　　　　　[那个 反]而是-，

B: 但我当时就想，　　　　　[我想 我]们这里不是内地的吧.
A: 　　　　　↑那-那你[说是内-]　　　　　　　　那你说内地

A: 那些::搞行政的，uh 位子比那些::，呃::教授啊，什么之类的还高，

A: 是说，(.) hn，↑内地这种情况::，比-，比那个沿海地区要严重啊，还

A: 是说-，
B: 　　　他的意思是说，内地::，(.) 很怪的那个::，那个制度是更加::，

B: 荒谬的. .hh [而且是，] 荒谬啊，而且更加是，(0.3) 反正:::，大家都不
A: 　　　　　　[荒谬啊.]

B: 知道::，干什么的. (0.3) 呃教书的当然是教书哦，[不教]书的那些不
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hm.　]

B: 知干嘛的. (.) 反正都办事效率奇低啊. (.) 唉:我今天真的是气死了，

B: 本来就=
A: 　　　=哎呀大学里面，不但是-，大学里面都:::很多大学都是这样

A: 的啦. 那些行政人员都不知干嘛的. 经常那个，.hh 但是呢::那个位

A: 子呢又是-，又很高罗::. 反正是好象我觉得就高过那些::，
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　那是啊，

B: [他说-，]　　　　　　[°hm.°
A: [教授]啊. 一－一命令[下来，什么都-，.hh 连那些教授都没话可说的.

B: 然后他是啊，他说他那边什么::，(.) 要开会嘛. 有人来开会，.hh 然后

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B: 把那个学校搞的很漂亮, hah 什么什么. .hh 这本来是好事来的. 但

B: 是他们-, (0.2) 当然学生纪律那个, 也管得, 比较严. .hh 他↑说怎么

B: 啦一个:人, 他捧着一盒饭. 在[吃]饭. 他不是在::饭堂里吃. .hh 他也
A: [啊.]

B: 不是[回宿舍吃. heh heh .hhh 他就是在半路上这样捧着吃啊.
A: [.hhh hhh .hhh   啊.

B: 其实这也不碍事啊. [顶]多:只能说他脏::啊. 你不[怕 x x 什么什么的.]
A: [啊.]   [heh heh heh .hhh hh]

B: 那-起码也是他个人啦. 尽管你-, 你其他人看就不雅::.   但是,
A: 啊.   不-

A: 不准[他们这么捧着吃, 是不是啊.
B: [哦.   他就是::在路上-然后那个学生部

B: 长啊.   啊, [走过来就说,], (.) 唉::, 下次再让我看到你那样吃, 我
A: ↑就-   [跑 过 来-]

B: 就不让吃饭了. hoh hoh .hhh heh heh .hhh
A: 就说半路捧着吃饭, 不让

A: 人[吃. 说是不文]明的.
B: [啊. 就 说-]   是-哦, 不文明的. .hh 我觉得你就叫他::,呃不

B: 要脏, [或者很-, 很不雅. 很难看的. 你-[你不要这样的. [你回去吃饭
A: [呃.   [啊.   [啊.

B: 怎么[样.   我::觉得, 其实特别你说, (0.4) 但-, 总的来说他也不
A: [是是. (.)

B: 是什么犯-大错. 也是-不管怎么说.   [他是很]严肃的一[种样
A: ↑但是他[只是-]   [啊.

B: 子. 就是你-, 你已经是很-, 好象-, 就违反了一个校规就是-, .hhh 很

B: 严肃地 hh .hhh 以后我再看到你这样, 不让你吃饭. .hhh   [当然
A: 但是[他是

A: 说::,]   [在-   [°hm.°
B: 他-,] 他[不是真的不让他吃饭啊, 反正说::我再看到你, 我就要[给你

B: 惩罚啊什[么的.]   [啊. 我想是-]
A: [但 是]你是说, 他是在这段时间, .hh 呃有人[来 检 查, 才]

A: 抓得这么[严.　　　[ei::::　]　　　　　　=但过后呢，就好象我们什么
B: 　　　　[当然是这[段时间嘛]::. uh=

A: 去年搞的[文明]月. .hh [ei, 什么,] 那个-, heh 厕所没[冲. .hhh 各班
B: 　　　　　[是啊.]　　　　　[°搞出什么-°]　　　　　　　　[hhh

A: 叫人去冲. .hhh 真的搞笑. 一批批-, 你这些[都是-,] 各人的道德问题
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°是啊.°]

A: 嘛. [你 这]些-, (0.2) [.hh　　　=又-又专门派人去守的. 每天两个值
B: 　　[是啊.]　　　　　　[我觉得你-=

A: 日，生怕人家冲厕所，哪有这么过分的事情[啊.　这么来搞. 又-, .hh
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°.hh°

A: 那个:，那时候就管的很严啦. 什么垃圾啊又不-，不准随便丢啦. 不

A: 准随便扔啦天天. 叫人家去扫啦. .hh 之后呢现在-，启不是也恢-，恢

A: 复原来那-，[状况啊.]　　　[而且]更糟了. [除 了]那个早操要坚持
B: 　　　　　[其实 我]觉得-，[他要-]　　　　　[再这样-]

A: [两天之外. .hhh 我们气的要死. 有么理由早操做两遍，真是无聊
B: [huh huh

A: 的透顶啊.
B: 　　　　　.hh 那不用说什么，他们看报纸说什么，呃南方某高校.

B: (可[能)是搞了一个::，一个月的那个::,　　[文明月，结果 (x x x x)]
A: 　　[啊.　　　　　　　　　　　　　搞了[一 个 月 的 文 明 月 选-]

B: 没有搞出来嘛. (.) 我[确实-]
A: 　　　　　　　　　[刚到的]那个是不是说以前::，.hh 以前是不是

A: 说那个::，学生::和那个学校 .hh 有矛盾. 然后-，.hhh 那个::，他就做

A: 了记者. 然后就把这个::事情[给登上报纸来揭发. [内 部 情]况.
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　[heh heh hh　.hhh [怎么能够,]　我

B: 想不是他-，他搞的啦那[个.　　　[°(你们这么想).°]
A: 　　　　　　　　　　[不是他啊? [你 是- 呃-]是不是指我们学校

A: 啊? (.) [南方的某个高校. heh heh heh]　　　　　　　　　[.hhh
B: 　　　[不 知 道 啊，那 时 他 们 就]笑啊. 说应该是吧，南方[某高校.

B: .hhh 唉:::.　　　　　　　　　　　　　而且我觉得，当时我就觉得就
A: 　　　　　文明月::，搞了一个-，(0.2)

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B: 是很讽刺的．你[:↑读到大学了．↑竟然要这样搞．↑这样的一个文明
A:　　　　　　　[啊．

B: 月．那些大学生他自己是干嘛的．我觉得这[本身-]　　　　[你应该
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[本　来]大学生[素质是

A: 应该提]高了嘛．　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[对．
B: 是-　]　　　　　我觉得你是应该检讨你自己的一个[教育制度

B: 问题．(.)并不能说，真是突然间搞这样一个文明月．.hh[老是这
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[你这样

A: 抓--]抓一抓根-，抓一抓根本是:::,　[°治-°治标不[治本的东西.]
B: 样啊.]　　　　　　　　　　　是[啊　　　　[这是很-很-,]

B: 很基本的东西来的嘛．这些都是很基[本的°次序°.]　　　[品德.]
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[就是日常]呃-，那个[道德]问

A: 题．[品德]问题．你怎么来说的话，那些我们现在评那个什么奖学
B:　　[是啊.]

A: 金的，品德问题．　　　[你这个-](.)你多搞活动有什么用呢．现
B:　　　　　　　hmhm .h[h 是啊.]

A: 在奖学金的-，那个::,　加分．是加去搞活动，去参加什么，.hh 比赛啦，

A: 跳舞啦，什么乱七八糟的东西．实际上人的品质，你到底[有多]高
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[是啊.]

A: 啊．(0.2)[根本]就-不-不是从你的活动这里来=　[衡量的.]
B:　　　　　[是啊.]　　　　　　　　　　　=而[且::我觉]得，(0.2)

B: 呃:::,　按说::对你热衷于参加活动，我觉得真是::,　应该表[扬的.]
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[应该]表-,

B: 是啊．[但是你就:设一个专项[啊．　　　[专项的奖学金，你这是-，奖励
A:　　　[对．　　　　　　　[啊，每个[人-，hm

B: 那些人，他[热衷于参加活动．[.hhh 你这样搞出来啦，然后下面的学生
A:　　　　　[啊．　　　　　　[hm.

B: 都糊涂的了．我今天就跟李大山说过啊．我说，(.)你想想，(0.2)他这

B: 样一搞．有相当--部分的学生就-，哦原来，拿奖学金啦，不是:::,　我

B: 的学习::[很好那种．.hh 而是我要参加活动[多加分啊::. [然后他就
A:　　　　[对．　　　　　　　　　　　　　[啊．　　　[啊．

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B: 会去罗. 他就会，从各班吧，他根本就不-，好象你知道我们排球赛

B: 啊. 他报名啦. (0.2)　　　　　　　不是李大山啦. 就是说::, (.)
A: 　　　　　　李大山报名了吗?

B: [有的，那些人报名啊，他报名啊，他报名就是为了加]分啦，但[他-，
A: [哦有些同学报名啊，他报名就是为了以后要加分. 　] 　　　　[hm.

B: .hh根本去不去打那个赛果怎么样. 根本不关心的. 反[正先报名.]
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[谁-，谁报]名

A: 了? 　　　　　　　　　　　[好　象　那　个::]:::张小年[报名
B: 　　　　我怎么知道谁报名. 反正这个[我也不感°兴趣°.] 　　　[是啊，

B: 后　]来张小年是去的了. .hh [但是-　　　　　　　[是啊. (.)宋里
A: 的了.] 　　　　　　　　[哦张小年后来去了. 宋里[::

B: 后来:::,，就是说，他没有打. 因为他来的时候差不多打完[了. 然后::,
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[哦::.

B: 就是说要搬桌啊. 在现场听到-，听到说什么一班的怎么回事啊，一

B: 个人都[没有. 总该有-，[有人上]了吧. .hh 呃::,，[就是说-]
A: 　　　[哦::　　　[很气愤.] 　　　　　　　[他们那]些人是不是

A: 很气愤啊? 当然[罗. 　　　　　　　　　　　　　是啊，这样的
B: 　　　　　　[我不知道. 反正都是::看不惯的啦::.

A: 话，其实本来我觉得::,，hm 班里面都::,，(0.2) 一时[都，很憋气啊.
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[是啊. 你看王红宾

B: 啊. .h[h 什么他们就说:,，什么加分啦加分. 一天到晚. 现在都变成了-，
A: 　　　[啊.

B: 那些人都::,，就是说，.hh [到时候参加]活动啊，统计啊，就是加分啊.
A: 　　　　　　　　　　[简直就是-]

A: 简直就是那种-，[不-不是为了真正自己去那种[积极参加活动，积极
B: 　　　　　　　[是啊. 　　　　　　　　[段-不是真正锻炼出

B: 去 的. 　] 　　　　　　　　　　　[而这- 　　[就是因为这
A: 锻炼. .hh] 完全是那种为了加分而去搞锻[炼，为了报个[名.

B: 个制度本身也就是很有问题. 它真的体现不出，谁是真正有一个-，

B: (0.2) 好的那个-，(.) 就是它什么乱的，搞的. 成[绩又不是，] 成绩又
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[什么是乱的.]

B: 不是看成绩[喔.　　　　　[啊.　　　　　　　　　　　　[是啊. 然后
A:　　　　　　[虽然你说-,　[我-我承认, 德智体应该是全[面发展啦,

A: 你-　]　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[参加
B: 它那个]思想你怎么看得出来呢. (0.2)参加活动喔. 参加活动[也不

B: 是(参加都是),专项奖]学金啦, 你怎么能怎样啊? .hh [然后呢,]
A: 活动不能够看出你-　]　　　　　　　　　　　　[虽 然 说]你那

A: 个::呃::, (0.2)那个::参加活动, (.)是要, 应该积极一点罗. 就是说,

A: 我说你评奖学金一等啊, 你这些人应该是, 要参加, .hh 多参加活动

A: 的那些. .hh 不能是好象我这样, .hh 什么都不[干, 就]是那种, [什
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[是啊.]　　　　[°我

B: 也觉 得 是.°]
A: 么-什么事情]都-, .hh 好象:::, 袖手旁观::什么都不理那种. 就不

A: 应该这样. 那个[一等奖学金确实应该是::, 去参加一点活动. .hh
B:　　　　　　　[°对.°

A: 但不是与这个, 多[积极参加活动这些-]
B:　　　　　　　　　[我觉得::, 就是-,] 你参加活动啊, 你是应该的.

B: (0.2)但不能是说, (0.2)他这样一个-, 一搞出来就觉得好象说, (0.3)

B: 那些人参加活动就是为了加分. 不能够[这样的. 因为-, 我[觉得, 不
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[对.　　　　　　[现在完

A: 全就是你::]　　　　　[本身-　]　　　　　　　　　[活动的意义完全
B: 是 本 身-,] 你参加活动[就本身]你自己-, 呃比较[活泼. 比较积极.

B: 啊, 对.　　　] 你自己想锻练自己的[未来的提高, 是你或者[是::, 啊.]
A: 都-, 失去了.]　　　　　　　　　[对.　　　　　　　　[这是你 本]

A: 身-, 就是说可以体现. 如果你=　=自己, 是不在这种, .hh 呃:[:::↑外-,
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　=是=　　　　　　　　　　　[呃不

B: 是在这种-]　[°自己-°]
A: ↑外-,　　]外部[　条　]件下, 自己去主动地参加活动. .hh 是真正愿意

A: 的. 就体现出你自己本人就::, .hh 一种很积极啦, 那种品德::, 或者

A: 是各方面的东西. 当然这-这方面是应该-, .hh °hm° 呃:::, 提倡的罗.

A: .hh 这但是::, (0.3)我觉得就现在好象是, 那些人就, [转,　] 转啦, 完
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[是啊.]

A: 全是为了加分而去参加活动. 　[你这个]有什么意义呢. 你[这 个]真
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　是[啊:::.]　　　　　　　　[特别-]

A: 能体现你这个-, .hh 呃本人的那种-, 呃:::, 品德很高吗.　　[完全
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　就是[说他

B: 们-]　　　听那个:青年志愿者啊,　什么马列啊一听说, .hh 哦加
A: 都]不是.　　　　　　　　hm.

B: 分罗, 哇全班都有去报名啊. 那个-, .hh 我就说啊, 即使[是,
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[是是. 今天

A: 中午不是那个五班的女孩子不是说[嘛,　　↑哎呀那个五班的简直
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[是啊::.

A: 是更-

C4ff

A: 我觉得最搞笑的是一次在那幼儿园的时候. 那时候那时候我很调皮

A: [吧. 然后有一个同学又, .hh 她的头很圆嘛::.   =那个小女孩头很
B: [hm.   hmm=

A: 圆, 我就觉得很搞笑. 那时候自己也-, 也是个小女孩, 然后当然了. .hh

A: 然后那时候就-, 在, 在那水龙头旁边跟她一起玩.   然后我就去
B: hm. (.)

A: 捧了一盆水啊, 然后就, ↑弄到她的头上去. hhh   我看
B: huh huh huh huh

A: 很多水就从[那, 那个头[流下来.]   [是啊, 就是啊. 流下来
B: [.hhh   [你小时候还]挺顽皮. he[h heh heh heh .hhh

A: 之后吧, 然后被-被那个女老师发现, (.) 后[来她就, 唉嗨什么::, 冲着
B: [hmm.

A: 我发了一大通火=(我就从)-, 呃你把她搞了::感冒了那怎么怎么样.

A: .hh 然后我就觉得, ↑喔, 感冒了你就吃感冒灵[heh heh heh .hhh 因为
B: [huh huh huh huh

A: 那时候有一份吃-, 那个感-, 我自己感冒了吧, [然后我爸就弄一些
B: [hmm.

A: 感冒灵给我. (0.2) 然后, 那时候, 因为那是-, 那种是糖衣的嘛.   =
B: hm.=

A: 糖衣感冒灵. 然后, 吃在嘴-, 嘴里就甜甜的. 然后我哥就很坏. .hh

A: 他那时候就叫我说, (那个大), (0.2) 就吸一吸的那种罗. 然后[我就
B: [唉::呀

B: 那 就 很 讨 厌]的.
A: 真的听他这么干.]   啊吸一吸啊, 后来就把那些糖衣全都弄-, 弄掉

A: 了. [heh heh heh .hhhhhh[很 苦 啊.   ]
B: [我觉得, 我-, 我认识[有一位同学]嘛, 他吃药就是这样的, 用一-

B: .hh 一含在嘴里哦, [呀::::::, 把那些全[部糖给吃完了heh .hh   [最后
A: [hmm.   含[到那

A: 苦的.]   [是啊, 就是这样的, [差点-, 所以[我那时候就-,] 就
B: 那些很]苦 heh [heh heh .hhhh   [呃:::   [挺 搞 笑.   ]

A: 自己被心里嘀咕嘛，就是说-，ei 吃那感冒灵不是很好嘛，又甜甜

A: 的. heh heh .hhh　　　　　　　　[但是后来那老师很凶. 她叫我在那- .hh
B: 　　　　　　　　是啊::. 不[过-

A: 在那里罚站还什么，然后[搞得我第二天上-，我就很气愤. 我说第二
B: 　　　　　　　　　　[是吧.

A: 天不去幼儿园了heh .hhh 很搞笑.
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　不过我想我 (.) 罚站, (.) 只有一

B: 次. 因为那次, (.) 是↑二年级吧.　　哎哟 heh .hh 我就觉得，受过::,
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　hm.

B: 就是跟你那个那样子 heh heh 打来打去的 hh .hhh=
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　=呃我觉得挺

A: 搞[笑的. 就是-，x x x x x -　　　　　　　　　　所以[我觉
B: 　[(怎么怎么)，不过那次我觉得很没面子. heh heh heh　　[.hhh

A: 得你们很奇怪. (呃那::)，反正还[得扭来扭去的. [hnn
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　[就是啊.　　　[呃::，他老是什么

B: 欺负我. heh heh [heh hh hh .hh .hhh　　　　　　[不过我小时候，真
A: 　　　　　　[hhh hhh hhh .hhhh 唉-受不了. [不过还是小男孩.

A: 呃-　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hm
B: 的没读过幼儿园. (.) 啧，我记得有一次哦，我呀::我很啊，[这样::，n

B: 居住地方呃有一位幼儿园嘛附近. 我就-，跑去玩了. [站在那个门口.
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°hm.°

B: 后来，里面的人就说, (0.2) ↑干什么的? 走去, ↑走开huh huh .hhh

B: [hmm.　　　　就是啊，我-，[nnn, 就是啊.]
A: [怎么这样的.　　　　　[很凶. 我觉得,] 不会啊，我那时候那-，

A: [辅导员-　　　　　　　　　　哦:::. 可能是那里头也有那 种,
B: [那-，呃，那是小孩子来的. 不是大人.

A: 很宠的那种吧.　　　　　　　　[教坏了.
B: 　　　　不知道. 可能是吧. [不过后来我们成了同学喔. heh

B: heh heh [.hhh　　是啊，不过他不是同一班的. 我是认识他的. [啧.
A: 　　　[是吗?　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　hm[m

A: (0.2) 我::们那时候上的那个幼儿园是我::妈妈她们工厂::的吧.

B: hmm.
A:　　　　所以有个幼儿园. (0.4) 然后呢, 我::妈那时候是在一个::, (.) 什

A: 么叫八一厂, 是一个糖果厂来的[吧. 我们那些 .hh 幼儿园的小朋友,
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hm.

A: 要很-, 很遵守, heh heh heh heh .hhhh 肯定没吃糖果 [hoh hoh heh
B:　　　　　　　　huh huh huh huh huh　　　　　　　　　[是啊.

A: .hhhh [唉::　　　　　　[是啊::. [那时候很便宜吧. 它-, .hh 一个月
B:　　　　[°有个°幼儿园挺[好的. 　[°hmm.°

A: 才交一块钱就行了. 不对. 一块钱的那个::, 什么, (0.2) 什么费用

A: 啊. 然后我到[每个周末, 是啊, 每个周末还有一个苹果, 或者一个
B:　　　　　　[是吗?

A: 香蕉发[啦. (0.2) [周-, 星期六-
B:　　　　[°啊°　　[哎呀, 天啦你们那里还是挺-, 挺富裕的. 那时候::

B: 好象-, .hh 很少[东西吃的.　　　　　　[hmm.
A:　　　　　　　　[那时候是八一年吧. [八一年, 八二年读书吧. (0.2)

B: 是啊八二年读小学.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　hm.
A:　　　　　　　　　是啊. (0.2) 然后我, 可能读了差不多一年吧.

A: 然后那时候, 哇, 想起来(自己. 到哪都想脱衣狂.) [heh heh .hh 那时
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[huh huh .hhh

A: 候还练一练跳舞嘛. 从[那个小学, (.) xxxxxx, 呃:幼儿园的时候就-
B:　　　　　　　　　　　[hm.

A: 什么开始跳舞唱-歌. 后来有一次我记得, 是去那个文化宫表[演嘛.
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hm.

A: 然后, 表演完了, 可能是今天中午那-, [那个幼儿园, 那些老师就买
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hm.

A: 了一批面包啊.　↑那时候觉得自己很馋了. 吃那些面包觉得很好
B:　　　　　　　hm.

A: 吃啊=里头, 包了一些肉, 然后觉得很好吃. 拿着哪个大, .hhh 大面

A: 包, 然后就最爱一个一个地吃. .hh 后来看见旁边有一个小孩子, 盯

A: 着我, 好象很羡慕, 我就[很高兴. heh heh .hhh 觉得自己很了不起,
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　[huh huh huh .hh

A: 因为有面包吃 heh heh .hhh [°唉::°　　　　　　　　°hhh hhh°
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[不过我必须等到小二吃,　　　　很

B: 少东西吃啊我觉得.=　　　　　[哎呀老是没吃的.]　　　　我觉
A: 　　　　　　　=↑是啊::. [好象反正都不饱的,] 是啊是啊.

B: 得是这样子. 我应该(forgotten)吃吃吃=　　　　　[.hhhh
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　=↑不过那时候[也很懂事. 我

A: 觉得. 虽然那时候穷呃. [反正-　　　hm.　　我还记得那时候, (.)
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　[不过也是啊.　　hmm.

A: ↑卖那些什么::, 呃:::, 鸡蛋啦, 或者留着nn, 那时候还养了一些鸡嘛.

A: [我就拿些鸡蛋去卖, 或者是, .hh 收拾一些::, (.) 什么纸箱啊, 然后,
B: [hm

A: 等那些收破烂的, 能卖给他罗, 就攒攒攒, 后来攒了两块钱. [heh
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[啊::是

B: 啊::.　　　　　　　　　　　[才不是呢. 逼得我. 那小时候, 好象
A: heh　是啊, 然后就交给我妈, [很光荣. heh

B: 是, (0.2) 跟我哥去那::拣了些玻璃呀. [拣回::碎玻璃也可以卖钱的.
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hmm.

B: 好象是, .hh 哎赚了不少钱 .hh 不过那时候挺小的哦.　　=现在算
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　hmm. =

B: 起来就很少了. .hh 在现在, 那时候就, 对我们小孩子来说, [吃几个-
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[是啊::.

A: 那时候有两毛钱都很::[了不得了. °何-°, 何况两块钱了.=　　[特别-
B: 　　　　　　　　　　[是啊.　　　　　　　　　　=啊. [最好是,

B: (.) 什么我们学校门口, 好象就有很多这些啊. [where's this? heh heh
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[小摊啊那些, 小摊 hh

A: hhh .hh.　　　　　　[小摊很-, ↑啊小学的时候, (0.2) 经常就这样罗.
B: heh .hhhh heh .hh [唉::, 挺-挺搞笑的.

A: [然后同学们就-, 一下课就跑去买啊::什么的. (0.2) [°hm.° 我们四年
B: [hmm.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°hm.°

A: 级的时候, 那个教室, 最突出了. 那时候我们班算是, 重点班嘛.

B: 啊::

A:　　　　可能从一年级开始就, .hh 我们那::校长啊, 老师都很看重这个

A: 班的. (0.2) 从那时候, 那四年级那个, 教室就在那::, 校长室的附近

A: 喔. .hh 然后他还有一个小后门嘛, 然后我们, .hh 一下完课就跑到那

A: 后门出去[(里头就自己去)买糖果 heh heh .hh [那时候-, 好象一毛
B: 　　　　[hhhh　　　　　　　　　　　　　[是啊.

A: 钱可以买一, 好象———大杯的那个酸梅汁啊.　　　[那很解渴的.
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　是吗? [那我觉得你们]

B: 那些, 哦. [特产吧, 我想.　　　[°我们那里-°.hh 只是有什么::那
A: 　　　　　[hm.　　　是啊, [很好吃的. 很好吃.

B: 些黄瓜啊淹浸起来啊, .hhh　　　=什么::萝卜啊就是, [.hh 我觉得挺
A: 　　　　　　　　　　hmm.=　　　　　　　　　[°huh huh°

B: 搞笑的, 想起来.　　　　　　　[不过不过那时候我们-, 一般中午去
A: 　　　　　　是啊, 很多糖[果.

B: 买罗.　　因为中午, 呃:::啊, 那个学校好象是, 规定一定要睡觉的.
A: 　　　hm.

B: 不能早回去的.　　如果早回去, 他就叫人, 那些老师马上联系那值
A: 　　　　　hmm.

B: 日的学生, 进去(作业) heh heh .hhh 去登名啊.　　　　[要是被-
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　怎么这样子[啊.

B: 被他-, 被被人登了你 heh heh .hh[h　　　[还的那-, 是啊. .hh买东西
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°啊,° 你[啊?

B: 吃. 那时候::都不喜欢睡觉的啊. 小孩子的, 我觉得, [°很-°很多人
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　hm[m.

B: 都不喜欢睡[觉.　　　是啊. [他知道我们-]　　　　　　　[呃.
A: 　　　　　[不喜欢的.　　[那时候我们-,] 是:::幼儿园的时候要[睡

A: 觉吧. 然后因为在-, [中-中午在那里睡嘛, 然后 .hh 我那老师还是跑
B: 　　　　　　　　挺[讨厌的.

A: 来跑去的, 在那里巡视喔, 看看哪位, 小朋友的眼睛没闭上. .hhh heh
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　heh heh

B: heh heh heh　　　[对. 很搞笑.　　hm. °老是.° (.)　　　[也是挺讨
A: heh heh heh .hhh很搞[笑.　　　　hm.　　　　　　我觉[得登::,]

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B:　厌.]　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°hm.°
A:　　　　被登记::,（.）一次了就是, 高中的时候了.［高中的时候那时候, .hh

A:　呃:::, 我们那学校嘛, 离-离家里比较远. 骑[单车要二十分钟吧. 然后:,
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hm.

A:　我刚才都说高中时候, 路也不是很好嘛哦,（.）然后有一次是::可能

A:　是::, 下雨还是怎么啦, 然后那个, 我骑的那单车那车链就掉了.（.）

A:　后来在路上弄了很久嘛, 然后再骑, 谁-谁知道到了那里, 那校门已

A:　经早就关了. 然后那些老师啊, 或者什么校长啊, 主任啊, .hh 都站

A:　在那校门口一个小-, 小门那里哦,　　[就是, 要进入你就要登名, 然

A:　后又- .hh 呃::,（.）过不到::一两天吧又::, 把那个名字登在什么什

A:　么上. heh heh 那种 .hh 要处分的　heh heh heh .hh 然后那时候我
B:　　　　　　huh huh huh

A:　很受气. 我觉得, 很不公平嘛, 你你是因为我的单车[什么嘛, 出了
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hm.

A:　什么毛病哦, 然后搞得我迟到. 还要登名. .hh [我都跟他说了-, 那
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°是啊.°

A:　个原因吧, 然后他们也-好象很不相信我似的. 我就很生气. .hh 呃::

A:　怎么会这样子的.　[我骗你不成. =
B:　　　　　　　是[啊:::.　　=那时候什么::,（0.2）我记得有一些

B:　人是登了名嘛, 被老师捉去去问. 后来-, 还有一个同学哦,［我的
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hm.

B:　同学::, 后来他就撒了一个大-, 一个谎.°他说什么°（0.2）什么::,（.）

B:　什么::他真也相信那个老师.［到了我就说=我不知道怎么说 hoh
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　h[m.

B:　hoh heh .hhhh 想自己那时候, 挺::什么的. heh heh heh [.hhh
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[可能::, 不

A:　喜欢撒谎吧,［(xxxxxxxx说好了).［实事求是啦.　　　　　　　　heh
B:　　　　　　[hm.　　　　　　[是啊.　　　但是,（0.2）啧, huh

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B: huh huh huh .hhhhh   啊::, 这里有很多, 史记喔. (0.2)
A: heh heh .hhh 挺好笑的, 呃::.

A: 史记? (0.2)   别[看了吧::.
B: ei 史记也挺好看. heh heh heh heh   [.hhh   看一

B: 下.   [呃:: heh
A: ei 别看. (0.4) 别看了. (0.7) 看了就没话说::, 不好啊. [hhh heh

A: .hhh   °唉::°(.)°咱们俩个人°, °试着-°, 然后最近又找那
B: heh heh 唉:: (0.4)

A: 个什么交易会. [什么的. 我又觉得, 好象自己, (0.2) 喷, 啊::, 怎么
B: [是啊::.

A: 说呢, (.) 呃::, 对生活的这种::, 体验还不是太够. huh (.)   [各种
B: 为什[么?

A: 的经历还不是很多. (0.2) 因为-, 人家都很利害嘛. 你看我们], 宿舍

A: 的那::, 一两个女孩子都很利害嘛.   她们], (.) 朋友一大堆啦:::.
B: hmm.

A: 然后又, 拉拉关系啦::. 然后又找了-, 几份啦.   =°几份°工作啊.
B: hmm.=

A: 交易会的工作. (0.5)   [°唉.°   所以, 觉得自己, (.) 好象不是很-,
B: 是啊[::. (0.2)

A: (.) 很::什么sociable的那种罗. 然后-, (0.2) 唉, 我想-有时候想起来

A: 就觉得-, .h 呃:性格本来就如此嘛. °有°, 也没办法[嘛.
B: [不一定吧. 可能

B: 我们的家庭教育::就是要我们啦.   就是作为一个学生, 就是应该
A: hm.

B: 去读书啊. [就是读书是最重要::的, 在-在我们心目中都 这么想. (.)
A: [°可能是吧.°

A: 那时候读书就根本[就, ↑不知道为了什么. 可能是生 存就是为了
B: [hm.

A: 读书 heh heh [.hhhhh
B: [那不一定::. 我想::, (0.2) °mm° 肯定是::, .hh 有家长

B: 的压力吧. 有很大的我觉得. 对于我来说, 因为我那时候, 不太爱

B: 喜欢读书的 heh heh heh .hhh=　　　[我觉得是一种-]　　　　　　　[不不,
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　=读得[我 那 时 候 稀]里糊涂的::. [那个-

B: 我觉得是一种什么. (0.2) 我不太::而我愿-愿意接受的那 种, (0.3)

B: [不过后来就到了, 可能到了高三就觉得想哦,　　　呃也想, 出去
A: [hm.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　hmm.

B: 看一看也好哦. 如果考上大学就出去能看看外面的世界罗. .hh 也

B: [没-, 也没很想. (0.3)
A: [°hm,°　　　　　　　　其实我那时候我觉得我天真的可以哦. 我根本

A: 就不知道什么, .hh 呃:::读初中啊::, 然后[大概-, 高中然后又考大学
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hm.

A: 什么的. [↑好象是-, .hh 啊, 考了高中之后嘛, 然后, 到了那时候, 那
B:　　　　　[°hm.°

A: 些老师才说什么要考大学什么的, [我就才知道哦. [早知道-
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[是吗?　　　　[我::其实我-,

B: 我想没有什么远大的志向. [heh heh .hhh
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　[所以我觉得, 我是稀里糊涂的那时候.

A: 然后觉得, 读书, 好象挺容易的嘛. 就这样那样, 然后又-, 呃-, 可以

A: 拿到很高的分数. .hhhh=　　　　[何乐而不为呢? [heh heh
B:　　　　　　　　　　　=是啊. [x-　　　　　　[上-, 上了大学又,

B: 就不知道应该怎么做. 就是啊唉, (.) 对学完了[又-
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hmm.

B: 甚至他应该是，(0.3) hmm 挺会交际，就是[说，挺有，很多，好朋友.
A: [hm.

A: hm[m.   [哦::.
B: [啊比如说，我不反对他会抽烟. .hh 会[喝酒. (.) e:r 我觉得，只要

B: 他可以，(0.2) 对他以后的::，朋友的发展有用， 我觉得我都可以接[受.
A: [但

A: 是他要是上瘾了呢? (.)   [啊::. 那太好了.]
B: hmmmm 我也不会反对[的. 他 只 要-] heh

B: heh .hhh   [heh heh 不是 heh .hhh 那::不一定
A: 真是一个好妻子. 未来的[好妻子. heh heh .hhh heh heh .hh

B: 是妻子嘛. 只是女[朋友而已. hh] .hhh 这个-这第二点就是:::呃我说
A: heh hhh   [啊::°啊°   ]

B: 完了. [就说他的-，要多才多艺. [.hhh 而且他要跟我互补. 在-在[就
A: [啊.   啊[对啊.   [互

A: 补的. 啊，各种各样的.]
B: 是在兴趣爱好方面要跟我]互补. 比如说，如果我喜-，我这个人-

B: 我本人甚喜好文学啊.   形象思维强一点，[我就需要我男朋友
A: hmm.   [hm.

B: 是一个，   [对，理性]思维强一点[的.   对.
A: 理性思维强[一点的.]   [比较有逻辑性的.

B: 比如说他很擅长电脑啊. 这样，我觉得以后，在一起就会有互相吸

B: 引罗. (0.2) [可以取长补短吧. .hh 第[三点-]   呃:::. (0.3) 第三点，
A: [啊:::   [比 较]完美.

B: 就是::::他一定:: (0.4) 不要:: hmm (0.2) 太::，就是说不要把- (0.3)

B: 爱情看得，(0.3)   =比事业太重. °不是°，还重. [我觉得他应该=
A: 太浮=   [哦::.   =

A: 就是说你希望他[以事业为主.]
B: [我觉得他应该把]一半的，至少::应该有一半是大

B: 家一起在，然后有一半是-，在他自己，[↑个人的空间.] 他不能- (0.2)
A: [但 是 很:::]

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B: 太-（0.2）就象，古代文学的那些啊，很痴情的书生=(原谅)，我就不

B: 好::. 你说很难判断，是吧？   [mhm,]
A: 我是说，就说一半一半哦. [一半事]业，一

A: 半爱情. 但是通常情况下很难-（0.2）很难那百分之五十很难把握的

A: 嘛.   [°是吧.°
B: hm 就[大概罗，就是说-（0.3）有人说 e:r 中国有一句谚语嘛，

B: [就是说::，.hh hmm（0.4）就是兄弟才是手足，[夫妻两人只是衣服-
A: [呃   [哦:::: heh heh heh hh

A: heh heh .hhh heh heh   hm
B: 虽然-，不是很赞成，但是我觉得还是很有道理的.   因为男孩子，

B: 他们需要一个很广阔自己的空间嘛.   所以:::（0.2）只能把爱情
A: hmm.

B: 放在::，放在[这 天]平的一半吧.   那另一半是他的同性的朋友，还有
A: [那样-]

B: .hh 他的事业，起码-（.）就[算他在]热恋的时候我觉得也不应该，全
A: [但是-]

B: 身心的[投入.]
A: [但是有-]有的时候是，这样说吧，他为了:，就是他事业的某

A: 方面啊，就[:::: 不时，有时候就忽略了你啊. 或者怎么样的. 那-
B: [hmm.

A: 那你怎么想？（0.4）   =你，恐怕那个[时候你就有点-（.）
B: hmmm=   [°hn°   .h 会-

B: 我想应该会吧. 但是我觉得我- .hh 可能比起很多其他女孩子，我

B: 会，更宽容一点.   我会给他更多空间-因为我觉得，如果给他
A: °hmm°

B: 太大压力反而会适得其反.（.）   [我觉得看过很]多-，（.）很多
A: 对对. [我也觉得是.]

B: 那些，女-女的啊，[妻子啊，[.hh 因为丈夫有了外遇或者是丈夫太
A: [啊.   [啊.

B: [(执着)，.hh]就是好象歇斯底里的那样，我觉[得是::]   [最-，
A: [对 啊:::.]   [那你这]个问题[你怎

A: 么[样 解 决 呢] heh heh heh heh .hhh]　　　　　　　但是要是他
B: 　[最愚蠢的女]人，.hhh　如果是我，我]就::: hmmhm 喷

A: [万一::]　　　　　　　　　　[↑不管啦.]　　　　　[不管了就不对
B: [不管他]一段时间，如果他有[外遇，.h]hh 如果他有[外遇，我就::]

A: 啊::.] 你要是不管了，那-启[不是等于把他]推到那边去了.
B: 　　　　　　　　　　[hmm.　　]　　　　　　我就首先

B: 自己要从自己[身上]　　[对. 自己是不是很-，忽略，[er 打扮啊这
A: 　　　　[啊:::]反省[一下.　　　　　　　　　[°啊::°

B: 方面什么什么. 然后就- .hhh e::r (.) 我就是:尽量制造一些浪漫的气

B: 氛给他，然后让他，不断回想一些我们在一起的快乐时光. .h[hh
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[啊:::

B: 这样给他一个机会. [如果不行的话，.hhh] 如果不行的话，我就，
A: 　　　　　　　[太浪漫了，太浪漫了.]

B: 不会再纠缠，我就会-，(0.2) 放弃的. 我觉得[这样-]　　　　这样-，
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[放 弃]啊? (0.2)

B: 对啊，我觉得现-，[现阶段这样.]
A: 　　　　　　但[要和他有时候]::那个-就是那个第三-，(0.2) 第

A: 三者啊，有[时候她只是----种逢场作戏啊，什么样的. [那么你
B: 　　　　[°hm.°　　　　　　　　　　　　　　hm[mmm]

A: 怎么看]得出来，或者你怎么样去-，(0.4) 就是说::挽救一下.
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　hmmm.

B: 我会给他一些机会的-我会-，在我们分开，暂时分开一段时间之

B: 后，.hhh 我再::给他一个机会. 如果-，他觉得，还是我最好的话，

B: 他自己就会来找我的，不用我::去纠缠-，.hhh [我::不知道，我只是这
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hmmhm 你这样做.]

B: 样子，] 想而已.hh hih hih hh .hhh 好象就是-，空想家. 虽然没有尝试
A: heh heh heh heh heh .hhhh

B: 过，但是好象想-，因为从书[上啊，从-，.hh 小说上那个看得也多吧.
A: 　　　　　　　　　　[啊::.

B: 所以就自己归纳出了几点. .hh 希望以后能够，给[我 幸 福 吧]heh
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[每个人的情]况

A:　都不同的.　　　　　到时，(0.2) 做起来可能又::，不一样. 或者，情况
B:　hhh .hhh hmmhm.

A:　很-很-，很容易会:: (0.3) 突变.
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　不过时常说的和做的是不一样的.

B:　.hhh 那么你呢? (.) 对于你自己来说::，hm，对于，对自己男朋友-，

B:　将来男朋友-，.hh 有什么要::，有什么[要求呢?
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hmm.　　这个问题我倒

A:　没有什-怎么样仔细想过. (.)　[只是:: (.) [°就是°
B:　　　　　　　　　　　hm[hm.　　　[起码有一个基本的

B:　概念吧.　　　　　　hm. (0.6)
A:　　　啊，概念啊?　　　　就是说:::: (0.2) 要::: (0.5) 就是说，

A:　知识面比较广一点啦=　　可能::是受我家庭影响.　　[我家都
B:　　　　　　　　　=hmmm.　　　　　　　　你家里[都是e:r]

A:　是知识]分子嘛::.　[个个都-，(.) 虽然不是什么雄才大略的，但是=
B:　　　　　hm[m　　　　　　　　　　　　　　=

B:　hmm.
A:　　　都起码能- (0.2) 有一点-，(0.2) 学历啊，或者什么样的. (.)

A:　所以我也希望，我的那位呢，就-，(0.4) 就是说::，知-知识面也-，有-

A:　有一点啦. (0.2)　　[就比较，] 啊，knowledgeable 的. [°啊.°
B:　　　　　　hmm. [有一点.]　　　　　　　　　[你会不会

B:　在乎他是学文科还是理科?　　　　　　喜欢理科男孩[子?
A:　　　　　　　最好学理科的 hhh　　　　[啊

B:　 heh hh[h .hh　　　hm[mhm.　　]
A:　　　[最好学理科的. [理科的人]我觉得-，(0.3) 可能-，(0.2) 比

A:　较那个::思维比较开阔一点啦. [和-，] 和我们，文科::，文科学生想的
B:　　　　　　　　　　　[hmm]

A:　东西不一样的.　　hm. (.)　　有时候会不一样的.
B:　　　　　是吗?　　hmm　　　　　　°比如°什么

B:　是对的.　　hmmm　　[°hn°　　　　　　是不是去华工观察 hh
A:　　　hm.　　我::我[观-我观察过了. (0.3)

B:　[h .hhh .hh
A:　[没有. 不一定去华工嘛. 那我们-我们以前中学也-，(0.2) 有文理科

A: 之分的嘛. [°这°   [其他::::::::]
B: [哦::: .hhhh 那-, 那还有其他方面吧. [不单只这一方]面

B: 吧. (0.7)   心地比较[好-↑但是你不觉得,
A: 就是要有-, 心地比较好啦.   [啊:.

B: 现在的社会, .hh 一个男孩如果太善良的话也许他会, (0.2) 不会-,

B: (0.2) 就是把他的家搞得很好. 他可能会, 失败::, (0.2) [比如说, 如果
A: [°不会呀.°]

B: 他是一个,] .hh 做生意的人, 那[么他很-, 心地很[善良,]
A: [啊.   [我-我-]我不大喜欢

A: 做生意的人.   [呃, 真[的.
B: 哦::: x x. (0.2) .hh heh hh 真的? heh [.hh [但是你不觉

B: 得在广州很多, 成功的男孩, [都是做生意]起家的[嘛?
A: [↑对::呀.]   [这就-这就是矛盾,

A: 之处啊=所以我就-, .hh [很少想-, 想这]个问题嘛.   hh heh heh
B: [那 怎 么 办 呢?]   哦:::

A: heh [heh heh   [随缘啦=   [随缘.]
B: [hmm. 可能就随-随它去吧. 到时候[就-, =啊, [随缘.] 啊, 挺

B: 相信缘分的啊, [你?   现在相信了?
A: [°啊.° 以前::, 不怎么相信.   现在::慢慢地

A: 相信.
B: 但是你不觉得, (.) 有时候缘分还是要靠人去创造的吗? 虽然

B: 说缘分缘分, 但是其实有时候人是[摆 作 一 种,] .hh [自我安
A: [怎么样创造啊.] 怎么[样 °创造.°

B: 慰, 就是说, .hh 机会吧,   只有缘分, 但是你有缘分, 但是你又-,
A: 啊.

B: 还要一些, 除了天时地利人和, [还要自己, (0.2) s-可以说有一点
A: [°hm.°

B: 人为的, 去创造一些机会罗. 我觉得要的. [就好象,]
A: [↑那是-,] 那是机会到来

A: 的时候, 你要善于抓住它.
B: hmmm. 创造一点也是. 机会到了抓住

B:　也是. 反正我觉得,　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[啊：：：
A:　　　　　　　　　↑创造的前提是要有-，这种机会的[苗头出

A:　[现啦.　[你-，你再去创造一下，　那它才会::::（0.2）摆在你
B:　[那倒是.[hm　　　　　　　　hmm.

A:　面前. .hhh 是[吧?　　　　　　　　　　[°hm°
B:　　　　　　　[缘分，对. 说得，°对-°（0.3）[然后呢，还有其他的吧.

B:　（0.4）　　　　hmm. 当然是你的啦.[我的已经说了那么多了. .hh .hhh
A:　　　　我的?　　　　　　　　[hh heh heh heh heh heh .hhhh

A:　我的::，（0.5）就是能够:::，能够和:::和我互相理解了.（0.2）互相体
B:

A:　贴.（0.4）　　　　　　[还 有 的 就 是::: 互 相 宽 容.　]
B:　　　　　　hm. .hh hmmm[如果:::，（你这样），你介不介意]::，你的::未

B:　来的，男朋友或者是husband，　e:r 在事业上不如你成功.（0.5）
A:　　　　　　　　　　啊

A:　介不介意啊?[我觉得:::::，↑现在觉得没什-没什么所谓.
B:　　　　　　[hm.　　　　　　　　　　　hmm

B:　如果是男朋友呢?（.）就不要扯那么远-，不要说远的, .hh future

B:　husband, .h[hh 就是说::，比如说你现在在广外，[有一个男朋友.
A:　　　　　　[啊　　　　　　　　　　　　[啊

B:　（.）[有一个男孩子,[但是那个人学习，各方面不如你.
A:　　[啊　　　[啊　　　　　　　　啊：（0.2）

B:　你说你跟他在一起，你会觉得::，[会不会]觉得很happy.
A:　　　　　　　　　　　[不 会-]　　.hh ↑会

B:　会的?　hm. .hh 但是，那个男孩子就不一定了. hh heh hh .hhh
A:　　会.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　那我

A:　就-我就-我就没想过.　其实我有很多好朋友啊，就算男的,
B:　　　　　　　hmm

B:　hmm=
A:　=男性的很-很-好朋友-，都是-，刚-刚-，都是象你刚才所说的

A:　那样[子.　　　[啊.]有::某[些方面不如我，也不是-,　=
B:　　[不如你那么[利害.]　　[°hm°　　　　　　　hmm=

A: ↑<u>当然</u>他不可能::::整个人都不如我[了. 有某一些]方面,   [我比他]
B: [hm, 那倒是.]   取[长补短.]

A: 强, 或者怎么样, 但是-, (.) 我们-, 我和几个人都一直是很好的.

A: [中学的, 小学大学的. hhh .hhh 都是[那是-, (.) 就是-, 关键是[你要
B: [hm.   [°hm°.   [°hm°.

A: 和::, 你的朋友能够, 互相-, (0.2) 就不要计较那么多::: (0.2) 或者-,

A: (0.4) 你的:: (0.4) 怎么说呢,   hmm=
B: <u>hm</u>. (0.4)   =hmm 不要-, (0.4) 你是说

B: 自己方面, 还是说你的朋友方面? (0.2)   [都要互相谅]
A: 对, 两方面啦. [两方面啦.]

B: 解=   hm [我觉得宽容挺重[要的.   [°hm°
A: =啊, 互相宽容啊. [互相-   [啊, 对啊. (0.2) [有时

A: 候你就要-, (0.2) 容忍-, 某些人-, 其他人的某些错误或者怎

A: [么样的. 有时候他们不一定是故意犯的, 或者-, (0.4) 不一定是
B: [°hm.°

A: 有心去伤害你. [°啊, 是这样]子.°   [所以-, 我觉得我还]是-,
B: [hmmm.   ]   反正::[都 是 这 样 的.   ]

A: (.) 挺大度的.   heh heh [heh heh heh heh .hh
B: hm 我也觉得.   [所以我才跟你, .hhh 挺好的

B: 嘛 [heh hh   因为我-我觉得我是一个喜-, 女孩子气很重, 喜-很情绪
A: [哎:::::呀.

B: 化的人, 所以[我就有,   [觉得和你在一起, .hh]h 好象觉得有一种,
A: [对:::. 我觉[得你太emotional了.]

B: (0.3) 好象以你为敬吧. 老是觉得自己好象, 应该象你学习, 对.

B: [在性格方面.] 但是是永远改不了[heh heh heh .hhh 江山易改本
A: [哎呀不能-]   [heh heh heh heh heh

B: 性难移 hhh .hhhh h[唉::
A: [所以我觉得你-, 你以后的-, 那一位啊, (.)

B: <u>hm</u>[m.   [(强于容忍)]   .hh 不然的话, 很糟[糕.
A: [应该-, (.) [↑<u>特</u>::别不能] ch-情绪化.   [肯定

A: 是每日一小吵，三日一大吵[的.
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　[那你认为我现在-，.hhh 比较-，t-心

B: 移的那――

F: .hh 就象你所说的那些大酒店啦那些::, 又不是叫他们做服务员,

F: 或者做什么迎宾小姐的话, 就没有必要. 他们做翻译的时候就是

F: 在室内的, 在-, .hh 房子里面做的话, 那也::无伤大雅嘛.
M: °呃-°不过

M: 我觉得::那有点不公平啊. 你们那女生就在馆内::做嘛. (.) 你们的

M: 工资是°呃-°, 两百, 三百, 一千. 但是我[们男生-,]   heh heh
F: [有这么高]嘛 heh heh heh

M: 我们男生在[馆外-, (.) 风吹雨晒. heh heh   [你要-, 做]几十块或者-,
F: [.hhh   也[不会啊.]

M: 一百多块一天. 是顶-, 最多的据我所知也是一百五十块. 但是-,

M: 是从[早上-]   [从早上九点]干到晚上九点. 你是十二个钟干啊.
F: [那 女]生也[差不多.   ]

M: (0.4)   [你觉得不-]
F: 不过::, 据我所知, 女生的价钱-, 也不[是那么高.] 一百:, 一般才

F: 一百五十块到两百块嘛. (0.3) 她们也是工作啊. 有一些也是从早上

F: 九点干到晚上十点的. [有一些好一点就::, 干八个小时. 但也说不
M: [°但-°

F: 定.   hh[h huh
M: 那起码你们在室内做啊. 室内-, (0.3) 起码有空调啊. [°那里

M: 面°, 最起码[都有一把椅子坐啊. (.) 环境, 当然比室外好得多-所以
F: [.hhh

M: 我们也是觉得很不公平. 与其在::, 外面做得这么辛苦, (.) 而工资又

M: 比你们低. 那我还不如-, 有点骨气, 我花少一点. 我干脆[不做算
F: [那::不干

F: 啦.] heh heh hh .hhh 但是你会不会觉得一个人孤零零地去那边做操,
M: 了.]

F: 是很尴尬的嘛 hhh .hh   不会罗.
M: 其实也不一定.   不过据我所知, 往年

M: 都是剩都是, 大部分男生都是回来这里罗. (.) °er°而::, 大部分, 百

M: 分之九十女生都会出去. (0.3) 所以也-也不会存在什么, 孤零零.

M: (0.2) [但是-]
F: [不过-,] 对女生来说就:::, 可能存在着什么问题呢-因为绝大

F: 部分女生都去了话, .hh 只剩下那么一两个女生在那做操的话, .hh

F: 挺怪异的.   [hhh   [hhhh
M: 对. 人[家会怎么看你, 就说-, [heh .hh 呃:, 这女生没人要.

M: 不过男生我们不同啊, 没人要是很正常. 现在的老板都是-, 要女的

M: 为主嘛.
F: 所以啊很多女生其实她不想做, 也不得不去做了. 就是为了

F: 面子问题啊. [.hh 其实说::, 缺钱花吧::, 现在的人都不缺钱花啦. (0.2)
M: [呃

M: 主要是吸收一下经验而已. 看一下实际怎么操作. 不-不然的话, 我

M: 们一毕业出去, 真的. 人家给一份订单你, 你就真-, 真的不知怎么

M: 应付.
F: 但很多人做过交易会, 他们都说去做交易会是你想吸收

F: 经验的话, 根本学不到什么东西的. .hh 因为::, 大多数都去那里

F: 打打杂呀. 翻译一下呀. 搬一下东西啊. .hh 就这-, 干一些杂活罗.

F: 如果真正说是::, 把你的英语用上去的话, 是很少的. (0.2)
M: 不过最

M: 起码有个实践的机会呀. (.) 或者-, 对我们来说, 已经第四年. (0.2)

M: 机会恐怕很少很少, 但是学校又不会, 另外安排, s-去实习的时

M: 间. (.) 跟其他大学不同哦. 现在的中大那些, (.) x x 啊他们-, 这个

M: 学期一上学-, 九月份就出去了. (0.2) 去了东莞实习. 全部出去了.

M: (.) [而且他们是实习一个学期啊. (0.2) 是真的[°是 很 长.°]
F: [huh   [但对我们没]可能

F: 吧. 实习一个学期, 你:把英语都忘光了 hhh .hhh   这-, 而且也不
M: 不-

F:　一定找得到-,　对口的单位去实习嘛. (0.4)

M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　呃:,　可能也有道理. 因为

M:　我们毕竟选学的专业不同. [自己-,　各自的特点°不同°.　↑那你说

F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[就是啊.

M:　你,　你今-,　今-今天::晚上就知道下个月找到一个什么-, [那(是

F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hmm.]

M:　什么事)].

F:　　　　　　　那是::,　中央美术学院的. (.) 就是他来找-,　搞一个画展.

F:　搞一个画展以后就主要是推销他的画. 他这样(对作)-

M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　去交易会:,

M:　推销?　　　　　哦:.

F:　　　　　啊..hh　　说真的,　因为他是推销他画:的,　所以就::,　要::,

F:　比别的摊位都要迟半个小时啊-因为-,　.hh 很多时候那些老板,　收了

F:　摊以后没事做的话,　经过的话,　就-, (0.2) [见到-,　现在的人对画::来

M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°呃 hh°

F:　说都是::比较::, (0.4) 怎么说比较喜欢吧. 就::,　看到的话,　都应该会

F:　停下来欣赏一下. 有些老板就想抓住这个机会的话,　多做一点生意

F:　啦. [所以就-]

M:　　　[不过我-,] 我说::,　大多人, (.) 那大多数的生意人,　他们-,　对画:,

M:　°呃::° (0.2) 如果他买画的话,　我看-,　.hh 不仅仅是存在-,　欣赏那么

M:　简单. 而是他们很多人都-,　存在一种-, (0.2)　　[是种-一种投资啊,　那

F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　交[易啊.

M:　种投资意识的. 比如你买一幅书画. (0.2) 比如[走私一个什么-,　呃.]

F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[买 然 后 转 手::　　]

F:　倒[卖是不是那样.]

M:　　[现 在 画 家]他-, (.) 未-未成名的作品然后以后他-,　以后-,　或者有

M:　一遭一日他成了名. 他有[发展前途看好的话,　他的画,　立刻就什价

F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°hm.°

M:　百倍啦. 很多人都-,　买画,　买艺术品都是存着这种意识的. (.) [作为

F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[那是-

F: 虽然是这样,] 但你::, 怎么能够预测得到那-, 能成名而且[你要-,]
M: 一种 投 资 啊].   [↑而且-]

F: 收藏他的画要-要收藏好长时间[的.
M: [不过起码你-, 你去的这种-, 大型

M: 的画展, 都是有一定知名度的-, huh 画家的作品啊.°要买-°, [°买
F: [hm.

M: 的话°, 你象-, (.) 就以前的凡高的画, 那-, 拍卖::,   拍[卖几
F: hhh   [.hhhh

M: 千万美金啊. (0.3)[怎么解释.
F: [°hn°   这些都比较::, 我觉得这些:, 现象都

F: 比较少的吧. (.)   hmm 而且-, 我有一点担心的是, 就说那些-,
M: °呃°(.)

F: 商人的话, 他一般都是对::, .hh 啊:, 商品啊, 金钱这方面::兴趣比

F: 较大一点-如果对那些艺术的这-这方面可能就兴趣没有那么浓

F: 啊. .hh 我就怕到时候::, hh hh 冷冷清清的, 就-, (0.2) 啊, 老板:也

F: 不满意啦. 自己也觉得::, (0.2) 不怎么样啦. °huh° (0.2)
M: 不过他::, 既

M: 然-, (0.4) 他-, 或许, (.) 那-, 那个办画展的公司应该往-, 往年也

M: 做过的嘛. 他[应该知-   =他应该
F: [往年-, ((clears throat)) 他们也应该做过的=

M: 知道行-行情才会搞. 如果往年, 做过没-, 没什么-, 前-前途, 没-

M: 没什么钱赚, 他今年就不会-, 去搞一个摊位这样搞罗. (0.2)
F: hm.

F: 不过也很难说啦. 有时候. 那得看::, (0.2) 那老板是::抱着什么想

F: 法了hhh   .hhh
M: heh   现在是-, (.) 商品-, (.) 经济啊::. (0.2) 如果搞

M: 画展才-, 也就是-, 搞艺术很多人只是为了赚钱而已. (0.5) 如果单靠艺

M: 术的那些艺术怎么会吃饱. (.) hhh heh
F: .hhh 那艺术未必要等今天

F: 啊. 现在都算. .hh (0.2) 啊::, 我就撇开交易会不说吧-啊我觉得这

F: 段时间，我们级的男生好象:挺::，祸不单行的 heh heh .hhh 就::，刚

F: 刚徐志怀:才:::，(.) 刚好吧. 现在又听说:陆松又出事了 hh .hh 就::，

F: 不知听说::，也不知道，具体情况是怎么样的.
M: °(hm)°. °(不知道).° 我

M: 也-也不大-，不是很[清楚. ↑不过，   [不过我听我们-，宿舍的[人说，
F: [hhh   .h[hh   [hhh

M: 他们陆松，(0.2) 他原来，(.) 在外面一个建筑公司做part-time的嘛.

F: hm=
M: =他可能-，带人去::，(0.2) 什么-，番禺，(.) 还是哪里啊. 一次郊区

M: 那边，一个-，采石场. 一个工地里，去看那些::，建筑材料啊. (0.3) 可

M: 能-，当时，出了一些工伤事故，那里啊. 他说有一块石头，(.) 向他

M: 砸过来. (0.2)   一个大石头. 当头砸过来. 他:用手去一挡，然后，
F: 啊

M: 一挡呢，手就伤了. 而且，他的-，前额也，擦伤一些-，皮. (0.2) ↑不过

M: 主要还是手伤得厉害.
F: °啊.° 陆松他现在是不是住在医院里啊? (0.3)

M: 是啊. 他们星期六晚上. 已经送去了华侨医院了. 在-，暨大那边.

M: (0.2)   呃，然后当天晚上就-，(0.4) 院-，住院立刻要
F: 啊，(刚送去的).

M: 做手术罗. 这是不能拖的嘛. [.hh 但是当时，要五千块::，(.) 住院
F: [啊.

M: 的押金. (0.4) 他是一下子拿不出这么多钱来. 后来就打电话，(0.3)

M: 找到，(.) 辅导员跟-(0.2) 团书记罗. (0.2) 就当天晚上，星期六晚上，

M: °(做手术)°. 星期六晚上，(.) 象张大年啊，学生会的那一边，[拿了
F: [hm

M: 三千块出去. (.) 给他先押着. 先做完手术了. (0.4)   [huh
F: 希望他的头，[他

F: 的手不会有什么事吧 hh .hh
M: 但愿罗. 不过，二班的，(.) 很多同学::，

M:　他-他们班的，都去，都出去看了他. 星期天. (.)　　　　因为他-，人
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　哦::.

M:　还是没事啊. 比较清醒. °反正°, 手术完之后他就感觉, 呃-可能那

M:　些-, .hh 镇痛剂过-, 过效了. °呃°, 就::感觉很痛啊.
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　对, 如果是::,

F:　那些神经:, 段了的话就::, 那手[就 很 危 险 了.]
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[不过听说是右-,] 右手啊, 看来比较

M:　麻烦. (0.2)
F:　　　　　　　　哦::, 我们-, 我们听说这事就是因为, 他们说要::, 什么

F:　日语补考::.　　[hh .hh 就说他没有去, 因为那手弄伤了, 不能去.
M:　　　　　　heh [heh hh

F:　.hh 我们才知道的. .hh 至于大概说他好象::, 女生那边消息是比较

F:　背一点吧, 就::. (0.2)
M:　　　　　　　　　　可能比-, .hh 如果-, 到他那里了, 才清楚一点.

M:　因为他们有直接去:看过. 去医院[看过他了. (0.5) 不过什么补考. (.)
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[啊.

M:　[他是, 听说是这样子[啊. 就说-, 上一个星期已经说是要-, 去补考.
F:　[hhh　　　　　　　[.hhh

M:　但是, °陆-°陆松找到::那日语老师嘛. [当时那个老师说没有空. (0.3)
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[啊::.

M:　叫他下星期再来罗. 那就-, 现在是出事, 现[在-, 一拖不知拖到什么
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[.hhh

M:　时候. (0.2)　　　而且补考也-我都-, (0.2) 看起来也很-, 搞笑. (.) 因
F:　　　　　啊拖:

M:　为只有他一个人去补考 heh heh hh .hh 就, 难道就一个老师对着一
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　hhh hh .hh

M:　个学生, 你说, 当时考试的时候, 这么多人一起做, 都[还不-,] 还不
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[啊:: 　]

M:　可能及格. 但那几个老师对你一个学生, .hh 他给一份给你做, 怎么

M:　做得[及格.
F:　　　[不过一般来说, 他都是叫你补考的话, 他::, 基本上不怎么看

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F:　　你答案的. 就:给个六十分你.　　　　　　　　啊:. ((clears throat))
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　就形式而已罗.

F:　　不过我就是-, 听那些老师说, 如果你补考成绩-, 不到::七十五分的

F:　　话, .hh 你就不能够拿学位证书了. (.)
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　不是吧. 他-, 他补考::, (.) 只

M:　　是-, (0.2) 他根本不给一个分数.

F:　那是:::（.）清朝:是什么来着?　　　　　　　　　　　　［不是::: （0.2）hm
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　光绪-不，宣统. （0.2）［当时-

F:　不是那个时候. 那个时候有一个:: （.）哦洋务派. ［梁汉民］就是洋务
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　［洋务派.］

F:　派:其中一个代表人::=　　　但是我不知道因为是不是真名. （0.3）
M:　　　　　　　　　　=°光绪°

M:　这无所谓呀.
F:　　　　　　　hm..hh 然后就讲在船上遇到了表兄. .hh 她很喜欢

F:　她表兄-表兄也很喜欢她. .hh 牡丹这个人就是:::，什么事都敢做::.

F:　（.）°对-°敢恨敢爱那种小女孩. .hh 不是小女孩吧，［不过::思想上
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　［°hhh .hh°

F:　就是 .hh er 比较直罗，想的事情不是很多::. .hh 于是她就答应

F:　跟她表兄一起回::，北京. .hh 但是她表兄好象:: （.）他们是表

F:　兄妹的关系嘛:，［所以不能结婚的::. .hh 就是做他的::lover了.
M:　　　　　　　　［°hmm°

F:　.hh hm 但是她:: （0.3）回去的时候她以前经常跟她-还跟她那个

F:　初恋情人嘛 .hhh 有来往的:. （0.2）
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　那是说，说过来说过去就是说

M:　.hhh 这-，总的讲就是，牡丹就是履行什么追求他的爱［情.
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　［哎::，对了.

M:　hh ［heh hh　　　［heh heh heh heh　　　　　［°说:笑.°
F:　　　［哎你那领悟性［还是比较高的 heh heh heh ［.hhhh 啊不用我前面

F:　点出来 heh heh .hhh
M:　　　　　　　　　　那他-，他- （.）指出那个 °.hh° e::r 比如说:: （0.2）

M:　就是她的-，这种反抗::，.hh e:r 最后结局是什么?
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　他::实际上我觉

F:　得他讲的不是什么反抗，就是［讲那种人的个性.］哎，表现- .hhh
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　［（她这种人是吧）.］

F:　［就是说她］很-，（.）很强调这个自我个性的. （0.2）什么事情都敢做
M:　［°自然发展.°］

F:　的:，而且不受什么约束的. .hh 我觉得他写那个时候是清朝的时候

F:　嘛. [.hh 喷，　那样的女孩应该很少见的. .hh [就思想很开放的她. (0.5)
M:　　　[hm　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 [°hh heh°

M:　你感觉:: (.) 是不是也适用现代[社会，heh heh .hhh hah .hhhh hh
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 [ho::h 我觉得比现代社会还适用

F:　hoh hoh heh .hh 反正我觉得，有一点，感觉就是梁-e:r 梁语堂::，
M:　heh heh hh

F:　er [林语堂]写的这本书好象有点不太现实. .hh 因为我觉得那种
M:　　 [°林语堂°]

F:　环境下不可能有那种女性. .hh 她完全就是:，那种女性我觉得只有

F:　在，八九十年代才有[的.
M:　　　　　　　　　 [.hh 这::: hh 因为，我想::，.hh 可能一个原

M:　因是:::林语堂因为在美国生[活了很多年. [他受西方影响. [.hhh
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　 [对::.　　　 h[m　　　　　 [hm

F:　我也觉得差不多.]　　　　　　　[哎:::.　　哎，对.　　[(比较平).
M:　再一个是就是写小]说的时候，.hh [要高一手.　　　heh [heh .hhh

M:　heh heh .hhh　　　　　　　　　　　　 he[h hh
F:　hih heh heh heh .hhh 我同意 hih .hh　　[不过我很喜欢这本书. 就是

F:　觉得那个，牡丹的性格真的:: .hh 挺让人羡慕的:. (0.2) 她自己心

F:　里想什么:，就敢做. .hh 而且她那个人:::: (.) 怎么说呢:，.hh 就是::::

F:　也不为名也不为利罗::. 就是自己过得快活就-，自己怎么快活

F:　怎么过得.　　　　　　　　　　　　　 h[m m m m]m 我觉得不是
M:　　　　　　　　这是-这是:::::实用主义. (0.2) [算不算呢?]

F:　实用主义. 实用主义就是那种:::
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 或者是，走一步，瞧一步那种.

F:　也不是啊. [我↑觉得，..hh 她[就是心中有一个理想罗，然后:: (0.4)
M:　　　　　 [hh heh　　　 [hh heh

F:　就是说随缘罗. (0.2)　　　=朝着那理想走罗. (0.2) 喷反正我觉得
M:　　　　　　　　 随缘=

F:　写得很好.　　[heh heh hh .hhh 我觉得我[词汇很贫乏的.　[就会
M:　　　　　hh [heh　　　　　　　　　[heh heh　　　　[heh

M:　.hhh　　　　　　　　°好-°, 好[就不错.　[heh heh heh heh .hh
F:　用很好来形容 hoh .hhh　　　　　[hm　　　[heh heh heh heh .hh

M:　那[也其-,] 其他的你还看过有什么, 林语堂的书啊.　(0.2)
F:　　[然而-]　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　林语堂

F:　的书再没看过什么::林语堂::有什么书啊还有?
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　林语堂:::中国人.

F:　中国人没看.　我觉得好象有一本林语堂的什么::散文集啊.
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　.hhh 散

M:　[文集]　　　　　　　　　=他最有名气的是金华烟云吧.
F:　[很久]以前看过.　大一的时候好象=

F:　°.hhh hh°↑啊, 金华烟云.　(0.2) 哦不是.　我看的那个是::::　(0.3)

F:　啼笑姻缘啊.　hm [只看过这-]　　　[啊张恨水的.　　[哎你对张
M:　　　　　　　[张恨水的, 张]恨水[的.　　　.hhh [hhh

F:　恨水这个人印象怎么样?
M:　　　　　　　　　　张恨水? 他:::,　我没看过他的文章.　只是

M:　说这个人.　　　[他 是 属 于]古典派的.
F:　　　　　喷.hh[hh 因为我-]　　　对:::　.hh 好象还不止这方面

F:　要那么利害.　.hh 我那天就在图书馆查书的时候, 看了一部分他的,

F:　简介.　.hh 就是说好象, 他有一个朋友对他评价很高.　.hh 说他这个

F:　人可以同时写几部小说.　.hh 每部小说[的情节都记得很清楚.　特别
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°(那看)°

F:　联贯.　而且提笔就写, 根本不用思考.我觉得很奇怪的.　　怎么会有
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　hhh

F:　这种人呢, 太夸张了.　(0.2)　　　　　　　[我 就 看]过啼笑姻
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　°几篇::°.hhhh 这个:: [°我不懂.°]

F:　缘, 我觉得, .hh 怎么说::还可以吧.　但是::啼笑姻缘他本来就写了一

F:　部前部嘛.　[.hh 然后来又续了.　续了后面那-, 那半部.　.hhh 我觉得
M:　　　　　[hm

F:　后-, 面那半部写的 hm 就是怎么说呢, .hh 有点象::, 故意搞一个大

F:　团圆的结局罗::.　　　　　　[反正我不是]很[喜欢.
M:　　　　　　　　　hh huh [　就臭了.　]　[heh .hh 我不爱看他的书.

M:　也不是很(多).　真的没看过.　因为-,　.hhh 那种感觉象那种:: (.) e::r

M:　三十-二三十年代,　或者之前那种作家.　写的是那种: .hhh (.) 只能

M:　说半文半-,　白的°那种°.　[那种语言,　我不喜]欢看那种.　.hhh 而且::
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　[hm. hm. hm. hm.　]

M:　就是:还有点,　(0.2) 古式吧.　就说起来又说到[(x x x x)
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[不过你不觉得现在好

F:　多人,　就算那些写小说的人,　.hh 都喜欢那种半文半白的风格.
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　°那就

M:　我::°知道,　我现在只注意到有一种,　[就是那种,　　　[就是所
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[heh heh heh hhhh [heh heh

M:　谓呢,　最新的,　新生代的那种.　就写的是::,　就很::一般的语言啊.　(.)

M:　就是::,　市-接近市民化那种.　(0.2) 就有点,　[跟那个王塑写的°那
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　是[吧.

M:　种°.　　　　　　　　　　　长恨歌::: .hhh e:r
F:　　那你觉得长恨歌那个,　这本书不好.

M:　应该说不错吧.
F:　　　　　　　　我觉得他的文体就,　有点半文半白,　不是很文的,

F:　不是很白的.　(0.3)　　　　　[是吧.]
M:　　　　　　　　　啊:: 对的.　(毛[阿一])跟其他的不太一样.　她是

M:　有一点,　传统.　.hh heh [.hh
F:　　　　　　　　　　[hmm. (0.2) 不过我觉得::,　哎他的描写太

F:　多了.　　　　　hmm. 得要静下心来看才行.
M:　　°描写°　　　　　　　　因为她是女性作家吧.　一

M:　向说来是女性作家,　.hhh　　　　　(毛阿一)是女的.
F:　　　　　　　　他是女的吗?　　　　　　哎呀,　我

F:　一直以为她是个男的呢.　　=我就想他怎么描写得那么细::腻呢,
M:　　　　　　　　heh=

F:　真的有点象,　就是女性作家,　.hh 我听-看着这个名字觉得是个男的

F: 名字. 只有我都没问::.　　　　[我真以为是个男-.hh 你说是张爱民
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　huh [.hh

F: 的传人，我还 .hh[h 想来想去，张爱民哪有这个 heh heh heh 哦:::
M:　　　　　　　　[heh heh heh heh

F: 原来如此::.　　　　　　　　　　　　[她母亲是?]　　　吴子娟啊?
M:　　　　她::她母亲也比较有名气. [叫茹志娟.] (0.3)

M: 茹, 志, 娟.　[就是-　　　啊. (0.2) [°(她-)°　　　　　.hhh 写那
F:　　　　　↑啊[茹志娟是::　　　　[茹志娟写的是什么?

M: 个百合[花.　　=百合花. 班主任是[::刘心五. h[eh .hhh
F:　　　[班主任=　　　　　　　[刘弯五.　　[刘心五.

M: hhh 刘弯五是谁? .hh[hh heh heh .hhh heh　　　　　啊=
F:　　　　　　　　[.hhh heh 改名字 heh heh heh heh　=啊对::.

F: 咱们反正那个::现代文坛介绍过嘛，茹志娟? ↑啊她母亲是茹志

F: 娟?　　　啊::::　　　　　　　　　那你最近看过什么::中文小
M:　　°啊°.　　　　heh .hhh hhh °想想看°

F: 说?=　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　.hh °哎就看那个°-哎
M:　=°中-°中文就看::那个:::(0.3) 卢梭的忏悔录.

F: [讲讲吧. [(从思想上]太性急) heh [heh .hhh
M: [(他-)　[忏悔录]　　　　[忏悔录]开始就是 e:r (0.2) 写的

M: 自己的一生吧.　　=然后一生的所做所为. [自己:: (0.3) e:r 他:
F:　　　　　　hmm=　　　　　　　　h[m

M: 实际上并不是所谓什么忏悔，就是:: s 有那种自传性质. .hhh 因为

M: 他:: (.) er 可能受到那种不公平的对待. 或者迫害啦. [他决心,
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　h[m

M: 还有诬陷啦，他决心通过那自己的自传，把整个一生，(.) 那个真-

M: 真实的:[写出来.]
F:　　　[啊那实际]上就不是忏悔录了. .hh er 就是:::，怎么说呢::，

F: (0.2) 喷翻态吧. [heh hh
M:　　　　　　[那个::他自己也提过，我这不是为了，为我自己解

M: 脱的. 他说, hh.hh 好[象-　　　　[heh 是有点.
F:　　　　　　　　[实际上就是 [heh heh heh .hhh 哎听你这意思

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F:　　就是-你看到哪啦？看完了[吗？
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[看到一大半. (0.2) 还-，还-，(0.2) 还好，

M:　　这本书，就写得确实比较真吧.　　　　　　　　是啊，也-，也
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　就讲他的一生. (.)

M:　　差不多一生，对. (0.2) 他-，他最开始就-第一句就是什么，.hh 我

M:　　要开始一项:: e::r s- 就是::前无古人，后无来者那种，.hh 我要

M:　　把:::，(.) 那个自己赤裸裸地，表现在::，　大家面前啊，[你自己来判
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hmm

M:　　断°这种行为°. .hh 他就写，从我年青时候，以及到::::中年，以

M:　　及以后，他朋友的交往. er，用现在人的分析方法，.hh 就是说是

M:　　批判资本-资产阶级°黑暗°.　　　　[heh hah .hhh 我[感觉-
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　huh hu[h huh　　　　　[我最讨厌看

F:　　咱们文学书[上，　　=huh 无论写什么，这本书，.hh 批判了资产阶
M:　　　　　　　[heh .hh=

F:　　级的什么，.hh 要不就是说，这本书对资产阶级的什么批判性还

F:　　不够啦，啊最后宣扬宗教，我觉得这些加进去都是太多余了.
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　你说

M:　　这个，在我们那个，英国文学 .hh 简史上，中英文版，那里面最

M:　　体-最-，体现最多. 每评价一个作家都是，怎么°怎么° heh .hhhh

F:　　hm 阶级性太强，什么都用阶级来. 都打上阶级的烙印=
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　=heh .hh 就

M:　　说我看那个，.hh 忏悔录:: .hh 应-应该，说是对::，自我的表述吧.

M:　　(0.2) 不讨论它什么资产阶级. heh .hhh [hhh .hh　　他讨论所谓人性.
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[(就是)啊::

M:　　(0.6)　　　　　　　　　他这人::，.hhh er 总的来说是一生::::比
F:　　　　　　那讲讲他这个人罗.

M:　　较:: [坎坷吧. (0.2) 然后::
F:　　　　坎[坷　　　　　　　　不过也算挺得意的了::，扬林护士.

M:　　°扬林护士°. .hhh 但是当时，(.) 当时的时候::　　　也不能说
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　不得意.

M: 完全不得意. 就[是他也有得意的时候. 　[但是:::总-因为ss, 有
F: 　　　　　　　[就- 　　　　　　　　hm[m

M: 一个, 就是说::那个::, .hh 快乐::, 就[是持续时间很短. [更-更多的
F: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hmm 　　　　　h[m.

M: 就是那个, .hh 不幸. [感觉这种, 　　所以他:里面, .hhh (0.4)
F: 　　　　　　　　hm[m 　　　　hm

M: 我感觉他里面写的自己的快乐还很多的. .hh 虽然说他自己怎么::,

M: 苦难啦之类[的, .hh 中间我能感觉heh hh 还是有一点很多的快乐
F: 　　　　　[hm

M: 成分. [.hh hhh 　　　　　　　[快乐他的:::] (0.2) 　　他的经历啊.
F: 　　[hm (0.2) 他快乐什么? [(愉快的喜)-] 　　思想.

M: 比如说, 他里面很大一部分就是说:::以他的感情为线啦.
F: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　哦:::::

M: heh .hhhh
F: 　　　　终于-

M: 误人子弟. he[h .hhh
F: [真的. 你想一下-, (0.2) 我觉得我去年, (.) 整

F: 整一年荒::废啦. [就学-就学德语方面. 我什么都没学到. h[hh hh
M: [就是-   [hh heh

M: heh h[eh   [啊.   [啊. 啊
F: [老师不严, 我也-, 我自己也不认真啊. [你知道我, 常[常课间

F: 听 音乐]课. (0.3)   [heh heh .hhh (0.2) 实际
M: 啊啊啊啊.]   再加上逃课啊::. heh heh [heh heh heh

F: 上我真想着, (.) 一当-, (.) 我们, 德语老师啊, 一开始就是, 象今天

F: 那样的老师.
M: 那肯定学:::, 学得跟, 起-起码跟法语差不-, 起码跟

M: 法语班差不很多. .hh 虽然不[会好过日语, heh 跟-起码跟法语班
F: [°hm.°

M: 差不多.
F: hm. hm. .hh 和法语, .hh 法语到上学期末还知道,

F: ↑过去时是什么. .hh 你想一下我到上学期末, 做-, 百分之五十

F: 的, 翻译[题啊. ↑不知道, 看那些, ↑哇, 什么°都°不明白, 跑去问
M: [啊

F: 德语专业, 他说过去时过去时, .hh 我不会的全部是过去时. 查

F: 字典也查[不到, 恼死我了. hhhhhhh .hhhhh
M: [°heh heh heh heh° heh heh heh heh heh heh .hhh 唉:::

M: °.hh° 阿妹你::, (.) 这么多年来, 你:应该学了三年多了吧, =
F: =mhm.

M: 对那个什么综合评定怎么看啊?
F: 综合评定啊, .hh 我是抱着无所

F: 谓的态度的.   [是没什么意思.]
M: 我觉得没有什么意思, 因为::[每年到了这 个]时候:::,

M: .hh 就是说, 啧唉嗨人的丑恶面就是, .hh (.) 就可以看到一些人

M: 的丑恶面. =
F: =呃, 不过, (.) 不知道是因为我自己不是很在意, 还是

F:　　我们系好一点. 我觉得我们系不会象::其他系一样钩心斗角. 很-

F:　　.hh 很对这些, 一分半厘:::, 的分数斤斤计较的.
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　也有哦::, 也

M:　　有-, [也也有一些人很紧张, 很-, (0.3) .hh 反正就是说, .hh 就是每
F:　　　　　[也有.

M:　　次到了这个时候就是, (.) 你看得出的嘛=就是说, ↓有::, 有可能

M:　　争取::这些名额的人, .hh 都::会很惶恐, 很:::很着急想知道自己分

M:　　数啊, 知道其他人的分-, 　分数.　　　　　　　　我觉得李四, 李四
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　哦. °危言耸听啊°.

M:　　就很亏::啦. °.hh° 李[四::　　　　　　　　　　　　°啧°. 啊应
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　[不, 李四今年好象::拿了单项奖?

M:　　该可::[:::以, 如果不出::]什么 .hh (.) 大意外的话. [应该可以.
F:　　　　　[他不至 于:: °对-°]　　　　　　　　　　　[今晚我听赵大

F:　　三说他, °.hh° 评::智育分啊, 　智育分这一项, (.) 他拿了奖. (0.5)
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　啊.

M:　　可能吧.　　[就是.　　[可是-, ↑有可能. 但这不是说很一定的了.
F:　　　　　°啊°[°得到名额°[°hm.°

F:　　哦::.
M:　　　　　　在前面一↑切:人的所幸言中, 如果不出我所::↑料::的, 就是我

M:　　们所期望的那样, 那么-, (.) °李四可能:°, .hh °可能°. °但是°, .hhh 就

M:　　是说很难说::的这种事情. =
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　=不过也是, 说不定半路杀出个程咬金的.

F:　　=[很可能会-, 一下子想着, 哎呀我又忘了加什么分了, 又去加的.
M:　　=[啊:::.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　啊.

M:　　(0.3)
F:　　　　　　我是经常, (.) 这些事忘啊, hhh .hh 忘了hh heh 人家跟我讲我

F:　　才去, .hhh 跟辅导员讲::.　　=然后辅导员加就加, 不加就算了. 去年
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　呃.=

F:　　最典型. 去年我加-, °.hh° 把::写作课, 一门八十七分[的忘了写下[去
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[呃, 　　　[啊.

F:　啊. 结果,（.）我当时我在我们班里面综合册名次倒数第二 hh 是-,

M:　hh[h　　　　　　　　　[啊.
F:　　[啊-hh. 倒数第二名啊[是多少::. .hh 后来我-,（0.2）后来才发现,

F:　哇, 大件事:啊.　　=居然少了八十七分.　　很重要科目. 跟辅导员
M:　　　　　　　　呃:.=　　　　　　　　呃.

F:　讲, 给他骂了一顿. heh he[h　　　　　　　　　　　　.hhh 他说
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　[heh heh heh heh heh heh heh

F:　给我加回去, 我不知道有没有加, 才不理它呢.
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　实际也无所谓的::.

M:　是不是.　　　就是::,（0.3）不必为了这种:::, 但是就觉得,（.）
F:　　　　hm:.（0.2）

M:　去年就很不平了嘛. 什么宿舍平均分罗, .hh 我们宿舍一个 hh .hhh

M:　一分都没有得加:. [.hh　　　那么当初[没有想到::::你进
F:　　　　　　　　[谁叫你们宿舍,　　　[°x x°

M:　学校来是[学习的. 没有-不是进宿-学校来搞宿舍卫-卫生的, 是
F:　　　　　[°hm.°

M:　不是.=
F:　　　=但-, 你想一下宿舍如果卫生搞的好, 有一个舒适的环境, .hh

F:　你别说::, 别说学习吧, 生活起来都觉得,（.）舒服一[点.
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[那可能::男

M:　女的想法不一样. 我就想过, nnn 睡睡不算了, heh heh .hh 谁还去

M:　想要把它整理啊, 干吗真是. .hhh
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　我觉得我们宿舍是比较整齐的.

F:　你好象没上我们宿舍过.
M:　　　　　　　　哪有可能上宿舍, 除非::就是偷偷摸摸地

M:　[进去.　　　　　　　　=啊.=
F:　[.hh ↑谁说啊.（.）王小宾上去过.=　=卫民上去过. 曾子政, 李

F:　小过,（.）↑都上去过. 胡卫国也上去过.（0.2）
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　他们怎么上去的?（0.4）

M:　[是不是开::学啊?（.）　　　　　　　　呃, [↑暑假那就无所谓
F:　[他们-　　　　　暑-有的是暑假上去.　　　[啊-

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M:　　了.=

F:　　　　=啊. 卫民是开学初上去过一次. 王小宾那天就帮我们搞电. 也

F:　　上去过一次. 不过我不知道.　　　　　　　搞电啊. .hh [宿舍里面, (.)
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　搞什么?　　　　　　　　　[啊.

F:　　电::, 电路坏了. 短路.　　　　　他会弄 hh .hhh 要不打电话去,
M:　　　　　　　　　　他会弄吗?

F:　　.hh 你们男生没一个-, 没一个敢来. [最后王小宾硬着头皮来啦. 来
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°hm.°

F:　　了他-　　　　　　　　　[可能你不在. 我也不在. 我是后来才
M:　　　　我都没听说过, 是不是[啊.

F:　　知道的.　　(三人说)来人来看了看, 也不知道怎么弄. 就请人家来
M:　　　　　　呃.

F:　　弄罗.　　　我回去的时候已经::, 灯弄[好了.
M:　　　　呃:.　　　　　　　　　　　　[我-我们宿舍一些灯都是-都

M:　　是我弄. 黄平, 杖着自己是理-理科生 hh .hh 瞎弄. huh huh h[eh
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[哇,

F:　　那-那天你们俩不在吗? [°x　x°,　星 期 六.] 星期六[晚上.
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　[反正我::, 实说没听说.]　　　　[我没

M:　　听说. (0.2) 第一个星期啊? (0.2)　　　　　　　　　　　　　[那
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　第::, (.) 就上个星期六. (0.2) [上

F:　　个 星 期 六.　]　　　　　　　　　　　　°啊我-° 我也是
M:　　我怎么没听说.] (.) 我一点都°没听说这个事情°.

F:　　一点不知道. 我经常, (.) 我不是常住宿舍的. (.)　　　　[常-
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　hhh [哈 hh. 你

M:　　现在出去住了? (0.2)
F:　　　　　　　　　我指的是, 不象方华她们一样, 晚上::, (.)

F:　　都在宿舍里面学[习.　　你知道, 我宁愿有什么, 下午没课啊, 就
M:　　　　　　　　　[哦:::.

F:　　喜欢去图书馆.=　=我指的是这个常[住. 我-] .hhh hh　　　　hhh
M:　　　　　　　=呃.=　　　　　　　　[哦:::::]不是说就是 heh

F: [heh heh .hhh　　　　　[这又不好.　　　　　　[你看我象那样的
M: [晚上,　↑一人住外面, (是不[是),　 heh heh heh [.hh

F:　人［吗?
M:　　　［heh heh .hhh 啊象啊，一般有很多女生都晚上都不回来了，是

M:　不是.=　　　　　　　　°不过°-他们说什［么::，李爱美啦，什么何小
F:　　　　=不会不会. 没有.　　　　　　　　　［hm.

M:　仪啊，都出去做兼职=就是说-，(0.3) 是不是啊.
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　她n-，那我不是太

F:　清楚. 象她们期末都不奇怪. .hh 我们有一天，小花晚上去外面玩

F:　完都不回来，吓得我们要死. 第二天她回来，一定把她，大批评了

F:　一顿.　　　　↑你想一下，(.) 晚上不回来睡觉又没有跟我们讲一声.
M:　　　　哇 hh

M:　呃.=
F:　　　=我们不提心吊胆吗? 星期六::啊，那天. .hh 十二点钟我最晚睡

F:　觉. 她的［床是空的. .hh 第二天我起来. (0.3) 第一个反应就是，她的
M:　　　　　［呃.

F:　床还是［空. 我说完了，.hh 小花会不会［出事啊. 一个晚上没回来.
M:　　　　［hhh heh heh　　　　　　　　　［hh heh heh　　　　　 .hh

M:　.hhh 哇:::，我们就没有什么:::. 男，因为男的不怕::. °我们男的,°

M:　［男的::,］.hh 一晚上不回来::都没什么事的. °是不是°.
F:　［那也是.］　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　你们也没什么

F:　地方可以去的. (.)　　　　　　　　　［有 吗? 　］
M:　　　　　　　　　　　有啊. 怎么没地方［可以去呢?］可以去玩啦，到城

M:　里去玩啦. (0.3)　　　　　　　　　　　　［也可以住在人家家］里嘛.
F:　　　　　　　　那你们去了也，(.) ［不会象我们-　］　　 n 那也

F:　是. (.) 我以为我们班男生都是::循规蹈矩的那一种，不会:::，不会说

F:　晚上十一二点才回来. .hh ［°(　　　　　　　　　　)°］
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　［你看我象不象-，看我象不象］很循规蹈

M:　矩的人?　　　　　　 比较象.　　 ↑啊::: 不象. heh heh heh heh .hhh
F:　　　　　　.hhh 啊::: (.)　　　 不象.　　　　 heh heh heh heh .hhh

M:　我们班年级，基本上大家都还是比较老，比较比较老-，比较老实的，

M:　是不是.　 =不象有::有-，有有些班很乱.
F:　　　hmm.=　　　　　　　　　　　　.hhh 我觉得我们班

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F:   真是太可爱的, (.) 集体了=                    我不知道. 我觉得-, 真的.
M:                            =为什么? (0.2)

F:   从小学到::, (0.2) 从小学到现在, [就是大学这个九三五班, [让我
M:                                  [啊.                [呃.

F:   觉得最融洽. (0.3) 让你真的感觉每一个人都是朋::友. .hh 不单

F:   是我自己一个人感觉. (.) 我下面的师妹啊, 认识我的人, (.) 稍微

F:   知道我们班的人,     一跟我提起, 九三五班特别兴奋. 比我还兴奋
M:                啊.

F:   呢. 啊你们班真棒真棒. °.hh° [(我觉得)我们班]很活.
M:                           [ 不 就 是::   ]      呃-, 我们班好

M:   象-, 在整个英语系::名头比较大罗. (.)        [°比较°, [主要是::,
F:                                    那也[是.   [°hm.°

M:   .hh 成绩又好, 各项活-, 活动积极参加=              [↑哇:::::,
F:                                    =n 那多亏了你们几[个杭外

F:   的. [↑真的. .hh 你知道 ] hhh .hhh [hhhh heh .hhh 九四九五, 总之比
M:     [这倒没有. °这倒没有.°]        [(啊)

F:   我们低那些[师妹啊. (0.2) 特别关心, (.) 啊你::::, 胡大民::, hhh 还
M:          [啊.

F:   有何小为这几个尖::子.          ↑真的::. .hh 很兴奋呃. 特别是::
M:                   不会吧?

F:   去年你们, 口-, 演讲大赛之[后. 哇有时候是在路上, 一见到我就跟
M:                      [啊.

F:   我讲起来, 你们班那个林平, .hh 呃, 我们宿舍那天晚上都在争论,

F:   他叫什么名字=有的说不是是, (.) 嗯, heh 不是-, (.) 林原? (0.3)

F:   总之她们就你的名字争论了好[久.   不是很肯定你的名字. 笑死
M:                       [hhh

F:   我了.                                        我觉得
M:      我想我-, 我-, 我那天晚上讲得不是很好吧? hh heh

F:   你很镇定的 heh heh heh heh [heh              [.hhhh
M:                         [hhh heh heh heh .hhh [一点都不怕:::.
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F:　　.hh 对. 你一点都不怕. °.hh° 最好笑的就是前一年啊, [你穿的那个
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[啊.

F:　　很幼稚的衣服. [hhh .hh 然后上去把手往后面一放. [象幼儿园小
M:　　　　　　　　[啊.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　啊[::.

F:　　朋友一样.　　　　　　　　　[你 参]加了两次::::=　　　　　　第一
M:　　　　　　什么时候啊? (.) [是在-]　　　　　　=啊::对对对.

F:　　次是::, (.) 低年级组的.=　　=低年级组的时候, (.) 总之那时候那件
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　=啊.=

F:　　衣服很怪. (.) 也不是怪. 让人觉得, 很小孩气. (0.2)
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　哦就那件-,

M:　　就是-这两[边 是 白 的. 对-]　　　　　　　　　　[啊后来
F:　　　　　　[hhh hhh 啊对对对]对对. .hhh 你不觉得很小孩[气?

M:　　我, 我我我去完之后我的师姐就说, ↑ei 你怎么象小:::朋友一样站

M:　　在[上面..hh 老老实实的. 呃::看起来好象小孩::子啊.=
F:　　　[hih hih hih hih hih hih .hhhh　　　　　　　=对对对. 而且

F:　　你把手放后面::,　　象:::, (.) 象小学上课::, (.) 小学上课把手
M:　　　　　　　啊.

F:　　放后面一[样.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　hm 也
M:　　　　　　[下面是不是人-人-人人都在狂笑. hh .hhh (.)

F:　　没有啊. 当时都被你的精彩演说::=　　[给吸引了. 真的. (0.3)
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　=不会[吧. heh hh

M:　　这次就-, (0.3) 这次上上次穿的那一套衣服就:没有那种:::,
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　没有

F:　　没有. 没什么不妥的. [heh heh hh
M:　　　　　　　　　　　[哦::, 那可能是上次穿得很成熟啊. heh

M:　　heh heh .hh
F:　　　　　　那还好. 不过我觉得你们很棒::. 站在上面还那么

F:　　镇定. 我是没见过↑大::: .hh 大-, (.) 怎么说-, 没有在那种大场合

F:　　下讲过话的.
M:　　　　　　那我第一次也是很怕. ↑ei, 你那天去::, (.) 看了以后觉

M:　　得, .hh 总体是不是我们三个都讲得比较好啊.　　呃你你觉得,
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　hm.

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M:　　谁谁谁，谁∷讲得最好. (.)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　=啊.=

F:　　　　　　　　　　　　我觉得, (.) 就声音方面=　=可能胡

F:　　大民的最响.　　然后∷，就∷　　[↑内容,]　　语音语调当然是你啦. (.)

M:　　　　　　　啊.　　　　　　语[音语调]呢?

M:　　那∷那[内容-]　　　　　　他们说他他太唱高调了.

F:　　　　　[小-小]为呢我就觉得, (.)　　　　　　　　　太唱高

F:　　调. 是指↑内容[唱　高　调.　　]

M:　　　　　　　　[啊. 内容唱高]调.

F: 那张一百万的支票是他给的. (.) [就是-, ↑他代表那个公司给的.
M: [°就°-

F: (.) [至于-, 那-   我不知道他
M: [那-, 那个公司的头头是不是那两个兄弟啊? (0.3)

F: 们到底三[个人-, .hh hh] 谁是-, .hh 谁是头. 他们是一伙的. .hh 但
M: [是不是一伙的?]

F: 是到底是谁大, 我就搞不清楚啊. [一个是那个chairman, 一个是那
M: [哦:.

F: 个::总裁. 一个是::一个:, 呃, 那个肯定不够::总裁大:. 因为是那个副

F: 主席. (0.3)   [hmm.
M: 那显然是那两个大. 董事局嘛. 董事[局有主席啊. °应该

M: [是-°   ↑chair[man-   呃那个, 谁是chairman?
F: [一个是主席:.   [副主席. 什么:大中华::,

F: 那个-美国人[是::   [hmm.   然后是有一个中才-
M: [chairman 不就主席啊? [不是啊?

F: 对-总裁:. (0.3)   我也- hh .h[h 所以我不知道到
M: °搞不清°, 搞不清楚.   [heh

F: 底他们-, .hh 是谁的::, 谁的:::, 主意说要::, (.) 要-, 喷那样子, 捐款.

F: 不过那张, ↑东西是, 那张支票, 是那个:, (.) 主席给的.   .h 我觉得
M: 哦:.

F: .hh 给那个::, (.) 呃纪念品的时候才搞笑. =   就是
M: =给-给谁纪念品啊?

F: 我们学校为买-, .hh 表示, [我们的谢意嘛. 就-, 给一点纪念品. =
M: [哦::啊.   =花.

F: .hh 没有, 没有. .hh 是一个什[么::, (0.4) [哦. 不是不是.   大龙
M: [书.   [录像带, 录像带. 呃,

F: 船:. [.hh   [玉-, 玉 雕]的[那种-, 玉雕的. [有两-, 有两
M: [说哪? 哦就是[那个工艺品啊?] [哦哦哦哦.   [hoh hh

F: 个礼仪小姐捧出来=   [hhh hhh hhh hh heh heh .hhh 他不
M: =是啊. hoh [hhh hhh hhh .hhh

F: 是, .hh 他:那个什么-, hm heh 两对礼仪小姐站在前面. .hh 然后两

F:　个人站-，两个礼仪小姐，后面握:手 hh.
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　哦::嗬，.h 就拍张照，是不是

M:　啊? (.) 呃-是什么[↑校长-，校长和[那 个 总 裁.]
F:　　　　　　　　　[.hhh 　　　　　[呃，校长就-，] 就是有，校长有-，

F:　(.) 啊::，[先是::，↑送给那个公司的一个-，一个船:. 然后::，再给那个::
M:　　　　　　[chairman.

F:　[谁-，　两兄弟每人一个::，(0.2) 哦，一个一个千手观音嘛:. (0.2)
M:　[两兄弟.

F:　[然后:又一个::　　　　　　　　　　[也是. 统统都是玉的. .h[h 只
M:　[啊:.　　　千手观音是拿玉做的[呃?　　　　　　　　[.hhh

F:　是::，哦-↑另外那个[家伙也拿了一个，] 　　一个黄:色的. 我不知道
M:　　　　　　　　　[那 价 钱 也 挺 大]的喔.

F:　是什么东西. 也是-，.h 也是::，(.) 跟那个船是一模一样的形啊. .hh

F:　但是:，那个玉-玉的那个深绿色的嘛. 他那个是黄色的. [也是透
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　黄[玉.

F:　明[的 嘛.　黄 玉]不是很靓的喔，好象.　　　　　　　玉-玉是::，
M:　　[°是不是(这个)°.]　　　　　heh heh .hh 那管它.

F:　绿色的才好嘛. [翡翠嘛.　　　　　　　　没-不到五点就走了.
M:　　　　　　　[°啊啊.°　↑他们开到几点钟啊?

M:　不到五点哦. 开那么长时间啊?
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　是啊. 烦死了.每个人都-，那-，省政

F:　府::. [啊:　　　　　　　啊:，那个叫什么来[的?
M:　　　[啊省政府也有人　　　　　　　　　[秘书长. 秘书:: (.)

F:　什么，呃，°我忘了他名字.° °.hh .hh° 他是代表那个卢钟鹤来的.
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　哦:.

F:　然后::=　　　　　　　　　s-省长啊. 他什了::.　　　　[朱森林
M:　　=卢钟鹤不是副::省长啊?　　　　　　　　　啊-啊:[:.

F:　不是:退了嘛:::. .h [就::　　　　　　哦:. 上次:::，辅导员-，想-，
M:　　　　　　　　　[那个他当-，那个省长.

F:　叫我们申请入党. 他不就-，提了[嘛:.　　　　　　　ei,
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[什么时候申请入党过? (.)

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F: 哦:你没<u>去</u>. (.) 那天你没去上::, (.) 不::,. 那天开会你没去.
M: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　哦::就-,

M: 呃::陈连汉那一(课). 　　　　　　　　　　　　[啊::对对对对.
F: 　　　　　　　　　.hh 不是陈连汉. 就是我们[级会啊. 　　　他

F: 就说, (.) 呃:<u>他</u>-, 先说:, 呃:, 共产党是专立听党的. 做-↑正第一把手.

F: .hh 第一把手是肯定要共产党员做. 呃=
M: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　=那-, 你有没有想过想, 那个

M: 入党入[党啊? 　　　　　那你-你::, 你 hh heh .hh 你不入党是::,
F: 　　　[没有. huh 毫不动摇.

M: 由于什么? (0.2) 由于::,
F: 　　　　　　　　　　呃, 我觉得我这个人::, 跟-我-对政治不感

F: 兴趣啊. 　　　　　　　　　　　　啊, 而且我觉得我这种人
M: 　　　哦. 对政治不感兴趣不能入党?

F: hh .hh 算::了吧. 　　　[我 太 热 爱, 太 热 爱]自由了. 我觉得真是不-
M: 　　　　　　　　有没有[信仰, 有没有°信仰.° hh]

F: (呃:, 包括新鲜事物). hh heh .hhh 别搞我 hh .hh 你呢? 　　[°hm.°你为
M: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　我[啊?

F: 什么不入党? 　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hhh hhh .hhh 笑死了.
M: 　　　　呃::, 自::觉::不够条件. heh heh [heh .hhh

F: heh .hh hh
M: <u>是啊</u>. 我觉得那个-, 不过我想想也-, 啧, 其实::, (0.3) 好象也不是-

M: 也不能说不够条件对不对啊. 我们年级那些入党的人, .hh 好[象也
F: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[是啊.

M: 不-, 也不见得::, [e::::: 啊:, 就是啊. [很 先 进 的啊.]
F: 　　　　　　　很[什么. 　　　　　　[某-, 某些::,] 某些::人, 真是,

F: .h 他入党简直是玷污-, °党°. (.) °哦 hoh hh°.hh 他什么-, 我-我中学:,

F: 高中有个同学啊, 跟我很好的. 她就, 高中的时候就入了党嘛.
M: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　呃, 你

M: 们中学有人入[党?
F: 　　　　　　[是啊. 她高三的时候就-, .hh 就忙于申请, 然后又:,

F: (0.2) 就已经是预备党员了. .hh 然后她就告诉我说::, 她-她可能, 就

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F:   要通过了. 他们要-,              要-, 啊∷. [就那-, 搞那个什么, 她
M:                        啊∷支部大会.          [°啊.°

F:   就可能要通过. 我就是-我就说, 你这种人, 不入党就是, 党的幸运.

F:   .hhh.hh 就是对党的忠诚. hh 她气死了. .hh 就是那个你知道.
M:                                            哦这

M:   里啊?           [她现-, 她现在是不是党员啊?
F:        .hh 啊, 就[这个.                 是啊. 她当然是-, 正

F:   式[党员了.              [她已经是她们学校的什么:,       [她
M:    [哦∷对. 已经进去那边, [就关系转过去啊.        呃∷学生[党

M:   支部]∷书记. (0.2) 是不是啊? 哇这么厉害.          其实我想
F:   们系]                        啊. 她这种啊,

M:   如果我:, 早写的话, 我肯定也已经入党了.        [是不是啊?.]
F:                                当:然[了. 不 过 ]我觉得,

F:   好象一般-, (.) 就是学习学得好的°那种-°, °就°不愿意入党啊, [°那
M:                                              [°那

M:   是.° 那倒也是说.      =↑那你:说谁是(那一个)入团呢? (0.2)
F:   种-°          你看啊=                    入团

F:   是没办法. 我[想.     heh heh heh heh [.hh hm     [大势所-, 所
M:          [没办法.         [我们那时入团[还很严呢.

F:   趋罗. .hh 你看啊, 个个都入, 你不入. 那显得很什么的[罗.
M:                                        [我们年级好

M:   象就-, 有两个不是团员.      林小平和∷扬松. (0.4) 不-不是团员.
F:                谁啊?

M:   hh                          什么-, 入团:?      那早-,
F:      不是-, 入了吗? 三年级的时候入-入了吗?          啊.

M:   什么时候[入过.      [哦. 大学才来入团, 谁∷谁这么那个.
F:       [heh .hh 没[入啊 hh                  .hhh °(谁)°

M:   没可能.         好象是啊. 估计啊. 好象扬松[是.
F:       小平也没入啊?                 [°hm.° (.) 我知

F:   道扬松没有入. www哇hh. .hh 他们也:够民主党派的.
M:                            hh .hh 什么-,

M:   人家说民主党派啊. 入民主党派要-至少要硕士生. 要高级知识分
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M: 子才入的. 是谁说, °王正道说的°.   =对啊.
F: 王正道本身就是民主党派=

M: 他就说, 要是那个::就是那↑教授啊之类的. 就你要有文[凭啊.
F: [我怀疑冯

F: 爱红也是. (0.4) 看她就-, .hh 经常讲话那[种-
M: [不. 她可能是属于::, 喷,

M: 共产党员啊.   [那-那 当 然 是 啊. 那-当-]
F: 谁啊. °王°-王大力就肯定是. [当英语系系主任绝对不是-]

M: 第一把手[::那是::   [那- heh heh
F: [heh heh .hhh [肯定是.   .hhh 啊, 我觉得冯爱红不太象

F: 党员. (0.2) 那党员好象都-, .hh 都挺一本正经的. (.) [可能就除了
M: [那倒°不一定.°

F: 我们[德语-   但他那种没办法罗. 他
M: [冷门志-, 你说辅导员是不是党员? (0.4)

F: 学那种专业, 他能[不入党吗[他?
M: [.hhh   [那就是啊. 那你说他一本正经啊. 看都

M: 不[象.
F: [hhh huh .hh 那他做这种政治思想工作的, 他肯定要入党啊:. (0.3)

M: 应该是吧. 哦 .(.)
F: 肯定罗, 我觉得. 要不入党怎么搞. .hh 还给你

F: heh 领导[一个::级.   啊如果, 你[(上入
M: [至少会对以后可能:::, 工作, 是不是啊?   [不过

M: 如果-,] 如果要去那种-, (0.2) 呃::, 什么国家政府机构啊, [那你如果
F: 了党),]   [那肯定要

M: 入党, 对对对.   [不入党真的就没有什[么-,   [就没有什么
F: 入党. .hhh 而且你, [如果-   [你入了党, [就会有::更-,]

F: 更加多的先决条件. 唉::, 要是你是, .hh 预备党员的话, (.) 你:要是:,
M: 资格.]

F: (0.2) 到时候外交部来要人, 你自己本身又想去的话, 我看, (.) 肯定

F: 会优先考虑你[的.   ↑真的.
M: [.hhhh   外交部啊? (0.3) hh hh 哦是. 这种政府

M: 机关肯定[会要党员.   [肯定要党员, 肯定要党员. [哎呀:. (.) [如果
F: [肯定会的, 肯[定要的.   [°呃::°.   [heh

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M:　想去就应该入党的[喔.
F:　heh　　　　　　　[.hh 就是-. 唉唉唉, 现在写-, 申请-, 申请书还

F:　是::, .hh 还:是:来得及:.　　　　　　he[h
M:　　　　　　　　你要干吗?　　[现在写入党申请书, 然后::,

F:　°heh° 对[啊. 起码你有这种愿望.]
M:　　　　　[°不-, 不可能.°.hh 呃辅导员]是不是说::, 那个-只要写了,

M:　现在喔批得很快. 是不是啊?
F:　　　　　　　　　不是啊. 那就有党-, 党校嘛. 他说::,

F:　现在:, 马上就会有一个党校了. (0.6)
M:　　　　　　　　　党校. 就哦, 党校学习班啊?

F:　是啊.　　　　hh .hh °啊.° [ei,　　] 陈玉珠她不是去了吗?
M:　　　还让来考试啊?　　　　[°x x x .°]

M:　什么时候去啊? (0.2) [她已经通过.　　　　　她已经读完
F:　　　　　　　　[那她为什么不去-, 哦她通过了.

M:　了. 党校读完了.=　　　　　　　　　　　[谁说的? (.) 真
F:　　　　　=呃-党校读完不就是预备党员了[吗?

M:　是. ↑还要-, 要有那个组织上::, 看过以后, 定几个人来考察吧. (0.2)

M:　(宁)郑武什-, 知不知道? (0.5)　　　　　　[°(hm.)°
F:　　　　　　　　　郑武是吗? [不是说五班只有-, 梁军

F:　吗?(0.6)
M:　　　呃? 我不知道. (.) 是有个人来问我-, (.) 有过::, (0.2) 三年

M:　级的一个人啊,　　　=好象是::, 已经是党员了吧. .hh 然后::, 就说什
F:　　　　　　啊::=

M:　么::, (0.2) 拿了一张表来问我::一些意见吧. (.) 想想谁::, (.) 呃::,

M:　(0.3) .hhh 郑武啊, (0.3) °单格::°, (0.5) 董苹啊? (0.3)　　哦还有-,
F:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　°啊.°

M:　还反正还有一个男的一个女的?　　　[就问我::呃::
F:　　　　　　　　那-那[种人-　　我知道. 还有

F:　位女的是不是李俪俪. (0.4) [然后我看见她那个[表.
M:　　　　　　　[(哦::)　　　[ss是一-班的, °我

M:　记得是.° (0.5) 哦, .hh 另外个男的好象[是谁?　　　　↑呃::, 好
F:　　　　　　　　　　[我知道. 郑大为. (.)

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M: 象是. 呃-. 可能是吧. 另外个男的不知道是谁. .hh 我想我忘了. (.)

F: °hm.° (.)   [哦我觉得好
M: 啧, 反正就问我::. 那些反正我当然是好里讲, [对不对.

F: 象[是-   [那 当 然.   ]
M: [比如说什么::, 呃::, 比较::, 呃::, 关心同[学. 哦, 李雪坚啊.] (0.4)

M: [李雪坚啊. 入党.   [不过他是确实
F: [哦.   那种人一看就知道是-, .hh 他是:,   [一心一意-

M: 也挺-, 那个-, 啧, 他平时::, [也-
F: [我觉得他做得挺苦的. 做那个::, 宣传

F: 部::.   [他搞得°很那个°. 那↑玉珠也是苦啊. 她以前啊. .hh
M: 那玉珠[不苦?

F: 我觉得她-搞得好象焦头烂额的::.   [又跟-
M: 哦[不我们-, 我们年级的::, 风格

M: 是这样. 就是不到:::::那个, (.) 少的-,
F: 不是. 她现在就每期都能拿

F: 奖啊这样子. 她以前很遭嘛. 那-, 我总觉得好象是陈玉珠上了以后

F: 才-, 才拿奖.   [就不管是, 是不是因为她的原因.
M: °hm°[:是-

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M: 唉，不是那么[容易的=我听-，(.) 听他们说，(.) 去::就去年，去外面
F: 　　　　　　　　[°啊.°

M: 找，也不-也不容易找到的. (.) 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[就-，
F: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　啊:::. (0.2) 就是馆外找也不一-[定.

M: 啊就在馆外啊.　　　　[°你,°不一定能找到的.]　　　　　　　容易
F: 　　　　　　　.hhh [我想在馆外-馆外还]容易一些，馆内难吧.

M: 呀?　　　不，人家::一般他都，(.) 就说他本来，一般都会有准备的
F: 　　啊.

M: 罗.[因为他要，翻译嘛.　　=肯定会，[°事先°-↑事先°有请了人°.]
F: 　　[hm.　　　　　　啊:.=　　　　　[是啊是啊，听说那些大公]

F: 司，.hh 大公司一般自己都有翻译，它不请人.　　象王里他哥哥，
M: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　对.

F: .hh 那边，从江西过来. 他哥哥，[自己都会讲英语. 啊. (.) hhh
M: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[自带翻译.

F: 大公司一般现在请的人都会，都会讲英语的罗. (0.3)
M: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　有机会就做啦.

M: 实在没机会，那也没办法 hh heh heh [heh
F: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[heh heh heh .hh .hhh heh .hh

F: .hh 唉，[反正-　　　　　　　　　　　=哦:[:.
M: 　　　[上次-，上次齐老师，就本来都有机会嘛:::=　[就是，只要

M: 女生啊，　　　°那次，就算就:°
F: 　　　啊:::,　　　　　　　啊，齐老师有机会啊，都不介绍啊.

F: heh he[h　　　　　　　h[mm.　　　　哦:::[阿首)找到，.hh
M: 　　　[那次，我到那个::°去,°　[°(搞的去.)°　　[°(当然)°-

F: 听[说-　　　　　　　　　　　啊:.
M: 　[↑阿明也好象-，(0.2) °是不是有其他事情可能.°　　应该是，(0.4)

F: °哎呀那-,°↑翻译，其实他们说，(.) 广交会翻译也学不到什么东西.

M: 不是学什么东西. 就是:[你去干一干罗，实际操作一下. [就-就
F: 　　　　　　　　　　[赚钱.　　　　　　　　　　　[°hm.°

M: 怎-，(.) 就学学，好象是去学学怎么样受气吧.
F: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　哎哟:: heh heh

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M:  [是啊我去-, 不过可能要看人啦, 不同的人, °不一样°.        就我听
F:  [heh                                              啊::.

M:  我老乡他们说, 说去年他去那::,      就是说比较辛苦罗. 虽然挣钱::
F:                          啊.

M:  也算可以罗.        但是比较辛苦, 就一一天, (0.2) 都得听人家::使
F:              哦::.

M:  唤那种. heh he[h .hh .hhh 就连::, 喷所以, (0.3)      [不是[很, 舒畅
F:              [°啊.°                          heh [.hh [那-那-

M:  罗. 他就只干了两三天就没[干. 他就说有-, 有这么一个经::经历
F:                      [啊.

M:  还是-,   [挺好的罗. (0.3)                        上课罗.
F:      哦[::.        那你如果找不到你干什么? (.)

M:  [那就是要, 继续上课嘛. [heh heh heh hhh .hhh
F:  [heh hhh            [heh heh heh .hh heh .hh 那我们回来, 启

F:  不是拉了很多课. (0.4)
M:                  不知道. 那你们总是, er, 自信能够跟上才

M:  才会去吧. heh [heh hhh
F:              [哎哟::: hoh hoh .hhh 不是啦::. 不去很没面的, 如果

F:  找不到, 特别是[女生. .hh   [↑女生啊, 女生, 是的, 男生可能还
M:              [什么没面啊, [这有什么.

F:  好一些. .hh [hh                    [hm, hm, hm, huh. 我
M:            [这个, 我觉得不存在有没有面子[的问题.

F:  觉得有一些啊. (.)                        是啊[::
M:              那::, 那很多都是靠关系的罗.      [那你人家有

M:  关系. 不一定每个人都有关系嘛.      所以这也象不正之风 heh
F:                      hmmm.

M:  heh heh .hhh [它应该直接到学校来要人, [或者怎么[样, (不知道
F:              [°huh°                [.hh    [广外贸那边

F:  是,   ] 都是老师介绍的::. 就是-, 老师介绍工资虽然不是很高, 但是,
M:  什么-)]

M:  可[能 我 们这边太远]了吧.     会不会?
F:    [一般-,保证能都-]      hmm.        .hh 但是, 我们学校很出

F:  名的嘛, 外语方面. 它都不帮. .hh 学校都一点的忙都不帮的嘛.
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M:　最主要要收钱. [heh heh heh
F:　　　　　　　[啊::﹕. 　　　　heh heh heh .hh 就知道每个人收

F:　三百. (0.3) °最主要的 hm°, .hh 很多人都现在都是只找了一百五的

F:　罢了一天. (.) 　　　以前:::啦, 二百多的都, 都不难找到. (0.4) huh
M:　　　　　　　°hm°

F:　huh .hh 很惨的. .hh 哎呀::, 临毕业了很多事情要想的. (.)
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　hhhhh

M:　[.hh 　　　　　　　　　=该来的都会来[的. heh heh heh heh
F:　[°heh .hh° 你比如什么= 　　　　　　　　[(就)是啊::, 比如什么

F:　什么, 象你留不留广州呢? (0.3) 　　　　　　　　　　[很难讲?
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　很难讲的喔. °.hh° [°不知道°.

M:　是啊. 　　　　　　　[↑那你-, 不是争不争取啊:::, 你, 你,
F:　　　　不是自己争-, 你要争[取的嘛.

M:　(0.2) 就我想的话, 可以在这边找一下啦, 如果找不到就回去.

F:　啊. 　　　　回去干什么? (0.2)
M:　　　°(hm.)° 　　　　　　　　那不一样. 在这干什么, 回去也可以

M:　干什么. (.) [heh
F:　　　　　　[那::可能在这干的低一些, 回去干的高一些, 但是

F:　那边工资[又没这么好.
M:　　　　　[什- 　　　什么叫回去干的低-, 高一些, 这边干的

M:　低一些啊? 　　　　　　　　　　　　　[哦:::.
F:　　　　这边因为大家都抢着留在这嘛. 那-那[当然那就找不

F:　到, (.) 好一些的罗. .hh 你回到了-, 你回到你的家乡的话, .hh 又

F:　有熟人::, 而且::, (.) 就是::人才根本就没这里那么多罗. (0.2)
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　就是

M:　回去高一些. (.) [可是工资没这边高. 　　　　不过那边消费低一
F:　　　　　　　[啊::哎. 　　　　　°是啊.°

M:　些啊.
F:　　　啊, 对对对. .hh 就是消费低, 就好玩了喔. .hh 前天啊我哥,

F:　我哥去:::::九寨沟玩呢. .hh [就在四川.] 啊, 在四川住了一段[时间.
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　[你哥去玩?] 　　　　　　　　　[很便宜

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M: 的.]
F: 就]在成都住了一段时间. .hh 他说好便宜啊, 他说他-, 他以深圳

F: 的消费水准开始::想那个九寨沟的-呃不是- 四川, 呃成都那边[嘛
M: [哪::

M: 可 能 那 里-]   [那边要便宜
F: 啊. .hh 是啊=↑他开]始就是这样的. .hh 然后他就-, [er

M: [将 近 一 半.]   [°真便宜°.
F: [他想-, 他想]是便宜, 但没想到那么-, 便宜[那么多. .hh 是啊,

F: 然后, .hh 啊::, 他去了那些, s-街上, 吃小吃罗嗬, .hh 他就要了个

F: 小吃[套餐. 十块钱. .hh [哇 : : :送 了, 十 二-,]十二大盘[菜
M: [那::   [是啊::. 剩在那, 吃不了的.]   [heh

M: heh heh   [也不一定吃十]二大盘啦. 就反正, (.) 你肯定,
F: 喔 .hhh 而且都是[很 好 吃 的.]

M: 要一个套餐, 一般的中等的你肯定吃不完.   [那很便宜.]
F: 就[是 啊. 他]说吃

F: 到他:啊 hhh .hhh [heh heh hh   是啊.   呃[::
M: [上次我和李小宾嘛就-,   就去吃,   [哇:::

M: 喷. [°我::°   我们不是吃套餐, [反正我们就-, 就
F: [两个人吃一份可以吧?   [°啊.°

M: [去: 点,] 那个菜来吃罗. [结果-, (.) 结果点了很多. 要在这边肯定要
F: [拼命吃.]   [那-

M: 花将近一百块钱, 那边-, °喷° 啊, 三十多块钱[°就可以了. (啊).°
F: [哇::::, 那什么时

F: 候-, 顺便我去成都, 好好[吃一下.   还没去过呢.
M: [hh heh heh   不过, 这-, 主要

M: 是那::, 什么都-, [基本上什么都产了. [或者什么都有::. 这- (0.3)
F: [hm.   [啊::.

M: 而且, (0.2) °(九寨沟从来没, 去[过.)°   [°x x x°
F: [哦::. (0.5) 那-, [那的东西会不会很

F: 辣的? (0.5)   啊[::.
M: 它::, 它也有, (.) 这边的风味罗.   [那口味°那是,°

F: 啊. (.)   [heh heh .hhh
M: 但是, 如果你去四川那边应该尝尝四川[那边的 heh hh

F: 那也[是.
M: [不过因为，那边的气候跟这边不一样，所以，就算吃很辣的，

M: 那些[也-，也不一定]会[::   [热的.
F: [啊::，那 边-]   [是:啊:. 那边的[::   那边的女孩子都是那

F: 么漂亮的::.=   =女的皮肤啊怎么那么[好. .hhh 但是她们又吃
M: =°是啊.°=   [那就-，因为是°气候原

M: 因.°   ]
F: 得又那么]辣嗬? hm. (0.2) heh heh (0.3) hihhhh .hhh .hhh heh heh

F: hhh .hh .hh heh hh heh hhh   [你-，你没去过
M: 九寨沟好玩嘛? (.) 应该[去-

F: 啊?   =哦[::.   [就在你们那里. .hh 不会很贵吧. (0.3)
M: 没有啊.= [我没钱 heh [heh hh

M: 要::::至少要几百块钱.   °(那里很远.)°
F: 哦::::.   那你上一次去那么多地

F: 方，还不如去个九寨沟. (.) heh heh [.hhh
M: [那去那么多地方比去一个

M: 地方好罗.   [我又去过重庆，又去过乐山，又-   °xxxxxx
F: heh heh [hhh   啊:::.

M: xxxx°   是啊. [不过:::,
F: hm. .hh 我哥说，九寨沟的风景一流啊. (.)   °h[m°.

M: 夏天比较危险.   [有遇上下雨的话，]
F: 哦. [.hh ↑哎，他-他是说,] 他::-回来的::, 他-他回来

F: 那个第二天嘛，°就°听说 .hhh er 有一辆车翻了. 就是[死了一个人.
M: [°hm.°

M: 它主要[是:::它下雨哟. 如果下雨，它那-因为[它那个路啊, (0.2) 不
F: [°是:::°   [°啊.°

M: 是-不象这::修的那么好好[的，什么柏油大路啊.   [°水一浸°]
F: [哦.   哦:::[柏 油.]

M: (.) 它就[很，很容易:: .hhh .hh 喷，毁坏啦. 所以，汽车-
F: [那-   ↑塌方.

F: (0.2)   °hm° (.) 挺讨厌的嘛. (.) 那么漂亮的地方，又那么
M: 对呀::.

F:　多人做-，(.) 在那也做鬼啊. (.) 留恋[那里.　　是啊.
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[↑做鬼啊?　　　heh heh

F:　觉得太[美了，留在那做鬼吧. heh heh heh heh .hhh .hh heh heh heh
M:　　　　[也不是有很-，°x x x x x x°

F:　heh .hhh .hh er 不过在那做鬼好过做人. heh [heh hh [.hh（人们知
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[是啊. [那你就去那

M:　啦.] [heh heh heh　　　　　　　　　=你会不会去啊?
F:　道-)] [hah hah hah .hh .hhh 哎哟=　　　　　　我还没做完

F:　heh he[h heh .hhh heh .hhh heh heh .hh
M:　　　　[heh heh　　　　　　　　　　考虑到那一天的时候,

M:　你就可以去那里[玩.　特 别-]
F:　　　　　　　　[好好好，等我]老得不得了了，我就跑到那. .hh

M:　老得不得了就跑不动, [°是吧°.
F:　　　　　　　　　　　[hhh .hh °或者°, 那::, 那到时候说不定已经

F:　给人, .hh 污染得差不多了. (0.2)　　　　　　　=heh=
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　°也是啊:::°=　　=°景点已经, 就怕

M:　那时,° [啧, 去的人[多了的地方, (就怕. 爱好),
F:　　　°h[m.°　　　　[越早去越好.　　　　　　hmm..hh ↑象我

F:　们], 我这次去桂林, 我已经觉得, 根本就, 不好[看. .hh
M:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 [°没什么好玩的°.

M:　[那个水怎么样?　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[山清水秀.]
F:　[我们就-　　就是啊::, 人家都说桂林的水, 那个漓[江的水, .hh

F:　啊::]怎么个透明啊, 以前我们不是学过那个, .hh er 桂林山水, 那

F:　一-课-课文的吧, [记得吧. 以前中学的[时候. 小学还中学, .hhh 什
M:　　　　　　　　[°hmm.°　　　　　　[是啊.

F:　么-, .hh 说得多美多美啊. .h 结果去到, 我想象啊很美, 结果嗨, .hhh

F:　.hh [那 个 水 都 黑]黑::的.　　是啊. .hh 好象一[个油-
M:　　　[°谁知道, 是-°]　　啊?　　　　　　　　[嘿, 小学的课程啊, 大

M:　概[有十多二十年了heh heh hhh　　十多年了, [所以就[差 不 多]已经,
F:　　[hhh hhh .hhh hhh .hhh hhh .hhh　　　　　[hhh　[°就是啊.°]

M:　变模样了.
F:　　　　　　啊::::. .hhh 黑得 .hh 那-, 呃::-反正, 就是挺失望::

F: 的::::. (0.4)   啊::. (.)   [还 有 那 些,]
M: 期望越高，失望越大.   所以[°搞什么°, ↑要]

M: 一个[平常心啊.   [就当去玩玩而已嘛 heh hh
F: [风-   heh heh .hhh 风景[区-

M: 花花钱而已嘛 heh heh hh   兜里的钱多，就是
F: heh heh .hhh .hhh .hh

M: 想出去的，是吧? (.)   [heh heh heh
F: 什么叫兜里的钱多. [人家外国人，有一些

F: .hhh hm去打工啊，什么都要玩的. (.)   hmm.
M: 是啊.   想是:::增长

M: 见识而已罗.
F: hmm. (0.4) huh .hh 那些风景区，那些人-, (.) 很-,

F: .hhh .hhh 风景区那些人很很-，很讨厌的. 很, [会 敲 你.]
M: 他[们会很赚钱]啊.

F: 是啊. (.)   (他们[都愿意)-]   [杨:::   朔]那边啊，那些 .hh (.)
M: 这-   [这很自然]的, [到处都一样的.]

F: 那些农民啊，.hh [人家都说::, (.) 越是农民啊，那些风景区的农民
M: [啊.

F: 越是坏. (0.3) .hhh 他-，因为以前没[怎么见-]
M: [可 能 也]不:::sss 说他-不能说

M: 他们坏吧.   毕竟[是:::   [哦对对对. [就是说他为了钱
F: 就是-   [很会敲人. .hh[h   [啊.

M: 赚.   =靠山吃山，靠水[吃水嘛.
F: 是啊. .和象我那个，那个=   [就是啊，我同学 .hhh

F: 去那个，er 就是在那个: .hhh er (.) 西安那边嘛.   =摸了一下
M: 啊.=

F: 那个杯呀，hn::[:跳 出 来,]就罚他五十块钱. .hhh 哇吵了半天, .hh
M: [谁要你°(摸).°]

F: 都:::, [°才算把-°   hh .hh ↑看根本就
M: [那是- er, 那是, (.) 管理那些的人吧?

F: 不是管理-，让他开发票吧，.hh 他开了-，就是当时我和他一-，也

F: 在一起嘛哈. [开发票，.hh ↑他，就给一张破纸，根本就，不是什么
M: [那你-

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F: 公章啊[什么.   [不是我啊，是我同学呀::.
M: [那你被罚了吧? (0.2) [heh heh heh   heh .hhh 上

M: 次啊，er 上次不是我和李小宾，去我们那吗?   我们不是::? (.)
F: 啊::.

A: 还不如找个女朋友. （0.4）找个女的::. （0.4）男人空虚啊°现在°. （0.3）

A: °对不对°? （0.5）　　　　　　　还没有女朋友 hhh heh heh hhh . hhh （0.3）
B: 　　　　　　　　　°这-，这-，°

A: 呃, （.）你不行啊, 你这样::. （0.3）　　　　　　很难熬的, °还没有°.
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　没意思. （0.5）

B: 不是, 真的. （.）啧, 很烦的, 如果一旦--旦-, （0.6）hhhh [°heh heh . hh°
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°懂个屁你.°

A: （0.8）　　　　　　　你没试过啧? （.）
B: 　　真的很烦. （0.3）　　　　　你就不知道了. 呃矣, 小

B: 孩子. （.）[heh heh heh hhh .hhhh heh heh [.hhh heh heh . hh （0.3）
A: 　　　　[丢::我不知道. 搞笑. hhh 　　　　　[唉:::.

A: 这个宿舍, 经验最多是就我啦. 　　　　　　　　　　　真的. （0.6）
B: 　　　　　　　　祺忻（（傻瓜））, 你算老几.

A: 真的. （0.2）　　　　　　　丢:::, 我经历什么. （.）　[一大把啦.
B: 　　　　你经历什么? （0.4）　　　　　　你[有什么经历?

B: 一看你小孩子::. （.）　　　=一点不成熟. （0.3）he[h hh
A: 　　　　　　我小孩子=　　　　　　　　　[唉::. （.）你还是

A: 不会看人啦. （0.2）　　　　　　　　　哪小啊? 怎么小[孩子?
B: 　　　　°祺忻°, 小孩子, 你. （0.6）　　　　　　[你样-

B: 样子又小. huh huh hh heh °hhh [hhh . hh°
A: 　　　　　　　　　[不能这么看人的::. （0.5）°懂不懂啊°.

A: （0.5）
B: 　　你如果讲-, （.）唉::你肯定不够-, （0.4）hhhh heh hhh heh heh heh

B: heh heh hhhh heh heh . hhh 　　　　[你的-, （0.5）有什么经历
A: 　　　　　　　　　　真的? （0.4）[°你-°

B: 嗟? （0.4）　　　　hhh heh hh °hhh hhh heh heh heh heh heh° （1.0）
A: 　　°经历多了.°

A: 没意思的. °有一些,° 找到-, （.）很烦. （0.5）　　　　　[是啊.
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　↑你知道. °hhh h[hh . hh°

A: 但是你-, 摆脱不了啊. （0.3）　摆脱不了. （0.3）　　　　　°啊.°
B: 　　　　　　　啊? 　　　　　　摆脱不了. 　　我

B: 现在摆脱了了. (.) 我已经-, (0.4) 啧, 可以:::, (.) 差不多可以摆脱掉.

B: (0.3) 这个-, (0.5) °思°-思想. 你现在想也没[用.　　　　　[啧 °heh°
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[ss-思想. 丢:, [那是现实

A: 啊::. (0.8)　　　　　　　　　　　　唉::::, 迟早得, (.) 迟早的事嘛啊?
B: 　　　　　就禁化这种思想. (0.6)

A: (0.4)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　那倒是. [不过-　　　　　[°不过-°
B: 　　以后再算, 反正在学校, (.) 很烦. 　　　　[反正在-, (.) [在-,

B: 在-, 现在在-, 反正在这个学校环境下很烦. 很-, 啧. (.) 很不好, 我

B: 觉得.　　　　　　　　　　不是有病. (0.4) 觉得-, 我现在差不多没-没什
A: 　　是有病呢? (0.3)

B: 么事, °我现在°. (0.5)　　　　不大-, 没什么大-大-, 大事.
A: 　　　　　　好了? (.)　　　　　　　　　　　hhh heh 整

A: 天喉咙痛, 你-　　　　　　　　.hh 我怎么不痛啊? (0.2)
B: 　　　　　那算个屁. (0.2)　　　　　　　　　　我会控制. 我

B: 要它痛就痛. 我要它不[痛就不痛.
A: 　　　　　　　　　　[hhh hhh .hh 好, 你明天吃饭就::看你痛不痛.

A: (0.2) 你控制一下.　　你明天吃饭就- (0.6)
B: 　　　　　　啊?　　　　　　　　我↑不吃辣椒就可以控

B: 制啊. (0.2) [我为什么吃辣椒. heh heh heh heh　　　　　　是啊.
A: 　　　　　[hhh heh heh heh hhh .hhh 你不说可以控制吗? (.)

B: 我-我-我可以控制我饮食. (0.3)　　　　　　我知道, [我-
A: 　　　　　　哦::. °这样°. (0.4)　　　　　[这样就

A: 没必要了嘛::[::.
B: 　　　　[我知道什么可以控制. zzz 知道什么是-, 什么可以::,

B: 不吃, 什么可以吃. 什么时候可以吃. .hh 好象-, (0.3) 吸烟一样. (.)

B: 我-我知道什么可以去吸一吸°几-°几根, 什么时候不可以[吸.
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°丢:::°. 你

A: 还是没领悟到吸:[:烟的, 精髓.
B: 　　　　　[sssssss, sssss 什么可以::, 吃辣椒. 什么可以不吃,

B: °(有-)°, 什么可以吃喝酒, 什么可以-什么时候不-喝酒. (0.4)
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　啧. (0.2)

A: °你这么活着,° (0.3)   .hhh °不懂.° 谁
B: 这是养生之道啊. °你懂不懂.°

A: 学的? (.)   到哪学的?   (0.5) °丢::.°
B: hm?   总结出来.   我以前差不多病得

B: 要死::. (0.3) 喷现在, (.) 在-, (.) 三年之内我总结出一条经验. (0.6)

A: 有没有假的啊? (0.5)   [hhh hh hhh heh heh
B: 真的. (0.8) hhhh hhh hhh [hhh hh heh heh heh

B: heh   heh heh .hhhh
A: 你这人(特别就)   不象你哦::. (1.0) °不象你°. (1.0)

A: [你::历来:: (0.4)
B: [我-   我历来是, (.) 不死-不蛮干. (0.4) 每:-每一样都是,

B: (0.2) 总结出来. 喷 (.) 每一样都是很有规律. (0.4)   [°象-°
A: 还要[你总结:::, (.)

A: 等你总结::, (.) 你儿子都二十多岁了.   °啊不过你不结婚 °.
B: 祺忻. (0.4)

A: (.)   你这种 hhh heh
B: hhhh hhhh hhhh heh heh heh   heh heh heh .hh heh

B: heh heh hh   有:, (.) 但是, (0.4) 挫::,
A: 你这种::, 无情无意的人, (0.5)

B: 挫败太多了, 所以就, (0.5)   hhh heh heh heh .hh
A: °你有什么挫败啊.°

A: 你也有挫败? (.)   °不怕的.° (0.7) 我的挫折更多:. (0.3)
B: °hhh.° (.)

B: (丢). (1.1)   hhhh hh hh
A: 你不懂. (0.3)   你要-, (.) °真的°, .hhh °你喜-°,

A: 你要喜欢哪个, 你就-, (0.5) 没完没了-, (0.3)   [死缠烂打的=
B: 不能这[样子啊.   =不

B: 能这样的. (0.3) 不能这样的.
A: °喷°这是-, ↑大方向是这样, 但是具体

A: 的::, (0.5) 步骤呢, 就-就需要变化了. (0.9) 但一定要坚持. (0.8) 我

A: 坚持几年啦. (0.8)
B: 我不-我不喜欢那种-, (0.3) 那种:, 死缠烂打的

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B:  °那些°. °.hh° 然后又- hhh heh .hhh heh hh °那-[那就-°
A:                                          [是啊. 你想啊. (.) 如

A:  果你是女的, (0.3) 一个男的追你, 你马上就去了. (0.4) 那男的 °肯定

A:  是-°, (.) 啊对不起, (.) 请让. (0.9)
B:                                    °嗨° hhh .hh °n-° 那-那是这么虚假

B:  干什么. (.) 我最讨厌虚假.          (要是)[是真的-
A:                  °唉呀::.°                [你怎么可能-, (0.2) 碰见

A:  那女的. 你又-, 没跟她整天生活在一起::. 你是::, (.) 啊偶尔有一天

A:  接触, 她真思-, 思念你啊. °怎么可能呢.° (0.5) 有没学过-, 心:理学

A:  啊::. (0.6) 有用的. (1.0) 真的. (0.4) 研究研究女性°心理学.° °hhh

A:  hhh hhh .hhh .hhh .hhh .hh .hh° 在恋爱方面°有用的.° (0.6)
B:                                                        不用研究.

B:  没意思. (0.3)                                    hm? (0.2)
A:          我现在研究°还早°. (0.2) 咯, 很烦啊. (0.3)

A:  很烦啊. (0.2)                    女的. (0.4)      °真很烦.° (0.7)
B:          什么-什么很烦? (0.2)                hhhh

B:  看你-, 喷, 怎么样罗? (0.5)                    hhh hh hh 现在?
A:                  丢::, °太大压力了° (0.2)

B:  (.)      你有什么压力啊. (1.0)                hhh hh hh (0.2)
A:      是啊.                    就业. (0.6) 婚姻.

A:  这两大压力还不够啊. (.)
B:                  婚姻啊很-, 男的不怕:. 男-, 男的可以很

B:  迟. (0.2) 不怕. (0.2) [三-                女:女::, 关-关-, 关你
A:                      [女的怕 hhh heh hh .hh

B:  什么事. 女的. (0.4)                        heh heh .hh 你
A:              女的不关我事, 我跟谁结婚啊?

B:  可以迟一点嘛::. (0.2)                    你-, 你现在还没定嘛::.
A:              但女的迟不了啊. (0.2)

B:  (1.0)      定了? he[h heh hhh .hh                    heh heh
A:      没定呃.        [没有没有没有. 哪::里. 怎么可能呢.

B:  heh .hhh                hhh[h
A:          才几岁. (1.1)      [那女-, 女的很急的. (1.0) 要先-, 先结婚.
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A: (.) 把她给-, (0.7) 套住. hhh .hhh
B: 你现在-现在就业:, (.) 不怕::. 应-

B: 应该可以找到. 慢慢-, 慢慢来嘛:. (0.2) 啧找到了一份之 后:, (.) 慢

B: 慢, (0.2) 慢慢来嘛. (.) 肯定可以找到. (0.8)   找到再
A: 不过不稳定. (0.5)

B: 说. (0.6)   °hn.° 肯定可以找到. 在
A: 先:, (.) 你就是, 先找一个呗? (0.3)

B: 广州. (1.0)   不过潮汕老太利害了. (.) 啧. (0.5) 想找 sss °啧°
A: °广州° (.)

B: 在广州, 啧, 找:::, 想找好的也-, 也很难. (0.6)
A: 广州:潮汕老. (0.4)

A: 那三角洲呢? (0.3)   三角洲那里啊. (0.3)   珠江
B: hm?   什么三角洲? (.)

A: 三角洲啊.   那里ss, 有没有潮汕老? (0.3) 多不多?
B: 什么? (.)   都-都在

B: 广州. 都差不多都集中在广州. (0.3) 他-他:, 他们潮汕老呢, (.) 在,

B: (0.5) 在那些地方啊, >在三角洲<, (.) 他们-他们不行的. (0.3) 因

B: 为-因为他那三角洲那些比他们更野. 他们-他们不够他们斗的. (.)

A: 三角洲野啊?
B: 是啊. 那南海啊, (.) 番禺啊, 就-顺德, 你看他们啦,

B: (x x x), (.) (x x x), 就是-, .hh 就是很-, 他们也很-, 很-很有, 真是很-

B: 很有能力的嘛. (.) 他-他们不够-, 他-他们去那里不够他们斗的. (.)

B: 在广州又不同, 广州, 他们, 就是-, (.) 这关系网太复杂了广州. (0.3)

B: [(°呃°)   广州人-, (0.4) 就是有-有文化那些就-
A: [广州人斗不过潮汕老? (0.4)

B: 不-不喜欢这样斗. (0.2) 他们就-简直是搞-, (.) 靠关系上去的, 潮汕

B: 老. (0.4) 靠 zzzz-, (0.3) 全部是潮-潮汕帮那些-, 一串一串的. (0.2)

B: 我们广州就-就不不-, (.) 不怎么连成一串的. 就--一般都是, 亲戚啊,

B: 这样. (.) 帮忙. (.) 很少这样子.

A: ↑它应该就算德育和:成绩的嘛. 这样定下来, 就省得有人去争了嘛:.

B: 其实:::, 主要就把宿舍卫生搞好. (.) 你宿舍卫生-, 你那个东西::, (0.3)

B: heh heh 那就有三分了. 你我只能评二-, (.) 那个一共有五分的[嘛.
A: [啊,

A: 就是啊. 啊呀, 我们[宿舍如果-   我们宿舍有两次就没打扫
B: 就是寝室.   [然后::, 就是三分啦.

A: 好啊. 他没好好打扫. 啊:::, 如果有一分的话, 不用争了. 三点
B: 三分.

A: 三点四分的话, 肯定::肯定可以[的. (   ).]
B: [三 分 我 们 又,]就加了三点五. 但别人

B: 加了十一点五. (0.3) 那::还有-, 那就减-, 那就扣掉, 十二-十一分啦.

B: (.) 比人家就少了十一分.   [对不对.
A: hhhh[h   heh .hhh <u>heh</u> hh 奖励. .hh 啊

A: 这学校很怪. 真是. ↑唉:::::. (.) 一下搞得我们大家自相残杀了. (.)

A: 不过, [那我想啊哦,   我想呢, 就是说, 因为潘凡宾它这
B: [不过肯定是自相残杀的.

A: 个pattern, 应该想到的嘛. 就是说, 如果有一个人加分, 另外的肯定

A: 也会来加分. 他就会搞得很难办. .hh 他就↑干脆哪个都不加. (.) 喷

A: 这是最可能的一种可能性.
B: .hh 那只是你讲的啦, 你又不是他(x x).

A: 对. 我讲这个. 然而又, .hh 我听说:::再加分了话, 主要加那个嘛, 一

A: 个是加一个:::, 呃:::, 一个是加那个嘛, 他什么::校升旗队队长啊. (.)

A: 啊不是-就是年级升旗队[队长::. (.) 旗手. [↑队长他说嘛. (.)
B: [旗手.   [°对.°   反正就

B: 是旗手.
A: 还有-还有-还有::还有一个就是::那个::, (.) 叫什么那个::,

A: °e:::r° 哦那个叫什么, 就那个::::, 什么(游戏)沙龙啊. [他说, 怎么
B: hm[m.

A: 代表(游戏)沙龙去参加团代会啊. (0.3) hhh heh .hh
B: hm. 他::我看到

B: 他桌上的那个. .hh 有那个::::::呃-, (.) 就团代会的那个, (.) 表格吧.

B: (0.2)   我今天下午吧. 呃::不. 反正::, 我前-, 前几天
A: 什么时候啊? (0.2)

B: 去:::下面-, 转的时候.   噢刚::, 好象昨天晚上吧,
A: ↑前几天来的? (0.4)

B: 反正. [他-, 他肯定知道那两个, °可以加分.°
A: [哦,   呃. °那倒是.° .hh 他那个

A: (相中)啊,相差几分. (0.2)   不过也-, [就我分析-
B: 难说. (0.3)   [他说他那个就是德育

B: 方面的嘛. .hh 旗手和那个::团代会代表都是-都是德育方面.
A: 那, 不是.

A: 他如果这样算的话, 那他那个::, (.) 团代会代表, 他是::他代表他-, 代

A: 表(游戏)沙龙参加团代会的嘛. (0.6)
B: hm 那可能会跟那个(成协)沙龙

B: 那个::什么什么主持人那个:重复一点.
A: 那主持人的话, 如果有人加的

A: 话, 那我也可以加的喔.   我们(开)搞的活动, 我都可以讲
B: 你加什么?

A: 我参加的嘛. (0.3) 什么-, 翻译技巧研讨会, 我可以讲我是跟他们一

A: 起组织的. (.) 那个::, 什么::, 校际就是(俩人), 那次英文 karaoke金曲

A: 比赛, 我可以讲我组织的嘛. (.) 那个人来找我嘛. 我们那边给他(x

A: x)他还-还给我呢. 就是那边那个Apple他给我的嘛. (0.3)
B: 哦::. 就是

B: 那[张什么什么, 啊.
A: [不是-那我们可以讲啊, (.) 那大家都加罗::. 你这样讲的话, 那我

A: 们每个人都可以加一分. 不过他就算那两个加了一分, 那也没我高

A: 嗟::. 他也还是比我差零点-, 而且我想老师呢, 只有可能会这样才-,

A: 就是说, 他给他加分, 但是他呢, 他-, 每一项, 我都比他加的多. (.)

A: 他给他-, 比如说给他加零点五分. (.) 加零点五分. (.) 再加最后就上

A: 不去. (.)　　　　　　你想想, 我:那个两个活动, 一个给我加零点六,
B: 　　　　　°不°知道.

A: 一个给我加零点七. (.) 他的活动肯定不能再加到一分. (0.3) 旗手肯

A: 定有加一分. 代表团代会可是绝对是没有一分的.　　　　　如果
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(°啊.°) (0.2)

A: 他在(外语)代表团代会呢, 那就肯定有一分. (0.4) °我想::°, 他也没

A: 了. puhhh (0.2)
B: 　　　　　　　不知道. <u>反正::::::</u>你拿到::钱的话::, 应该请一次客

B: 啦.　　　　[啊,　　　　　[<u>反正::</u>你最起码要::请一次客吧. 反正-, 这
A: 　没必要, [等你请啊:::. [然后请来一个-

B: 东西就说[讲人情嘛. 人际关[系-
A: 　　　　[没必要啦::::.　　[那:你看请一次客::, 是吧, 然后::, 到了

A: 有点积蓄:::, 还要:, 再买两件衣服:::, 对吧. (.)我没衣服穿. °呃°, 长-

B: 长袖都::, [没有-
A: 　　　　[那是-↑<u>那</u>是你自己的事情啊. 反正你::, 肯定要请一次

B: 客. 这样的话, .h 也可以::稍微理顺一点啊. 因为<u>::</u>, 肯定可以自攒而

B: 拿的. (0.2) °唉耶° (.) °没办法.°
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　.hh ↑<u>唉象这样</u>那如果(拿:鸡)的真是:,

A: 这很[差的.
B: 　　　[那学校::那个嘛. 那我原来::我也我也有可能的吧. 如果-如果

B: 评学习. 不过-, 现在没有啦. [°(x-)°
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　[他那样的嘛, 他如果那样评的话, 大家

A: 一起评罗::. 就是说, 大家放在一起评, 也没有哪个人好, 哪个人坏.

A: 如果-就说, 反正全年级放在一起:::一起评学习::. (0.2) 那-那-那那

A: 就没得争啦, 大家一起happy啊. 那肯定有我呢. .hh heh heh .hh 肯定

A: 有我的. .h 学习肯定有我的啦::. 我十五啊, 年级. (0.2)
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　就是说::, 他

B: 那个::::, 那个东西:::, (.) 喷, (0.2) 我想-, (0.3) 他:德育, (0.2), 体育,

B: (0.5) 他那个三个都内部标准. (0.2)　　　　°啊°? (0.3)
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　哪个?　　　　　　那↑一二班, 一

A: 共比我高的就八个人. (.) 就是说, 还有-, 又有六个比我高. 六个人

A: 比我高::, 它如果:, 全年级一起统筹学习的话, 起码:, (.) 起:码:也应:

A: 该:有:个::, 那现在就四个名额. 起码也应该有个::, (.) ↑十个名额吧.

A: (0.3) 对吧. 十个名额就肯定有我. (0.4)
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　反正它那个德育的话, .hh hh

B: 我觉得那德育应该-跟学习-, 结合起来嘛. .hh 就是说, 德育和学习

B: 都划一个-, 界. (0.3)　　　　　　　　就是说::, (0.2) 他如果::是:::那
A: 　　　　　　　　　　°为什么?° (0.4)

B: 种::, 他不是有一个:, (0.3) 哦:. 那是一开始啊. 后来改成那个::三门

B: 课里面两门高.　　　　　你不是差三门课, °还什么东西::°. (.) 是三::,
A: 　　　　　　　啊. (.)

B: hhh 三个-, 三个本来根本就不能并[列.　　　唉::啊.　　[三个-,
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[h 实在唉::,　　↑唉::[:.

B: (0.3) 唉:::你看::, 体育::, 反正:我上不了七十五的:. 不用看了. 最多,

B: 最多也就七十. (0.2)　　　　　　　　　　喷, 不知道.
A: 　　　　　　　　我体育, 应该能上七十五的喔.

B: [↑体育的话:::
A: [我体育的话:::, 我体型分才十四分, 我体型分. 我体育分数我拿

B: 到十九分多五分. 剩下两分很容易搞掂[的.
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[体::型分, 你不可能::, 不可

B: 能只-得-得::那个-　　　　　　　　　　　催催杨应:::,
A: 　　　　　催催杨应啊. 我早就催催杨应了. (.)

B: 你说能催三千八.　　　　　　　　没有吧:::.
A: 　　　　　什么三千八, 两千八. (0.3)　　　　是两千八,

A: 我不骗你, 我批了-我出了两千多啊. (.)
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　哦:::好象是, 反正当时:::如

B: 果[:::
A: 　[笑了吧. 我不知道笑了啊, 一笑哎::, 七千六. 唉::那个-, 董玉山

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A: 本来就漏了嘛. (0.3)

B: °董玉山°, 嘿, 不过稍微有一点漏也无所谓. 你

B: 看, [绍小平-　　　[只有五千一的嘛.　　　绍小平只有五千一的.
A:　　[我以前只不过[就是个(　　　)的嘛.

A: 绍小平体型分肯定高得一塌糊涂. (.) heh heh
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　绍小平, 他:是游泳好

B: 的嘛. (0.3)　　　　　　　　他游泳健将来的. 绍小平没有吧,
A:　　　唉, 他有没有奖学金啊?

B: °应该°. (0.4)绍小平可能::明年会有. (0.4)搞不清楚. (.) 不知道. 他

B: 如果::::那种:::, (0.2)他明年:如果有那个游泳比赛的话, 他可能有.

B: (0.2)　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　他可能没有.
A:　　什么, 游泳比赛? ↑唉, (过周末), 不会有的. (0.4)

B: 他只有-, 体育. (0.2)
A:　　　　　　明年可能不搞游泳比赛. 明年要等几月份才能

A: 搞游泳比赛. 起码到五月份才搞游泳比赛. (.) 那时候, 那时候::, 大

A: 家都忙着考试. (0.3)　　　　[(不考也要啊), 是不是啊? .hh [heh heh
B:　　　　　　　　　那只好, [(学生加)-　　　　[他-, (°可

B: 能°大用)-　　　　　　[反正::
A: heh heh .hh 象以前:考试没用. [唉::考试还不会参加游泳比赛. (0.4)

B: hn 你反::正现在我考:八十三. (0.3) 也没看什么书. (0.3) °都不少°. (.)

B: 反正::要-, 提高一点也可[能-
A:　　　　　　　　　　[不过你要注意哦. 你上学期的成绩是要好

A: 得多. (0.6)
B:　　　上学期成绩啊::, (.) 想想啊, 这学期成绩好象勉强过八十

B: 喔. (0.2) 过八十就过了一点来分. 八十一不到一点啊. (0.2) 上学

B: 期-, (.)　　　　　[°期°hh 哦不-, 算这学期高. (0.2) 上学期要反
A:　　　你上学期肯定[高啊::.

B: 而要低一点. (0.2)　　　　上学-这学期::你看啊, 我上次算了吧,
A:　　　　　　不可能啊.

B: 我上次算-, 这学期反正高出八十分的有::三十分. (.) 上学期只有::

B: 十八分吧. (0.3) 还是多少, 二十五. 啊搞不清楚. (0.2) 就说反正::,

B: 这学期比上学期要高. (.)
A: 你不要忘了上学期有个电脑啊. 帮你拉了

A: 那么多分. 如果你把电脑去掉呢? (.) [你电脑就-, 高过八十分, 你一
B: [°那-°

A: 下去掉了十五分. (.) 还十四分啦? 十四分. 你一下去
B: 十::::::十四分.

A: 掉三分剩下十六分. (0.3) 你能比吗?
B: 对:. 那就没有了. (0.4) 反正:::,

B: (.) 不是:-, 主要是那个:::, 我觉得那个-, 那个东西很差啊. 语文, (.)

B: 语文我就七十. (0.3) [°七十.° 然后历史::]和:s, 和什么? [历史还有
A: [唉:::::, °(x x x)°] [(那)-

B: 什么? 法律不是-, 法律不是这学期教=
A: 历史和法律罗. (0.2) =你没修?

A: (0.2) °你°没修啊. (0.2)
B: 不是. 这学期-, 就上个学期啊, 上个学期, 不是

B: 这个学期啊. [那学期啊, 没教吧. 上个学期啊.
A: [是啊. 法律好象上个学期有

A: 法律啊. = 是法律
B: 法律, (.) 然后:::, 不是吧. 法律, 法律, 法律, 法律::=

A: 啊, 怎么那么傻的.
B: 哦::那就是法律. 法律我七十四吧. (.) 还是七十

B: 五. (0.3) [°不清楚°. 反正无所谓:::你看::, (.) 你看得罗::. (0.4)
A: [heh heh heh .hh

A: 啊::你看你都不帮我. 真是::, 都不告诉我情况呃::. (0.5) [幸好大家
B: [°(这不是

B: 不是)°-
A: 都(x x x x)怎么-, 那-那你也起码告诉我一些=把你知道的都告诉

A: 我啦:[:.
B: [我告诉你, 他要-, 他要想去加分嘛. 我就叫你当心一点. 反

B: 正::, 就说大家都加分嘛. (.) 大家都加分看::看那个硬一点罗. (.)

A: 他(乐意::), 哦不, 他是:::我一边讲, 你认识雷莹的吧, 他讲什么时候

A:　去加分啊::.（0.2）
B:　　　　　　　　　　hm, 反正他估计::要:明天去吧. 估计. 那肯定明天

B:　啦. 明天就十一号嘛.（0.4）十一号前他要加分嘛. [°最好°
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[唉::, 你起码告诉

A:　我谁(到那)要加分对吧, 我好判断一下-呃你什-你什么时候知道他

A:　要加分的呢?（0.4）　　　　　　　　　　什么时候啊今天啊?
B:　　　　　　　我啊?（0.5）我就是今天啊.

A:　（0.8）　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[我知道, 我
B:　　　　　反正:::::他肯定要明天去啦:::. 他不会今天晚上偷偷[跑过去的

B:　嘛.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　就是今天啊.
A:　知道. 我说-我说你是什么时候听说他要加分的.（0.3）

B:　今天::下午啊. °大概.°　　　　　要不我晚上. 反正:::::我就(x x x x x
A:　　　　　　　　　下午啊.（.）

B:　x x x).（0.2）
A:　　　　　　下午我到哪去了?（0.4）那你应该是听李素宁说的.（.）

A:　.hh 卫民民吧.（.）　　　　　　　　　　　　梁用?（0.3）
B:　　　　　　　你不用猜了. 你猜不到.（.）唉.　　　　唉 hhh,

B:　你不要猜啊.（.）唉::, 讲讲别的.（.）我膨-膨-膨胀的要呃:::, 喷.（.）

B:　呃也反正一想:, 想得也蛮多. [唉:::::::呃.　　　　可能要好几
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[heh heh heh .hh heh（0.4）

B:　个月:. °好好休息吧°.（0.6）

B: 就是谈论一下以前发生的事[啊. 一些↑高兴的事情啊.
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　[.hh 　　　　　　　　　是啊::. 我也

A: 有这种感觉. 回到::, 就回到:, 那-, 自-自己的那个家乡里. (.) 啊跟

A: 以前的同学在一起的时候:, (.) 除了说一下那些:::以前:, 高中发生

A: 的事情啊, 初中发生的[事 情 啊,] 就没什么好说了. 　　　.hh 最多
B: 　　　　　　　　　　[°就是啊.°] 　　　　　　°对啊.°

A: 说一下现在大学有什么有趣的事情罗:.hh 要是谈-就是, (.) 要谈得

A: 再::深刻一些::, 一点的东西都-, 谈不下去[了.
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[对对对. (0.2) 我-我觉得

B: 他们有时候真的很肤浅.
A: 　　　　　　　hhh heh heh .hhhh 也:说不上这-这些方面

A: 吧. 就是好象:你所受的教育不同, 就:::::很:, 唷, (.) 这个-人-, 为人的

A: 那些-还有那些::思想方面都很不同罗. .hhh 比如你学英语的, 你跟

A: 那些学理科的可能就-, 那-那-, .hh 对:很多东西的看法就不同了.

B: °(对. 就是).° (.) 不-不单止对东西的看法, .hh 就平常两个走在一起,

B: 那些, .hh 对他们的那些::言行啊举动啊都是很有影响. (0.4)
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　呃::其

A: 实-, 最主要的我觉得还是那个人的一个性-, ↑性格啊, 还有那个气

A: 质那个:, 的影响, 都是-, (0.2) [(对-), 啊. 　　　　　　啊.
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　气[质, 　气质特别不一样.

A: 对啊. 一个人-, (0.3) e::r, (.) 就是他::受过大学教育的话, 这个人看

A: 上去呢, 就觉得, (.) 好象没有一般人那么俗气似的. heh heh heh heh

A: .hhh
B: 　　那-那-那你觉得::我们学校的那些进修生 .hh 算不算是在:::, 正

B: 在接受-, 大学的教育? (0.4)
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　hmmm, 说起来我觉得::, (.) 唷, (.) 那也

A: 很难说=他们-, (0.3) 就看他能学到什么什么东西罗. 他们他们自己,

A: 对那学习有没有-有没有兴趣罗. .hh 也不能说你进到大学, 肯定你

A: 的话，那-那你的-连个大学那你，(.) 就可以变得::完全跟以前:不同，

A: 那也不一定的，是不是? .hhh↑原来你-你-你自己的努力也有一方面

A: 罗::. (.) 你自己是怎么样:::选择::, (.)   [你自己未[来的方向.
B: 不过:[:   [就-就-根-根据

B: 我的观察::, (.) 观察来说，就是说-，他-，那些进-，进 修生啊，[即使
A: °h[m.°

B: 他们来到这里学习，   但是他们的，(0.3) 出::, 就是他们的立足
A: °hm.°

B: 点，跟::那个出发点啊:[:   那些定位的不同.
A: [啊::.   °hm.° 他们主要是来学

A: 一种，   =语-语言方面的工具. [°(学.)°]
B: 就是啊.=   [所-所以在他们的]气质上，(.)

B: 那些熏陶，我觉得，.hh 影响很小.   °啊.°
A: °啧°. (.) 象我们就不同罗::.

A: 我们主要还是为了受更多的教育啊. .hh ↑象我-，我觉得来到大学，

A: 就跟我以前高中-，与-完全不同了. (.) 因为我来到这里，为什么这

A: 样-这么说呢，起码周围的同学::，都是比较有水平的啦. (0.2) 平时

A: 的交谈啊，有-有-有一定影响的. .hh ↑而且，(0.3) 这里什么，许多

A: 那些:::设施比较好. 象图书馆:，很容易借到很多:，(0.2) 以前自己很

A: 想-很想看. .hh 但是又找不到书. .hh 现在有那么多的书看，我觉

A: 得::，啧看了这么书，跟以前的-，很多那个看法::，很多想法都::，很

A: 不同. 所以我觉得，.hh 这个教育-，(0.3) e::r 不-不单是学到-学到一

A: 门工具. 而且-，(.) 起码对那个::啊，(.) 这个-，以后我的人生的那个

A: 方向那些啊，(.) 还有为人方面那些，都是影响非常大的. (0.5) [那
B: [你-

A: 些-，(.) 没受教育的，我觉得就差很远. 象我:::，我-u::m，(0.3) 有一个

A: 表弟，他就是农::村长大的. 他-，(.) 连小学都没念完 heh heh .hhh 连

A: 小学都没-没念完，他就不想读书了，就:::, .hh e::r 就想-，他-他爸-他

A: 是农村的嘛，想帮家里干点什么事情啊．．hh 不过他::他家里硬要逼

A: 他上中学．(0.2) 他说他就上中学罗．上中学读了也不知道是读了两

A: 年多，又-又不读了．．hh 他-他是-，我跟他小时候呢就::啊，还是-，er

A: 挺要好的嘛．跟他::经常一起 e::r，说什么啦，有说有笑的嘛．．hh 不

A: 过现在跟他在一起，．hh 真的不知道怎么办才好，有时候 heh ．hhh

A: 因为-因为这么久-，e::r 不是在一起的嘛=小时候什么事:::也没-没

A: 什么好说的．．hh 他对我在大学都在干些什么，他::也没有兴趣．．hh

A: 我想问一下他-，在-，他在农村那里的事情，我又很不熟悉．问起

A: 来:，唉::呀-，觉得-，．hh 很多事情我-我自己也不懂，也谈-，谈不到

A: 什么东西．所以跟他在一起，简直是没话可[说．
B: [啧．对啊．两个人在一

B: 起，如果没有一些什么共同语言，是很难，(.) [很难很和谐的．
A: [°就是啊．°   °是啊．°

A: (0.7) e:::::r [现在我们-，hh[hhh ．hhhhhh [(x x x x)   就是:，
B: [我们-   [唉不需要谈这[个，没意思，没意思．

A: ↑看-来[来来[个电视暴力的问题．   [那你说
B: [呃 [e:::r   对．em，谈这个没意思．．h[hh

A: 什[么 hh °eh eh°]   啊．
B: [e::r   ] 你-你看书的时候，   有没有，就是说，↑看一本书，

B: 就会影响你的::，对一个问题的看法．↑看另一本书，(.) 又影响你对

B: 这个问题产生了另一个发现，   =另一个方向的转变．会不会出
A: °hm-°=

B: 现这个-这个情况．(.)   啊-=
A: 这样啊．   =°hmm.° (0.4) 看-，(.) 当然我看书

A: 的单，(.) 我-我觉得我看的书也::，e::r 也算不少了．．hh 就是各种书，

A: 它的观点肯定是::，   =很多不同的，[而且互相冲突的．．hh[h 就
B: 对．对.=   [°对.°   [对．

A: 要:看我自己是怎么看那个问题的=我自己-，就是从中，看哪一个问

A: 题最能说服我. (0.2) 哪一个问题能够说服我, 我就接受哪一个, 还-

A: 还有什么好讲的罗.   hm.
B: 其实你看的时候啊,   这本书, 这样说法, (.)

B: 我觉得很有道理.   =所以, 它-, 无形之中就:, (.) 对我的::那个::
A: °hm.° =

B: [思想-, 发生[很大影响.   [↑但是, 我]看了一本书, 这本书跟
A: [啊::.   [啊::.   当然有一[定的影响.]

B: 这本书的观点是, (0.2) 有s-, 有一些是对立的. (.) 就它们的出发点

B: 是不同的, 立场是不同的.   =它也, 非-非常有道理. 非常有s-说
A: °hm.°=

B: 服性. (.)   那这时候, (.) 你怎么办? (1.0)
A: °hm.°   这-, 我觉得, er 你看一

A: 本书吧, 你-, 啊看完之后, (0.2) 可能在当时的话, 你自己也觉得它

A: 有道理. .hh 但是你又还又不断有自己的经验的嘛, .h[h 你在那, 仅
B: [啊.

A: 仅-通-通过你自己的经验, 跟书上的那个观点来:::, °呃-呃-°就是-,

A: 看能不能::, 呃是不是能-, 是不是相符合. 这样你就可以-, 确定是

A: 哪一个是对你, 更有影响了. 哪一个才是-, 真正确的罗. (0.5) °是不

A: 是啊?° (0.5) 啊::, 以前我就跟那-, 那欧阳健啊, 他-他就::有一- 一

A: 个:::, 有一个理论是, .h 看书呢就-, 瞎-, 我主要说是那文学方[面的,
B: [°hm

B: hm.°
A: .hh 他说看书呢就不要看那些::, 那些人的评论. 如果看那些人的

A: 评论呢, 就好象给它影响了:: 就没意思=主要-, .hh 我-, 我自己看了

A: 原著, 有自己的观点就算了. (.) 那时候-那时候我觉得, 呃:, 这样挺

A: 好的. 可是我后来我又-又一想, .hh 我觉得不对啊. .hh 呃那些评论

A: 家的看法, 我当然可以-可以看了. 我看了, 如果他-, 他能够说服我,

A: 我当然可以接-接受他, 是不是. 也是对-也是::, (.) 跟我的, 观点一

A: 致了嘛. (.) 喷如果我-, 不接受他, 反正就-那我就决不接受他的. 不

A: 受他影响，就这样罗. (.)   是啊，多数是看-,
B: 就-就是说以自己为出发点.

A: [都是看你自己的]::. 你-你看书，不就-不就是:, .hh 不是-，就一定要
B: [以自己为中心.]

A: 说吧-我要把那-观点背下来:, 以后就可以有用. 不是这个意思啊是

A: 不是. .h 主要是你自己能不能接受下来. 能不-能不能，呃把那-, .hh

A: 他那-那种观点，融合到自己的观点里面去. (.) 而不是什么说，什么

A: 怕了给别人影响啊::. .hh 怕别人说，只会说书上的东西啊，不是这

A: 个意思的::. (0.5) [°这样好°-
B: [对啊，如果-如果看书是单纯为了，.hh 背一些

B: 名k-, [名句啊::, 那没意思的.]
A: [是啊. 你-，只会背-背-,] 你背那些东西以后，说了事-，你跟别

A: 人说啊，哇嗨我，这个也知道了，那个[也知道. 这没意思啦::. 是不
B: [°对对那没意思.°

A: 是. .hh 主要还是看-，对你自己，有没有-有没有用. 能不能对你自己

A: 的那些，很多方面都产生影响. °是不是啊.° .hh 有些看书就是，唉主

A: 要，背一些东西啊，以后-，跟别人说的话，那就，哇::，觉得那个人-，

A: 很-很有知识. .hh 那也没意-没意思的. huh .hh (0.6)
B: °那-°那看-，看

B: 书是不是::, .hh 对性::格:熏陶的一个::重要的方式? (.)
A: hmmm. °啧°

A: 是个比较重要的方式吧. .hh 但是↑性格的形-性格的形成，(.) 那

A: 个::::很-，我觉得那个是很复杂的. 不单是那个::, (.) 不单是-不单是

A: 那个看书就能够:::影响的. .hh 看书的影响其实也-，(.) 不能说是非

A: 常非常大. 只能说起到一部分的影响. (0.2)
B: 那-那-那你认为::最重

B: 要的::影响是什么?
A: . hh 比如你:::::你家庭环境啊. 你从小-，我觉得

A: 是-，小时候受的影响是非常大的. (.) 你的父母亲，还有你的兄弟姐

A: 妹，对你的影响都非-都会非常大．(0.3)
B: 你-你-你的-，你认为有没有

B: 没有一种:，.hh er 就是说:::反作用呢? 就是说，.h 你-，.h [原来-
A: [看你-，这要

A: 看你父母亲是是压-，是，.hh 强-强迫你干什么事罗．因为你父母亲

A: 是那种潜移默化的，那你当然-，(.) 不知不觉就要受到他影响罗．

A: (0.3) °就°象我::，我就受我的-我爸爸影响很大的．   我爸爸从
B: heh heh

A: 我-从我很小开始我就:::，就开始受我爸爸影响=而且我，.hh 小时候

A: 呢就，(.) 非常崇拜我-我-我-我爸爸的嘛．   [老觉得，↑哇::，我爸
B: heh [heh

A: 好象什么都知道了，就这样．.hh 那潜移默化哇，他-他那::思想就影

A: 响到我．.hh 象我爸爸他这人就是也是，什么事都不-都不爱管的他．

A: 就喜欢一个人静静地，看-看看书啊．.hh 以前就看报纸啊，他最喜

A: 欢看那个参考消息了．.hh 后来:，不理报纸了，就看一些::，°hnn-°，

A: 各方面的书罗．(0.3) 他特别爱看那些古代的书．这也是对我°有°

A: 很大影响的．.hh 后来现在啊，他也是，几乎是，晚上足不出户的．

A: 晚上他不-他不爱出-，[出去的．   er他也就看电视罗．他也-，
B: [也-也不看电视?

A: 他也很少去找-，去找哪-哪-哪-哪什么人一起聊天啊很少的．除非

A: 别人来找他:罗．hh huh .hh 他连过年啦都不愿出去的．所以我觉得

A: 我就是啊，(.) 喷，可能性格都:，有点受:我爸爸的影响．.hh 我妈呢，

A: 就跟我爸是完全不同的．她就-，老是强迫我，你一定要怎么样，这

A: 样，你这样做没出息的．你这样象你爸那样．[随便你怎么说，.hhh
B: [heh heh heh

A: 反正我-，我不管做的哪样事情做的不好的话，她就说，↑ei，真象

A: 你爸爸一样．(.) [你没出息的．heh heh heh heh .h h [h h h h h h
B: [heh heh heh heh heh heh heh heh [呃::，都是这

B: 样的［做母亲，°呃,°=　　　喷. 我-我［我爸爸也差不多.　　］
A: h h［唉::　　　　=是啊.　　　　　［所以说我-反正我受］我妈的

A: 影响不-不是很大. 因为我妈老是要我这-这样那样. .hh 这指点一

A: 下，那-那也指一下=我觉得反而，唉不知道，不-不知::所措似的. 不

A: 知道怎么怎么干-，怎么怎么做才好. (.) 反正我爸影响更大.

A: 我有一天晚上, 突然想到一-, (0.2) 一个总的那个英语的学习方法.

B: 啊.
A:　　　　呃要么现在跟你讲讲看啊. 你可以想想. 就是说, 我觉得那个英

A: 语学习吧, 就::有两条线贯穿时间吧.　　[一条线是精和泛是不是啊.
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　°h[m.°

B: °hm.°=
A:　　　　=一条是精和泛. 还有一个就是能力的培养和那个::, 对那个:,

A: 知识的培养. 知识我的意思就是说, 呃, 对他们英语国家的那种, 呃,

A: culture background, 他们的文化, 建筑, 艺术, 各方面的了解. 对吧.

A: 那么-, 就打个-, 不是很::恰当的比方吧. 就是说. 我把精和泛作为

A: 那个::坐标系的两个坐标. (0.4) 就是精和泛. 然后在四个区间里面

A: 分别有:, (.) 听力, (0.2) 阅读, 写作和::那个口语.　　　　　这样的话,
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　°hm.° (.)

A: (.) 你比如说听力在那个坐标系上面反映就是, (.) 精-, 听, 和泛听.

A: 对吧?　　　　所以我在想啊, 呃:, (0.2) 必-, 就平时学习可以围绕CECL.
B:　　　　hm.

A: (.) 围绕着CECL, [来运作. 如果这CECL下面学的是sports.
B:　　　　　　　　[hm.　　　　　　　　　　　　就听

B: [　spor]ts
A: [那么-,] 对. 那么在, (.) 这段时间里面, 我们就, (0.2) 把所有的英语

A: 听力都放在那个sports这个field里面.　　　　这样的话, 能提高那个单
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　hm.

A: 词重复率嘛. 这[样的话, 就从记忆[学上-,
B:　　　　　　　[°啊.°　　　　　　　[°其实-°, 其实这个学期我已经,

B: 开始这样做了. [我我我read的Guardians啊, 还有我们]China Daily啊.
A:　　　　　　　[对

B: 全都读了, .hh 全部, 全部都精读或者, 啊::, 速读那个, 体育. 呜, 所

B: 以发现, 书本的知识远远不够. 喷. 很难明那些东西.　　　　啊.
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　有些时候,

A: 就是说，听力比如说，就举个例吧. 就说sports里面， 你可以啊,
B: hm.

A: 先听那个，BBC里面那个sports roundup. sports roundup 听了.
B: °hm.°

A: .hh 然后，(.) 这些是泛听嘛. 就是光听=然后你就可以::, 可以借一

A: 些磁带来. 就sports roundup的磁带借来. 或者是，拿录音机把这一

A: 段，sports roundup录下来. 然后不停地听. (.) 然后-，与此相应的在

A: 阅读上面，你就可以看那些，(0.3) 呃:, 也是有泛读精读的吧.
B: 不过

B: BBC 那些，(.) sports roundup 那些就:, (0.2) 有些难的，有些:, (.) 讲

B: 足球啊，现场直播那些很难. [啊.
A: hhh 很难[很难. .hh 因为它那个词非常

A: 地vivid. 非常容[许吧. (0.2)
B: [大. 那词-，词的-，范围很大. 我们:学不到很

B: 多东西. (.) hhh [我-我说我们还没-，我没到
A: 但-，能学到很多东西啊. [就算象这-，°( )°

A: [这是个问题. 对[对对. 这-，.hh 那就是说::, 要逐渐地那么-,
B: [(where is the right). [呃::

A: 稍微培养. 如果你不去培养的话，怎么能达到这个水平，是不是.

B: °h[m.°
A: [那么-，比如说在阅读吧，一个精，和泛的话，.hh 精的话你可以

A: 研究一篇，关于sports 的文章. .hh 要找出 里面的内在的一种:, 规律

A: 在. 肯定有. 就象我们今天那个:headlines. sports headline 就是一种,

A: .hh 精读，(.) 一种方法. 然后那个泛读就是，大量的读一读，sports

A: journals, 这方面的东西，就多读一下. (.) 写作的精和泛的话，就是

A: 有，就一个精字就是说，对于，grammatical mistakes 这些，就是语法

A: 上要-，注重. 而泛就是说，.hh 那种用词啊:, 还有这种文采啊这种-,

A: (.) 这种方面. (.)
B: 啊::, 我现-我昨天我听了:, 胡容华的，CECL老师嘛,

B: 我们级那个主任嘛.　　　她::她要求不是很什么的嘛. 她要求那个,
A: 　　　　　　　　　hm.

B: 很苛-, 苛刻的嘛 (.) 刚刚进来我们这.　　　　　　呃. 她很苛刻.
A: 　　　　　　　　　哦::, 就上次-,

B: 但是他要求学生, 我::见得并不那么好. 她要求学生, .hh CECL当

B: 精读来学. (.) 这是我们那天晚上到Professor Shaw那里, 他就说,

B: 李筱菊教授, 气坏了. [就是说这点.　　　　[不知是不是说他
A: 　　　　　　　[hn　　　气得都跳起[来°heh°

B: 们呢?　　我觉得呢他们-, 喷, 没什么用啊.
A: 　　°hhh°　　　　　　　　　(.) 她那个老师可能

A: 是:传统式.　　　　　　　　　　　　[((clears throat))
B: 　　呃, 有一种传统. (.) 我就喜-我就-, (.) [我自己觉得-, (0.4)

B: 这个book呢:, (.) 就-, (.) 可以, (.) 一半时间够了, 我觉得. 还有一

B: 半时间要, (.) 听其他-或者学其他的啦.
A: 　　　　　　　　　对. .hh 因为我觉得你真的

A: 把精力当精读来, .hh 可以occupy all your time.　　　　[°是
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　啊::对. 我以前[就是.

A: 这样.°　　　　　　　　　　　°对° (.)
B: 　　而且成绩也并不高. 它:能力的培养, 培养不出来. (.)

A: 你进-进大学的那个听力怎么样?
B: 　　　　　　　我-, 我还是, 喷, (.) 已经差了很多

B: 了. (.) 不知怎么样. [我上学期没有听. (0.3)
A: 　　　　　[听力-　　　听力啊, 我想, 真的没有

A: 什么大的变. .hh 现在这-这段时间整天-, 整天忙在那个::操行评定

A: 上. (.) 我晚上, 三个晚上, 我都-都没有学习.
B: 　　　　　　　　　唉, 真倒霉. 不过我的

B: 实效率不高啊.
A: 　　°先凑合°. 发现那东西, 喷如果效率高的话, 一个晚

A: 上就能搞掂. °其实.° (0.2)
B: 　　　　如果说效率呢, 我, (.) 时间是够多. 不过,

B: 喷思想上老集中不起来. (0.2)
A: 　　　　　哈 .hh, 你或应该找一个安静, 相对安

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A: 静一点的学习环[境.
B: 　　　　　　　　[因为我们:寝室啊，比较吵. (.)健身啊，什么都进我

B: 们寝室. 谈女孩子啊. (0.2)而且我自己心也不是很定. °我觉得.° 啧.

B: [我这样-　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　我们寝室就
A: [你这样-你这样(x x x x x x)，一天到晚都在说这个事.

B: 比较乱罗. 什么人都进来. 我们关上门，她也:进来. (0.6)而且我-,

B: 我现在::, (.)健身的时间已经相对的比较注意 controllable. (0.4)你

B: 觉得呢?　　　[反正下午就去.　　　　　下午就去. 我set a time. (.)
A: 　　　°hm.°[°(　　)°　　看得出来.

B: 不过-不过半个小时，我自己把它弄好. 我又继续学习，每天这样.

B: (0.2)
A: 　　　　　不过现在看得出你非常°(用功)°. 特别听力，每次路过你都是

A: .hh 带着个耳机在那边听.
B: 　　　　　　　　　唉其实, (.)这个呢，表面上我也是很积

B: 极地听. 但是有时听，°也不知°听什么，在想事情 hhh .hhh 最讨厌这

B: 样. [可能，就是不能:专下来. (.) [专不下来. (0.4)　　　[杨明鉴]啊，
A: 　　[°真:是.°　　　　　　　　[°这样°　　　°不过[有时候,°]

A: °逼着自己去这么做°. (.)
B: 　　　　　　　　杨明鉴那里，以前老来说，找女朋友呃:说

B: 到-, (.)
A: 　　　　他我倒是看到他这两天倒是非常那个, (.)°有点有空嘛. 呃,

A: 看他[(到图书馆.)° °hm. °[他上哪去啊? .hh 跟我好象也，故意接近
B: 　　[杨明鉴,　　　　　　[他-

A: °你°. 可能就,°很想知道你怎么做°, °我想°.　　　　　　　　对. 我
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　想向学习这方面.

A: 想是这样的. (.) [°那他到(　)°　　　　　　　　　　　哦:
B: 　　　　　　　[他-这-，我倒知道他以前经常去找-，找女孩子.

A: hhh (0.3)这不，这两天看他很无聊.　　　还有那个，刚刚说到那个:,
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　°hm.°

A: 写作吧. 啊不-，然后再说到那个-, talking, talking吧，我已经跟你讲

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A: 过吧. °然后就-,°　　　[°就-°　[°就-°　　　　　　　　　　　是啊. [我都没时
B: 　　　　　　　　你-你[都没有[来, 我 talking我是-　　　[我-

A: 间.
B: 　　我昨天晚上就第一次carry out my talking plan. (.) 我我:我:, I des-

B: cribe the actions of 胡荣华.
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　对, 我现在in a very poor state. 我现在连,

A: .hh .hh 基本要求, 就作业°都° hh 还来不及完成 heh .hh
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　那不会吧.

B: 什么作业?　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[文革? [你还没交.
A: 　　　　什么文革啊:什么, 那阅读啊. 老师[那:: [文革我还没交.

A: 还没写啊.　　　　　　　　　　不用啊. 我老师::, 跟老师::, 上次我跟
B: 　　　　　人家-, 人家都交了.

A: 他说什么时候交, 他说其实你练练口语可以. 　这个不用急. 我这
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　啊:.

A: 个星期周末,
B: 　　　　呃, 说到文革那篇, 我是-, 喷, 我倒是抨击了中-, (0 2)

B: 我真的, (.) 喷, 抨击了中国很利害啊. (.) 我说他们挺- .hh 就[是:,
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hhh

B: 就拿六[四来说吧. 其实, 我觉得. (0.5) 就是::, (.) 怎么说呢, hmm,
A: 　　　　　[°(该这样做).°

B: (0.4) ↑学生其实是看东西看得::, (.) 最透彻的人, 应该说吧, 可以说.

B: 就是大部分人来说. (0.3) 比较透彻[的.
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[.hh 应该说是, 不能说透彻吧,

A: 只能说是激进, °我觉得°. °就说°比较::, (0.2) 激进嘛可能是::贬义的

A: 来说吧. 或者说, .hh 敢于变革吧. 应该这么[说.
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[但是, 但是你想想, 要是

B: 以前的, (0.2) 从-, 从哪-, 个个朝代来看, 还有,尤其是啊::::, 那个::,

B: 清朝以后那些, 都是由于学生的激进, 中国才能发展啊.
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　对. 这-这

A: 个东西就是说, 青年人特别具有这种批判精神. (0.2)
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　.hh 其实我觉

B: 得, 喷, (0.2) 还有那个 Patric说那些, 六四那些, 有些东西, (.) 坦克

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B: 压过去啊什么. 我根本不大信. [因为我-　　　　　外国人总是:
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[这个我不是很相信.

B: exaggerating. 他们对中国抱有, 偏[见.
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[好象那一次, 他这么说吧, 我都

A: 有点, .hh 就是说, 有点, (.) 有点反驳:好象. 我就反驳他.
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　喷我没有反

B: 驳-
A: 　　即使是真的话::, (.) 有可能, °一定在什么(书本上跟他说).° (0.2)

A: 这-, (.) 其[实(笑话)°我们中国人.°
B: 　　　　　[°(对-)°　　　　　　°啊.° 不过:他还是:, (0.4) 我看他

B: 的态度还-, (0.3) 对中国人还是, (0.2) 比较偏激的很多. (0.5)
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　大多

A: 数我不知道. (.) 我好象, .hh 和这次::, °我°-, 我这是第一次和那个

A: 英国人谈-, (.) 谈天. (.) 发现美-, 美国人英国人差距的确挺大的,

A: 是不是. 你有没有觉得.　　　　　[英国人可能-, 可以说, 更academic
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　hm. 美-, [美国-

A: 一点. 不知道. [°美-°
B: 　　　　　　　[一个academic. 不过没:, 我觉得美国人还::还比-比-

B: 比英国人还要偏见啊. (0.2) 你-你觉得吗?　　　　　　[啊::,
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　°肯定啦°. .hh [你听

A: VOA和BBC hh heh 就能发现°这个区别°.
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　啊, 这个我倒没有-, 比较

B: 过. 不过我接触的美国::人啊, (0.3) 反正他觉得, (.) 有-, 还有日本人

B: 啊, 对中国人, (.) 喷, 抱有一种critical eyes. (0.2) 怎么说呢, 他们-,

B: 我上次去, (.) 保龄球场嘛.　　　　[(反)-
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　应该[说是对, 他们可能应该说, 对中国

A: 政府hhh　　　　　　　　　　　　　[反-, 正-　　]
B: 　　　　不是啊. 他很小看中国人啊. 不是小看[中国政府啊.] 你怎

B: 么-怎么说,　　　[他-
A: 　　　　　　.hhh [这个就不是critical. 这是一种, °(鄙夷呢不是)°. .hh

A:　(.)
B:　　　　也不是. 其实他对中国政府也很-, (.) 他就是-, (.) 两种都::抱有一

B:　种 critical 的eyes. [他就::说-, 你们低人一等的中国人, 他就:随意骂,
A:　　　　　　　　　　[°hm.°

B:　随意:, (.) 侮辱啊什么. 对中国没有说, 其实, 扩展开来他们也是说

B:　到人权那些东西的. 他们很-很小[看-
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[其实他们有一种superiority的,

A:　°感觉°.
B:　　　　　他可以他什么话都乱说的. 在公共场合. (.) 即使什么人在

B:　啊, 他都说你中国政府怎么不好. 他乱说的. (.) 很多时候是这样.

A:　不过这也是他们的(x x x x). 不应该这么说. 他们对自己的政府是,

A:　°(对自己政府说).° [但是你就说那种, (0.2) 民族偏见吧什么, 肯定
B:　　　　　　　　　　[呃::.

A:　有. (.) °肯定有.° (.)
B:　　　　　　　　　但其实呃:, 我们-, 也的确有-, (0.3) 就是让一步

B:　来说, 中国也是的确, 喷太下贱了. .hh 文革都不用说hh, 不要说,

B:　说什么 heh hh .hh [其实啊这是::一个挺仅有学习的话题. (.)
A:　　　　　　　　　[°( )°　　　　　　　　　　　　　　文革?

B:　啊. 我 我以[前(就)-
A:　　　　　　[我看了很多很多. hhh .hh 每次看到::后面都:, 越来越

A:　气愤了, 后面 hh .hh (.) 就觉得好象-, 喷, (0.3) 这-, 这种事怎么会

A:　发生啊. 简直无法想象的啊, 现在想-, 想起来. .hh 非常不仁道的

A:　都是.
B:　　　　不过我们这一代学生已经消失了那种, (.) 象你们那种热心

B:　啊. 对-对祖国的, 关心. 只有北京上海那些大城市, .hh 在广东这边

B:　尤其没有.
A:　　　　　呃, 现在的话::,

B: 喷, 这次反正就亏那里. 其他[(x x x)   [唉::

A: [最后我觉得你啊:体育不错. (0.2) [八

A: 十五. 超过我想象. .hh hhh hh [.hhh .hh

B: [讲你说谁相信. 还有那个谁啊, 操行

B: 哎呀, 开始的-可能是以前的出发点°(不是很注意.)° [你知道那个刘

A: [这我觉得我已

A: 经-]   I 我对这[些认识不够

B: 爱美]已经跟我讲过了.   [hmmm 你这个当官你, 你当一半官

B: 你算什么意思. 你让我以后翻译怎么(享受). 讲的英文很不一样.

B: (.) .hhh 现在看来是有点-, (.) 也没所谓唉:[:呀.   =

A: [你差多少. 差得很远.=

B: 差了好多. 他想把我拉的, 拉不上啊. 要这样拉就:, 拉了:::将近十多

B: 分啊有. (.) [十五分左右.   [我七十六啊. 要拉到九十, [哎呀那可

A: [拉了-, 十五分, 那[不可能.   [这么低啊.

B: 不可能了, 是不是[啊.   [我参加活动很少. 哎, 那体育-, 三-三,

A: [那是°不[可能.°

B: hhh 三-   [hhh   .hh [唉::°(比我是).°

A: 所以我-[我也觉得体育°没有°.   [喷,   我体育

A: 太::差.   [如果我不-

B: 体育啊. (0.3) 体育怎么说呢, 他那个::, (0.3) .hh [主要那个

B: 活动啊, 我想多参加以外, 我想什么打排球打篮球还好一点. .hh 其

B: 他那些:象什么, .hhh 呃考试那个项目. (0.4) 象一个-, 乱发挥. 你看

B: 现在那个二年级那个什么中投啊. 那个投篮的. [呃::发发[球是那

A: [啊.   [啊(x x)

A: 啊.   ]   [不可能°投

B: 个什么.] (0.3) [↑或者你发挥好, 一下就投它十个. 或者[你发挥不好,

B: ↑六个.] (.) [六个六个及格.   °我啊° hhh [.hh

A: °十个°.]   [你投多少-, 你投的最多的是多少个.   [°heh

A: heh°   [我投的, 我投的最好是:七个.

B: 少说一点四到五个吧. hh [哎呀.   那好

B: 啊. 最好是七个. 如果-, 一个一下十分, 到时候紧张一下. <u>没戏的</u>.

B: [呃-   °这[(x x)°   .hh 还有那个什
A: [那个-那个挺要心里素质.   [°(要不)°, °很那个°.

B: 么-什么:::, 还有一个什么项目啊要-, 一个中投=
A: =<u>单杠</u>, 还有一个单

A: 杠, 那个翻上去. .hh 那个怎么可能呢. 我[觉得-,]
B: [那 小]学里-哦不, 不是小学,

B: 中学我记得翻过一次.   翻过一次.
A: °(那我没有x x)°.   它怎么算分? (0.2)

B: 怎么算, 呃-, 那肯定是老师的印象分了. (0.2) [↑老师他要]给你好. 呃:
A: [°n 怎 么-°]

B: 可可可到时[候::呃-, [呃:::::, 有可能-, 那个什么-, 呃::, 开学哦不, (.)
A: [°老-° [°这事情°-

B: 差不多要结束的时候. (.) 他看:平均分. (.) 他是-, 打开 °(   )°

B: °这样子[算.°
A: [这样子算. 那那那:我应该不会很低吧. 实在我应该°还

A: [可以.°]   [唉.
B: [呃 那]那也行. 那也行. .hh [反正你知道那个-, 呃:::什么, 就是那个,

A: [°那 是.°] [°那 是.°] (.) 现在就
B: 考试的时候, 你不要出现重大事故. [没什么.] [°没什么.°]

A: 有其他的那个. 我觉得这- .hh 还是有点不公平. 这次, 奖学金°啧°..

A: (0.2)   [就是因为
B: 那奖学金是另-, 另外一码事情. 钱倒有些少的::. [(省点就-).

A: 这些. [我 们 班]拿得太容易了. 你看.
B: [↑<u>还有一个</u>.]   还有一个, 以前::觉得是一班

B: 好啊, 很好很好.   [我现在觉得,] 很必要把这个
A: 我现觉得是很不好. [(其他几个-)]

A: [°啊°对对对.] 真的你-, 分奖学金的话你看, 大家都有意见. 还不
B: [班拆开来.]

A: [如分了.]   [本来苏凯是肯定
B: [第一个-,] 那-你看象现在那个::什么奖学金问题, [唉-

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A: 有. (0.3)

B: 　　　你只要那个::::,成绩. 那-,如果按照-,你们单项 j-,奖学金,

B: 那个成绩奖学金. 　　一班这么多八十分. 八十,都是八十分. [跑到
A: 　　　　啊. 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[哦.

B: 人家班,肯定这-这里面肯定上了. [单项. °hm.°(先什么,干嘛要注
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[啊

B: 意). 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[我: 没]法没法.
A: 　　　有啊. °岂有此理.° 呃你有没有试试,°奖学金°. [三等四等.]

B: °我-°
A: 　　　喷我觉得都::,不是搞,不是很合理. 就是很-,°这奖学金制度.°

B: °啊.°.hh 那应该怎样. 我怀疑二年级还要-还要(x x x). 参加什么活

B: 动,我也°(　　　　　　　　全参加.)° 　　[你-反而言之,肯::[::
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　我反正我[觉得- 　　　　[我

A: 　真的没有-没有心情,]我觉得,嗨. 　我觉得我太糊涂了. 每次-我
B: (总)(甭-别装蒜). 　] 　　　　　　啊?

A: 干什么事情都这样子. 第一次总是要失败的. (0.2) 很多事情,°唉°.

A: 我现在有点教训. (0.2) [°可能是°-] 　　　　　　　　　　[°第一
B: 　　　　　　　　　[第 一 次]失败. °喷°↑那样好啊. 第一[次嘛,

B: 打 　草]稿一样的. 真的. 象:象::我每次做作业啊,我昨天也-,做那个.
A: 次这样失-°]

B: 电脑作业. .hh 拿出一本新本子. .h 做了一半. ei,不行啊. 唉太乱了.

B: 撕掉(重新做). 肯定要涂掉. 　　第二遍可能-,————般来说都会比
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　hhh

B: 第一遍[好很多. [喷好很多,真的好很多. (0.3) 唉::呀.
A: 　　　[这我没想[啊. 　　　　　　　　　　真遗憾. °( )°.

A: °学习( )奖学金°. °真是°. (.) 　　　　　　　　oral.
B: 　　　　　　哦还有一个 oral, oral°课°. 　　hmm你现

B: 在好了喂,我以前::::,找那个(x x x)的. (.) 　　找那个谁,呃[::°(x-)°
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　°hm.° 　　　　　　　[↑我发

A: 现我口语还是挺有进步的. 　　　　　　　　　　°真
B: 　　　　　　　呃,很有进步. 真的-真的很有进步.

A: 的°.　　　=开始我一句话都说不出来, °真是.°(这[可能)-
B: 　　　↑而且::=　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[它的-, 你的那

B: 个什么记单词能力, 哇真的, 真的很佩服.　　　[记单词.]
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　我没有, 我没[记单词.]我

A: [°很, 我-°　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hhhh
B: [↑很多单词我以前都看到过的. 但就想不起来, 什么东西. [哎呀::,

B: [他妈的.　　　　　　　　　不是(太马虎). 反正总觉得, 那-, 一个
A: [.h h h h 那你是太(马虎heh)

B: 老师(x x x x). 你-记任何一样东西, 象你记英语单词一样, 要记七

B: 遍. 什么, 我今天::,, 哦不-, 刚刚开始念的时候, 一遍::,　　[过了
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　要不了[记七

A: 遍.]　　　　　　　　　　[我觉得记单]词真的, 最好的办
B: 两]秒钟以后, 三秒钟它就一遍::,, [过 五 分钟-]

A: 法还就是:,, 看报纸. (.) 大量的看. 我真的-觉得[很有[用.
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[啧 [有没有时间.

A: 有时间. 你-你就是-, 现在的课程, 主要只有CECL要-, 晚上复习一

A: 下. 其余的, 大部分只要临时看一看就行了.　　　[电脑-
B: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　那现::现[在那个什么

B: 精读:::,, 没了. [稍微好点. [我主要精力也是花在[这个, 这个-
A: 　　　　　　h[m.　　[对.　　　　　　[我觉得精读很-,

A: 很不好学. (0.2)　　　　[很麻烦.]　　　[啧, 啊.　　　[.hh
B: 　　　　　精读那个-, [那 个 词]汇很烂, [我发现. 真的很[烂.

A: 又不考, 又不考又::,, [又那个什么]　　　　[°都没-°　　[有三-,
B: 　　　　　　[考 又 不 考,] 真的. .h [都没办法, 但是[如果

B: 你不看那个:精]读那个[单词-]　　　　　[不看那个精读单]
A: 啊.　　　]　　[有三四]页单词啊, 真是, [考又不考.　　　]

B: 词又不知道要考点什么. [那只能看单词. 考了只能, 也知道是没用
A: 　　　　　　　　[就是啊

B: 的. 真的没用.
A: 　　　　　呃, 我还是觉得CECL那个行, CECL还实用一些.

B: CECL实用. 呃到底交际英语嘛. [很实用. 啧 .hhh 呃, (0.3) 怎么样
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　[°真的.°

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B: 呢，如果叫我看那个单词啊， 第一个，很实用我°才记°. 第[二个，
A: 啊. [啊.

B: 他妈的，看那个单词就应该[完全把它-，长时间,] [你眼睛-，眼睛
A: [听BBC的时候，] [啊. .hh

B: 看那个:::,, 疲劳. 呃-很担心啊，就是这样. (0.3) 哎::呀，以前可能没

B: 出现°这种[情况.° °现在°-] .hhh
A: [那你平时学]英语的话都是::, (.)°集中学什么呢°.

B: 反正，这反正-，近一个阶段::主要是靠那个°听力°. 特别是那个

B: VOA°那个东西°. [↑啊,
A: °(x x x [x).° 我是没听. 我在听::, 我准备听原来

A: 的，二年级的那个没听完. 二年级[那个.] [啊:..]
B: 哪个? [↓哦,] 那个::, 蓝-蓝色的[那个

B: 哦]::绿[皮 那 本 那 个-] 呃li[stening.] [listening to
A: [绿-绿色的那个叫]什么::, [啊.]listening, [啊. listening]

A: to this.] [listen to this.] [那个::, 我觉得还有必要听下
B: this.] listen to] this. [listen to this.] [°hn.°

A: 去. [因为它那都是大片的嘛. [又有- [啊.
B: 那怎么说呢. [那算是- [呃大片-, .hh[对-, 这次我::°这

B: 几天准-准备搞-，搞一些°. .hh 因[为怎么说呢，如果你，经常听news啊,
A: [°啊.°

B: news你报不看啦. (.) news再看啦, 可能会好[一点.
A: °e::r° [差不多. 其实听

A: news, 就是要先看报纸. [很容易就-, [啊.
B: 对，先看报纸. [这样你早上听[那个中-中央

B: 听, [呃中央那个，还要那个-，你听完[以后, =然后然后:知:道
A: [啊对. [啊::. 知道=

B: 大概意思. [然后听那个::, 什么英-英语新闻，哇，才知道很-，有点
A: [对.

B: 比较::, [相对来讲比较简单.] 啊[推出一些单词.
A: 就是-, [至少可以推出一些]单词啊. [或者你听不出这个

A: 单词，那你不知道意思，你可以[推出来. 啊. =
B: [它搞什么钓鱼岛. =我开始还不

B: 知道:::, 一个什么单词.　　=然-然后后来, 那个什么啊BBC和VOA
A: 　　　　　　　　　　啊.=

B: 在那讲了一通. .hh 那我知道, 哦, 钓鱼岛就是那个-, 然后知道是-,

B: 中::国的-, 这个单词, (.) 官方语言这个单词, 用英文怎么翻译. (0.2)

B: 就这么呃:, link-link一下. (0.2)
A: 　　　　　　　　　这倒是. 啧, 主要是听, 你现在主要

A: 是, 练听, [力.
B: 　　　[呃, 主要一-, °一个听-,° 他们说什么, 听力你练好了以后:

B: 反正你::
A: 　　　我就是-, 吃亏在听力上的. 我考试, 我每次都是吃亏在听

A: 力上. 　　[我听力很差, 所以CECL 成绩上不去. 所以我没什么进步.
B: 　　.hh [不过你-

A: .hh 听写都是几-= 　　　[°几十° 　　　　　　啧, 他们也
B: 　　　　　=反正你, 你[(换的是方向°方面,° 发展.)

A: [太利害. °是不是°. 我不知道他们怎么::, 可能-, 底子有关系. [°是
B: [唉. 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°一

B: 定有.° [°一定有关系.°↑以前-, 以前我没比较. (0.2) 这个评估我觉得
A: 不° 　[啧, 真的.

B: 很不重视. 那中-中学°我就是.° 　　=中学. (.) 很不重视. 到后来::
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　°hm.°=

B: 差不多要考那个什么-, 呃::, 模拟测验的时候, (.) 就差不多高二高

B: 三那= 　　　　　　呃准- 　[呃::准备保送[::, 就这次从那开始.
A: 　=就是准备那个::, 　　保送[啊. 　　　[考过:

B: 那开始. 象那个上外::, 我记得是:::, 前年或去年. 在他们考的时候,

B: (.) 给你::, 很多道-两百多道选择题=他妈又不考°那个.° 　.hh 然
A: 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　°hhh°

B: 后选拔时候都不考听力. 　[但弄了半天, 你-你学英语最重要是-,
A: 　　　　　　　　.hh [huh

B: 练听力. [听力练好以后, 什么都-[啊, 都上去, [都上去了.
A: 　　我[觉得也是. 　　　[啊:, 　[啊对, 是啊是啊.

B: 啧[啧. 　　　　　　　　　[啊::.
A: 　[听力练好以后, 你起码对话你得懂的啊. [°( )° 啧, 这听力是很重

A: 要.　　　　　　　　　　[°(倒是)°-

B:　　　(.) ↑然后和鬼-, [和鬼老那个说话的时候, 也是差不多°挺-°, 你-,

B: 你和那个-, 你要说中国老师, 中国老师反正-, 他那个:, pronunciation

B: 啊, 总是有点怪. 总是有点怪. hhh .hh 呃, ↑再加上, 如果你那个老

B: 师没出过国, 他总是也, 相-相对来说, 那-那些出过国的那个老师,

B: (0.3) 那[个-, 相比较起来, [那底子有点问题的话, (0.3)　　　　[那::
A:　　　　　[°hm.°　　　　　[hm hm 啊.　　　　　　比出过[国那-

B: 有-, 有-有点误人子弟的味道.　　　　这真的有点[误人子弟.
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　heh heh　　　　　　[只不过我们这:,

A: 口语那里, 定型了的话,　　　[就是说发音, 不是, 改变不会很大的.
B:　　　　　　　喷啊:[:, 怎么说呢,

B: 呃, 你[差不多要定型了. .hh 那主要是靠那个十三四岁刚刚进中学
A:　　　[就说有一定程度.

B: 那个[°时候°. 我觉得这一段是很重要.　　　　　　所以特别是, (.)
A:　　　[就是啊.　　　　　　　啊. 是°啊.°

B: 对, 反正学::都差不多学每一门外语. 我::我都不想ss-差学每一门

B: 外语. [↑最开始的那个-, [基础,　　　　　[特别是那个音标啊::,
A:　　　[其实-　　　　[基础, 肯定一定[要.

B: 什么发音啊最基本的两个单词, (.) [发好.](0.2) 行了.
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　[所以说-]　　　　反正都是

A: 以后就见-见你那个效果了. 就象你搞, 评奖学金以后干[什么.
B:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[hhh hh

B: .hhh [对, 先忘了(打击什么和打击组), 呃: hhh.
A:　　　[你开始什么不-, 呃::　　　　　　到时会出来, °啊.°

B: 呃象那个什么-, 对象:-, 我开始不是想学::, 日语嘛.　　这::续::啊.
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　hm.

B: (学了什么), 就是::::↑上个学期嘛. 上个[学期初-
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°hm.° 我看你在那看那个

A: 日语书. [hh huh huh　　　huh huh [.hh　　　　　[发错,]　　[啊.
B:　　　[喷, ↑不敢学了已经.　　　[就怕那个-, [开始那]个:[语

B: 音啊．[什么::什么:什么a-i-u-e-o那个，[什么ka-ki-ku-ke-ko.　　如果
A:　　[啊.　　　　　　　　　　　　　[°平假名°　　　　　　　啊.

B: [你一--一下子语音，学差了．(0.2) [定形了.　　[以后就没戏了.
A: [发不准.　　　　　　　　　　　　[°(　)°　°啊[有可能.°　　　有

A: [可能.　　　　　　　[改-，就算[有心改，　　[改都°很°困难．[真的
B: [以-以后就那个:反[正-　　　[改不了口了，[°就是说.°　　[很困

B: 难．真的很困难．纠正起来[真很麻烦.　　　　　　[啊所以-所以我现
A: 很困难.　　　　　　　　　[hhh　　　．hh 呃，搞[°(笑).°

B: 在，我::几个朋友，他是在那杭大学日语吧．．h 我说啊，你日语的-，

B: 开初阶段-，一定要好好学好．．hh 学好以后，我到杭州来的时候，

B: [回杭州的时候，请教你，.hh 然后特别是那个基础那个什么，五十
A: [请教.

B: 个什么平假名啊什么什么．(.) 我一定要°学好°．(.) 唉最::[怕 那 个-]
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[我-我不知]

A: 道- [.hhh　　　　　　我不知道是选日语还是选法语．我对这两
B:　　[相应中国音标°什么°.

A: 门语言都有兴趣.
B:　　　　　　　　↑日语怎么说呢，日语::，我想啊，如果你是个男的，

B: 稍微好一点．(.) 日本人，总的来说它是儒家学派罗．反正偏向于-，

B: (0.2) °呃°重视男的比重视女的要强的多.　　　　　[而法语:然后是
A:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　我倒不是[这个-

B: 怎么样呢．法语它是:::挺务实嘛= 联合国的那个什么-，官方语言.

A: 我[觉得因为如果你学日语的话，你就是局限在你::，在整个亚洲.
B:　[(x x x x x)

A: (.) [或者特别是跟日本人打交道的时候，如果是做生意，或者干什
B:　　[°hm.°

A: 么，如果[懂日语就最好．．hh [如果你懂法语的话，我就想，法语的
B:　　　　[有好的(前途).　　　[中国-

A: 前景可能-，可能象英语 一样．很可能到时候-，(0.2) (千赢)之后，

A: 很可能推广.