"THE MEANINGLESS LAUGH":

LAUGHTER
IN
JAPANESE COMMUNICATION

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Japanese and Korean Studies
School of Language and Cultures

University of Sydney

December 2003
Acknowledgement

I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Hugh Clarke for his great help and kindness. I have also had a great deal of help from many people in writing this thesis. Among them I am especially indebted to Kasumi Ishii and Graeme Bruce.

I would also like to express my appreciation to my family, Yōichirō Higuchi, Shirō Higuchi and Rei Higuchi, for their patience and encouragement. Lastly, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my late parents, especially mother, Nobuko Hayakawa, who always gave me her full and unsolicited support.
Abstract

This thesis explores the functions of laughter in Japanese communication. In orientation it contrasts markedly with previous studies and is the first study to have been based on such a large volume of data.

In this paper I have focused on laughter as it serves to maintain a co-operative relationship between the participants in a conversation. I find that in the process of communication, people necessarily have to lay themselves open to others, and in doing so they become conscious of the barrier surrounding and protecting their field, i.e. their ‘inner world’. I hypothesise that in Japanese at least it is consciousness of this barrier that causes the occurrence of laughter in discourse. In other words, people laugh as part of the process of opening up to others, and also to show their intention to be co-operative. By laughing, people are either confirming that they belong to the same in-group, or they are pretending to belong to the same in-group in order to show co-operation.
In my model, laughter is classified:

A: Joyful laughter for identifying with the in-group

B: Balancing laughter for easing tension

C: Laughter as a cover-up.

A is also divided into 3 subcategories, B into 3, and C into 2 according to the subject of the utterance and the direction of movement into the protective barrier.

Two types of statistical analysis were applied to the data in order to test the validity of the classification.

Keywords: interpersonal communication; laughter; field; barrier; co-operation; joy; balancing; cover-up gender
Transcription Symbols

Some symbols were used to describe the utterance. Some symbols relating to the examples cited in this paper are explained below:

1. For the transcription of Japanese, the *kunrei* system of Romanization is used in Italic.
2. “Laughter” is indicated in <>
3. The glottal stop, indicated with a small hiragana tu is romanised as “’”
4. The extended pronunciation of word-final vowels is described by double vowels as in “dee“, and in this paper, the correct pronunciation appears in parentheses, as in: “dee (de)”
5. “↑” indicates rising intonation.
6. “★” indicates the beginning of the overlapping utterance in the first speaker. “→” and “←” indicate the beginning and ending of overlapping in the second speaker.
7. Chiming-in by the listener in the middle of an utterance was inserted into transcription of the speaker’s utterance with an accompanying explanation, e.g. <un (yes) (other person’s code name)>. Chiming-in at the end of utterance, however, was considered as one utterance unit.
8. Chiming-in laughter was inserted into transcription of the speaker’s utterance in Dataset 2 in the same way as other chiming-in factors. In dataset 1 it took one cell.
9. # # # indicates the utterance could not be transcribed due to poor recording quality.
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Laughter is a very common phenomenon in the daily social life of human beings. How many times do we laugh in one day? It is possible to have a day without crying, but not a day without laughing. With laughter we can communicate in a variety of different ways, for instance make friends, balance our emotions, or veil our true intentions or inner thoughts.

1.1 The organization of this thesis

Chapter 1 illustrates the kinds of laughter we deal with and sketches the role of laughter in Japanese culture. Chapter 2 investigates major themes in this field in terms of philosophy, sociology, discourse studies and ethology. Based on this literature review we uncover the fact that, even though laughter plays such an important role in our daily lives, no integrated study focused on this kind of laughter has yet been made.

The first half of this thesis (Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6) is devoted to an investigation of the statistical analysis of laughter. Chapter 3 explains the
process of the three datasets used in this research. The first two datasets are transcriptions of natural discourse in the workplace and the last one is a classroom discourse. Chapter 4 explains the difference between the first two datasets. Based on these large datasets, we investigate the sociological aspects of laughter statistically in Chapter 5. This is the first study to have been based on such a large volume of data. The sociological aspects considered concentrate on the three dimensions: “Gender”, “Genre of speech” and “Social settings”. We also cross-analyse “Gender” with “Genre of speech”. Chapter 6 focuses on laughter in discourse analysis. In this chapter, we introduce several new concepts of laughter in discourse such as ‘Speaker’s laughter’, ‘Listener’s laughter’, and ‘Plural laughter’ in terms of the one who laughs, ‘Initial laughter’, ‘Medial laughter’ and ‘Final Laughter’ in terms of position of laughter in utterance, ‘Isolated laughter’ and ‘Mutual laughter’ in terms of interaction by laughter. The analysis of Chapter 7 leads to the necessity of classification of laughter: Type A laughter (Joyful laughter for identifying the In-Group), Type B laughter (Balancing laughter for easing tension), and Type C laughter (laughter as cover up). To unfold these classifications, we introduce the new idea of one’s ‘field’ and the ‘barrier’ of the field and hypothesize that in Japanese at least it is consciousness of this barrier that causes the occurrence of laughter. Based on the classification in Chapter 7,
empirical analysis of three type of laughter is applied to Dataset 1. The result proves that Type A laughter and Type B laughter distribute differently statistically. Chapter 8 is also devoted to the statistical study of laughter based on the classification. In this chapter we use Dataset 3 (classroom discourse) and clarify the use of laughter in terms of the difference between the experienced teacher and the trainee teachers. This demonstrates that the classification can also apply to discourse analysis. Chapter 10 confirms the findings of this thesis and suggestions for future application of this study.

1.2 The type of laughter dealt with in this study

It is surprising that although hundreds of books and articles have dealt with laughter, by far the majority of these have been concerned with humorous laughter such as jokes. The study of non-humorous laughter has been largely neglected. In this thesis, we propose to focus on non-humorous laughter.

Laughter is a human activity that occurs regardless of age, race, language and culture. For example, a two or three year old child has the ability to laugh, as have people from completely different cultures who can laugh together even if they don’t speak the same language.

Laughter could be placed somewhere on the spectrum between non-verbal communication and verbal communication, i.e. non-verbal communication
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with vibration of the vocal cords. It is particularly useful in intercultural communication, since one can laugh without knowing the other party’s language. On the other hand, it has the potential to cause misunderstanding, due to the fact that it is extremely culture- and context-oriented. Without studying the cultural and contextual aspects of laughing, it is impossible to gain an understanding of its real meaning.

However, the answer to the question: “why do people laugh?” is varied and complex. Even if the question is instead: “what is thought to be funny?” the complexity remains. If non-humorous laughter is included in the equation, an explanation for the phenomenon of laughter becomes even more complicated. This thesis will be concerned with only non-humorous laughter mainly, since this is the type of laughter used most often in our daily lives, and one that has received little attention from scholars thus far.

1.3 Non-humorous laughter

In the past there have been many philosophical and psychological studies of laughter, especially regarding its causes e.g. the ‘Superiority Theory’ of Plato, Aristotle and Hobbes, the ‘Incongruity Theory’ of Kant and Schopenhauer, and the ‘Relief Theory’ of Freud. These three theories focus on different
aspects of laughter. However, the specific topic common to all three has
generally concerned (1) the nature of humour and joking that causes laughter,
or (2) the factors that provoke laughter. In such studies, the question: “Why do
people laugh?” has been assumed to equate with “Why is something thought to
be funny?”
Indeed, these questions overlook the fact that people often laugh even in
situations where there is nothing that could be considered funny. ‘Meaningless
laughter’ of this kind appears to be particularly prevalent in Japanese
communication.

Example 1: (D11)

14H: ＜笑い＞あ、どうも、★どうもなんか、いろいろ。
＜Warai＞A, ★doomo nanka, iroiro.
＜Laughter＞Oh, thanks, ★thanks a lot.

14G: →＜笑いながら＞どうも、ありがとうございました。←
＜Warainagara＞doomo, arigatoo gozaimasita.
＜With laughter＞Thank you very much.

---

1 “D1” indicates “Dataset 1”, which is explained in chapter 3.
2 The number and the alphabet indicate the informant’s number.
In example 1, it is difficult to ascertain what is being laughed at. Similarly, it is difficult to comprehend why people laugh when they apologise, saying “gomen nasai, gomen nasai (I am sorry, I am sorry)”. Here we can see that the speaker’s intention is to manipulate the conversation in order to show co-operation with the addressee. Below are some more examples of non-humorous laughter.

**Example 2: (D1)**

11A: あ、こんないっぱい入ってるー。ふー、ひょー、★ほっほー。

*A, konnaiippai haitteru. Huu, hyoo, ★hohhoo*

There are so many doughnuts here. Wow!

11F: →これはねー←、なんだっけ。→

*Kore wa nee←, nan da kke.*

This is … what do you call it again…

11E: なんとか★ハニー。

*Nan to ka★hanii.*

Something honey

11A: →わっ、←すごーいー★、すごーい！

→Wa’, ←sugooi, ★sugooi.

This is great.
11H: →うん。←
→Un.←
Yeah

11A: すごい、なんだっけそれ。すごいおいしいやつ。あっ、7つも入ってる。
Great! What do you call those again, those really nice ones? Wow! There are 7 of them!

11H: すごーい。
Sugooi.
Great!

11H: どーしよ。<笑い>
Doo siyo. <warai>
What should I do <laughter>

11H: あっ、すごーい。やっぱ、Xさんより趣味はいいな。
A-ha! Just as I thought, she has better taste than Ms. X.

11G: ね。
Ne.
Yeah I reckon so.

Multiple speakers: ＜笑い 複数＞
＜Wara fukusuui＞
＜Plural laugh＞
Example 3(D1)

16E: →わ、ずーい、←うそ。

→Wa, zuui (=zurui), ←uso.
You’re kidding. No way!!

16B: でしょ↑

Desyo ↑
I know!

16E: ずるーい、★ずるーいずるーい。

Zuruui (=zurui), ★zuruui zuruui.
Unfair, unfair, unfair!

16B: →ずるいでしょ。←＜笑い＞

→Zurui desyo. ←＜warai＞
→Yeah I’m only kidding. ←＜laughter＞

16?: ＜笑い＞

＜Warai＞
＜Laughter＞

16E: ずるーい、そんなのー。

Zuruui, sonna noo.
You’re such a cheat.

16?: ＜笑い＞

＜Warai＞
＜Laughter＞
1. Introduction

Again, the speakers in the examples above are neither making jokes nor ridiculing each other. The mood is a shared enjoyment of intimacy, but nothing is particularly funny or humorous. The example below shows a high school teacher telling a student to speak more clearly.
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Example 4 (D1)

09A: はっきり、はっきり思っていることを言う。＜笑い＞

_Hakkiri hakkiri omotte iru koto o iu. <warai>_  
Say clearly, (so I can understand,) what you want to say. <laughter>

The example below shows a conversation between a salesperson and a customer negotiating over the price of a plant. In this case even the intimate atmosphere that appeared in the previous example does not exist.

Example 5 (D1)

11B: ちょっとたかいでしょ。

_Titto takai desyo._

It’s a bit expensive, don’t you think?

11A: たーかーいですよ。＜笑い＞

_Taakaai [=takai] desu yo. <warai>_  
Yeah, very expensive. <laughter>

This type of laughter also tends to appear in business meetings and
1. Introduction

The conversations above convey an atmosphere that is not humorous, but neither is it serious or sad. In this thesis, we propose to offer an analysis of laughter in non-humorous contexts, since this is the kind of laughter we found most often in our data, except for two examples of puns. We would also like to place more emphasis on the function of laughter rather than factors that provoke laughter. Everyday speech contains many instances of this type of non-humorous laughter, and it is this aspect of our data (consisting of more than twenty thousand natural utterances from everyday speech) that we wish to investigate.

Example 6 (D1)

09A:じゃあ、この、点滅ってゆうふうにこー、<笑いながら>ファジーな表現がいいんじゃないですか。

Zyaa, kono, tenmetu tteyu huu ni koo, <warainagara> fazii na hyoogen ga ii n zya nai desu ka.

In that case, this <with laughter> fuzzy expression “on or off” is fine, don’t you think?
1.4 Smile and laughter

Ethologists have disagreed over the difference between laughter and smiling. Darwin, for instance, considered the smile to be the first stage of laughter, and laughter as the full development of a smile. He expressed the difficulty of distinguishing between a smile and a laugh as follows:

Excessive laughter, graduates into moderate laughter. In this latter case the muscles round the eyes are much less contracted, and there is little or no frowning. Between a gentle laugh and a broad smile there is hardly any difference, excepting that in smiling no reiterated sound is uttered, though a single rather strong expiration, or slight noise - a rudiment of a laugh - may often be heard at commencement of smile. (Ibid. p.208)

Apte (1985, 246-247) discusses the cultural aspects of the difference:

Part of the problem in distinguishing between smiling and laughter is that there are numerous varieties of both, so that it is difficult to separate them from purely anatomical and physiological perspectives. Researchers who believe that the two expressions are qualitatively separate use functional and attitudinal criteria to make such a distinction. If any intermediate stages between smiling and laughter need to be recognized, only sociocultural factors can help identify them. As a result, the recognition of any intermediate stages will vary cross-culturally (Ibid. 246).
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He also discusses the use of the words “smile” and “laughter”.

Human beings label expressions of happiness and responses to humor in numerous ways. Such labelling is unconsciously affected by many cultural and contextual factors, chief among which may be the existing linguistic categories in a culture. It is not clear, for instance, to what degree the debate among English-speaking scholars about the differences between smiling and laughter can be attributed to the two well-established words themselves (Ibid. 246-247).

Ekman (1992.156-158) does discriminate between laughter and smiling, but instead nominates four different types of smile according to their social function: the ‘qualifier smile’, the ‘compliance smile’, the ‘coordination smile’ and the ‘listener response smile’.

1.5 Japanese laughter

In order to illustrate Japanese laughter we first explain the meaning of the Japanese word: warai. Secondly we portray the actions accompanying laughter. We also examine the description of laughter in a Japanese novel to exemplify the broad range of roles laughter plays in Japanese society.
1.5.1 The Use of the Japanese word: Warai

In Japanese, “warai” corresponds to the English words “smile” and “laughter”. The Japanese differentiate between “smile” and “laughter” using “hohoemi” or “bisyoo” for “smile” and “warai” for “laughter”. This means that the word “warai” includes both “smile” and “laughter” in its semantic domain. If one were to describe a vocal “warai”, one would either have to quote its sounds such as “ha, ha, ha” “he, he, he” and so on, or use an onomatopoeic word such as “kerakera” (‘frivolous laughter’), or “kusukusu” (‘tittering laughter’), or alternatively use a compound word such as “oowarai” (‘big laugh’). “hohoemi” (‘smile’) also has alternatives in the form of a diverse range of ‘mimetic words’ that specify a particular nuance, such as “nikoniko” (‘smiling happily and warmly’), “niyaniya” (grinning) and so on. There are also Chinese-derived compounds such as “kusyoo” (“a wry smile”). Onomatopoeic words describing a particular kind of laughter are associated with a specific role or state of mind. For instance, “ho, ho, ho” indicates female laughter, “hi, hi, hi” indicates a male smile with an added nuance of vulgarity. Mimetic words for laughter and smile such as “nikoniko” and “niyaniya” are also associated with specific roles or a particular state of mind.
1. Introduction

In *Gitaigo • Giongo Bunruiyoohojiten* (A Thesaurus of Japanese Mimesis and Onomatopoeia: Usage by Categories) (1990. 123-128), Chang. quotes 26 onomatopoeias for laughing and smiling as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uhuhu</td>
<td>said of an involuntary, subdued laugh/chuckle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karakara</td>
<td>to laugh heartily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukut</td>
<td>same as kukkut, but a somewhat drawn out suppressed laugh, while kukkut is more of a short, stifled giggle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusukusu</td>
<td>to titter, to snicker (said of furtive laughter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukkut</td>
<td>to laugh as if stifling the laughter welling up in one’s throat (mostly for young girls)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ketaketa</td>
<td>to laugh foolishly (said of noisy and uproarious laughter especially by men, often out of place and in poor taste)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>getageta</td>
<td>to laugh uncouthly with a lower and flatter tone than ketaketa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kerakera</td>
<td>to cackle (said of shrill, frivolous laughter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geragera</td>
<td>said of unstrained, boisterous laughter: a guffaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kerokero</td>
<td>to laugh happily as if nothing has happened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotokoto</td>
<td>a soft, happy laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>korokoro</td>
<td>said of a young woman’s laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nikot/nikori</td>
<td>to flash a smile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nikoniko</td>
<td>to smile happily and warmly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nitanita</td>
<td>to simper, to laugh maliciously (with the nuance of dubious joy or pleasure)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nitat/nitari</td>
<td>a brief smile of scheming or thinking oneself lucky at heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nit</td>
<td>a smug smile of self-satisfaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nikkori</td>
<td>said of a smile stronger than nikot/nikori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niyat/niyari</td>
<td>a grin of delight (said of a single smile that unconsciously appears at the moment one thinks all has gone well); to laugh up one’s sleeve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niyaniya</td>
<td>to grin (showing the teeth); to simper (with a nuance of being vulgar, repugnant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninmari</td>
<td>to smile a satisfied smile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hahat</td>
<td>to chortle (said of the sound of a merry laugh and for men only. <em>Hohhot</em> for women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put</td>
<td>a sudden burst of laughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huhut</td>
<td>to laugh under one’s breath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hehet</td>
<td>a haughty or mean-spirited laugh; to laugh servilely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>herahera</td>
<td>a dubious laugh (said of a laugh when one is embarrassed or when one wants to deceive others)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition, there exists the word “Aisoowarai” in Japanese, which translates as “ingratiating smile” or “society laugh”.

1.5.2 Actions accompanying laughter

The way Japanese women laugh is also characteristic. They cover their mouths with their hands, when laughing. Although there have been various interpretations of this behaviour, Kudō. (1999) claims the covering of the mouth is a kind of a “self-touch”. By carrying out “a self-touch”, a smoke screen is stretched around.

Nakano and Kirkup (1985) mention the misunderstandings this behaviour can cause in intercultural communication, since the masking of the feelings with the hand or through laughter runs counter to western culture that demands that one should be frank:

When a Japanese woman wishes to control her laughter; she covers her mouth with her hand. Moreover, when either a man or a woman fails at something or when scolded or embarrassed, they grin. This behaviour is misapprehended by foreigners. The issue in this case is not simply the gesture of covering the mouth with the hand when it looks likely that the laughter will be ‘explosive’,
but rather the symbolic politeness and femininity of such behaviour, and the ‘keeping up appearances’ such as an insincere smile, association laughter, etc. At this time, to hide the reason and to hide laughter itself breaks the rule of English-speaking people's frankness. Moreover, with a grin, laughter does not tend to face reality squarely. (Nakano and Kirkup. 1985. 20-21. translated by Hayakawa)

1 5.3 Laughter in a Japanese novel

In the previous sections, we reviewed a range of approaches towards laughter including Japanese “warai”. In this chapter, we briefly observe the variety of words which describe “warai” in a Japanese novel: Onna shachoo ni kanpai (toast to a female president) by Akagawa. This observation has two main aims: to describe the diversity and complexity of Japanese laughter including smiling; to clarify the scope of this study within the wider context of Japanese laugher. Moreover, other reasons for studying the novel are to explore the double meanings and ambiguity of laughter. One of the significant features of “warai” is its simultaneous aspect. We can add “warai” to utterances supra-segmentally. By doing this, we can send two different messages at the same time by combing an utterance with laughter. Let us consider the
following example.

**Example 7**

**A:** 「どうせ僕のことなんか頭にないんだろ」すねたような言い方ながら、顔は笑っていた。

*Doose boku no koto nan ka atama ni nai n daro*” Suneta yoo na iikata nagara, kao wa waratte ita.

Anyway, you do not care about me, do you? His sulky turn of phrase was belied by the smile on his face.

In this fragment, the speaker is sending a message of complaint in his utterance, but by smiling he is also sending a message that he does not really mind.

In addition to the diversity of verbal and non-verbal messages, we need to consider the surface and deep meanings in “warai”. For instance, people may exchange laughter which seems quite joyful on the surface, but in reality hides something else, such as jealousy or antipathy. This is because one of the main functions of “warai” is to cover up something, which we explain in Chapter 6.

In novels, these contradictions are explained by the author. By using a variety of words for “warai”, the writer unfolds the story and explains the relationship of characters in the story. For example, in this novel, we found
phrases such as “kowabatta yoo na egao (stiff smiling face)” or “muri ni tukutta egao (artificial smiling face)” and so on, this explains the contradiction between the surface appearance and the inside of the minds of the characters.

On top of that, we can distinguish variants of laughter through the written descriptions of laughter. As we will explain later in this chapter, we have a rich variety of expressions describing laughter such as “sesera+warai (ridicule)”, “niga+warai (bitter smile)” in compound verbs, “nikoniko (smile happily)”, “niyaniya (grin)” in mimetic adverbs, “geragera (boisterous laughter)”, “kusutto (titter)” in onomatopoeic adverbs and each of them conveys not only the descriptive meanings, but also semantic meanings between the person who laughs and the person who is the recipient of laugher.

But from the observation of one’s face or one’s voice, it is often difficult to identify the meaning. These differences are made explicit in novels.

Akagawa, Jirō is a famous and popular Japanese contemporary writer. His field is entertaining detective stories based on the daily lives of ordinary people. The outline of the novel Onna shachoo ni kanpai (toast to a female president) is the story of a young woman appointed to be the president of a company, who saves the company from a crisis. It is in two volumes and 600 pages in the paperback edition. It is common knowledge that Akagawa Jirō’s
novels consist of lots of conversations. In *Onna shachoo ni kanpai*, most of the pages are in conversational style.

In this novel, the total number of “warai” is 130 examples, covering more than 50 different kinds.

We divide the description of “warai” into 5 groups by grammatical class. As we have seen in 1.3.7, Japanese has a wide range of onomatopoeic and mimetic words for “warai”. In addition we have a rich variety of words which describe “warai”.

The categories of “warai” which have been found in the novel are summarized below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>representation of the sound of laughter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>hohoho</strong> cheerful female laughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>huhuhu</strong> stifled female laughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hehehe</strong> grinning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e+gao (smile+face) smiling face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naki+waraai (cry+laugh) smiling through one's tears</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3-1. single verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>waraau</strong> to laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hohoemu</strong> to smile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hukidasu</strong> to burst out laughing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3-2. compound of verb &quot;waraau&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sesera+waraau laugh at somebody ; laugh derisively ; ridicule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warai+dasu (laugh+start) start laughing, burst out laughing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oo+waraai+suru (big+laugh+do) have a hearty laugh; roar with laughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niga+waraai+suru (bitter+laugh+do) smile wryly ; give a forced laugh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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**hukumi+warai o suru**
(keep something in one’s mouth + laugh o.m. + do)

laugh in one's sleeve ; chuckle ; giggle

3-3. compound of Chinese character "shoo" which means laughter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>visyoo+suru</th>
<th>to smile</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kusyoo+suru</td>
<td>smile wryly ; give a forced laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dan+syoo+suru</td>
<td>have a pleasant chat with laughter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3-4. Mimetic word suggesting "warai" + suffix

| niya+tuku | grin ; simper ; smirk |

3-5. Idioms with laughing voice or laughing face

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>warai+goe o lateru</th>
<th>speaking in a laughing voice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e +gao o tuku</td>
<td>put on a smiling face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e +gao ni naru</td>
<td>“become a laughing face”, break into a smile</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3-6. A mimetic word for laughter + verb: suru (do)

| niyaniya suru | grin ; simper ; smirk |

4. adjective

| nikoyaka na | smiling |

5. Onomatopoeic and mimetic adverbs for laughter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nikoniko to</th>
<th>to smile happily and warmly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nikkori to</td>
<td>to flash a smile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nikot-to</td>
<td>to flash a smile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niyaniya</td>
<td>to grin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niyari to</td>
<td>a grin of delight to laugh up one’s sleeve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kusukusu</td>
<td>to titter, to snicker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usut-to</td>
<td>to titter, to snicker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>herahera to</td>
<td>a dubious laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geragera</td>
<td>unstrained, boisterous laughter; a guffaw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hut-to</td>
<td>to laugh under one’s breath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put-to</td>
<td>a sudden burst of laughter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“o.m.” is the abbreviation of “object marker”
1.5.5 Scope of the present study

As we have shown in Chapter 1, the Japanese word “warai” includes both laughter and smiling. Laughter is sometimes depicted in association with a sound such as “hohoho”, “huhuhu”. Otherwise laughter is represented with onomatopoeic adverbs such as “geragera (unstrained, boisterous laughter)”, “put-to (a sudden burst of laughter)”, while smiling is indicated by the simple verbs, “hohoemu” and “bisyoo-suru”, mimetic adverbs such as “nikoniko (smile happily and warmly)” or nouns such as “e-gao (smiling face)”. Of the 130 examples in the novel, 45 are identified as laughter, 27 are smiling and 58 are unidentified. In other words, they occur in contexts in which they could be considered either laughter or smiling. See the example below.

Example 8

A: 「そうそう。見ない、聞かない、言わないのが一番さ」 柳が皮肉っぽく笑って言った。

Soo, soo. Minai, kikanai, iwanai no ga ichiban sa.” Yanagi ga hinikuppoku waratte itta.

Yes, yes. It is the best not to see, not to hear and not to say anything.” said Yanagi
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with a sarcastic laugh/smile.

In this example, the speaker could be either smiling, or laughing in one short breath.

Moreover, in the 27 examples which are identified as smiling, the characters concerned could equally well be thought of as laughing instead of smiling most of the time. The main difference is that audible laughter would place a slightly stronger emphasis on the emotion.

As a result of our investigation of “warai” in novels, we do not make a hypothetical distinction between laughter and smiling in this thesis. In other words, we include smile in our scope of analysis although the datasets we deal with only record vocal “warai”. We believe the results of the statistical analysis and classification of laughter in this thesis is also applicable to smiling.