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Filler Usage and Gender Differences in Japanese Language

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Abstract

Verbal fillers are words or sounds that aid speakers to improve the quality of their speech. Fillers have various functions such as filling a pause, signalling a hesitation, softening the speech, amongst others. This thesis aims to address the verbal fillers that are used in Japanese language, their functions, and the connection between verbal fillers and gender difference. In order to achieve these objectives, 6 conversations consisting of 2 female-female groups, 2 male-male groups, and 2 female-male groups were collected. Each conversation lasted for 15 minutes, and the participants were asked to talk about whatever they wanted. Subsequently, by employing a mixture of quantitative and qualitative analysis, the fillers were counted and examined.

Analysing the transcribed conversations led to interesting discoveries regarding how different groups utilized fillers. The results of the groups where the participants had the same gender, suggested that men used fillers more than women. Amongst other reasons, male participants seemed to acknowledge their friendship with the use of fillers, and female participants used fillers to signal their hesitation and their mental state.

Noticeable differences in the two female-male groups were observed because the number of fillers increased drastically compared to the other four same-gender groups. This might be a result of the speakers' attempt to sound more polite, compared to when they speak to someone with the same gender as themselves.

Foreword

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1. Introduction

The ability to speak has helped humans to build bridges between smaller units like family members and friends to bigger units such as countries and continents. We use language to communicate with others and to build relationships, but we need to employ some strategies in order to give flow to the conversation and achieve results. Some examples of conversational strategies are shifting speaking turns, sending signals to the other interlocutors indicating that we are engaged in the conversation, being silent when necessary, and filling in some pauses during the talk. This thesis focuses on one conversational strategy, that considering its importance, has not received the attention it deserves from researchers and scholars: Verbal fillers.

Verbal fillers are sounds, words, or phrases such as *um*, *like*, *you know*, *well*, among others. Fillers make the conversation flow smoother and easier by aiding the communicators to signal their hesitation or a momentary pause, their attempt to soften the tone of the conversation, and so on.

The aim of this thesis is to explore verbal fillers in Japanese language and their functions. Therefore, this research will investigate the following questions:

1. What kind of fillers are used by native Japanese speakers in a conversation?
2. What kind of functions can fillers have?

Moreover, this thesis also investigates if there are any differences in the use of fillers between the genders of the interlocutors. Thus, the following sub-questions will also be discussed:

3. Is there a difference between how Japanese male and female speakers use fillers?
4. If so, how does gender affect these verbal fillers?
5. What is the reason for this discrepancy?

The possible answers to these questions lie within authentic data collected from conversations amongst Japanese speakers. Thus, the data of this study was gathered by recording naturally occurring conversations amongst 12 native Japanese speakers. In an attempt to find answers to these five questions, chapter 2 provides a general overview of what fillers are precisely. Chapter 3 looks into verbal fillers in Japanese language and their functions. Chapter 4 presents previous studies about gender differences in the use of fillers. Chapter 5 describes the methodology, the new authentic data collected for this thesis, and its findings, and finally in Chapter 6 summary and conclusion will be presented.

2. Verbal fillers

Fillers are an integral part of any verbal communication as they provide the interlocutors with ways in which they can convey their mental state, acknowledge the other interlocutor's feelings, and so on. Verbal fillers are in fact what make a conversation sound natural, since any naturally occurring conversation is filled with sounds, words, or phrases that can show the speaker's hesitation or sympathy, provide the speaker with more time to process his thoughts, and signal feelings such as uncertainty, sensitivity, etc. In this chapter, the definition of fillers and their functions will be discussed.

2.1. What are fillers?

There has been a lack of agreement over the definition of fillers, and one reason for it is the perceptions that are assigned to these utterances. With just a simple search on the internet, one will find himself looking at websites, videos or other sources mainly suggesting that fillers are meaningless and pointless verbal viruses which should be avoided (Berkley, 2014), and how to avoid them (Lewis & Mills, 2012), whilst other results of the search might be about the importance of verbal fillers, and how they can help the learners of a language sound more fluent (O'Hare, 2020). The frequent association of verbal fillers with negative terms such as disfluency, problems, or something that should be avoided might be the reason for their unpopularity amongst scholars, and therefore the ongoing dispute over what they really are.

Before referring to more academic definitions of fillers suggested by researchers, Cambridge Online Dictionary provides a basic meaning for the word *filler*:

“A word or short pause such as “*er*” or “*well*”, used when a person pauses to think about what to say next.”

On the other hand, when searching for the meaning of *er* in Cambridge Online Dictionary the result does not specify a meaning, and it only explains, the situation in which *er* is used:

“The sound that people often make when they pause in the middle of what they are saying or pause before they speak, often because they are deciding what to say.”

From the meanings that are found in dictionaries it is unclear whether fillers are words, have meaning, or are just meaningless noises. Nevertheless, some scholars have expressed clearer opinions and definitions for what fillers are.

Fillers have been mentioned by different names and definitions by researchers, such as “a broad range of utterances (including independently appearing particles) that do not carry identifiable or relevant propositional meaning” (Maynard, 1989, p. 30), “some instances of vague language” (Thornbury & Slade, 2006, p. 56), “speech disfluencies” (Duvall, Robbins, Graham, & Divett, 2014, p. 37), or “expressions like “*ehm*” that fill the time intervals that should be occupied by a word” (Vinciarelli, Chatziioannou, & Esposito, 2015, p. 1).

Despite being regarded as meaningless disfluencies, or vague language, some researchers have shown a more positive and different side of verbal fillers. In a study which focused on the use of *uh* and *um* in spontaneous speaking by Clark and Fox Tree (2002), they argued that verbal fillers are conventional and proper English words, and that the speakers produce them using the exact same process that they would use when producing any other word. The same study also argues that *uh* and *um* are conventional in a way that they are a part of what someone learns when they learn the English language.

Jonsson (2016) considers fillers as words and sounds and divides them into two subgroups; lexical fillers which are words such as *you know*, and *like*, and non-lexical fillers which are sounds such as *er* and *erm*. Jonsson also mentions that non-lexical fillers are often referred to as *filled pauses*.

2.2. What are the functions of fillers?

Despite being mentioned as speech disfluencies, or meaningless parts of speech by some scholars, it can be said that fillers have a more practical function in verbal communication rather than just being additional gibberish.

According to Bright (1992), as cited in Croucher (2004, p. 38), discourse markers or vocal hiccups such as *um*, *uh*, *like*, *you know* are a set of linguistic items that function in the cognitive, social, and expressive areas. This means that fillers are connected to the speakers' conscious mental processes, their social life, and the way they express themselves.

Studies focusing on the use of fillers, such as the research done by Clark and Fox Tree (2002), have also proved that fillers do have pragmatic functions, meaning that although they do not have lexical meanings, such as ‘book’ and ‘dog’, they help the speakers convey their

message clearly. When an utterance in a language enables the speakers to express themselves better, that utterance therefore cannot be regarded as meaningless.

So, if fillers are meaningful parts of a language, what do they do? What are their functions? One of the most frequently mentioned function of fillers is signalling a hesitation. (Hayashi, 2008; Maynard, 1989; Thornbury & Slade, 2006; among others). When speakers are hesitant or not certain about their next utterance, they tend to use fillers in order to signal the listener that they need more time to organise their thoughts and words. Clark and Fox Tree (2002) argued that according to their research, *uh* and *um* can signal differing lengths of pauses, *uh* signals a shorter delay and *um* signals a longer delay.

Fillers can also be used to signal that the speaker is not finished with her speech yet. Thornbury and Slade (2006) explain this function of verbal fillers as a convenient way to indicate the continuation of speaker's utterance, and that therefore they tend to appear at potential transition points in a discussion.

Vinciarelli et al. (2015) sums up the functions of fillers as words that speakers use when they need more time to formulate the right words, when they need extra time to plan their next remark, and when they want to hold the floor. Keevallik (2010) highlights the fact that fillers postpone the upcoming utterance, whilst informing the listener that the speaker is going to continue the speech. Keevallik (2010) also mentions that the speaker's delay can have other interpersonal reasons such as: factoring in the thinking process needed by the listener, initiating a new topic, preparing the listener to hear an impactful point that will be mentioned next, or the sensitiveness of the topic such as asking the listener for a favour or requesting something.

Clark and Fox Tree (2002) suggest functions such as: a floor-holding strategy for the speaker, indicating the desire to cede the floor, inviting the listener to speak, requesting help in order to complete the current utterance, the speaker showing politeness, the speaker signalling that he has completed his turn, and when the speaker is thinking about the previously uttered information or is inviting the listener to think about it.

Additionally, research by Arciuli, Mallard, and Villar (2010) studied the connection between the use of *um* and lying. The researchers claimed that in their study, the number of times *um* was used when the speakers lied was less than the times when they were telling the truth. After stating this result, Arciuli et al. (2010) argued that the use of fillers can even affect the speakers' authenticity and therefore how people perceive the veracity of their speech.

Fillers are frequent events in verbal communication, and despite being associated with negative terms such as disfluency or unpreparedness by some researchers, they play an undeniably important role in speech, and without them conversations sound unnatural. However, it is worth mentioning that in settings such as public speeches, in official and formal meetings, and in general when the speaker is aware of the topic and has prepared for his speech, the appearance of fillers can indeed signal unpreparedness, stress, or lack of knowledge of the topic. Therefore, it is recommended to avoid using verbal fillers in such situations as they can have a negative impact on the speaker's credibility. In contrast to monologues or conversations with scripts, naturally occurring conversation needs to be made and processed in real-time. In a conversation without a script, random topics can show up, speaking turns change more frequently, forgetting specific terms or words can naturally happen, and elaboration of some parts of the conversation is often needed.

2.3. Summary

It can be summarized that verbal fillers are words and vocalizations that the interlocutors use in order to signal various messages to the listener(s). Some commonly used verbal fillers in English language are *uh*, *um*, *you know*, and *like*.

Verbal fillers are, almost without exception, present in any conversation, especially naturally occurring conversations. The reason is that when a speaker participates in a conversation without preparation, he needs to process his thoughts and speak at the same time. Thus, a filler might indicate the speaker's uncertainty, and/or it can show his politeness. Another situation where the verbal fillers are much needed is when a sensitive topic is being spoken; here a verbal filler helps the speaker to either prepare the listener for the topic, making the conversation sound gentler, or to avoid delivering a harsh message directly.

The main functions of fillers can be summarised as followed:

1. Helping the speakers to express themselves better
2. Helping the speakers to express politeness and sound less harsh
3. Indicating speakers' hesitancy and uncertainty
4. Providing extra thinking or processing time for the interlocutors
5. Aiding the speakers to hold the floor
6. Giving the turn to speak to other interlocutors
7. Preparing the listeners for hearing a sensitive or new topic

8. Providing extra processing time for the listeners¹
9. And others.

Considering the functions and the use of verbal fillers it can be concluded that fillers are a normal part of verbal conversations, they are necessary and without them conversations sound unnatural. Fillers exist in all languages around the world, and thus another sign of their pragmaticity can be observed. If they were meaningless utterances, they would not have existed in different languages, and they would not have been used actively by the speakers of these languages.

Lastly, the fact that fillers also exist in sign language (Erard, 2008) is another important factor proving that fillers do carry a meaning, have pragmatic functions, and are an important part of a language.²

3. Previous Studies of Japanese Fillers

3.1. Fillers in Japanese Language

As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, fillers are an integral part of natural speech, and similar to many other languages, verbal fillers in Japanese can carry meanings, can have more than one function, and they also aid the interlocutors in different stages of a conversation. According to Yamane (2002), fillers appear repeatedly in spoken languages, regardless of the category of the communication, and they are a core characteristic of them.

She also mentions that in Japanese language, until recently, fillers have been referred to by different names such as vocal feeling-related interjections, interjections, hesitation filler, connecting words, play words, redundancy words, interjection sounds, hesitation and so on. One possible reason for the existence of several names for filler words in Japanese is that in the past there was less emphasis on their importance, and that there were few researchers who would focus on them in their studies. However, despite the lack of research or studies about them fillers did exist in the spoken language and their presence could not be denied. Researchers might have used these names according to what they considered to be the functions of fillers within their studies on other linguistical subjects. Nevertheless, it was not

¹ This means that fillers can provide time for the listener to think about what has been said, or in general think about the situation that the interlocutors are in at the time of conversation

² "To make the sign for "um" in American Sign Language, hold your dominant hand in front of you, palm facing up, your five fingers slightly apart. Now circle your forearm away from you and return it, repeating the gesture" (Erard, 2008, p. 142)

until the 1990s that the word ‘filler’ appeared in Japanese language, and in English language (Hayashi, 2008).

Maynard (1989), who seems to be the first person to use the word ‘filler’ in Japanese, explains that the word filler implies a wide variety of utterances that do not possess specific meanings. She then illustrates fillers in Japanese with phrases or short comments such as *nanka* (well), and empty utterables such as *uuuun*. Yamane (2002), who conducted a research project about fillers in different types of conversation, demonstrated that a great number of fillers are used in conversations, and she lists the fillers under study as:

1. A (a, aa)
2. Ano (ano, anoo, anone, anonee)
3. Iya (iya, iyaa)
4. U (u, uun, un)
5. E (e, ee, eeto, eetoo, eetone)
6. O (o, oo)
7. Ko (ko, koo, konoo)
8. So (soone, soonee)
9. Sono (sono, sonoo)
10. Nanka (nanka, nankane)
11. Nante (nanteimashitaka, nanteimashouka, nanteiimasukane, nanteiimasukanee, nantyuun, nantyuunokana, nantyuundeshouka, nantyuundesukane)
12. Ne, (ne, nee)
13. Hai
14. Ma (ma, maa, mane)
15. Mo (mo, moo, moone, moonee)
16. So (so, soo)

With this long list of verbal fillers, Yamane proved the diversity of these conversational phenomena in Japanese language. However, a closer look shows that a number of fillers seem to be an extension of a root word, such as *ano*, *anoo*, *anone* and *anonee* or *eeto* and *eetoo*. The difference between these is the prolongation. According to Clark and Fox Tree (2002) it is usually easy to prolong common fillers, as can be seen in Japanese *ano* and *anoo*. They also added that the speakers can use any brief filler if they can

manage the rest of their utterance quickly, and that they can also stretch the fillers if they are not yet prepared for their next utterance.

Maynard (2009) categorizes conversational fillers into two groups: Firstly, as hesitation sounds that can function as both conversation openers and fillers such as *anoo*, *eeto*, *ee*, *maa*, and *nanka*. And secondly, as expressions that are used in order to fill awkward pauses such as *nan to iimashoo ka* (what shall I say?), *muzukashii shitsumon desu ne* (it's a difficult question, isn't it?). A few researchers have also focused on expressions such as *nan to iimashoo ka* in their studies regarding verbal fillers in Japanese language. Tian, Maruyama, and Ginzburg (2017) introduced the term 'SAQ' (self-addressed-questions) of which 'what's the word?' is an example. Tian, et al. (2017) explained that SAQs are questions that are used mid-utterance when the speaker has problems forming the desired speech. Tian, et al. (2017) demonstrated examples of SAQs in Japanese language with *nan dakke*, *nan deshitakke*, *nan daro*, *nan desho*, *nanteyu* and so on, and in their research, they separated filled pauses,³ and self-addressed-questions as two means of Own Communication Management (OCM).⁴ From the method in which this research was conducted, it can be assumed that the researchers did not count expressions such as *nan te yu* as verbal fillers, and put them in another category. However, Yamane (2002) counts these types of expressions, *nante mashoka*, *nan teyu*, *nan teyun desukane*, as fillers too. This shows that researchers do not always agree on what fillers are in Japanese.

Ide (1981) as cited in Kim (2007, p. 9), categorizes fillers in Japanese into three groups:

1. Fillers that don't carry a considerable meaning such as *ee* and *aa* or other vowel filler
2. Fillers that have had their original meanings changed such as *ano* and *sono*⁵
3. Fillers with unclear meanings such as *maa*, *yappari*, and *nanka*

Some fillers such as *maa*, *yappari*, *nanka*, *koo*, and *nanto* originally functioned as adverbials, but their original and initial meanings have become unclear as they are used so often (Kim, 2007). Thus, even though some studies or dictionaries might focus on such words' status as adverbials, other studies include them in their experiments about verbal fillers.

³ The term 'filled pause' means when the speakers use verbal fillers when needed during their speech instead of having a total silence.

⁴ The term Own Communication Management is often called 'self repair' and refers to when the speaker needs to manage his speech by using different devices such as fillers, or SAQs (Tian, et al., 2017).

⁵ As it was mentioned before, these fillers have originated from Japanese demonstratives, and therefore their meanings have changed.

3.2. The functions of verbal fillers in Japanese language

A considerable number of studies have been dedicated to the functions of different fillers in Japanese. Maynard (1989, p. 30) categorized fillers into two groups according to the motive for their use: “ (1) language-production-based fillers and (2) socially motivated fillers.”. Her logic behind this categorization was that fillers in the first group are used when the speech is hindered, and the fillers from the second group are used when the interlocutor wants to fill a silence, as uttering them can create the impression that the conversation is carried on without a break which can help to avoid embarrassment. Maynard (1989) also adds that by using verbal fillers, the speaker shows hesitancy and uncertainty about their comments, and this results in the speaker sounding less imposing. Another important factor that Maynard (1989) adds is that many fillers cannot be divided into either the first group or the second group, as they can belong to both at the same time, as in fillers such as *soo da ne*, *nanka*, *nanka nee*, and so on.

According to Hayashi (2008), the functions of fillers in Japanese are not only time-buying or hesitation-signalling, but also for organizing the conversation, calling for attention, conveying alarm, softening the speech, and so on. In another study on Japanese verbal fillers, Nakajima (2009, p. 1) categorized the functions of fillers depending on their placement in the sentence, that is to say, whether a filler is positioned at the sentence start, sentence middle, or sentence end. According to Nakajima (2009), the functions of fillers differ as shown in the list below:

1. Sentence-initial position: these fillers are used when the speakers want to signal their turn, an opening, a follow-up, or when they want to paraphrase their utterance. These fillers can also show the speaker’s mental state of mind. For example, such as feeling surprised.
2. Sentence-middle position: these fillers can signal a link word, and they are also a sign of the speaker’s attempt to attract the addressee’s attention.
3. Sentence-final position: these fillers can either imply that the speaker is about to say something embarrassing and is therefore hesitating, or they can indicate that the speaker is about to finish his utterance.

Watanabe (2003) expresses another insight into the functions of fillers. She mentions the connection between filler types and the complexity of the following utterance. For instance, the frequent appearance of the filler *eto* at sentence boundaries can suggest that this filler is usually used when the speaker is trying to add a considerable amount of information to the conversation, and is planning to say more complicated sentences (Watanabe, 2003).

In summary, there are several general functions in Japanese fillers, but in the following sections the functions of the most frequently used fillers, *maa*, *anoo*, *yappari*, and *nanka* are investigated in detail, in order to show what their concrete functions are.

3.3. Previous Studies of *maa*, *anoo*, *yappari*, and *nanka*

3.3.1. Functions of the filler ‘*maa*’

Some of the suggested functions of the filler *maa* by Yanagisawa and Feng (2018, p. 110) are:

1. when the speaker has enough information about a topic
2. a sign of pride and modesty
3. when the speaker wants to soften the tone of the conversation
4. when the speaker has a metaphorical explanation to add
5. when the speaker is giving an example
6. When the speaker wants to summarize their previous remarks from a meta perspective^{6 7}

In order to further illustrate how *maa* can function in a conversation, Yanagisawa and Feng explain that even though the use of the filler *maa* is diverse, one mutual factor among all of its different functions is that the speaker has enough information about the topic being spoken. Togashi (2002), as cited in Yanagisawa and Feng (2018, p. 110), explains this trait using the following example:

A: Taroo-tte, ima nani shiteru-no?
 Taroo now what is doing
 ‘What is Taroo doing these days?’

B: Aitsu-wa, *maa*, daigakuin yatteru-yo.
 He filler graduate school-student doing.
 ‘He is (filler) a graduate student.’

Togashi (2002), as cited in Yanagisawa and Feng (2018, p. 110), suggests that because of the appearance of *maa* in this conversation it can be implied that B might be hiding something, as in Taroo might not really be attending a graduate school, and that when

⁶ According to Wordsense online dictionary, a meta perspective is ‘the perspective one believes another person to attribute to him or her’. (<https://www.wordsense.eu/metaperspective/>)

⁷ To clarify this function, Yanagisawa and Feng (2018, p. 110) use this example: “*Maa, (ima no hanashi-wa) joudan dakedo*” (*Maa*, what I said now was a joke). They also explain that in this sentence, the use of the filler *maa* in this situation is natural, and if any other filler is used, the function will be changed into merely hesitation.

maa is added to an announcement such as ‘Taroo is a graduate student’, it causes vagueness. Yanagisawa and Feng (2018) argue that the ambiguity that can be felt from B’s utterance cannot be interpreted as the speaker’s lack of information or knowledge about Taroo, and that it is proof that the speaker knows enough about the topic.

3.3.2. Functions of the filler ‘*anoo*’

Matsumura and Ge (2017, pp. 44-50) sum up the functions of the *anoo* as follows:

1. When the speaker is searching for a word
2. When the speaker is trying to remember something
3. When the speaker wants to express their meaning in other words
4. When adding a supplementary explanation
5. When the ongoing utterance is briefly suspended, so that the speaker can rectify a mistake from their previous utterance
6. Functioning as a reminder or an alert
7. Softening or moderating the speech

Sadanobu and Takubo (1995), as cited in Watanabe (2003, p. 2473), in a comparative study on the fillers *anoo* and *eeto*, argue that *anoo* is used when the speaker has difficulty in creating a suitable speech pattern. For instance, in occasions where the speaker is talking to a stranger or needs to be conscientious with the forms (Watanabe). One reason that the presence of a stranger or the importance of the language form is mentioned in this study might be the fact that in Japanese language, the ways one talks to his friends, family, co-workers or strangers are totally different, and many verbs or even simple words can change their forms according to the relationship between interlocutors.⁸

Yamane (2002) describes one function of fillers and introduces *anoo* as a typical example of this function. She explains that when the speaking turn in a conversation changes, speech overlaps occur, and as a result it is possible to mishear the initial part of the utterance. In these situations, by using *anoo* in the beginning of the next utterance the speaker can avoid being misheard by the listener.

⁸ For example: the verb ‘eat’ in Japanese is 食べる (*taberu*), but when one (usually male speakers) talks to his friends he might use the more casual and informal form of this verb which is 食う (*kuu*), and when one is speaking to a stranger or someone in a higher position than him he uses polite forms of the verb such as 召し上がる (*meshiagaru*). However, this change of forms is not just limited to the verbs, in many cases Japanese language speakers add beautification elements to their speech in order to make the speech more elegant, and they always do this when speaking polite language. For example, adding *o* or *go* in the beginning of some words. はな (*hana*, flower)-おはな (*ohana*). Therefore, since these forms can easily become complicated to make during conversations, the speakers might need to concentrate more to form them.

“D: Moto-wa to ieba ainu no
Originally Ainu

E: Ee
Yeah

D: *Anoo* kamuiyukara
Filler Kamui-yukara⁹

E: Hai
Yes

D: Ee koto-ni taihen shigeki-wo uketa
E matter very motivation receive
Really inspired me” (Yamane, 2002, p. 142) ¹⁰

3.3.3. Function of the filler ‘yappari’

The word *yappari*, which is the casual form of *yahari*, is related to the unique world view of the Japanese culture, as it is near impossible to find an English translation for this word that can convey its meaning thoroughly, unless one tries to explain its meaning within a context.¹¹ Maynard (1991, p. 49) explains the functions of *yappari* in interactions with three classifications:

1. *Yappari* can be used when the information mentioned in the speech is assumed to be mutual between the interlocutors, and this might lead to a rapport being made between them as it brings to their attention that they have something in common.
2. The speakers might use *yappari* to avoid silence in the conversation in order to plan their next utterance or in order to emphasise that they are participating in the conversation and the listener can expect them to continue talking.
3. *Yappari* can also be used as a hesitation marker, and therefore has the ability to soften the speech, especially when the speaker wants to disagree with the other interlocutor or say something that might not be pleasant.

Maynard (1991, p. 50) also includes one interesting feature of *yappari* in the dialogue below and explains that, here, it can have several possible functions:

“A: Doko ga yuushoo-suru to omoimasu ka?

⁹ Ainu are the indigenous peoples of Japan, and Kamui-yukara refers to Ainu saga which is about Ainu mythology.

¹⁰ In order to understand this example better, a brief explanation of the term ‘backchanneling’ or ‘aizuchi’ in Japanese is needed. Backchannels are some sounds or signs from the listener to the speaker meaning that they are listening to the speaker. For example, in this example, when E says ‘ee’, he is implying that he is listening to the speaker and is engaged in the conversation. When the speaker wants to continue after the listener inserts the backchannel, he starts the speech with ‘*ano*’ so that the information that he wants to add does not overlap with the listener’s backchannel and that the information can be clearly heard.

¹¹ *Yappari* can also be shortened to *yappa* in casual conversations.

Which team do you think will win?

B: Pa-riigu wa *yappari* seibu deshoo.
For the Pacific League, I think (lit. after all) it will be Seibu.

(Fuji Sankei Television (New York) news, broadcast on 7 April 1989)”

Maynard (1991) explains that if A and B are both Seibu fans, the use of *yappari* by B might signal that the speaker is either planning his next utterance, wants to emphasise his participation in the conversation, or build a rapport considering the fact that they both are Seibu fans. Maynard (1991) also imagines another scenario where A supports another team and B supports Seibu. In this case, by using *yappari*, B tries to soften his speech as it might not be pleasant for the supporter of the other team.

3.3.4. Functions of the filler ‘*nanka*’

Omi (2014, p. 64) in a conclusion of her research on functions of *nanka*, classifies them into five groups:

1. Linking or connecting gaps
2. Calling for attention
3. Maintaining the speaking turn
4. Expressing unclarity
5. Signalling ambiguity

In the exchange below, Kojima (2010, pp. 26-27) explains that *nanka* is used to express empathy and agreement. The conversation revolves around whether one should continue working after getting married or not.

A: Haa, muzukashii da-yo-ne, *nanka*.
Ah difficult is Filler
Ah, it is difficult (filler)

B: Muzukashii desune.
Difficult is
(Yeah), it is difficult

3.3.5. Summary

To sum up, Japanese fillers are ingrained in the language and appear frequently in verbal communication. Japanese has a wide variety of fillers, and they have various functions in conversation.

This diversity begins from using expressions such as *nan to iimashou ka* (what shall I say?), fillers like *sono*, and *anoo* which have traditionally originated from demonstratives to *yappari*, *maa*, *nanka*, and so on.

As in English and many other languages around the world, verbal fillers in Japanese aid both the speaker and the listener to have a smoother conversation, and can help the interlocutors avoid misunderstandings, or mishearing.

Some of the functions of fillers in Japanese can be summarized as follows:

1. Indicating hesitation and uncertainty
2. Filling a silence during conversation
3. Sounding less imposing
4. Time-buying
5. Organizing the conversation
6. Attracting the listener's attention
7. Softening the speech
8. Signalling speaking turn
9. Aiding the speaker to paraphrase
10. Signalling the speaker's state of mind
11. Others.

It is also essential to remember that one filler can have more than one function during a conversation, and therefore assigning only one function to a filler in a sentence with one hundred percent certainty can be difficult.

In this chapter, verbal fillers and their functions in Japanese language have been examined. The next chapter will explore some previous research about how gender can affect the use of fillers and the possible reasons for any discrepancies.

4. Verbal fillers and gender differences

If the focus is on the users of a language instead of the language itself, both clear and slight discrepancies can be found. Some of these differences are as a result of each user's *kuchiguse*, or in other words manners of talking or favorite words and phrases, whilst some of them are different because other variables are present. These variables can be cultural background, age, gender, social position, and so on.

There have been obvious signs indicating that women and men use language differently. By only searching for books about Japanese language and gender, the following books are quickly found: ‘Women language and Japanese language’ (Nakamura, 2012), ‘Japanese language and women’ (Jugaku, 1979), ‘Women change ninety percent by the way they talk’ (Fukuda, 2018), or ‘More skilful way of talking for women’ (Hino, 2015). However, a search for similar books aimed at only men and suggesting a particular way they should speak are not easily found. These search results indicate that women do, or at least are expected to, speak differently. Therefore, it can be expected that the way they use Japanese language and its components can be different. But, has this difference or social expectation resulted in a difference in the use of verbal fillers as well? Do different genders use them differently? If yes, how? Do women use more fillers than men? or is it vice versa? Do they use the same number of fillers in total, but use some specific fillers more than the other group? What causes these discrepancies? In order to find the answers, a review of previous research on the topic is needed.

4.1. Fillers and gender in English

There has been a great number of valuable research on verbal fillers and their functions in English, and the interest in this area has led to a number of studies focusing on the connection between verbal fillers and factors other than linguistical components or the context of speech. Some studies have focused on the characteristics of the participants in their studies such as their age, gender, social statues and so on.

In a study by Navratilova (2015), ten minutes of the conversations between four female students, and four male students were recorded. In the beginning of each recording, the researcher had left the place of conversation after providing the participants with a topic of conversation generally thought of as controversial. The participants did not know what topic would be chosen beforehand and did not know the purpose of the research, and therefore their conversation had a natural flow. After finishing the recording, the conversations were transcribed, and the number of fillers and their functions were analysed. After analysing the data, the researcher found out that the female participants had used 171 lexicalized (such as *kind of*, *well*, *like*, and *so on*) and unlexicalized (such as *ee*, *ehm*, and *so on*) fillers in total, while the male participants had used 159 lexicalized and unlexicalized fillers. As a result, the researcher concluded that women in his study tend to use more verbal

fillers than men, and one possible reason for this, according to Navratilova (2015) is that women tend to speak with less certainty compared to men.

Laserna, Seih, and Pennebaker (2014) investigated the relationship between the frequency of five filler words, *I mean*, *you know*, *like*, *uh*, *um*, with gender, age and personality traits of the participants. In this study, samples of naturally occurring verbal conversations over the course of several days were recorded by Electronically Activated Recorders (EARs). Furthermore, 263 participants (137 females and 126 males) took part in this study and the age range was from 17 to 69 years old. 123 participants from early college, 36 late college, 59 early adulthood, 45 adulthood. One difference between this study and the study by Navratilova (2015) is that here, the researchers categorized the five filler words into two groups of *filled pauses* (including *uh*, and *um*) and *discourse markers* (*I mean*, *you know*, *like*), and their results varied for these two groups. Concerning the differences between filled pauses and discourse markers, the difficulty of drawing a line between the two terms cannot be denied. For instance, in some studies the word *like* is mentioned as a discourse marker in English (Fuller, 2003), and in some others *like* is labelled as a verbal filler (Laserna et al., 2014). Laserna et al. (2014) explains that filled pauses are thought to be signals of a speaker's disfluency, or signals from the speaker that carry a certain message, whilst the nature of discourse markers is that they are short phrases that are prevalent in natural conversation, and do not have any grammatical attributes. Nevertheless, after analysing the transcriptions of the recorded conversations, Laserna et al. (2014) stated that the use of filled pauses was related to the age of the participants and not their gender, while both age and gender affected how discourse markers were used.

In order to exemplify the difficulty and vagueness when distinguishing between fillers and discourse markers, another explanation for discourse markers can be added. Hayashi (2008) explains that discourse markers either help build consistency in the whole discourse, such as repair function and rephrasing, or can alleviate and soften loss of face in a conversation. According to Fuller (2003) who brings into attention another aspect of discourse markers, it is thought that discourse markers do not affect how true an utterance might sound. She continues that for example the word *like* can sometimes affect this factor, and therefore there is uncertainty around its status as discourse marker.¹² Schiffrin (1987), as cited in Thornbury and Slade (2006), considers that discourse markers signal the connection

¹² Fuller (2003, p. 367) explains: "...the utterance *sometimes I don't talk to anyone but my husband and my dogs for, like, a week* does not have the same truth conditions as the utterance *sometimes I don't talk to anyone but my husband and my dogs for a week*; the former utterance, but not the latter, could be said to be true if the speaker talked to no one but her husband or her dogs for five days, or for ten.". Thus, *like* can be regarded as a discourse marker if it does not change the meaning of the sentence (Fuller, 2003).

between the previous utterance and the current utterance. Some examples of discourse markers in English by Thornbury and Slade (2006) are: *but, so, for example, firstly, anyway*, and so on.

However, when compared to English, Japanese appears to have a clearer distinction between discourse markers and verbal fillers. In a study about conversation analysis, Szatrowski (2018) includes *shikashi* (but), *demo* (but), *dakara* (and so), *tashikani* (certainly), and so on, as discourse markers. The only word that has been mentioned both as filler by Yamane (2002) and as discourse marker by Szatrowski (2018) is *moo*. Therefore, considering the way fillers and discourse markers have been described in different studies, it can be assumed that the functions and the definition of the two terms can overlap, and for this reason, assigning a certain function for each of them proves to be challenging and problematic.

Laserna et al. (2014) concluded that young people, females, or young females have more tendency to use discourse markers in their utterance, and that discourse markers can mark age and gender. Another finding in their study was that the connection between gender and the use of discourse markers is stronger during college years and gets weaker as people age. The researchers of this study think it probable that this is as a possible result of the switch to adult life and responsibilities. Why did females in this study use more discourse markers? What kind of people use discourse markers more frequently? As a possible answer to these questions, Laserna et al. (2014) also adds that conscientious people tend to use more discourse markers as they usually tend to be more considerate and mindful of themselves and their surroundings, and that by using discourse markers such as *I mean* or *you know* the speaker is showing her desire for the listener to voice her opinion also.

In another study, Matei (2011) had the hypothesis that variables such as age or gender affect the discourse markers in conversations. In order to prove this hypothesis, she provided the six participants of her study with voice recorders so that they could record themselves whenever possible for any amount of time that they could. In the end, she collected seven hours of informal conversation between one male and female in their thirties (a couple), two males (friends), and two females (roommates). The languages of these conversations were English and Romanian, but she concluded that the functions of discourse markers in Romanian are in most cases identical to their equivalent in English language. Therefore, it is worth mentioning her results in this section. She concludes that women used far more discourse markers compared to men in this study. According to her, when women have the

listener's role, they tend to encourage the speaker to continue their speaking turns and they do not interrupt the speaker as much as men tend to interrupt women in a conversation.

Moreover, Tottie (2011) investigated the verbal fillers *er/uh* and *erm/um* in British English and considered these two fillers as sociolinguistic markers and the results of this study contradict some of the aforementioned studies. Her study states that these fillers differ according to the degree of formality, age, gender, and different socio-economic classes. Tottie (2011) concludes that men, older people and educated people tend to use more verbal fillers compared to women, younger people, and less educated people. Tottie (2011, p. 180) also refers to three other studies by Shriberg (1994), Bortfeld, et al. (2001) and Rayson et al. (1997) in which it was concluded that men tend to use more fillers than women. However, she mentions that compared to gender and status of the speakers, the use of verbal fillers is affected by age but to a lesser degree. She adds that according to some studies, older speakers use more fillers than the younger speakers, but the younger groups in these studies are under-represented.

To sum up, according to Navratilova (2015), and Laserna et al. (2014) women tend to use more verbal fillers or discourse markers than men. Laserna et al. (2014) also mentions that younger speakers use more discourse markers than older speakers. However, according to the study by Tottie (2011) men and older people use more verbal fillers compared to women and younger people. Even though the results from these studies contradicted each other, the type of fillers which were studied should be considered. In some of these studies fillers such as *like*, *well*, *you know*, and *I mean* were examined, while in some others such as the studies by Tottie (2011) and those cited by her, the focus was on fillers such as *uh* and *um*. Thus, it may not be fair to compare the results of the researchers which examined different fillers. A more clear and consistent result can be achieved by more detailed studies focused on verbal fillers, and discourse markers.

4.2. Fillers and gender in Japanese

As presented in the previous section, there have been studies proving that men and women use verbal fillers differently, and that age can also affect the use of fillers in verbal communication. Studies focused on gender differences in Japanese language have also proven similar findings amongst the users of this language. According to Reynolds (2001), one unique trait of Japanese language is that there seems to be forms or parts of the language that are specific depending on whether one is male or female. In addition, there are some

form or words which one gender will use overwhelmingly more than the other (Reynolds, 2001).

In this section, some previous research regarding the use of Japanese fillers and its connection with the gender of the speakers will be explored.

In a study focused on the functions of the filler *nanka*, Omi (2014) briefly mentions that when *nanka* functions as a call for attention in a conversation, female speakers tend to use it more than male speakers. Therefore, in this study, the effect of the speaker's gender on the use of the verbal filler, *nanka*, seemed to be confirmed.

Some of the most detailed and thorough research about verbal fillers in Japanese language, is conducted by Yamane (2002). One of the chapters in her book focuses on conversational fillers and their relationships with variables such as gender, age, and individual differences. The participants in Yamane's data are gathered from two talk shows and one interview program in the period between 1998 and 1999,¹³ and the participants include two men facilitators of the programmes and two women facilitators each interviewing one guest who is younger than them and another guest who is older than them. To explain further, for example, the first male facilitator is 52 years old and in the first interview he talks to a 26-year-old male singer, and in the second to a 60-year-old actor. The second male facilitator is 65 years old and also has two interviews. One with a 52-year-old female writer, and the other with another female writer of 78 years old. The same condition is used for the female facilitators. A 65-year-old female facilitator talks first to a 22-year-old actress, and then to a 70-year-old female writer. The next female facilitator is 51 years old, and she talks to two male writers of 41 and 71 years old. This data was examined from different perspectives such as the participants' age, gender, social status, the position of the filler in the sentence, the functions of fillers, and individual differences. Here, only the perspective regarding the gender of the participants will be briefed. Yamane (2002) announces that male speakers' utterance time was 52 minutes and 52 seconds and in total 655 fillers were used. On the other hand, the female speakers' utterance time was 69 minutes and 14 seconds and in total 739 fillers were used. Considering the total number of fillers, female interlocutors in this study used more fillers than male interlocutors, and regarding the fillers *maa*, *nanka*, and *anoo*, according to Yamane's (2002, pp. 162-163) data, they were all used more by women. Yamane (2002) also mentions that fillers with the *ne* particle in the end such as *anone(e)*,

¹³ Yamane (2002) mentions the following shows which were used to gather her data: Waratte itomo (笑っていいとも)、Tetsuko no heya (徹子の部屋) and Shuukan bukku rebyuu (習慣ブックレビュー).

mane and *nankane* were popular amongst female speakers. *Ne(e)* is a particle that appears at the end of a word or a sentence and one of the explanations mentioned by Koujien dictionary (Shinmura, 2008) is that this particle can be used to express slight passion or excitement. Nevertheless, Morita (2018) emphasizes that *ne(e)* cannot be explained with a simple and fixed definition, and it is more complicated. Yamane (2002) considers fillers with the final particle *ne(e)* as a filler that can express the mental state of the speaker, and the results suggest that women tend to convey their mental state during a conversation more.

Ge (2017) conducted research about gender differences and fillers in Japanese using a similar method to Yamane's (2002), as she retrieved her data from the same talk show program, *Tetsuko no heya*, in addition to gathering data from conversations amongst university students in their twenties. She then divided them into formal settings and informal settings, while referencing to the functions of fillers researched by Yamane (2002). After analysing this data, Ge (2017) states that in formal settings, male guests frequently used fillers in order to transfer the speaking right to the moderator of the program, *Tetsuko*. Additionally, Ge (2017, p. 10) mentions the following situations in which the male speakers used fillers:

1. When they wanted to disagree, but felt the need to soften their utterance as they considered the other interlocutor's (*Tetsuko*) feelings as well
2. When expressing sympathy
3. When expressing their mental state
4. When wanting to get the addressee on their side by building a common understanding
5. When helping the conversation to progress smoothly.

Ge's (2017) study also shows that female guests used verbal fillers to show hesitation when mentioning something about either themselves or their families. Compared to Yamane (2002)'s conclusion in which women had used fillers to express their mental state, this study suggests that in this case men expressed their mental state by the use of fillers, and it seems that the male guests also took the moderator's feelings into account. Ge (2017) clarifies that a possible reason for this difference can be the distinctiveness of the scenario, because: Firstly, in this setting the audience is also present when *Tetsuko* and her guests are conversing. Secondly, if *Tetsuko*'s age (which is usually much greater than the guests), social status, and her speech's politeness level are taken into account, as a result it can be assumed that the male guests place more emphasis on the hierarchy and speak more politely to her. What can be concluded from the formal section of this study, which is the collected data from *Tetsuko no heya*, is that in such settings many extra factors can affect the speaker's speech. For

example, the male guests wanted to sound extra polite and considerate in front of a famous host and the audience.

When progressing to the informal conversations of her data, which were conversations amongst university students, Ge (2017) comes to the conclusion that male speakers used fillers in two situations:

1. When mentioning information about the listener or a third party, they voiced the ambiguity of the information.
2. When they did not want to talk about their private life, they showed their hesitancy to the other party by using fillers.

Regarding the women participants, the use of fillers in order to hold the conversation floor was frequently observed. Ge (2017) then focuses on one of the functions of fillers in which they are used as interpersonal relationship adjustment tools. According to Ge (2019, pp. 62-63) interpersonal relationship adjustment function consists of four subdivisions: moderating the speech, signalling hesitation, common understanding, and taking back the speaking right. For instance, according to the data from Tetsuko no heya in Ge's (2019) study, it was observed that the speakers used fillers to moderate the speech in situations where they were asking questions, voicing disagreement, or making negative or difficult to say comments so that the listener does not lose face. In summary, Ge (2019) mentions that the male and the female speaker used different functions of fillers in their conversations, but unfortunately, she does not mention if, in total, the male speakers used more fillers than the female speakers or vice versa, as the main focus of her study is to investigate the functions of fillers.

In a study by Reynolds (2001) the link between verbal fillers and gender in natural conversation is investigated. The material for this study is natural conversations amongst university students collected by other researchers before, and the gender difference in the use of verbal fillers *Yappari*, *maa*, *nanka*, *anoo* is the objective. Here, 12 naturally occurring one-on-one 30-minute-conversations between university students were transcribed. The results of this study suggested that when the total usage of the fillers *nanka*, *anoo*, *maa*, and *yappari* were counted, women used more fillers than men. Moreover, another finding in this study suggested that the fillers *nanka*, and *anoo* are considered more feminine, and the fillers *maa* and *yappari* are thought to be masculine. It is also mentioned that vowel fillers such as *e*, *aa* and *oo* were used more frequently by males than females.¹⁴ Regarding vowel fillers, a similar

¹⁴ Sometimes speakers stop their exhalation for a very short period of time and reproduce the same vowel as the vowel of the previous syllable with varying lengths (Reynolds, 2001). Reynolds (2001) calls these types of vowels, vowel fillers.

observation was made by Yamane (2002) as well. Why does each gender tend to use some specific fillers more often? Why are some fillers labelled as feminine or masculine?

One main difference between the study by Reynolds (2001) and the previously mentioned studies is that she places more emphasis on factors such as gender roles in the society, the relationship between language and society, and the hidden meanings of words or other components that are implied and inserted in the language by the society and how the society perceives women and men's position. Therefore, she believes that when encountering fillers in speech, one cannot ignore the connection between the language, culture, and society.

Reynolds (2001) remarks that a closer look at seemingly trivial fillers in Japanese can reveal the division of gender roles (*yakuwaribuntan*) in the language as it can for instance suggest that male language is a public language, and the female language is considered to be a private or more personal language. In other words, she seems to assume that what male speakers say can be generalized to the public point of view, and what female speakers say is often conceived as their personal opinion. For instance, if one takes the definitions and the functions of *yappari*, which was mentioned in the previous chapter, into account, Reynolds' (2001) point of view becomes easier to understand. According to her, it seems as if the speaker uses *yappari* as a mechanism in order to make his own thoughts come across as a cultural standard. For example, the sentence (Reynolds, 2001, p. 105):

Onna-no shiawase-wa *yappari* kekkon-da-yo.
 Women happiness filler marriage is

which can roughly be translated as 'as expected, women's happiness is dependent on marriage' has a sense of male dominance hidden in it, but the reason that it is difficult to see this dominance is that this expression is traditionally used casually amongst friends, family, and so on (Reynolds, 2001).

Using these perspectives, Reynolds (2001) concludes that as a result, fillers such as *yappari* and *maa* which can control and dominate the conversation are considered to be masculine fillers, and fillers such as *nanka* and *anoo* which can soften or lessen the self-assertion in an utterance are considered to be feminine fillers.

In another study by Kim (2007), which is a comparative study between Japanese and Korean pause fillers, the researcher audio-recorded conversations in a university classroom. The participants consisted of two groups of female-female, and two groups of male-male. According to the results of this study, male speakers used more fillers than female speakers in both Korean and Japanese language. Kim also states that more than 70 percent of the pause fillers used in her data were the fillers *ano*, *yappari*, *maa*, *de* and *nanka*. All of these fillers

were used more by male speakers than female speakers, apart from the filler *nanka* which was used 54 times by female speakers, and only 16 times by male speakers. These results comply with Reynolds' (2001) hypothesis regarding the femininity of *nanka*, and the masculinity of *maa* and *yappari*. However, the result of the filler *anoo* contradicts Reynolds (2001) assumption as in Kim's (2007) study, *anoo* was used 32 times by men, and only 14 times by women.

To conclude, one general assumption can be that men tend to use specific fillers such as the previously mentioned *yappari*, and *maa* because of the cultural consensus that men are in a higher position than women and should control, dominate, or manage the conversation. Further assumptions can be that women tend to use the filler *nanka* relatively more than men, and that the use of fillers in order to soften the speech is common amongst female speakers. However, it has also been proved that depending on the circumstances of a conversation, men might use fillers in a similar vein to how women usually tend to use fillers.

4.3. Summary

Regarding the use of verbal fillers in female speech and male speech, a number of studies have been conducted, and some conclusions have been drawn. Some studies have suggested that women tend to use fillers more than men as they are considered to be more considerate, and conscious of other people's feelings and emotions. They also tend to express less certainty, and they do not interrupt the other interlocutor as much as men do.

These findings have been observed in studies in different eras with some studies also factoring in the gender difference in conversation. For example, Lakoff (1975), as cited in Ge (2017), points out that the reason for discrepancy between men and women's speech is because women belong to a subordinate social status, and Tannen (1990), as cited in Ge (2017), states that women tend to deem their relationship with the other interlocutor as important, and men tend to put emphasis on knowing or having information that others do not. However, it should also be considered that there are some studies that suggest that men use fillers more than women.

Nevertheless, it is important to take into consideration other variables such as the hierarchical relationship between the interlocutors, their social status, the circumstances in which they are conversing, their age, and so on. Ge (2017) states that even though the general claim is that male language is more dominant, direct, and places greater emphasis on communicating information, whereas female language signals subordination, indirectness, and values the importance of interpersonal relationships, this claim is not always valid.

In order to see if there is actually a gender difference on the frequency of some fillers, authentic data from conversations between native Japanese speakers has been collected. In the next chapter the methodology, the data, and the findings of this data will be introduced.

5. Methodology and Data

Having gone through various previous studies of gender differences in the use of fillers in the previous chapter, the main objective of this chapter is to investigate how different native Japanese male and female speakers use verbal fillers, and the possible reasons for any discrepancy between genders. Do female speakers tend to use more fillers than male speakers or less? Which fillers are used more by one of the two groups? What has caused these differences?

According to Podesva and Sharma (2013, p. 13) “Research on language always involves human agents – speakers, writers, readers, or hearers of the language in question.”. Thus, in order to find the answers to these questions, new authentic data was collected for this thesis that presents male speakers and female speakers. In this chapter, the method of investigation, the participants, the data and its findings are presented.

5.1. Data collection and research methods

This chapter analyses several conversations amongst six groups of native Japanese speakers. Originally, the data of this study was planned to be collected on a field trip to Japan during the third semester of this master’s programme. However, due to the Covid-19 situation this was not viable.

Consequently, the participants were found through friends of acquaintances whom I had had no personal relationships with. The participants were recorded having conversations through the Zoom application, and each conversation lasted for fifteen minutes. The reason for recording conversations with video was twofold: Firstly, seeing the speakers whilst talking and seeing their facial expressions can ease the process of transcribing the conversations. Secondly, having the videos helps the researcher to tell apart the speakers and know who is talking. After recording the conversations, they were transcribed, the number of fillers, *anoo*, *maa*, *nanka*, *yappari*, and other fillers used in each conversation was counted, and the number of the fillers used by each participant was totalled. In the end, these numbers were compared to other participants, and some of the previously mentioned studies, especially the study by Kim (2007), and the differences were investigated.

Hence, the methods that are utilized in this study are both quantitative research method and qualitative research method. Using the mixture of these two research methods has become more and more common within linguistic fields as it can provide more accurate results. The reason is that with the quantitative method, the researcher can analyse their data with accurate and detailed numbers. Whilst using the qualitative method, the researcher pauses within each data group to have a more in-depth evaluation. Regarding this thesis, quantitative research method has been an aid to access the number of the times different fillers are used by each participant and therefore has been an enabler to compare these clear and detailed numbers. On the other hand, qualitative research method has helped to study the participants on a deeper level, and consider circumstances such as the relationship between the participants, the sensitivity of the topics being discussed, their personalities, and possible reasons for their speaking behaviour.

5.1.1. Participants

Even though finding native Japanese speakers might appear to be an easy task, deciding whom to record, and what variables to consider can be challenging. Considering previous studies which were introduced in the preceding chapters, it was shown that the age, social status, and relationships between the participants can affect how they use verbal fillers in their conversations. As the gender of the speakers is the main focus of this paper, the influences that age, social and hierarchical status and other variables can apply, are limited as much as possible.

Participants were divided into six groups, and each participant was asked to invite one of their friends whom they have a close relationship with, in a way that when they converse, they do not use polite and honorific language. They were also asked to choose someone who is not much younger or much older than themselves as I wanted to provide an atmosphere where the participants can be as relaxed as possible, because when speaking to someone who is older or is a stranger, the speaker might feel more stressed, and might be constantly aware of using appropriate language. An overview of the participants is given below, but in order to protect their identity their personal information is not mentioned.

Table 1*Participants of The Study*

Participant	Gender	Age	Group number
F1	Female	31	1
F2	Female	31	1
F3	Female	32	2
F4	Female	33	2
M1	Male	28	3
M2	Male	28	3
M3	Male	40	4
M4	Male	40	4
M5	Male	35	5
F5	Female	30	5
M6	Male	25	6
F6	Female	33	6

In general, when the age of the participants in a conversation is closer to each other, they can have a relatively more relaxed conversation, and they are not conscious of the age gap between them, compared to when they speak to someone who is much older or younger than them. Hence, the age range for the participants in this study was decided to be from 25 to 40 years old, and the age gap between the participants in each group is less than 10 years. One advantage of this stipulation is that the participants did not have to choose their language carefully, as they were talking to their friend with whom they did not have much difference in age or social status.

Moreover, the reason that in groups 1, 2, 3, and 4, the participants were of the same gender is to compare the results of this investigation with the study by Kim (2007), since the methods and the purpose of the studies are similar. Additionally, the last two groups consist of participants of opposing genders, for the purpose of investigating if there are noticeable differences compared to when participants speak to someone of the same gender as them.

5.1.2. Settings

As mentioned before, the purpose of this chapter is to investigate the use of fillers in naturally occurring conversations. Therefore, if participants are given a particular topic, the possibility of using verbal fillers to express hesitation by the participants becomes greater, and other functions of fillers might be underrepresented. For instance, if the participants are

asked to talk about how the government policies have changed the situation in the health care system during the last ten years, they will most likely use a great number of fillers to show their uncertainty and to buy more time to think as they are plausibly not familiar with the topic. They might use fillers to show their mental state or their modesty for example, depending on how the conversation develops, but for the majority of time they might mainly use fillers to show their hesitation, and therefore the result might not be as fulfilling as expected. In order to avoid this, participants of this study were told to talk about whatever they wanted.

Another important factor is how natural and uncensored a conversation is. The most naturally occurring conversations are when the participants are not aware they are being recorded, but due to privacy matters and ethical values in research, recording conversations without informing the participants is not feasible. When the participants are aware that they are being recorded, they might be stressed, they might be conscious of the topic that they choose to talk about, they might be conscious of the fact that they are being recorded, or they might think about being judged by the researcher. In order to avoid this as much as possible, I briefly introduced myself and tried to make a comfortable atmosphere by building a good rapport before starting the recording. Apart from that, several other factors were also taken into consideration:

1. Participants were told that after the conversations are transcribed, the recordings will be deleted.
2. Participants were told that the focus in this study is no more than the language, and that their beliefs and opinions would not be judged.
3. Participants were told that if they mention information which could lead to a person or place being identified, this information will not be transcribed, and will be deleted.

Being made aware of these factors, participants immediately felt more comfortable and relaxed. After three or four minutes from the beginning of recordings, all of the participants were so relaxed when conversing that a message had to be sent to remind them of the time limit, which means that the participants were not feeling stressed about being recorded and had forgotten about it. These conditions can have helped the result of this study to be as realistic as possible. Another point is that, despite briefing the participants about the field of this study, they were not told what the purpose of this study was until after the recording had ended. The reason was that making them aware of verbal fillers would have affected the

results negatively, as they would have become more conscious of their language (in this case verbal fillers), and therefore a naturally occurring conversation would unlikely be achieved.

5.1.3. Advantages and disadvantages

During the process of gathering the data and analysing it, both advantages and disadvantages can be experienced, and there are considerations that need to be made and steps to be taken.

Even though gathering data by recording conversations gives the researcher flexibility to be able to go through the data as many times as needed, and enables her to transcribe the conversations carefully, some difficulties can be experienced. If the recording is made through the internet, such as this investigation, it is possible that due to weak internet connection, some parts of the conversations become inaudible and difficult to write down. Another challenge is when the participants' speech overlap which can lead to difficulty distinguishing words and sounds. It is also undeniable that transcribing recorded conversations is time-consuming and can be problematic.

5.2. Data analysis

As expected, participants of this study, reacted differently according to their personalities. Some participants fell into the process of talking whilst being recorded easier than others, and some of them were slower to find a topic to talk about.

In this section, the data from each group will be analysed, but before doing that some points regarding the analysis need to be clarified:

1. In this analysis, *ma*, *maa* and *maane* are all grouped as *maa*.
2. The same applies to *nanka*, *nankane*, and *nankasa* which are all grouped as *nanka*.
3. *Ano*, *anoo*, and *anone* are all referred to as *anoo*.
4. *Yappa*, *yappari*, and *yapparine* belong to *yappari* category.
5. Fillers such as *aa*, *ee*, *un*, *eeto*, *de*, *dakara*, *chotto*, *sono*, *koo* which appeared in this data, are all labelled as *others* in the analysis section.^{15 16}

¹⁵ The reason that these fillers are mentioned amongst all the other Japanese fillers is that these fillers were used in the study by Kim (2007) and were also used by the participants in this thesis. Therefore, it can be useful to compare the results of the two studies.

¹⁶ Another fact is that regarding words such as *dakara* (which originally is a conjunction), *chotto* (adverb) or *de* (conjunction), only instances in which they functioned as fillers are counted. For example, in '*Chotto nagai-na* (it is a bit long)' *chotto* functions as a degree adverb and the speaker is literally referring to how something is a bit long and therefore, this adverb is not counted as a filler in this thesis. However, in this sentence: '*da-ne, chotto taimingu-ga yappari, shitteru-to nantonaku shiriai toka-ga iru jikitte arukara-ne*' which means 'as expected, if you know the timing, you can somehow see acquaintances (in there)' *chotto* is used before the word 'timing' and functions as a filler and consequently is counted as filler in the '*others*' category. Additionally, some sounds or words such as *ee*, or *un* can be used as backchanneling, or *aizuchi* in Japanese. Backchanneling refers to when the listener interjects some sounds or words in order to show that (s)he is paying attention to the speaker's utterance. Consequently, in this study backchanneling instances are not counted as fillers.

For each group, two tables are provided. The first table shows the number of times fillers were used in each minute, and the second table provides an overview of the number of times each filler was used by the participants in total.

5.2.1. Group 1

This group consists of two thirty-one-year-old female speakers, F1 and F2. In the beginning of the recording, it could be observed that the participants were struggling to find a topic. However, after the first minute their conversation seemed to start flowing easier. The topics being spoken by this group included the weather, the Covid-19 pandemic, traveling, daily life, and an acquaintance. Below, the analysis of this conversation (see Appendix A) is shown:

Table 2

Minute-by-minute Analysis of Group 1

	F1	F2
0-1	3	5
1-2	1	0
2-3	2	2
3-4	2	3
4-5	3	2
5-6	3	4
6-7	8	2
7-8	2	7
8-9	1	1
9-10	1	9
10-11	0	5
11-12	0	2
12-13	4	0
13-14	1	1
14-15	7	1
Total	38	44

Table 3

Total Number of Fillers in Group 1

	F1	F2	Total
Maa	2	4	6
Nanka	22	20	42
Anoo	0	8	8
Yappari	1	2	3
Others	13	10	23
Total	38	44	82

The total number of fillers data suggests that the filler *nanka* was the most frequently used filler in this conversation, and both F1 and F2 had used it considerably more than the other fillers. Considering Reynolds' (2001) assumption of *nanka* as a feminine filler, and Kim's (2007) conclusion that women used *nanka* more than men in her data, the frequent use of *nanka* by these female participants is not surprising. Regarding *maa*, and *yappari* no considerable difference was observed. The tables also show that F2 used a few more fillers than F1 in total, but this difference is mainly because of how the speakers used the filler

anoo, as F1 did not use this filler during these fifteen minutes, but F2 used it 8 times. F2 used *anoo* in order to make use of its various functions such as word-searching, repairing the previous utterance, adding more explanation and so on. One possible reason for the different use of *anoo* between F1 and F2 might be personal preference or *kuchiguse*.¹⁷ For instance, if F2 had used *anoo* to find a word, or to try to remember something, F1 might have used other alternatives in similar situations. It was observed in the analysis that F1 had often used expressions such as *nandarou*, *nannandarouna*, and *nannandakke* which have a similar meaning to *whatchamacallit* in English.¹⁸ This difference might imply that the use of *anoo* by female speakers might depend on the speaker's speaking style, and which filler the speaker decides to use in order to convey the meaning she wants as accurately as possible. Therefore, it is possible that F1 had utilized other alternatives instead of using *anoo*. Nevertheless, as assigning one fixed function to filler words appears to be extremely difficult and almost impossible due to their multiple-functional-features, more thorough study focused on the filler difference between the same genders can give more clear justifications.

5.2.2. Group 2

The participants of this group are two females, F3 and F4. F3 is 32, and F4 is 33 years old. Both speakers happened upon a topic immediately after the recording started, and were equally active in participating in the conversation. They talked about their hair styles, a class that they were going to together, pandemic consequences, their previous memories together, and an upcoming wedding. Below, the details of this conversation (see Appendix B) on fillers can be found:

¹⁷ If *Kuchiguse*, 口癖, is directly translated into English, it means 'the habit of the mouth', which is used to describe habitual words or phrases that one uses often.

¹⁸ Cambridge Dictionary provides the following definition for *whatchamacallit*: "Used when you are speaking about something or someone whose name you can not remember"

Table 4*Minute-by-minute Analysis of Group 2*

	F3	F4
0-1	7	0
1-2	9	3
2-3	4	2
3-4	6	3
4-5	2	0
5-6	8	0
6-7	5	1
7-8	5	0
8-9	5	0
9-10	2	1
10-11	2	0
11-12	2	0
12-13	4	0
13-14	6	0
14-15	1	0
Total	68	10

Table 5*Total Number of Fillers in Group 2*

	F3	F4	Total
Maa	9	3	12
Nanka	20	4	24
Anoo	3	0	3
Yappari	11	0	11
Others	25	3	28
Total	68	10	78

One noticeable feature of this conversation is that in the last five minutes, F4 did not use any of the fillers *maa*, *nanka*, *anoo*, *yappari*, or even *others*. Moreover, the total number of the fillers used by F3 was also considerably higher than F4. The filler *nanka* was used 20 times by F3, whilst it was only used 4 times by F4. The use of the filler *yappari* was also noteworthy, since it was used 11 times by F3 and 0 times by F4. As was explained in chapter 3, Reynolds (2001) claimed that *yappari* is a masculine filler, and that this filler can be used to control or dominate the conversation, but it was not the case that F3 dominated the conversation. As far as it was observed, both participants were active and engaged in the conversation, and interruption was not observed very often. It also seemed that both participants were controlling the conversation and were regularly exchanging the role of controller, and therefore more dominance by one specific speaker was not observed. This observation can suggest that even if a filler is considered to be masculine, it does not imply that it cannot be used frequently by female speakers or non-dominant speakers. Similar to group 1, *nanka* was the most frequently used filler in group 2, but in this group, it was mainly used by F3. The same situation was observed regarding the filler group *others*, as F3 used those fillers 25 times in total, and F4 only used them 3 times. This again might be the result of different speaking habits of the individuals, and it can imply that even though verbal fillers are a crucial part of a natural conversation, it does not mean that every single individual will

use them noticeably often. However, as was mentioned before, finding answers for possible reasons with high accuracy can be extremely challenging and requires further research.

5.2.3. Group 3

This group presents two male participants, M1 and M2, who were both twenty-eight years old. They were conscious of being recorded, especially in the beginning, but eventually felt more relaxed and comfortable. The topics of this conversation (see Appendix C) were mainly anime, work, and daily life matters. The tables below show the frequency of fillers amongst M1 and M2.

Table 6

Minute-by-minute Analysis of Group 3

	M1	M2
0-1	3	4
1-2	1	2
2-3	3	1
3-4	3	4
4-5	3	2
5-6	3	6
6-7	1	3
7-8	1	4
8-9	3	4
9-10	3	3
10-11	2	5
11-12	0	3
12-13	7	1
13-14	2	2
14-15	0	2
Total	35	46

Table 7

Total Number of Fillers in Group 3

	M1	M2	Total
Maa	9	9	18
Nanka	3	2	5
Anoo	5	5	10
Yappari	0	1	1
Others	18	29	46
Total	35	46	81

One interesting observation of this analysis is how similar the number of times that each participant used the four fillers, *maa*, *nanka*, *anoo* and *yappari* was. The filler *maa* was used slightly more than the other three fillers. M1 used 35 fillers and M2 used 46 fillers in total. They both seemed to have similar conversational styles compared to participants in the previous groups, as the numbers in the table for each participant are close to each other. M1 and M2 seemed to exchange the speaking turn regularly and regarding the speaking time no noticeable unbalance was observed.

5.2.4. Group 4

The male participants in this group, M3 and M4, are both forty years old, and they immediately started their conversation around a topic that they were talking about right before the recording. The topics of this conversation (see Appendix D) were Japanese society, music, their living situations, and personal life. The following tables present the results:

Table 8

Minute-by-minute Analysis of Group 4

	M3	M4
0-1	3	3
1-2	3	4
2-3	1	2
3-4	2	10
4-5	3	3
5-6	1	1
6-7	0	2
7-8	0	2
8-9	4	2
9-10	0	6
10-11	1	5
11-12	2	8
12-13	5	6
13-14	2	3
14-15	1	5
Total	28	62

Table 9

Total Number of Fillers in Group 4

	M3	M4	Total
Maa	4	3	7
Nanka	6	27	32
Anoo	4	3	7
Yappari	1	1	2
Others	13	28	40
Total	28	62	90

Compared to group 3, a significant difference in the usage of fillers within this group is clear. M4 used 62 fillers in total, whilst M3 used only 28 fillers. Fillers *maa*, *anoo*, and *yappari* were used a similar amount of times, and not very often. Regarding M3, he used very few of the four fillers, and used more fillers from the *others* category. On the other hand, M4 used *others* and *nanka* 28 and 27 times respectively. One reason for this discrepancy, as it was mentioned before, can be the speaking habits of each participant, but in this conversation M4 seems to have taken advantage of various functions of *nanka*. For instance, during the third to fourth minute of this conversation, M4 used 10 fillers and half of them were the filler *nanka*, whilst the rest were the fillers *de*, *dakara*, *aa*, *aa*, and *anoo*. During this one minute he was trying to explain how a musical instrument that he plays, functions. Therefore, he might have used *nanka* frequently in order to maintain his speaking turn until he finished his

explanation, in order to buy more time to find words to explain better, and so on. He also used *nanka* frequently when he was talking about his personal life and relationships. This can also suggest that he might have been trying to convey his mental state, trying to soften the tone as he was talking about a sensitive topic, express ambiguity as he was talking about someone else whilst including aspects of his private life, and so on. Ge (2017) had also mentioned that the male speakers of her data used fillers when they were mentioning something about someone else in order to show their uncertainty, and also when they were hesitant to talk about their personal life. Thus, it can be concluded that even though Reynolds (2001) had suggested that *nanka* and *anoo* are feminine fillers, and *maa* and *yappari* are masculine fillers, it does not necessarily mean that male participants tend to use those presumably masculine fillers more and feminine fillers less. One might also tend to use fillers merely to benefit from their functions. In other words, regardless of whether a filler is assumed to be feminine or masculine, a speaker of any gender might use different fillers to benefit from their functions, and this should also be taken into consideration when studying the relationship between fillers and gender differences. During these fifteen minutes, M3 was talking and explaining about different topics, but he did not talk about his personal life as much as M4, and he also did not have to explain things as carefully as M4 needed to. This might also be one possible reason for M3 using far fewer fillers than M4.

5.2.5. Group 5

Participants of this group are a 35-year-old male speaker, M5, and a 30-year-old female speaker, F5. They were very quick to find a topic and had a relaxed and comfortable conversation (see Appendix E). The topics discussed included their mutual friends, and their daily life. Below, the analysis can be observed.

Table 10*Minute-by-minute Analysis of Group 5*

	M5	F5
0-1	10	2
1-2	2	7
2-3	3	10
3-4	7	5
4-5	17	1
5-6	17	1
6-7	16	1
7-8	9	9
8-9	7	2
9-10	2	12
10-11	1	19
11-12	0	17
12-13	5	6
13-14	2	7
14-15	9	6
Total	107	105

Table 11*Total Number of Fillers in Group 5*

	M5	F5	Total
Maa	14	5	19
Nanka	25	47	72
Anoo	45	18	63
Yappari	0	1	1
Others	23	34	57
Total	107	105	212

During this conversation, the male speaker used 107 fillers which is only 2 fillers more than the female speaker. This high number of fillers by both participants and small difference between the total numbers might indicate an active participation by both M5 and F5, a constant endeavor to sound more polite, an active competition to control the conversation, the attempt to hold the floor, or a combination of all these reasons. *Yappari* was used only 1 time by F5 and 0 times by M5, and therefore no particular observation can be made, but the fillers *anoo* and *maa* were used more by M5, and *nanka* was used more by F5. The results of these three fillers conform Kim's (2007) findings. *Nanka* was also used more by female speakers in Omi's (2014) data, especially when they were trying to attract the listener's attention. Reynolds' (2001) femaleness and maleness theory was confirmed by the results of *nanka* and *maa*, and was strongly opposed by the results of *anoo*.

Since a sudden increase in the number of fillers can be seen in certain minutes, the topics of the conversation in those instances will be introduced briefly in order to suggest possible reasons for the higher number of fillers used. In the first minute, M5 was trying to find a particular topic to talk about, so fillers might have helped him to organise his thoughts, buy time to think of a topic, or show his uncertainty. From the fourth minute till the seventh minute, M5 used 50 fillers in total whilst he was talking about an interesting story that had happened to their mutual friend. In these minutes, fillers might have aided M5 to hold the

conversation floor, attract F5's attention, buy time, or express uncertainty. Regarding F5, during the second minute she was trying to explain her likes and dislikes and therefore might have needed to express uncertainty, buy more time to think, or sound more polite. Between minutes 9 and 12, she used 48 fillers when she was talking about a frightening incident that had happened to her. Consequently, she might have utilized fillers to express her mental state, buy more time, maintain her speaking turn and so on. Thus, it can be said that when a speaker is controlling the topic of the conversation or has the speaking turn for a longer period, she uses more fillers compared to when both participants are regularly exchanging the speaking turn. This is one obvious example of how important and decisive the actual speaking time of each participant is. This aspect will be discussed as a possible weakness of this research method in the conclusion section.

5.2.6. Group 6

The participants of the last group of this study consist of a 33-year-old female, F6, and a 25-year-old male, M6. The topics of this conversation (see Appendix F) were daily life and the Covid-19 pandemic. The results are shown in the tables below.

Table 12

Minute-by-minute Analysis of Group 6

	M6	F6
0-1	1	19
1-2	1	10
2-3	3	7
3-4	6	11
4-5	8	8
5-6	1	11
6-7	2	14
7-8	1	13
8-9	0	12
9-10	5	8
10-11	0	14
11-12	1	7
12-13	0	10
13-14	1	15
14-15	0	14
Total	30	173

Table 13

Total Number of Fillers in Group 6

	M6	F6	Total
Maa	7	37	44
Nanka	7	35	42
Anoo	1	34	35
Yappari	3	7	10
Others	12	60	72
Total	30	173	203

The analysis for this group showed that the female speaker used a drastically higher number of fillers (85.2 %) compared to the male speaker (14.8%). One possible reason for

this extreme difference between these interlocutors can be that during these fifteen minutes, it was observed that the female speaker had more control over the conversation, she was leading the topics, and she had the most speaking time during this conversation. Here, it is worth mentioning that even though F6 was clearly dominating this conversation, she used the filler *yappari* the least number of times compared to other fillers, and this contradicts Reynolds (2001) conclusion that *yappari* was used more by men since they tend to control or dominate conversations. Even though F6 dominated this conversation, she utilized fillers other than *yappari*.

Regarding the filler *nanka*, the findings resemble the findings of group 5 where the female participant had used it more than the male participant, and as was mentioned before, similar observations were made in other studies as well. Nevertheless, even though the results of the fillers *nanka* and *anoo* are consistent with Reynolds' (2001) results, the higher number of fillers *maa* and *yappari* used by F6 contradicts her assumption. Considering the total number of fillers, according to the data of Reynolds' (2001) and Yamane's (2002) investigation, women used fillers more than their male counterparts, and the same result is seen in this group. On the other hand, Kim (2007) concluded that the male speakers in their studies used more fillers which is the opposite of the findings of group 6.

5.3. Results with two approaches

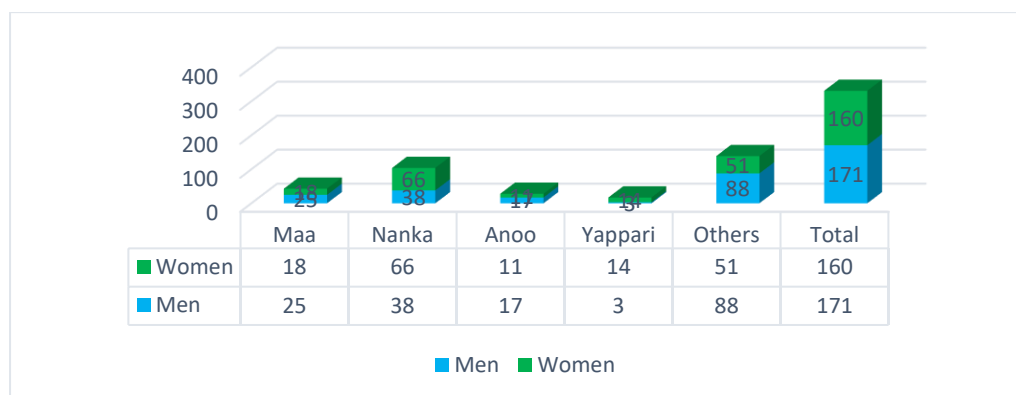
In order to compare the results with Kim's (2007) study and analysing similarities and discrepancies between these two investigations, it is crucial that the data from both studies have similar settings. Kim (2007) collected her data from four conversation groups consisting of two female-female groups, and two male-male groups. In her study too, the participants were instructed to speak about any topic they wished. Thus, in order to compare the results of the two studies and expect a fair result, the results from groups 1 to 4 will be analysed and then compared to Kim's (2007) results in section 5.3.1. Then, the results from groups 5 and 6 will be discussed and compared in section 5.3.2. The results from this study will also be briefly compared to the results of studies by other researchers who have investigated fillers and gender differences.

5.3.1. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of groups 1 to 4

The figure below shows the total number of fillers used by all the male and female speakers of this study.

Figure 1

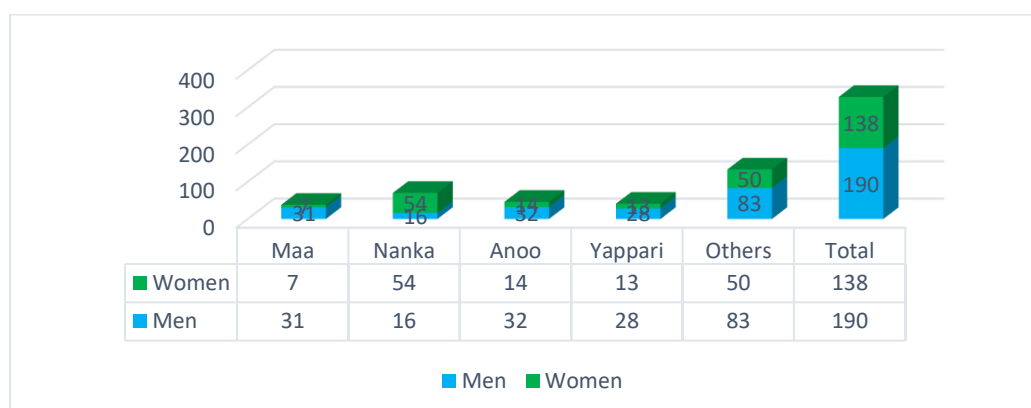
The Total Number of Fillers Used by Both Genders in groups 1 to 4



According to the above figure, female participants in this study have used 160 fillers (48 %) and male participants 171 fillers (52 %) with a difference of 4 percentage points between the two groups. In addition, the following figure provides us with the results of Kim's (2007) research. The total number of fillers are adopted from figure 3 (p. 30) and figure 4 (p.31) in her research paper.

Figure 2

The Total Number of Fillers Used in Kim's (2007, pp. 30-31) Study



According to Kim's (2007) result numbers, men used in total more fillers (58 %) than women (42%) with a difference of 16 percentage points. According to her statistics, all fillers except *nanka* were used more by male speakers. Similarly, male participants in this thesis used more fillers than female speakers in sum. However, regarding the filler categories in the figures, the numbers of my data were similar to Kim's (2007) results for *maa*, *nanka*, *anoo*, and *others*, and opposite to her results for the filler *yappari*. As it was mentioned before,

Reynolds (2001) regarded *yappari* as a masculine filler, and therefore my results oppose her assumption as well. One more factor to consider is that in figure 1 the difference of the results from the two groups was only four percentage points, and in figure 2 this difference was four times more (16%). This might be as a result of speaking habits of the speakers, the topics of the conversations, the speaking time of each speaker, and so on.

Kim (2007) mentioned that male speakers of her study utilized fillers in order to build a good rapport and connection with the other interlocutor and also to express themselves better, whilst the female speakers of her study used fillers to indicate their hesitancy. Correspondingly, the male speakers in groups 3 and 4 in my data, seemed to have a close friendship with one another, and during their conversations, making jokes and laughing at each other's utterances in a jovial manner was observed. Thus, considering the context of the conversations in these two groups, fillers might have been used in order to signal their close association, and maintain the effective rapport between them. Still, the use of fillers to benefit from their functions should not be overlooked. As it was previously revealed, M4 in group 4 used a considerable number of fillers when he was explaining details of something (presumably in order to buy more time, signal hesitation, and so on), and when he was talking about aspects of his personal life (to signal hesitation, indicate his mental state, and so on).

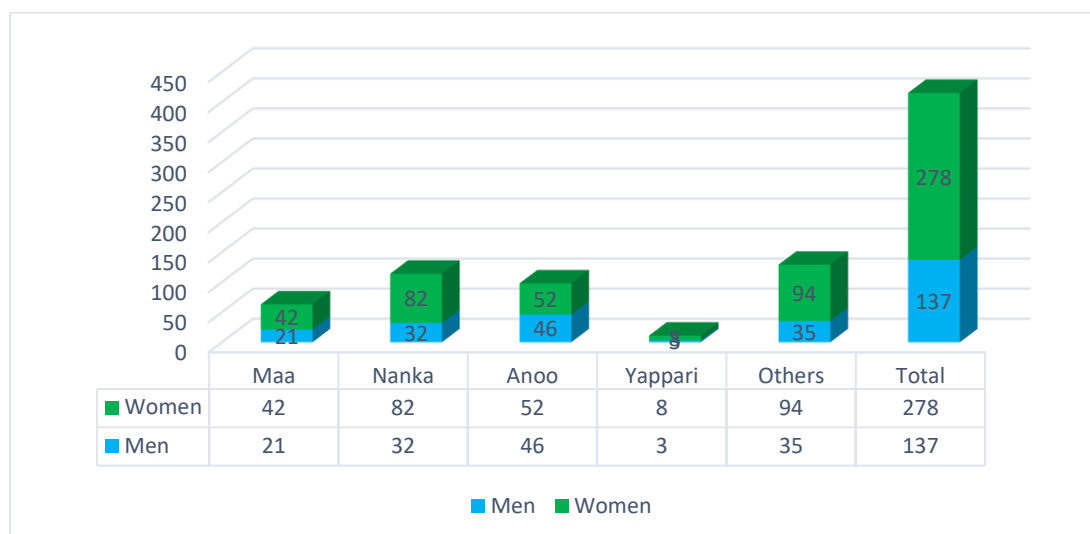
Compared to male interlocutors, from the conversations between female interlocutors in groups 1 and 2, less joking was observed. In these groups, the participants were instead more engaged in talking about life events regarding the Covid-19 pandemic, its consequences, and how they feel about those consequences. Considering the context of the conversations, it can be said that female speakers in these groups tended to express their mental state, and signal their hesitancy.

5.3.2. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of groups 5 and 6

In addition to collecting data from conversations between speakers of the same gender, this thesis has also briefly focused on conversations between speakers of opposite genders. The reason for this approach was to investigate if there are noticeable differences in the use of fillers in conversations between a man and a woman. The statistics proved to be interesting and unexpected. The figure below, illustrates how fillers were used in group 5 and group 6.

Figure 3

Total Number of Fillers Used in groups 5 and 6



As depicted in figure 3, the total number of fillers used by female speakers (67 %) are significantly higher than male speakers (33 %) with the difference of 34 percentage points. Surprisingly, all of the filler categories were used more by female participants. As regards to previous studies in which women had used more fillers than men, assumptions such as a higher tendency to express mental state in women's speech and their tendency to show more conderation towards the other interlocutor has been made.

In group 5, both participants were actively involved in the conversation, and were both introducing new topics during the fifteen minutes of recording. They both used a high number of fillers, and appeared to have a close friendship. Thus, it can be assumed that by using a great number of fillers, both of them were perhaps trying to build a good rapport. Another possible assumption can be their ongoing competition over controlling the conversation, and introducing new topics. The reason for this theory is that the close friendship amongst F5 and M5 might have led to an atmosphere in which both participants felt very relaxed, in a way that they did not feel the need to sound as feminine or masculine as they usually do when speaking in other situations with other people.

Conversely, in group 6, a friendship as close as the one seen in the preceding group, was not reflected. It was also observed that F6 had noticeably more speaking time compared to M6 during the whole conversation, and that there was a remarkable difference between the total number of fillers used by each of the participants. Thus, two assumptions can be made: On the one hand, a more talkative personality can be assigned to F6, and as a result more domination and control of the conversation was observed on her side. On the other hand, F6

might have utilized a great number of fillers, and controlled the conversation to compensate for the not-so-close friendship between her and M6 in order to build rapport, soften the tone, show consideration, or show hesitation.¹⁹

5.4. Discussion

The analysis of the data in this study can have two outcomes depending on how the conversation groups are formed. When the participants talked to partners with the same gender, men used more fillers in sum, which resonates with the studies by Kim (2007), and Tottie (2011). Here, it can be thought that when speakers talk to another person with the same gender as them, male interlocutors use more fillers than female interlocutors. In regards to *maa*, *nanka*, *anoo*, and *yappari* the following conclusions can be made:

1. Concerning *maa*, the finding of this thesis resonates with the findings by Reynolds (2001), and Kim (2007), and opposes those of Yamane (2002).
2. *Nanka* has shown to be a feminine filler both in this study and a number of other studies (Kim, 2007; Omi, 2014; Reynolds, 2001, & Yamane, 2002).
3. *Anoo* was used more by men in this study, and Kim's (2007), but it had opposite results in Yamane (2002), and Reynolds (2001).
4. Finally, the results of *yappari* contradict Kim (2007) and Reynolds' (2001) investigations.

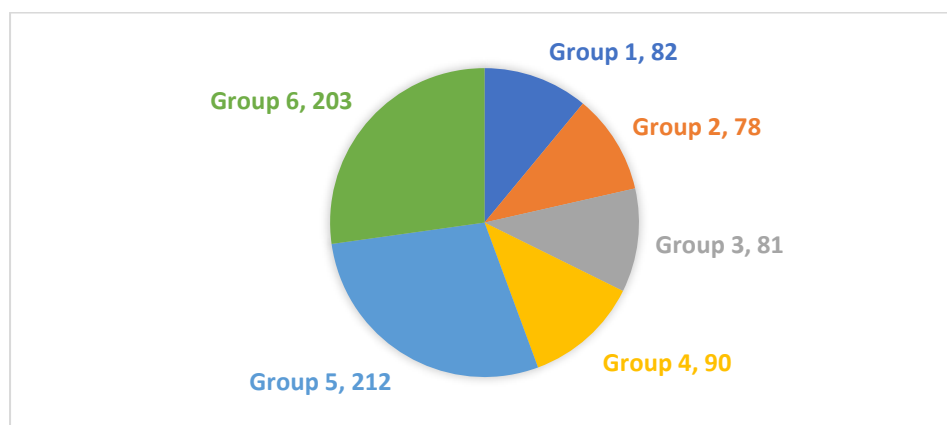
Nevertheless, the findings in groups 5 and 6 showed completely opposite outcomes. Similarly, regarding the total number of fillers, the studies by Navratilova (2015), Yamane (2002) and Reynolds (2001) also concluded that the female participants in their studies had used more fillers than the male participants. One general assumption for this is that women tend to express their mental state and show consideration to the other interlocutors more than men. Laserna et al. (2014) and Matei (2011) had also made a similar observation regarding the use of discourse markers, and they concluded that female speakers were more considerate towards the other interlocutors. However, it is crucial to consider that in all of these studies except Yamane's (2002) investigation, participants were talking to partners with the same gender.

¹⁹ Considering groups with opposite gender participants, one factor should be mentioned. In the previous studies on fillers and gender differences, the participants were allocated into same gender groups. The only study in which participants with opposite genders had conversations was the study by Yamane (2002). However, Yamane's (2002) results and the results of this study cannot be compared because of the differences in data collection methods. In this thesis participants were all friends and were speaking about whatever they wanted, whereas in Yamane's (2002) study, the participants were conversing during a TV show. Here, the participants could not use the language as freely as the participants of my study, and they also needed to choose the conversation topics according to the purpose of the show.

Regarding the last two groups, another theory can also be made. The figure below shows the total number of the times fillers were used by all 6 groups in this study.

Figure 4

The Total Number of Fillers Used by Each Group



As can be seen, when the participants in a group were one male and one female, the number of fillers used more than doubled compared to the other four groups. One hypothesis for this obvious difference can be that when speaking with the opposite gender, speakers tend to signal their hesitation more often, soften the tone of the conversation more regularly, and need to buy more time in order to search for and find appropriate words. Another hypothesis can be that when the interlocutors have opposite genders, there might be a constant competition to hold the floor and maintain the conversation. When it comes to domination in a conversation, the general assumption is that male speakers tend to be more dominant and controlling. According to a study by Pakzadian and Tootkaboni (2018) men tended to dominate conversations by asking questions, interrupting the other interlocutor, changing the topic, and so on. Another study by Gass and Varonis's (1986), as cited in Itakura (2001, p. 1861), concluded that the Japanese male speakers of their study dominated the Japanese female counterparts during conversations and men had a tendency to use more words compared to women. These studies have claimed that gender differences can lead to different conversational dominance in a conversation. Nonetheless, the results from group 5 and group 6, which were previously mentioned, did not suggest the same trend. In group 5, both the female speaker (F5) and the male speaker (M5) were actively participating in the conversation, and they seemed to contribute to the conversation equally. Compared to group 5, in group 6 the female speaker (F6) dominated the conversation, which contradicts the assumptions regarding the connection between male speakers and dominance. Thus, even though a drastic increase in the use of fillers was observed in the last two groups, the reason

for this increase is not necessarily a male participant's attempt to dominate the conversation, or the competition over holding the conversation floor for a longer period. This increase might also be the result of the participants' attempt to speak more politely by showing hesitation, buying time to find appropriate words or phrases, or soften the speech.

Moreover, as regards to the research method used in this thesis, some factors should be mentioned:

1. In studies where the use of a language by its speakers are investigated, the results cannot be generalized for all of the speakers of that language.
2. One important element is the individuality of the participants. Some individuals prefer to speak less and take the role of the listener because of their personalities, whilst some others are more talkative or have more stories and topics to talk about.
3. Speaking time of each participant is also decisive for the result of such studies. For instance, if one interlocutor speaks for 10 minutes, and the other interlocutor only for 5 minutes, it is not surprising that the latter uses much less fillers compared to the former. Thus, this is the weakness of this research method which has been used by many researchers and needs to be improved in order to get more accurate data.
4. Speaking habits of the participants can also affect the results greatly. In other words, some individuals can have speaking habits that might function oppositely to the general assumptions regarding the use of fillers.
5. Another factor is the topic of the conversation. If the conversation veers into a more personal direction, the speakers might tend to use fillers more frequently to signal this entrance into their private lives.
6. The mental state of the participants at the time of speaking appears to be key as well. If one participant is having a bad day, and therefore not in a talkative mood, it can lead to him using less fillers than usual. Though this behavior cannot be avoided easily, one possible solution can be through providing the participants with recorders and asking them to record their conversation whenever they feel fine, similar to the study by Matei (2011).

In conclusion, male speakers used more fillers than female speakers in the same-gendered groups which is in harmony only with the results of the study by Kim (2007) which had similar methodology and settings. Thus, the findings of a number of other studies were contradicted. At the same time, the opposite-gendered groups had results contradictory to the same-gendered groups. Therefore, in order to make a more thorough

comparison, it is necessary to conduct more research under circumstances in which participants do not have the same gender in the future. This can give a clearer picture of how male and female speakers use fillers, and if the use of fillers by one speaker changes depending on the gender of the conversation partner.

6. Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to investigate verbal fillers in Japanese language, their functions, and the connection between verbal fillers and gender differences. In order to achieve this purpose, concrete research questions and sub-questions were presented:

6. What kind of fillers are used by native Japanese speakers in conversation?
7. What kind of functions can fillers have?
8. Is there a difference between how Japanese male and female speakers use fillers?
9. If so, how does gender affect these verbal fillers?
10. What is the reason for this discrepancy?

After introducing the topic in the first chapter, a general overview of verbal fillers was provided in chapter 2. Chapter 3 focused on verbal fillers in Japanese and their functions and provided answers to research questions 1 and 2. Previous studies about verbal fillers and gender differences were introduced in chapter 4. Finally, in chapter 5 the methodology, authentic data collected for this thesis, and analysis can be found. Consequently, the answers to research questions 3, 4, and 5 can be found in chapter 4 and chapter 5.

Regarding gender differences in the use of verbal fillers, two points can be made. Firstly, the results of the same-gender groups in this thesis showed that men used slightly more fillers than women. This fits with a previous study which utilized similar research and data collection methods (Kim, 2007), but it opposes some other studies in which women used more fillers than men (Reynolds, 2001; Yamane, 2002). It was also observed that the male participants, in groups 3 and 4, appeared to use fillers in order to signal and maintain their companionship, and also to benefit from the functions of fillers. On the other hand, the female participants in group 1 and 2 tended to use fillers to signal their mental state and their hesitancy.

Secondly, when a group consisted of a male participant and a female participant a drastic increase in the total number of fillers was noticed, and the final results were opposite to those of same-gendered groups where women used more fillers than men. This was not observed in any previous research to my knowledge. This significant difference might be either a result of

a diligent effort by the participants to sound more courteous and attentive, or it can be a sign of an ongoing competition between the participants to hold the floor or control the conversation. Regarding these two groups in this study, the first reason seems to apply to group 5 in which both participants had almost equal engagement in the conversation, and the latter reason can be seen in group 6 where the female participant was controlling the conversation for the majority of time.

Nonetheless, it should be highlighted that the findings of this study cannot be generalized into all female and male speakers in Japan, and only show how the participants of this study used fillers. Regarding the participants, various elements such as age, social status, relationship, the topic of the conversation, and the degree of formality can affect how they use fillers in their speech. Therefore, in this thesis, the variables were limited to gender, an age-limit of 25 to 40 years old, and a close friendship. However, it should be noted that the participants of this study might plausibly use fillers differently if they for example converse with strangers, their teachers, superiors, parents, or children, instead of a close friend.

To better understand how fillers are used by different genders, future studies could address:

1. Analysing several one-on-one conversations between one participant and different partners with a similar relationship status to the fixed participant in order to make clearer how the speaking style of one speaker affects the results of the study.
2. Analysing several one-on-one conversations between one participant and several partners with different relationship status to the fixed participant in order to observe how the use of verbal fillers varies depending on the various relationships. (Half of the partners can have higher status than the participants, and the other half inferior status)
3. Analysing one-on-one conversations between a male speaker and a female speaker on a larger scale in order to discover possible patterns.
4. Taking into consideration the speaking time of the interlocutors and acknowledging that an unbalance in the speaking time can result in great differences in the use of fillers.

In this research, the findings of the groups with same gender participants were in harmony with another similar study, whilst it also challenged some of the existing claims regarding the connection between verbal fillers and the gender of the speakers. Moreover, the results of the groups with opposite gender participants were incomparable as the number of previous studies focused on this aspect was practically non-existent. The

findings from both the same gender groups and opposite gender groups indicates that further research, with other variables and bigger sample size, is needed.

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Appendices

This appendix comprises the transcripts of the conversations between the participants in this study. In order to protect the anonymity of the participants, names and addresses have been removed.

Appendix A: Group 1

F1 何を喋ろうか、、、

F2 世間話？

F1 最近あったこと、、、とにかく暑い、、、

F2 暑いね。。。ハハハハ。。。

F1 暑いね、ええええ。うん、うん

F2 家から あの一 駅まで5分だけなのにもう汗だく。ふふふ。

F1 ふふふふ。いやもう、夏は暑すぎて、動くだけで、、、やる気が、、、。

F2 前も話したかもなんだけどさ、あのう、まあ コロナのこともあってさ換気が大事
ってなってるじゃん？ 会社がさ、そうゆうのに敏感なお姉さまばかりだから、ハ
ハなんか窓全開なのよ、事務所のね。

F1 ふふふふ

F2 で、エアコンはつけてるんだけど、私、前も話したけど後ろが窓一面なの。全開
にしてるのね、、暑い、、、。

F1 ふふふ

F2 で、温度設定をあんまガンガンにするとその「寒い！寒いんじゃない？自然の風
の方がいいわよ」って言うから「静」とかなのよ。私の所に風が来るのに窓にもう
熱風がふわっときて、暑い、、、。そりゃあねえ、もうねえ、会社に、普通さあ、
電車降りて暑い思いしてさ会社行くとさ、やっと涼しい、ってなるけどさ、なお暑
い、ってからそう、だから最近辛い。

F1 なんかもう、暑さでやられて、え、何だろうなあ。日常生活ただでさえコロナで
マスクもしてないといけないのに、こんだけ暑かったらなんかもう、何だろう、な
んなんだろうな、、、ハハハハ

F2 ハハハハ、なんか 頭働かないよね。やる気が出ない。元からだけど。

F1 そうなんだよね、もともとやる気はないんだけど、よりやる気が出ないですよ
ね。

F2 ウンウンそそそそそ。
うん、うん、うん

F1 これはどうにかしないとな。こんなに暑かったかな。

F2 や、ね、なんか 年々暑くなってるよね。

F1 なんか、これはマスクしてるから余計暑く感じてるのか、実際問題本当に暑くな
ってるのか。ここ2、3年はどっちなのか。

F2 暑くなってるんじゃない？どうなんだろうでも、あの一、たぶん
いや暑くなってるんじゃない？なんか

F1 そっかやっぱ暑くなってるか、、地球温暖化だからか、、。

F2 じゃない、なんか もう、、、 初夏とかないじゃん。急に真夏じゃん？

F1 確かに。なんか 今日もお蕎麦屋さんの人が「暑い」って言ってたし。

F2 いや、蕎麦屋は大変だよ、ラーメン屋とかさ。熱気がね。暑いあれ本当。

F1 茹でてるからね

F2 あれよく、、もうね、

F1 お蕎麦屋さん、ラーメン屋さん、うどん屋さん、、

F2 ああ、茹でてる系・蒸してる系ね。

F1 茹でてる系は

F2 辛いね。

F1 冬は良いけど。たこ焼き屋さんとかも、

F2 その場でこう鉄板とかで。あつつい。焼き鳥屋とかもう。なんかね。

F1 確かに確かに。なんか、なんかさ、エアコン設定とかも20度設定ぐらいしかま
でならないじゃん？頑張ってる。

F2 絶対湯気で負けるじゃん。湯気が勝つじゃん。暑いね。

F1 いやー なんか そう考えると食べ物屋さんは偉いな。

F2 そう、それ思った。なんか 大変だし暑いしコロナでえらいこっちゃだし。。

F1 そうなんだよね。確かに。いやー全然話が飛ぶけどさあ。

F2 5分ぐらいで飛ぶ。

F1 なんか ライブに行きたいっていう話をしてたじゃん？

F2 うん

F1 で、夏、なんか、楽しみというかイベントごとがないかなと思って調べてたんだけど、夏フェスがあるらしい。

F2 あ？あるの？なんか ロッキーはさダメになったじゃん？確か。

F1 いちおう9月くらいにはあるらしい。

F2 ああ、秋口はまあまあ、、、夏はちょっと、、、って感じか。

F1 まあわかんないけどね。

F2 土壇場でね、なんかね、なんか無しになるとかも、あるあるだからね。

F1 ウンウン。今 まあしょうがないからね、、中止になっても誰を責めるも、、

F2 そうそう、誰を責めるわけでも、みたいなね。ギリギリになるまでできるかわかんないからね。それもね、予定立てるのは大変だよな。

F1 うん、うん、うん。旅行とかもね、なんか 旅行とかだったら、なんか 結構、会社の前勤めてた会社の人で、一人旅なんか趣味な人がいて、なんか ひとり旅だったら全然いいよねみたいな。その、

F2 密とかないからね。

F1 そうそうないから なんか 全然行ってもいいんじゃない、みたいに言ってて、ひとり旅に行くか～、って。

F2 まあ お出でかけね。そうそう多分大人数じゃなかったらね ま、二人、三人なんかあるよね なんか。飲食店でもさ、なんなんだっけ二人だど全然制限ないけど4人とかだと90分で帰れ！って。なんか あるよね。そうゆう。

F1 いやーえ。。。OOちゃん旅行行こうよ。

F2 ね、行こうよ。まあ二人だったらさ、そんなわちゃわちゃしてるところに行かなければさ。電車だってさ、今すごい換気してますとかしてるじゃん なんか。窓開けてさ。

F1 うん、うん。結構窓空いてるよね。

F2 空いてる空いてる。なんか

F1 あれで結構換気されてるのかわかんないけど一応。電車でかかったってあんま聞かないしね。

F2 そうそうそうそうだってずーっとさ人の出入りもあるからさ、ねえ。割と空気の入れ替えじゃないけどさ、ずっと長時間接触してるわけじゃないじゃんいろんな人と。さきで何をするかだよ。多分。
ある程度ちゃんと気をつけてれば大丈夫だと思うんだけどね。

F1 なんか 前、〇〇に行きたいみたいになって。

F2 ああそれ、言い出しっぺなのに全然、今言われてホワホワ〜ンって。やっぱり。。。やっぱりわすれてた。そう、グランピングって結局、外じゃん？ 10人規模でやるんだったらちょっとあれかもだけど、3、4人くらいだったらさあ、ねえ。

F1 うん。

F2 やべ！ 今汗汗してる。

F1 ね、なんか〇〇ちゃんが、

F2 あそうあ〇〇ちゃんとね、そう今ふっとね、今度近いうちに会う約束があるから今度言ってみる。なんか覚えてる？ って言ってみる。数ヶ月前だけど。
〇〇ちゃんも、最近ラインで、なんかそう大体 あのを 京急が遅延してると〇〇ちゃんから「遅延してるよ！」て連絡くれるから、それでたまーに連絡取り合ってるから。

F1 〇〇ちゃんの方がさきなんだ。

F2 そうそう、あのを 〇〇もっと南寄りだから各駅とか早めに私より出るタイプだから。 私が起きてワタワタしてる時に「起きろ！」って。「今電車止まってるよ！ ひさしぶり！」って。

F1 教えてくれる。

F2 緊急速報がくる。ニュース見ないから。

F1 あれ〇〇ちゃんの方がでもあれ〇〇、、、？

F2 でもね あのー、近いのは近いのでたぶん あのー〇〇え。。。とか？あの〇〇の手前かな。快速とか止まんない感じのやつで出勤の時間が早いのかな？なんか時短かわかんないけど。

F1 ああ、なるほど

F2 ん、私より〇〇ちゃん体調的にこんでるのとか乗れない人だから、若干時間早めにして、ちょっと各停とかに乗りたいタイプだから、私より早い。

F1 そっかそっか。えらいな。〇〇ちゃんより早いわ。結構早いよ。

F2 もともとたぶんね早く起きてご飯ちゃんと食べてちゃんと身支度してって、女子力高い子だから。時間じっくりあさかけてやるタイプだから、私と違ってえらい。多分起きるのがすごい早い、５時半とか。

F1 へえー、５時半かあ。

F2 わからん、そう、でも絶対早い。で、ちゃんと身だしなみ整えていくんだと思う。えらい！

F1 あやかりたい。ちゃんとやらなきゃ。

F2 ねえ。

F1 今日パックを買ったけどお顔にちゃんといつつけるか。買った方がいいけど、買って、なんか自分てきにはをパック買ったからちょっと私女子力って思うんだけど、パック買っても、すぐ使わないから。

F2 わかる。

F1 なんかパックの束みたいなのが部屋にねどンドン溜まるわけ。

F2 使わないともったいないじゃん。試供品とかでもらうけどさ。そうそう。でも今日は外出て紫外線浴びたからつけないと。

F1 美白パックをつけて。確かに確かに。今日はちょっとまだ７時２０分だし。ゆっくり美容に時間をかけられる夜。

F2 そうだね。そそお風呂はいつ。

F1 確かに。お風呂入って、パックをして。爪を磨いたり、爪を切ったり。〇〇くんのコメントをしたり。

F2 ハハ。コメント職人の仕事が残ってるからね。いやすごい尊敬する。

F1 ファンはもうその好きな人のためには時間を割く！そうそうそうそう

できることがそれしかないから、いまのところ。買うものもないし。

F2 確かに確かに。発散ができない。

F1 なんか、そう、売ってくれるものがあればべつに買うんだけど、いまのところ何もないから。

F2 不思議だね、何をしてるんだろう、なんか、

F1 なにをやってるんだろう。いつも何をしているのか、、、。

F2 なんか 普通にアルバイトとかしてるのかな、いやでも事務所と契約してるんだから何かしら活動してると思うんだけど、

F1 多分 なんか こう、モデル、、、なんか かこう

F2 だよな。、

F1 なんか こう、うん、雑誌とかのモデルじゃないけど、何かしらのモデル。。？何をしてるんだろう、

F2 現役の学生とかじゃないんでしょう？

F1 そうそう、もうたぶん高校卒業して、

F2 そのままお仕事みたいな感じだよな、

F1 そうそうそう。やって〇〇は出身の子で、でもいま〇〇に出てきてるみたい？その仕事のために、たぶん。

Appendix B: Group 2

F3 髪型がね、すごい似合ってると思って。

F4 ほんとに？今さ、でも前髪がさあ、すごい伸びたの。

F3 羨ましい。いやなんか私この前見てすごい似合うと思って。私ができないことだから。前髪命の人だから私。

F4 いやだって可愛いもん。短いのが可愛いから。

F3 皆には短いの似合ってるって言われたけど、ん、ちょっとなに、負けを認めてる感じだから。

F4 ハハハハ。何それ？

F3 何かね、下ろしてるの似合うの良いなと思って。チャレンジするけど大抵この辺で、あっ無理って、バシって切る。

F4 わかる。一定の距離までいかないとき、今伸びっぱなしだから良いんだけどさ。もう髪をさ、結構一回ショートにしたんだよね。

F3 そうなんだ。いや結構短くなったと思って。一時期だってすごい長くて、だんだんと思ったけど、まあ会ってないのもあるけど、すごい短くなって。そのまま縛れる？

F4 ぎりぎりかな？なんかすごい尻尾みたいな。

F3 でもやっぱり似合うんだね。

F4 ほんと？まあ短くした方が楽ちんなんだよね。

F3 まあね～。レアだね～。

F4 でもダンスもさしなくなったからさ、髪上げしないからさ。

F3 そうなんだよね。髪上げあると思うとね、多少やっぱ有った方が。。。逆にラテンとかだとあれじゃない？良いかもしれない。

F4 確かに確かに。今でもあれがあってさ切っちゃった、バサって切っちゃった。

F3 そうか～。ねえ～。でも結婚式があるからさ、やっぱ〇〇さんも言ってたけど、多少伸びてた方がハハハハ。

F4 そうだよな。それ言われたね。切っちゃだめですよって言ってたもんね。

F3 あ、ほんと？あ、言ってた言ってた。だから、ん～まあ短くても可愛いけど、私は合った方が。私は。

F4 まあね。色々できて良いかね。

F3 ん～楽しみにしてるほんとにそれは。

F4 いやいや。ほんとにただのおじさんだからハハハ。

F3 いやだからそういうのじゃないんだよ、なんかこの前、〇〇ちゃんが入ってくる前にすごい楽しみにしてるっていう話をしてて。

F4 うんうん。

F3 〇〇さんとかと。

F4 えっほんと？

F3 そうそう。楽しみがずっと延びてる感じですよなって言ってて。

F4 そうそう。そうなんだよ。ずっと延びててね。

F3 まあまあでもね。このご時世だから仕方ない。できるだけいいよ。

F4 そうだね。

F3 ちょっとでも皆が安心してできる方がさ。

F4 そうだね。や、なかなかちょうどね、緊急事態宣言とかに被っちゃってさ。

F3 や、私も無くなった、行く予定だった結婚式とかそのまま無くなっちゃったりとか合ったし。

F4 そうだよな。結構悩んだ。

F3 そうだよな。でもやっぱり一生に一度だから、折角なら、私も行きたいし。

F4 ハハハ、嬉しいな。

F3 楽しみにしてるわ。

F4 いえいえ、皆がね。。。ま皆と会う機会っていうのもさ。

F3 いやそうなんだよ。それもあって。折角さあ、ね、ダンスも最近私も、もう全然踊り方忘れちゃって。

F4 ほんとだよな。どこも行けないしさ。

F3 そう、そうなのそうなの。だからさあ、私も全然ここまで踊らないと、流石に踊りたくなると思って。

F4 ほんとだよ。なんか〇〇さんとかがあげてるじゃん。試合あったよとかさ。なんかすごいなと思って。

F3 そう、なんか、あの、あとやってたけどあの line のさあ。

F4 うんうん。

F3 動画のグループ入ったまま抜けてないから、そう定期的にあの、試合のあった日すごい連投されるから、あっ今日だったんだと思って、なんか複雑な、

F4 いいな？

F3 そう、いいなと思う気持ちと、や、こんな時期にやるっていう気持ちと。

F4 そうだね。これはほんとすごいハードだよ。こんな時期にさ。

F3 すごいよね。皆マスクと手袋でさ、でもほんと誰もわかんないと思って。

F4 ね、そうだよ。だって私が一昨年とかに出た時にも、全然わかんないから。

F3 いや、そうだよ。〇〇ちゃんよく出てる。〇〇ちゃんすごっ。ただ見たことあるなっていう子はいるけど

F4 んー、わかんないよね。

F3 そう。歌ってる子はわかるけど、もうみんなわかんないと思って。

F4 ね、あとね、10 種目も踊れないハハハ。

F3 あーねー、体力が、ほんとによくやってたと思う。

F4 ほんと。もう無断で帰っても疲れちゃうもん。

F3 もうなんもすらも最近埋まらないと思う。まず、埋めることだもん。よく 10 種目埋めてたよ。

F4 知らない人ばかりいるからより埋まらないんだよ、今ねハハハ。。

F3 そうなんだよね、まあね。行かないとね、コンスタントにいてるからこそあれは。

F4 そうそう。

F3 だね、ちょっとタイミングがやっぱり、知ってるなんとなく知り合いとかがいる時期ってあるからね。

F4 そうそう。タイミングだよ、ほんとさ。

F3 そうなのよ、そうなのよ。やっぱ何人かでも知ってる人がいないと、大会の応援も、なんか。

F4 そう、静かに見てるからね。

F3 自分も応援して貰えない。

F4 そうそうそう。

F3 ね、懐かしいなと思うけど、ほんと踊る機会もなくて、全然、うんー、だから。でもあれだもんね、回収しちゃったもんね？一応。

F4 そうそうそう。なんだっけ

F3 名前がすら出てこない。

F4 O O、O Oさん？

F3 まあ、O Oちゃん、ね、楽しそうだから。どうなんだろう、今、全然。

F4 ちょっと自由人だから。

F3 ね、戻らないからさあ、その海外の情報も疎くなっちゃって。

F4 ハハハハ。

F3 知らないから。ここは辛うじてさ、なんかこうやって定期的にさ line だったりするけどさ。もう他は会わないし。

F4 ほんとだよ、全然。だって、O OちゃんとO Oさん達もわからないもん。どうしてるか。

F3 や、わかんないわかんないだから、O Oちゃんは結婚して、出産ということがもうびっくりだよ。

F4 びっくりだった本当に。

F3 ね、や、びっくりしちゃったから。全然情報がさ、Facebook って見ないしさ。

F4 そうそう。そうなんだよ。

F3 でたまにでもさ、ダンスのねなんかね、大会だったりなんかパーティーだったりで会えたら良かったけど、今それがないから。

F4 ね、どこも行けないからね。

F3 そうなのよ。なんかほんとに。踊れなくなっちゃう。

F4 忘れちゃいそうだよねほんとに。

F3 や、ほんと忘れちゃう。なんか体がなんか覚えてるかなと思って。なんかだんだん、社交ダンス行っているのかなと思っちゃって。

F4 ハハハ。そうそうわかる。

F3 そう、えーと思って。言ってみたものの、いやでも今は踊ってないですけど。

F4 ハハハ。

F3 早く、ダンスなんてね、一番あれだよね不要不急でもないし、密だし。

F4 そうそう、ね。

F3 ね、だからもう割り切って練習してる人はね、ちゃんとマスクとかしてさ、〇〇ちゃんとかよく、〇〇ちゃんとすごいばりばりやってるけど、すごいなと思う。

F4 マスクしてなんて絶対辛いよねハハハ。。

F3 いや、もうマスクしてなくたって苦しいのにさ、無理だよ。

F4 ほんとだよね。より辛い。

F3 クイックなんかやった日には、もう呼吸困難で。

F4 倒れちゃう。

F3 酸素のこういうのさポンプのシュッシュってやつ。

F4 ハハハ。

F3 より体力を使うよね。マスクしてダンス。

F4 だってベニーズ多分、一周もできないと思う。

F3 ほんとほんと。もうちょっとなんか、無理だよねここが覆われてるわけでしょ？

F4 うん。

F3 ね、今の大会に出る子たちはもうより強いよね。こういう面では。

F4 ほんとに。たくましい。

F3 ね、出たいなと思うけど、いや、そもそも踊れてないからね。普通のサークルも結局行けてないし。

F4 でも、一時さコロナの前は、〇〇ちゃん行ってたよね？

F3 あっほんとに、ML だけどうにかって感じだったけど。

F4 うんうん、偉い偉い。

F3 コロナにもなったじゃん。週 1 くらいと思ってたから。そうそうそう。でもそう、行くと運良いと〇〇さんいたりとか。

F4 あーそうか、〇〇さんいるのか。

F3 〇〇さんがたまにダイエットとか言って来てたりして、いるとハッて。あとは、女の子も見たことあるけど名前がわかんないみたいな子。

F4 うん。

F3 いいとこ〇〇くらい。あとは、なんか皆名前が、名前が出てこない全然。よく見るけどみたいな。

F4 女の子の方がどうしても、数が多いからね。覚えらんないよね。

F3 そうなの、ほんとに。一回女の子パーティーみたいなことがあって。

F4 ハハハハ。

F3 すごかった。えっ！？女子だけ？みたいな。

F4 へー。

F3 ほしの先生入っても足りないみたいな。

F4 ハハハハ。

F3 やっぱメンズがね。女の子多めになっちゃうから、メンズが重宝される。

F4 そうだね。

F3 そうね。懐かしいなと思って。

F4 ね、皆で行ってたよね。ほんとに。

F3 ね、ほんと。

F4 週に3回も4回も踊ってたもんね。

F3 やーちょっと今度写メ送るね。その当時の部長がでてきて、すごいによっきでてきて、や、もうすごい。体力すごい。だって、普通に働いてさ、ね、その後7時から9時半とか10時とかまでさ、それをさ、ね。。。すごいなと思って。

F4 ハハハ。でも、楽しかったんだよね。

F3 そうそう。それが。。。なんか行きたくないとかじゃなく、率先して皆で行ってたから。

F4 そうそう。今日どこだね、みたいなさ。

F3 そうそう。いや、すごいなと思って。楽しかったからね。気づいたけどね。

F4 ほんとだよ。駅から別に近いわけでもないのにさ。

F3 そうだって。だいたい遠いじゃん。とどろきとかほんとも荒れてた。

F4 遠かったね。

F3 遠いと思って。や、ほんと、今日走りますとか言って。よう行ったよ、三茶とかのね。あっちの方まで普通行かないからね。

F4 遊ぶ時しか行かないよね。

F3 祖師谷とか行かないよね。

F4 行かないよね。

F3 そう、その辺なんだよね練習場がね。

F4 そうそう。だね。

F3 今度写メ撮るね。

F4 超楽しみ。

F3 しかもちゃんとニョッキで何時から何時って全部書いてあって。

F4 ハハハ。

F3 頑張ってると思って。この当時、頑張ってたなと思って。

F4 ね、ほんとに。

F3 やーね、ちょっとせめて普通にダンスが、普通にできる状況になって欲しいよね。私も結局、実家だからさ、やっぱりね、ママとパパの。。。影響がいて。。。周りの人とも思うとね。

F4 ね、そうだよ。

F3 ね、あれ今お仕事ってさ、病院？なんだっけ？

F4 今ね、スポーツクラブなんだよね。

F3 あっそうだ、まずそこなんだね。えっでもそれこそさ、コロナ対策とか大変そうだよ。

F4 もうすごいね、もう消毒、消毒。

F3 そうだよ。

F4 ほんとに。

F3 やっと再開し始めたから余計だよ。ここでまた、自粛ムードになる前だと思うから。そっか、だから、あれなんか、土日休みじゃないんだよね。

F4 そうなんだよ。木曜日が休館日で。あともう1日貰うような感じ。

F3 んん、えっそれは、シフトなの？それとも普通に

F4 シフトなんだけど、結構固定シフトなんだよね。だからほぼ決まった形。

F3 固定の方が体は楽だよ。
そうだね。もうバラバラじゃないより良いね。

F4 そうだよ。あれ？今、旦那様が？

F3 いるよ。帰ってきた。

F4 そっか。お疲れ様です。

F3 敬礼してる。

F4 ハハハ。

F3 毎日ご飯作ってるの？

F4 うーん。作ってない。毎日は無理だ。ハハハ。

F3 そうだね。や、でも私も、〇〇ちゃんの家泊まった時のご飯には感動しちゃって。

F4 いやいやいや。

F3 憧れるなと思って。当時で憧れだったからもう。

F4 全然、クオリティが上がらないんですよ。

F3 とんでもないよ、とんでもないよ。あの時は、私は胃袋を完全に捕まれたから。すごい美味しかったなと思って。

F4 ハハハ。楽しかったね。あの時は、皆で一生懸命大会出てたしね。

F3 そうだよ。懐かしいね。

F4 うん、楽しかった。

F3 ね、そうそう。あの当時のね色々写真とか見るとやっぱり、頑張ってたなと思う。

F4 うん、ほんと。頑張ってたなってその一言だよ。

Appendix C: Group 3

M1 じゃあ、もうこれ始まってる？

M2 もう始まってるよ。はい、何話そう？ 2人で話すって言われてもな。ハハハ。前会ったばっかだしな。

M1 寮？

M2 まあ 一応 まあ 寮だね。アパート。

M1 普通のあれだね、アパートだね。

M2 本当に普通のアパートだよ。あの一、1ルーム。

M1 え！00？

M2 00。1ルーム。

M1 ちょっと部屋見せてよ。

M2 部屋？

M1 あー、汚いね。

M2 いや、これでも綺麗。よいしょ。えー。話すって言われてもな。んー、いつも2人で会うときはそんなしゃべんないもん。

M1 ん？

M2 くだらない話しか。

M1 それもう意識してるぞカメラ。

M2 あーやばいねそれは。ハハハ。

M1 2人で会うときは決まってない？あの一、大体政治の話しかさ、今の日本について。

M2 ハハハ。しないよ。ワンピースの話しかしないよ。ハハハ。いつもアニメの話だよ。

M1 いいのかな？ワンピースの話で。別にいい？

M2 いいよ、なんでも。あれじゃん、いつもの2人の会話でって言ってたし。

M1 そうだね。じゃあ、ワンピース。読んだ？最新？

M2 読んだ。ジャンプでしょ？

M1 ジャンプ。お前早く読んでないよな？明日の分とかネタバレとかしてないよね？

M2 あー、YouTube とか載ってるやつ見たこと？

M1 うん。

M2 ハハハ。先に見ちゃ...

M1 見た？

M2 見てない

M1 俺も見んよ。見ん。違う、お前たまにさ

M2 あー見ちゃうよね

M1 すずめとかでさ、早く入る。

M2 あー。

M1 そういうのは無いよね？

M2 そういうの無い。なんでって今は〇〇だし。や、今おじさんが買ってないんだって。ジャンプを。

M1 ん？

M2 おじさんが今ジャンプ買ってない。

M1 あーそっかそっか。

M2 すずめの。そう。

M1 YouTube のあれマジで止めて欲しいんだけど。あの一 ネットバレ。ほんとに出ないで欲しい。いや、なんか考察俺最近見てるからさ、ワンピースの。

M2 んー、言ってたな。んー

M1 お勧めでさ、勝手に金曜日ぐらいにさ、次の週の

M2 出てくる、出てくる、出てくる。

M1 タイトル表紙出てくるやん。

M2 うん、出てくるね。

M1 割と予測ついちゃうからさ。止めて欲しいマジで。毎回ブロックしてる。

M2 俺は見ちゃうけどね。ハハハハ。

M1 まじ？やば。

M2 見ちゃうよ俺は。

M1 ゴロとサンジはキングとクイーン倒せる？

M2 えー、倒せるら。倒せんと。

M1 まあね。

M2 話が。もうちょっとテンポ上げて欲しいなでも。

M1 あーそうだね。長いね。

M2 ちょっと長いな。

M1 うん。キングが結構重要みたい。なんか...

M2 言ってたね。

M1 あれ気になるな。キングがめちゃくちゃ強そうじゃない。

M2 強そう。てかも、なんか も色々なんか出すぎてわからんくなってくるな最近。

M1 そうだね。なんか。色んなもん出すぎだねちょっと。

M2 わちゃわちゃ出てきて。

M1 確かに。そろそろ 10 時になった？

M2 ハハハ。意識しすぎやお前も。普通に話せよ。えっ明日仕事？

M1 明日休み。

M2 あ、休みか

M1 土日出たから。

M2 あー明日休みで、火曜日も休みなの？

M1 ううん、明日と今週は、木曜日か金曜日か選べるけど。

M2 すごいね。選べるってやばいね。

M1 別にいつでもいい。火曜日から日曜日の間ならいつでもいいけど。

M2 へーすごいな。

M1 選ぶのは、別に前日とかに言ってもいいから。まだ決めてない。

M2 前日に言っていー？アルバイトやんけ。ありえんてすごいよ、すごい会社だぜ。

M1 ハハハ。お前スマホの調子おかしいぞ。スローモーションだぞ。

M2 〇〇ちゃんもそうだよ。

M1 あ、まじ？

M2 うん、たまに音が外れる。俺のイヤホンがおかしい。

M1 何言ってた？

M2 イヤホンが

M1 いや、〇〇の話し。

M2 あ、〇〇。あー、水曜日から、水曜日からさ1週間、いや、10日休みなの。

M1 なんで？

M2 やばくね。あの一 ロックダウンしててさ。

M1 あ、そういうこと。

M2 〇〇が。そう、〇〇の工場がロックダウンしちゃってるから、あの一、もう都市が人がいなくて、仕事もしちゃいけないってなってるから。

M1 〇〇？

M2 そう、〇〇でもパーツ作ってるのよ。それが供給されないから。車作れないってなっちゃって。やばいよね。

M1 え、給料出るの？

M2 出ない。

M1 うわ、最悪。まあ、休みだからいいか。

M2 今月はもう、だから、10万いくかいかないかね。

M1 じゃあ、帰ってこりゃいいじゃん。

M2 帰ってこれるよ。べつに。

M1 じゃあ、サーフィン。

M2 サーフィン行く？別にいいけど。いいよ、いやー、お前やっても俺ずっと泳いでるだけだもん。クラゲいるし。クラゲ痛いよ。

M1 だって、俺板買ったからさ、2つあるからお前できるよ。

M2 あ、そっか。前やったか、そうやって。

M1 あれやったけ？

M2 やったよ。覚えてないの？

M1 前やった時、板1個しかなくてお前泳いでただけじゃなかったっけ？

M2 いやいやいや、そんなこと無い。

M1 その後？

M2 うん、一緒に買いに行ったじゃん

M1 で、いつから休みって言った？

M2 えーと、9月1日から、

M1 あん。

M2 水曜日から

M1 あん。

M2 水木金土、ちょっと月曜日1回だけ出ないと行けなくて、月曜日出てあと1週間ずっと休み。

M1 へー。でいつ帰ってくるのこっち。

M2 11日休み。や、えーと、日曜日に帰ってこんといかんくて、今週か、今週でか今週ね。

M1 うん。

M2 ちょっと結婚式の用事で、友達の、帰って。で、日曜日に帰るんだけど、日曜日にまたこっち戻ってこんといかんから。月曜日仕事だから。

M1 じゃあ今週は1回帰ってくるってこと？

M2 そうそう。OOちゃんに行くなら帰るけど。

M1 木曜日とか行く？

M2 木曜日？あー全然いいよ。木曜日行く？

M1 取りあえずね。

M2 取りあえずね。

M1 あー待って、お前って車出せる？

M2 出せるよ、たぶん。あ、でも、サーフ、板か。別に、あの一、大きい車あるけど。

M1 うん。

M2 あるよ。でも、俺運転したことないんだよね。

M1 あ、そうなんだ。

M2 そう。

M1 それで行けるなら。

M2 まあ聞いてみるわ。俺は運転できると思うけど。

M1 たぶん小っちゃい車でも入るけど。

M2 や、入んないよ。。。

M2 長いんでしょ？あの長いのでしょ？一緒に買い行った？

M1 でも、あの一、運転席のへんまで、あの一、板はみ出ればだいたい乗るけどね。

M2 えっ乗る？あれ？

M1 よっぽど小っちゃくなければ。

M2 やでも、あのマーチわかるでしょ？あの白い車、小っこい。

M1 後ろ倒せるでしょ？

M2 ま、倒せるけどさ。

M1 載るんじゃない？

M2 いや、載らないと思うよ。大きい車借りるわ。

M1 ま、借りれたらいいよ。

M2 たぶん借りれるけど。

M1 ジムでもいいけど。

M2 まあ、俺は運転できるから、頑張るけど。

M1 キックボクシングジム行きたいんだよね。

M2 えっ？痩せたいの？

M1 違う違う違う。あの一、最近ちょっとまた格闘技やりたくなってきてさ。

M2 ハハハハ。

M1 趣味で習いたい。

M2 あ、キックボクシングねー。

M1 世界一周行ったとき思ったもん、自分の身ぐらい守れんとなって。

M2 ハハハハ。

M1 会った時に。

M2 いや、お前、勝てないって、外国の人には。勝てないって。お前身体的に違かったじゃん、見ただけでも。どれだけ小さかったか。

M1 やでもね、海外行くわけではないけどさ。日本で何かあった時とか。

M2 まあ、そうだけど。

M1 あと、普通に。

M2 ボクシングかー。うん。

M1 最近見るの好きだからさ格闘技。

M2 まあ、最近あれだもんね、オリンピックとかでも。

M1 うん。

M2 ボクシングとかダメなの？

M1 ん？

M2 ボクシングとか。

M1 まあ、ボクシングでもいいよ。何でもいいけど。格闘技ちょっと、始めようかな。まじで趣味で。

M2 まじでやるの？

M1 うん。

M2 ほんとに？

M1 でもね時間が無いんだよね。あんまり。

M2 でしょ、お前、休みの日いつも靴作ってるんでしょ？

M1 そう。だから、そこだけあれだけ。まあ、とりあえず木曜日ね。

M2 あー、まあ オッケー。木曜日ね。一応そのつもりで。

M1 うん、その次の週帰って来るには帰って来るの？その予定は無い別に？

M2 その予定？

M1 月曜日に一回そっち戻って、そっから 1 週間ぐらい休みなんですよまた？

M2 そうそう。あ、木曜日って、どこの木曜日言ってる？今週の木曜日？

M1 うん。

M2 今週の木曜日はちょっとごめん。

M1 来週？

M2 そうそう、来週の木曜日。

M1 来週の事？

M2 うん、来週の事。

M1 なんだ。

M2 今週は無理や。

M1 じゃあ、来週いつ休みなんかな。今週帰ってこん？

M2 今週はもう日曜日しか帰ってこん。結婚式で。ただ、ムービーを撮りにいだけ、そう。

M1 木曜日から帰ってこんの？

M2 ん？

M1 木曜日帰ってきたらいいじゃん。

M2 や、や、ちょっと勉強したいんだよ勉強。

M1 あー、これって一回、あつても予定が見れないな。来週、まあ 来週でもいいか。ちょっと予定確認して連絡するわ。

M2 まあ、別に俺 1 週間丸々空いてるから、月曜日以外わ。

M1 火曜日以降のどっかってことでしょ？

M2 そうだね、火曜日以降、うん。

M1 オッケー。まあ、たぶん木か金のどっちかになると思うけど。まあ、見てみるわ。

M2 オッケー。木か金のどっちかね。

M1 来週ね。9 月の 2 週目ね。

M2 来週、9 月の 2 週目、オッケー。

M1 じゃ、また。

M2 まだまだまだまだ。今何時だ？後 7 分。

M1 何の話ししとたっけさっき？その一、まあ、豊田か？そう、お前そんなに休みになっちゃったのか。

M2 そー、すごくね？

M1 普通の人だったらね嬉しいけどね。お前出稼ぎに来とるもんで、嬉しくないね。

M2 そうなの、嬉しくないよね。

M1 だって、そっちで暇でもあんま意味ないもんね。正直。

M2 意味ない。もう早くコロナ終わって欲しいけど。

M1 マッチングアプリ。

M2 やー、誰もいないら、わかんないけど。

M1 あーそう、コロナやばいよね。

M2 そう、コロナやばいよね。

M1 やばい。

M2 やばい、まじで。

M1 急激に増えとるね。

M2 てか、打った？

M1 打ってない。

M2 打ってないんか。

M1 予防接種嫌いだからさ。

M2 えっまじで打たないの？

M1 嘘、打つ打つ。

M2 俺もう打ったよ。一回目。

M1 早いね。

M2 一回ね、一回だけ。あの、会社で打たせてくれた。

M1 あー、そういうのは早いのか。

M2 そう、そこはやっぱ〇〇だなと思った。

M1 〇〇めちゃくちゃ遅いよ。

M2 らしいね、遅いらしいね。

M1 だって、俺の年齢だと、集団接種の予約受付開始が8月30から。

M2 おっそ。

M1 からじゃないと受付====（聞き取れなかった。）

M2 やばいね。

M1 で、そこで取れたとしても、たぶん 10 月とか 11 月とか。すぐいっぱいになるかもしれないし。だけど、俺は親の伝手で取ってもらった。

M2 あ、そうなんだ。

M1 親が二人とも通つとる病院で打つとったもので、その先生に頼んでくれて、一応もう予約はしたけど、最近ね。

M2 うん、うん。

M1 年齢が低いもので、優先順位遅いものでさ。

Appendix D: Group 4

M3 了解

M4 じゃ今の会話を続けていいんじゃない。

M3 いいよ。

M4 何話してたんだっけ。

M3 日本人は面倒くさいけど・・・

M4 うん。

M3 ま、めんどくさい。。。

M4 まあでもなんかさあ、なんていうんだ面倒くさいけど

M3 うん

M4 良くも悪くもっていう感じではあるよね

M3 それでだいぶ実際守られてよね

M4 あ、そうだね

M3 そう何かしきたりみたいなものにだいぶ自分の身の周りの安全は守られてるけどね。

M4 そうだね。

M3 そう

M4 でもそこまで守られる必要があるかっていうとそんなことないよね。うん、もはや。

M3 うん

M4 ありがたいところもあるけど・・・

M3 そうだね。

M4 うん。そんなに全部守ってくれなくてもいいかなっていう感じはする。

M3 うん。それをさあ全部ちゃんとできる人が偉い人みたいなさ、風習があるじゃないちょっと。

M4 うん。

M3 電車とかだってさ、

M4 うん。

M3 何か理由があって、こう遅れちゃうのは俺遅れてもいいと思うんだよ。

M4 あ、そうだね遅れても全然いいと思うよ。

M3 そう、だけど絶対1秒も遅れないように電車を走らせる。

M4 うん。

M3 それで事故とかしたりしてるじゃん。実際、

M4 そうだね。

M3 だからもうちょっと行きすぎなんじゃないかなと思うときはあるよね。

M4 そうだね、1分とか2分とか遅れただけでなんかみんなイライラしてるしね。

M3 そう、だし、罰金とかもすごいでしょだって。

M4 あー、って言うよね。

M3 そうなんだよね。

M4 ああ、重いよね。ま別によくない？みたいなのがいっぱいあるのに、うん。

M3 でも00だって00だって絶対時刻表通りに電車こない。

M4 うん、来なくて別にいいんじゃないのって感じだけどね。

M3 まずね時間表でね52分とか53分とかそんなのなくてみんな50分とか

30分とか10分単位の時刻表でさ、

M4 うん。

M3 もう42分とかいう時刻表見ると外国の人びっくりするよね、本当にこの時間に
来るのかって言ってさ。

M4 そうだね。

M4 あと、遅れたときさあ、電車の中でさあ・・・

M3 うん。

M4 ずっと車内アナウンスが流れてるじゃん。申し訳ございませんってずっーと謝っててさ、もうなんかさ逆にイライラしちゃうんだよね、あれ。

M3 ああそうだね

M4 うんもういいよみたいな。

M3 ね、ずっとなんか音楽とか流してくれた方がいいよね。

M4 そうだね、ね、ポジティブに。うん。

M3 最近何か聴いてる？音楽。

M4 もうずっと流してる何かしら。

M3 スチールドラムやってるんでしょう。

M4 ハンドパンね。

M3 あ、ハンドパンか。

M4 やってるやってる。

M3 え、スチールドラムの兄妹だよね？絶対。

M4 あ、そうスチールドラムの・・・スチールパンね。

M3 あっ、そっかそっか。

M4 の、なんかスチールパンっていう上が空いてるじゃん？

M3 うん

M4 で、下に凹んでるでしょ？

M3 うんうん

M4 だから音を叩くと下から上に音がなんか抜けていくから

M3 うん

M4 あの～甲高い音が鳴るんだけど

M3 うんうん

M4 ハンドパンは

M3 うん

M4 その音を上を塞いで

M3 うん

M4 なんか中に音を閉じ込めるのね。

M3 うんうんうんうん

M4 だから叩くと

M3 うん

M4 中で音が回るんだよね回って下の穴から抜けていくの。

M4 だからなんかボワーンって広がるんだよね。

M3 なるほどね。あの一これこれみたいな感じかな。

M4 あ、そうそうそうそう、うーん、

M3 そうだよねあれの要因と似てるもんね

M4 あ、そうそうそう。

M4 こんな感じだね。

M4 ソフトしか何か作ってないの？

M3 いやあ、もうすぐあの～一応出ますよ。ミュージックビデオは。

M4 ああレコーディングしてんだあ。

M3 レコーディングもしてるし、
うん。

M3 そう一応 PV も撮った

M4 あ、そうなんだ。うん。どこで撮ったの？

M3 あの〇〇の〇〇わかる？

M4 なんだっけそれ。

M3 〇〇のさあ〇〇号線、〇〇号にある、

M4 うん。

M3 〇〇。

M4 ああ、なんかあったね、

M3 あそのの、あそこ〇〇階が〇〇ってお好み焼き屋さんで、

M4 うん。

M3 そこの〇〇として使われてるんで今、

M4 うん

M3 〇〇が。

M4 うん。

M3 それが〇〇階までしか電気がついてなくて、

M4 うん。

M3 〇〇階から上が上がれなくて全部真っ暗なんだよ。

M4 うん

M3 そこ照明１個だけ持ってレコーディングしたから、

M4 ああ、薄暗い中でやったわけね。

M3 そうそうそう多分結構いいと思うな。

M4 ふーんそれ、映像を映像の撮影はその照明１個でやって、

M3 うん。

M4 でえ、音はまた別でくっつけるような感じでしょ？

M3 そうそうそこで流してる・・・

M4 映像編集の中に、実際に何かに音だけでレコーディングしたやつを入れるっていう。

M3 そうそうそう

M4 だよね

M3 結構いいと思う

M4 編集誰がやってんの？

M3 あのね〇〇っていうやつなんだけど。

M4 うん。

M3 カメラマンがいて

M4 へえ

M3 結構すごい人たちがやってるんだよ。

M4 ふーん

M3 そう

M3 地元の子だからすごい安くしてくれるんだけど、

M4 うん。

M4 トラックはこの間あった人でしょ。

M3 そう、〇〇

M4 うん。

M3 結構マジでいいんですよ。

M3 そうですよ

M3 洗ったばかりの洋服の上に猫が乗ってるんだけど、

M4 うん。

M4 置いといたらのっちゃうよね。

M3 毛がいっぱい釣れちゃう。

M4 あれ、何回家違くない？

M3 これ2階

M4 あ、2階か、おんなじところ住んでるの？まだ

M3 事務所みたいなのが2階にあって会社の

M4 同じところでしょ？

M3 そうだよ〇〇の

M3 そう

M3 1回来たところ。うん、

M3 雨の日に、

M4 いや何回か来たけどね。財布忘れちゃったああ、携帯忘れちゃった時携帯じゃなく携帯だよな？

M3 あれ良く見つけたよね

M4 そうだね

M3 あれ見つからなかったらもうどうしようと思ってたもん

M4 あの暗闇の中を追いかけてきてくれて・・・

M3 その忘れ物の中で一番困るのが、携帯電話だよな

M4 そうだよな、渡すに渡せなくなっちゃうもんね。

M3 うん。

M3 うんそうなんだよ。しかも家知らない人が携帯忘れたらもう最悪だよな。

M4 そうだね知らないよねひとし君俺ん家

M3 うん、でさあ、ああ言う時迷うのがさあ

M3 ああ忘れたあって戻ってくる可能性があるじゃん？
ああ、そうだね。

M3 そうだからこれ本当に追いかけていいのかみたいなさ、この、迷っている間に
どんどん離れちゃう。

M4 あ、そうだね、

M3 どうしようみたいな、戻ってきてたらあれだけど、戻ってきてなかったら早く
行った方がいいなみたいな、

M4 戻って来てなかったときのこと考えるとめちゃくちゃ面倒くさくなっちゃうもんね

M3 そうそうそうそう。

M3 しかもあんとき気づいてなかったでしょう。忘れてたの

M4 全然気づいてない。

M3 マジで

M4 ああ楽しかったあみtainな感じで、もうボケーっとしてえ、わあなんか警察がいると思ってなんでこんなところ警察いんのとか思った

M3 警察いっぱいいるよね。

M4 うん。しかもなんか夜中にいたから。何やってんのこの人たちみたいな感じだったね。

M3 うん。

M3 雨だし怪しいよ

M4 ね。

M3 お酒飲んでんの？

M4 え？今？

M3 うん。

M4 うん。

M3 他の晩御飯でお酒飲んじゃって、さっきちょっと。

M4 前から結構飲んでるよね。

M3 まあ、〇〇 行って1年飲めなかったから・・・

M4 うん。

M3 その反動、俺そんなに飲める人じゃなかったんだよ。

M4 うん。

M3 だけど1年間で一滴も飲めないってされると

M4 うん

M3 もうなんか飲みたく飲みたくててしょうがなくなっちゃってさ

M4 反動が来ちゃったの？

M3 もうそれからずっと毎日飲んじゃってる。毎日飲まない人だったのに。
そう

M3 そう

M4 俺行った時もずっと飲んでるもんね。

M3 そうなんだよねえ、もう

M4 1本とかじゃなくて、なんかうずっと飲んでるイメージがあるよ。

M3 でも40歳だからさ、そろそろ考えないとね。
量をね

M4 ああ、量をね。

M3 うん。

M3 O O ちゃん今どこ住んでんだっけ？

M4 今まだO Oだよ

M3 O O？

M4 ううん、O Oなんだけど・・・

M3 うん。

M4 ちょっとね、あの一山みたいなものがある。小さい山っていうかなんか丘みたいなものがあるんだけど、そこを登ってO本道路を挟んだ向こう側がO O。

M3 へえ、

M4 だから、サーフィンをするときは、O O。

M3 へえ

M4 うん

M3 すっげえ

M3 やってんの？サーフィン

M4 もう人がさあすごく動く多いんだよねなんかどんだんさあみんなリモートで働くようになって、

M3 うん

M4 で、〇〇ってさあ、東京から近いじゃん？

M3 うん。

M4 なんかミーティングとかミーティングとかで、

M3 うん。

M4 なんか東京に行かないといけないってなるといけるから、みんな〇〇に引っ越してくるのね。

M3 家賃上がるんじゃない？

M4 上がって上がってる上がってるし、全然家が空いてないよ。

M3 ああ、本当

M4 うん、だって徒歩圏内に4件ぐらい何か新しい家が5件とかかなあ

M3 え、〇〇ちゃん家いくらなの？

M4 今ね、2LDKで 〇〇円

M3 めっちゃいいとこ住んでんね。

M4 前の彼女と一緒に住んでたんだよね

M3 築何年？

M4 2年とかかな。

M3 え、別れちゃったの？

M4 別れちゃった。

M3 別れて、ん？

M3 あの子でしょ？

M4 うん、あの子あの子。1回会ったよね。

M3 うんうんうんうん

M4 うん、なんかちょっとなんかね、やっぱり難しかったよね。ずっと何か真面目っていうかさあ、

M3 そうだねあの子は絶対まああれだよねまっすぐ真面目な人だね。

M4 そうそうなんか踏み外したこととかないからさ、で、ずっと親元で暮らしてたから、何か自分で何もできないのね。

M3 はいはいはい。

M4 それでもう駄目だっとなっちゃった。

M3 うーん

M4 ごめんなさいって言って、1年ぐらい付き合ったんだけど別れて、で、何か親に怒られたらしくて、俺に対する態度を話したら、

M3 うん

M4 そうしたらなんか泣いて親元から出てきちゃって、で、1ヶ月だけ俺のところ済ませてくださいって言われて

M3 うん。

M4 ああ、はいいいかなあ、いいよもう一回だったらいいいよって

M3 うんうんうん、もう1回テストだ

M4 うん、でももうテストしてない。テストじゃなくて、もうしょうがないからいいよって言って、で、8月の頭に出てった。

M3 ああそう

M4 そう、後2週間だけお願いって言われたけどもう駄目だよみたいな感じで・・・

M3 で、その時は何ちょっと家事とかやってくれたりしたの？

M4 あ、そうだね、家事は多少やってくれたね。うん、それで新しい彼女いる。

M3 え、いるの？

M4 いる

M3 で、今一緒に住んでるの？

M4 いや、住んでないんだけど、まあ週末東京に住んでんの。

M3 え、なんでそんなに嬉しそうなの？やっぱできたばかりなの？

M4 できたばかりなんだよ、

M3 すごい嬉しそうだよなんか

M4 エヘヘ分かる？

M4 嬉しいよ。

M3 最高だね。

M4 うん。

M3 今何歳？

M4 27 歳

M4 〇〇ちゃんと同じぐらいじゃない？

M3 すごいね〇〇ちゃん若く見えるからね

M4 うんもう 40 歳だからね。

M3 ね、40 には見えないよ 17 歳ぐらいに見えるよ

M4 そらないっしょ。

M3 うん。

M3 マジで、俺が言うのもなんだけど、27 歳は若いね

M4 うん。若いけどでもなんか自立してるからいいんだよね。あんま変わんない。
うん、なんか年の差感じないよねそんな、しっかりしてるし、

M3 ま女の人の方がね、精神年齢が 10 歳高いって言うじゃん、

M4 ああ、そうだね。

M3 うん。

M3 なるほどね。

M4 うん。

M3 よかったじゃん

M4 できたばっかだから楽しいよ。

M3 あ、いいね。

M3 じゃあもうすぐ会いたいんだ。

M4 ああ、そうだねちなみに今日の朝まで一緒にいて、今日の朝〇〇に帰ったんだよね。

M3 だからでしょう？今日８時から早く切り上げてもう会いに行くんでしょう。

M4 会いに行かないでしょう

M3 会いに行かないの？

M4 行かないよ、だって〇〇だもん向こう

M3 〇〇のどの辺の人？

M4 〇〇、あの一〇〇の方だね〇〇とか、

M3 うん。

M4 うん。

M3 なるほどね。

M4 うん。なんか向こうも、ん？

M3 混んでるときに降りるところでしょう。渋谷行く時に

M4 〇〇？

M3 そう〇〇の１個手前でしょ。

M4 ああ、〇〇とかだよな。

M3 いや違う違う高速高速道路、首都高。

M4 あ、そうそうそれ。

M3 そうだよな。

M4 うん。

M3 もう車乗ってないでしょ？全然

Appendix E: Group 5

M5 さて、何話しますか、

F5 ね、ふたりになったね、

M5 いやもうなんか、これぐらい軽い感じでいいんだね、まあ別になんかテーマとかてっきりあの一、なんかトピックに関して討論するくらいだと思ってただけど

F5 じゃあうちらでトピック決めれば良いんだね

M5 じゃあ、えっと、りりこが許せない女性について

F5 許せない女性？

M5 許せない女性。

F5 許せない男性の方が言えるけどな

M5 そう、じゃあまあ許せない異性にしよっか

F5 まあ女性でもいいけど、許せない女性？

M5 あ、じゃあ許せない人でも良いよ

F5 あ、でもわかった、男女関係なくあの取り繕ってる表面的な人はあまり好きじゃない

M5 ふふふ、殆どの人そうじゃない？

F5 いや、あの一正直ベースな人が好きなんで、こう女性ならぶりっ子とか、男性なら自慢屋とか、まあいいんだけどなんか

M5 まあ要するに薄っぺらい男も女も嫌いなんですよ？

F5 そう自分をありのままより大きく見せようとするのが好きじゃないわ

M5 え、でもほら男は基本的にさ、自分をマウント取りたいから頑張るじゃん

F5 そうだから大体の男好きじゃないんだよ

M5 ふふふ、

F5 統計的に。

M5 統計的に。え、じゃあ逆にでもぶりっ子もうほとんど消えてない？自分たちの歳だと 30 前後だと

F5 え、逆にあんま年齢とか関係なくぶりっ子つか、なんかこうキャラになんか実

態と合わない、なんかぶりっ子でもそれがそうもうなんかその人、

M あー

F5 個性というか存在意義みたいだったら別に

M5 振り切れてたら良いんだね

F5 そうそうそう、なんかもう、はいはいみたいな、こうそのキャラとして確立してるならいいけど

M5 ○○さんみたいにね、○○なんとかしてよー、みたいな感じ？

F5 そうあれ、可愛いしね、しかもかわいきゃもなんでもいいんだけどなんか

M5 ちなみに火曜あったんだけど

F5 うん

M5 またたまにはっていう焼肉？あるじゃん？あの一、いつも○○行く時とか通る焼肉屋あるじゃん？

F5 うん

M5 あそこで最近なんなら僕先週週4で行ってて、週2くらいで○○さんたちと会ってるんだけどさ、そこで

F5 え、週7で焼き鳥屋行ってんの？

M5 いや週4くらいね、週4、あの、焼肉ね、先週、でも今週は1回しか行ってないんだけど

F5 高いとこ？

M5 いや、安い安い、え、知ってるよね？あのおっさん達が溜まってたり外で呑んだりしてるとかあるじゃん、

F5 馬場？

M5 あの一、○○をあの○○あるじゃん、駅の方に近い方

F5 うん

M5 そこ坂みたいなのない？下がって右手側に○○焼肉って知らない？

F5 左手になんかちっこいのが色々あるのは知ってるけど、七輪とから置いてあるやつ？

M5 あ、そうそうそこそこ

F5 あー、あー、あー、わかった、あそこ行くんだ

M5 違法なのに生レバー食べられる

F5 へー、

M5 それで○○さんも結構お気に入り、ただ、○○勢だと人数多くて入れない

F5 あー、そっかたしかに狭そうだしあそこ、遅くまで空いてるの？

M5 たしか2時まで空いてる、3時かな？

F5 まじか、2.3人とかなら全然行けるんだ

M5 あ、全然行ける、あと外とかなら、ま、4人とか行けるけど、ま中で2.3人ならめちゃうちゃ狭いからあの一○○より狭いから

F5 うん、

M5 まあそこ行ってるんだけど、あの一、火曜日行ったらなんか○○さんが急に3ヶ月待ちのあの一占い師のところに行ったって言って1万5千円払ったって言ってたんだけど、ふふふ

F5 大丈夫なん？それ

M5 いやいや、本人は話のネタのために行ったって言ってたんだけどあの一、これ案外信じてるんじゃないかと思って、あの一ほら、なんだっけ、何交換って言うんだっけ？あの一ほら、全部当てはまるみたいなの、例えば○○に対して僕が○○ってこういうところあるけど、実は自信ないところもあるよねって言ったら誰にでも当てはまるじゃん？そう言われたら

F5 うんー、はいはい。

M5 それを一切説明してもちょっと理解してくれなくて、あ、これだ！バーナム効果だ、

F5 あー、わかるよ

M5 要するにあの、そう、何とかだけど誰にでも当てはまるような感じ？努力家なところもあるけど、でもちょっと、あのネガティブなところもあるよねみたいなのとか誰にでも当てはまるやん？まさにそれやれった状態で、あとなんかしかもあの一、手相とか占星術の統計学とかじゃなくて、霊見える人らしくて、

F5 ほう、ほう

M5 ふふふ、だからこう普通喋ってるんだけど、こう見て喋ってくるんだって

F5 ふふふ

M5 で、あの一、○○さん、彼氏のこと聞いたら、なんか、えっと彼氏の前世はハゲタカとウサギと王様ですみたいなこと言われて、もう意味不明だったんだけど、まあなんか○○ちゃん、なんか腑に落ちたらしくて、ふふふ、でもほら例えば○○女王様っぽいよねって言われても女王様って人によって、例えば何か強気なところもあれば可愛いところもあるからさ、めちゃくちゃ勝手に当てはまるような感じでやられてて、でそれで彼氏のいいところは何ですかって言ったら、ないって即答されたかなんか言われたらしくて、もう、あの、あ、○○さんもこんな感じがみたいない感じで、あの本人はネタとして言ってるけどって言う割にはまあネタとしても3ヶ月待ちで1万5千円払うのは、

F5 うん、

M5 だからまあなんかあの、えーと、さっきの話になるけど、あの、そこまで振り切れてたらいいなって思った

F5 あ、そういうことね

M5 あの一、本人はネタネタって言ってるけど結構信じてる節があったから、あとちなみになんだっけ、今守護霊付いてるのはなんだっけ、なんかよくわからない元武将かなんかって言われたらしくてもう絶対遊びに来てるだろみたいな感じで、まあそれでもあの話面白かったからよかったんだけど、あ、占いハマる女性って意外に身近に居たわと思って、大学生の時、こう、あるじゃん、横浜中華街行って占いみたいな

F5 うんうん。○○さんってなんかこう、賢いけど本質的にはアホそうなどこあるよね

M5 ふふふ、そうね。あの別にあの頭悪くないけどなんかおかしいところがあるらしくて

F5 わかるわかる、なんか、あの、で、たぶん本気で、あの、で、別にぶりっ子とかじゃくて本気で思ってるけど、っていうのはすごいわかるよ、なんか、別に作ってる感じしないもん、○○さんちょっとへんだけど、なんかたまにほんとに表面的に何か「えー、占いとかいいじゃんー」とかいう人いるけど、なんか○○さんは、あの一、割とありのままなタイプな気がする

M5 ふふふ、あの一、そういうところだと昨日も○○たじたじだったけど、○○ちゃんはやっと苦手だよ、

F5 うん、○○ちゃんなんかまじ上っ面だよ

M5 ふふふ

F5 べつに嫌いとかじゃないけど

M5 わかるよ○○ちゃんは○○ちゃんであーゆうキャラというか、多分本人も、そこま
で、あの、意識してないと思うんだけど、ほんとに表面だけで喋ってくるなと思っ
て

F5 ちょっと○○ちゃんに似てるよね

M5 あー、たしかにね、○○ちゃんの場合優しさあるけど、○○ちゃんの場合ちょっと
煽っちゃうからね

F5 たしかに○○ちゃんはちょっと裏がありそうだよね、○○ちゃんは本当純粹ピュア
って感じだけど

M5 うん、なんか田舎から出てきた感すごいし

F5 それは偏見だけどね

M5 いやいやでもずっと〇〇なんですよ

F5 うんー、そっか、え、だれが？

M5 〇〇ちゃん、〇〇ちゃん

F5 〇〇？田舎ってもっとどっか地方なんじゃないの？

M5 あ、ちがう勝手に自分たちが田舎出身って言ってるだけで、あの、池袋生まれ
育ちらしいよ、生まれは沖縄かな、でも育ちは池袋らしいよ

F5 生まれ〇〇なんだ、なんかそんな感じするよね、顔濃いもんね

M5 顔濃いし、なんか僕もびっくりした、てっきり嘘だろうと思ったら、嘘じゃな
かった

F5 えーなんか、すごいだってきれいな顔してるもんね○○ちゃんね、

M5 なんか沖縄っぽいよね、言われたら

F5 うん、そうなんか話変わるけどさ

M5 はいはい、

F5 私の恐怖体験言っていー？

M5 ふふふ、いいよいいよ

F5 結構ガチなんだけどさ、

M5 うん

F5 なんかあの一、実家はさ、あの一、その、大きいマンションだから別にゴミ出し日とかべつになく、普通に、なにマンションのゴミの、、、あれこの話したっけ？

M5 いや、してないしてない、

F5 あ、ゴミの一、なに別にいつでも置きときゃいいみたいな感じだったからなんもそういう習慣がずっとなかった

M5 はいはい、ポイと置きときゃいいでしょ、うん

F5 そうそう。なんかうちその引っ越してきたところがなんか中規模だからさ、なんかこうなんだろう、4階建てくらいで、そう、なんかゴミ捨て場もそんな大きくないから、なんか〇〇ちゃんと

M5 フロアにあるタイプ？それかもあの一、マンションに一つ？

F5 マンションに一つかな？あ、ゴミ捨て場？てかマンションっていう感じですらなく、あ、なんていうか4階建てだから、なんかそんなに人も、別にそんな巨大なマンションとかじゃなくて、まあようはゴミ捨て、で、なんか、曜日で出しなさいみたいな、紙に書いてあって、一応守ろうと思って入居したてだし、で、あの段ボールが大量にでるじゃん、引っ越した後だし、で、あ、水曜日の朝にしか出せないから、あのしばらくベランダに置いてあってずっと置きとくの嫌だから、あ、じゃあ、今週出そうと思って、水曜日の朝8時までって書いてあって、朝バタバタするしそんなに早く起きれないから、普通に火曜日の夜中に出そうと思って、で、なんか量的に3往復くらいする量だったのね、その、めっちゃいっぱいあったから、1回目行ったわけ、下に、そんで2束くらい置いて、で、戻ってきたの、部屋に。で、第二弾行こうと、てか行ったら、あの一、だからその間3.4分くらいなんだけど、1陣目持って行ったのが全部無くなってて、

M5 え？その管理人とかじゃなくて？

F5 え？いやなんか、や、普通に夜0時くらいなんだけどまじで3分の間、、でしかも何か別になんかなんか元々大量にあるわけじゃなかったから、普通にら自分がポンと置いたの普通にわかつ、覚えてて、でなんか上行って戻ってまた下降りたらずくて、段ボール消えてて、

M5 うん、

F5 え？と思って。たしかになんかその張り紙貼ってあって、あのその夜中には段ボール出さないで下さいみたいな

M5 はいはい。

F5 とりあえず朝の 8 時までにはだしてださいみたいな、であの夜は夜出すと保管のリスクありますしとかみみたいな書いてあって。でも別にそんな変わらんだろと思って普通に出したんだけど

M5 うん、

F5 3 分の間に誰か持ってったのか、

M5 うん

F5 まじこわくない？

M5 3 分の間に、、ほかのリスクって何なんだろうね？え、それって入居者以外もちろん入れないよね？

F5 ううん、なんかね、外においてあるからでも入れるの

M5 うん、あ、そうなんだじゃまあなんか怪しい人いるんじゃない？

F5 ね、たぶんほんとにだから最近段ボール取る人いるからそういう張り紙貼ってあったんだと思うんだけど

M5 うん、、、段ボール、、今ね、もしかしたら売れるかもしれないからね、段ボールっていくらで売れるんだろう？

F5 そう、で、そいで、そのあとそいでなんか気になって調べてたんだけど、まじ怖って思ってだって、だって段ボール置いてさ、うち 3 階なんだけど、3 階登ってまた降りたらもう無くなってたから、え！とか思って、んで調べたら、最近資源の高騰で何か高く売れるらしくて

M5 あ、まじでそうなんだね

F5 そう、だからそういうなんか持ち出しみたいな取り締まりとかやってんだけど、

M5 へえー

F5 それにしてもまじ怖いなと思って、

M5 張ってるってことだよなそこに

F5 そうそうそう

M5 段ボール、、、ちょっと後で見てもよ

F5 うん、なんかまじストーカーかと思って

M5 ふふふ、それだったら段ボールじゃなくて他のもの取るでしょ

F5 いや、そうだけども、なんかゴミとかさ、いやなんかゴミ、、、なんか全然考えてなかったんだけどさ、ゴミ捨て場に鍵かかってるってめっちゃ大事だなと思ってさ

M5 うん、、かかってないんだね

F5 そう、かかってないの、でなんかやばいなって思った

M5 一人暮らしの女性のリスクを久しぶりに体感したとこだね

F5 そう、ひしひしと、感じてる、うん、なんか何こういうケースみたいなの、なんかこう入れ物みたいな場所はあるんだけど、別に鍵とかはその場所にかかってないから

M5 あー、じゃあ、ほんとに資源ごみ狙ってる人なんだろうね

F5 んー、わかんない、

M5 ちょっとなんか、今度出してみてよ、僕あの、外で待ってるから

F5 ふふふ、逆に怖いじゃん

M5 別にあの一、悪い、、、別に一なんだ被害じゃなさそうだからあれだけど、ちょっと見てみたくない？どういう人が取ってるか

F5 まあねー、でもなんかその注意紙みたいなものにもなんかもし持ち出してる人に遭遇しても危ないので○○しないで下さいみたいなのはかいてあって

M5 うん、まあホームレスとかそういう人なんじゃない？

F5 うんー、とりあえずまじ怖いわーと思った話でした

M5 なんかあの、今の話で資源ごみ系で思い出したんだけど、後藤真希っているじゃん？

Appendix F: Group 6

M6 はいはい。

F6 ハロー。ははは、ハロー。お久しぶり。

M6 ね。お久しぶり。〇〇ちゃん元気? とりあえず。

F6 あーもーなんかね、でもね、最近お腹の調子が悪くてー、なんかね、そーあのね、なんか全体的に良くない。

M6 は、良くない。そうかね。

F6 まーでも、まーなんだろう、普通に生活はできてるからまあいい方かなーって思っ
て、るけど。

M6 ふーん

F6 そー、なんかね、そーなんだろう、コーヒー飲みすぎかもしれない。

M6 あーカフェイン?

F6 カフェイン。そうそう。なんかここの家族が結構朝と朝、昼、あのティータイ
ム? ティータイムが、まあ朝のコーヒーから始まって、で

M6 んん。

F6 11 時くらいのティータイムのブレイクがあって、でそのあとお昼ご飯のえーと後
にまあちょっとスイーツ食べるときにコーヒー飲んで、で、それでそのあとに仕事
終わっ、あ違う、ん、んあそう、お昼、お仕事終わった後にコーヒーかティーを飲
むから、まあ最大コーヒーが 5 回飲むわけよ。

M6 あは。あー。

F6 まあその時に、なんかなんだろう、私は結構、なんだティー派なのかなまあカフ
ェインちょっと弱くなってるってのは知ってたんだけど、なんかそのえー、ま結構
3 回ぐらいコーヒーに付き合っていると結構お腹がくるということに気づいて

M6 ふ

F6 最近朝ーとあとお昼の、お昼前のブレイクだけコーヒー飲んでるかな。ってか
んじ。

M6 んふ

F6 んーんー。

M6 俺も最近

F6 コーヒー好き?

M6 ん? コーヒーまあまあ。でも進んで飲みはしないかな。あんまり、焙煎コーヒーは好きだけど、普通に缶コーヒーとかはあまり飲まないかも。

F6 へえー、えじゃあ普段何飲むの?

K あったらうちに、えっ?

F6 普段何飲む?

M6 普段? んーないな。ただ焙煎コーヒー

F6 ない? あ、いやあのジュースとか

M6 んあ、ジュース? ジュースは普通に飲むけど。。。でも最近あんまり砂糖あんまとらないようにしてるからな

F6 んんん、それ重要、それ重要、なんかなんだっけ、そう歯が悪くなったのもあるし、あと、なんかオーペアしてたから、あの一なんだっけ、子供がハイ、ハイ、ハイなんだ、シュガーハイか、シュガーハイで

M6 シュガーハイね、うーん

F6 そうそう、キーってなってたから、あっもう私シュガーとらないようにしようなるべく、っていう、なんか自分にも来たみたいなの

M6 ふっ、そっか。

F6 感じ。

F6 そうそうそう、で、そうコロナそっちどんな感じ?

M6 最近、関東だと

F6 うん

M6 東京とか千葉とか、あまり感染者数が増えてないっていうか、大分減った、減ってきてるから

F6 ふーん

M6 ちょっと落ち着いてはいるかなって感じ

F6 え、減ってるって、何人ぐらい、一日何人が減ってるにはいるの?

M6 いちお昨日で 200 人ちょっと、だから、東京

F6 それ減ってないじゃーん

M6 まあでもね、とう、東京は人口密度で考えてったって大分減ってる方だと思うけど

F6 あまあね、そうだね、ノルウェーの人口より東京の人口の方が多いからね。

M6 そやね、うーん

F6 ね、そうそう

M6 で一、

F6 うん

M6 一応なんかねワクチンが今摂取かい、ようやく開始して、でまあ、こーとしの一応オリンピックはやるつつってるから

F6 あ、やるんだ

M6 やるとは言ってるけど、なんか海外からのお客さんは入れないで、選手だけ入れる

F6 あ一選手だけね。

M6 っていうふうにしてる

F6 まあね、まあそれくらいだったらまああのなんだっけ、なんだろう制御できるだろうけど。

M6 うん

F6 でも商業収入っていうかいうかさ。コロナ、あの

M6 そうね、インバウンドが

F6 お客さん、

M6 うん

F6 そうそう、お客さん入れて、色々SPENDしてもらって

M6 うん

F6 あの成り立つのに、なんかそこらへん成り立たないよね。

M6 そうやね。

F6 うーん

M6 それは難しいだろうけどね、一応でも緊急、緊急事態宣言が

F6 うんうん

M6 なんか二週間延長になる

F6 あっそうそうなったって

M6 って話なんだけど、あ、でも、

F6 あれなったんじゃないの？

M6 一応まだ正式決定はしてないけどまあほぼ確定みたいな、

F6 そうなんだ、へーへー

M6 で、えーとね、でも飲食店が午後 8 時から午後 9 時までにはなるらしい、一時間伸びる

F6 ふーん。んふふふ。

M6 うん

F6 まあ一時間でかいよね、そのサラリーマンの。

M6 まあね

F6 うんうんうん。9 時まで。なんか友達も、その子はサラリーマンじゃないんだけど、仕事終わって、なんかインターナショナルミートアップみたいなのところに行って、そのあとに飲みに行こうとするともう閉まってるみたいなの。

M6 まあね

F6 うんうん。感じなこと言ってた。えっ。フェアは飲みに行ったりするの？

M6 最近

F6 そこらへん影響ある？

M6 いや、あーでも回りの奴やっぱり、いけないよね。東京は、しん、やっぱ渋谷とかの方だと

F6 うんうんうん

M6 11 時くらいまで開いてる店あるらしいんだけど

F6 あーなんか罰金だか払ってね。

M6 いや罰金はない。ということはないんだけど

F6 あれ罰金じゃないの？

M6 いや日本はないないまだ。

F6 あれ

M6 なんか、話出たけど流石にそれ日本で無理ってなって話は通ってないから

F6 あーまあね、法律的にね。

M6 んふ

F6 あれ、なんかでもね。他の友達に聞いたら、その 8 時以降に営業する店はなんか罰金払ってやってるとか言ってたけどね。まあ私も人伝いだから正しい情報は多分フェアの方が

M6 んふ

F6 あの正しいかなと思うけど。

M6 お、休業補償は出てるけど、罰金はないはずだよ

F6 ないのか、へー、

M6 うーん

F6 まあ〇〇居ないから

M6 あれ

F6 いいや

M6 んん

F6 あれ〇〇って〇〇だよな？

M6 俺はそう〇〇だけど、ほぼ〇〇よりの〇〇

F6 〇〇の、あっそうなの。は一かつ〇〇だっけとか。あれ違ったっけ？

M6 いや

F6 あの舞浜とか。

M6 そうそうだ。舞浜、舞浜。

F6 舞浜、舞浜。あれ、あの一成人式ディズニーランドだったってフェアだっけ？

M6 そうそう。

F6 まじ

M6 東京ディズニーランドでやってたよ

F6 あーうらやましい。5年前

M6 5年前だね

F6 えー

M6 でももう今年はできないって言ってたね。やっぱり。

F6 でしょうね。

M6 成人式できないし。

F6 うん

M6 でも最近ディズニーランドにくるお客さんも増えてる感じ。

F6 あー開演してんだ

M6 開演はしてる、いちよね。

F6 ふーん、なんだ

M6 結構東京駅から舞浜の方行くとディズニーランド帰りのお客さんとか多くなったり、うん、なんか

F6 んーん、そっかそっか。なんかもう UK はさ、あの

M6 ふん

F6 なんだ、州によってコロナの規制違うし、州ごとになんか入る規制が、移動する規制が違うし、

M6 うん

F6 ていうので、結構ね、なんかね、わけわかんないことになってる。

M6 なるほどね

F6 だから私もねなんかね、州をまたごかなって思ったんだけどー、めんどくさいと思って、でーそう、

M6 うん

F6 なんか、やっぱり、移動する、移動するって言うて、ホストを変えるのもさ、

M6 うん

F6 あの一なんだっけ、えーあ日本語が出てこない。そうホストが嫌がったりするじゃん。やっぱ、新しい人イコールウイルス持ってくるっていう

M6 んー

F6 って話があったりするからー、だからまーここの、あの、家が結構。こら。ふふ

M6 ん

F6 そう、家の人。ん犬が、犬がいるわけです

M6 犬がね、は、でかいね

F6 でかいのが、8歳だか6歳で、小さいのが4カ月。

M6 ふーん

F6 そうそう、あと一匹いるんだけどちょっと違うところに居ます。

M6 はいはい

F6 まあ、すみません、なんかキーキー声が。

M6 あ

F6 はは、そうでコロナコロナで、え、なんだっけ、なに、今どこまでいったっけ。

あ、そうそうそう、ここの家がまあいい感じだし、で

M6 うん

F6 他のボランティアさんも来る予定だったのに、なんかやっぱ来れないっていう人が続発してるっぽくて

M6 まあね

F6 結構働き手にそうなってる感じだから、そうそうだからまいっかなって感じで、でーなんだっけ。〇〇で出された

M6 うん

F6 その一、今後のコロナのえっと、ロードマップ、なんか、そのなんだこの日に、この、この日までに、この、ん？ この日に、あのこういうこと、こういう制限を解除しますみたいなの、やつが発表されて、でーなんだっけな。そう、うーんと、3月中旬ごろになんか屋外でのなんか商売は結構できるようになるんだかな。違ったっけ？違うかな？違う、4月中旬かな？まあ取り合えずそんな感じで、5月17日に大体のことが緩和されて

M6 うん

F6 で、6月何日にソーシャルディスタンスなくすって言うのが発表されて、これが、あの私〇〇に居るんだけど、〇〇でも適応なのか、それとも

M6 うん

F6 〇〇 オンリーなのか、ていうのがわからなくて、でも、なんか、皆もう、その、その発表を信じてるから、多分〇〇もそうなのかなーって言う感じで

M6 あ、そうか。

F6 んー

M6 な、〇〇変

M6 ん

F6 〇〇

M6 変異株ってどうなってんの？

F6 株？

M6 ちが、変異株、あのなんかさちょっと、感染ぶの強いウイルスが出たって言うっていうじゃん

F6 あー、ミンクのね

M6 日本でもちょっと増えてきてるって

F6 えー

M6 それがみんな不安がってはいるけど

F6 ふーん

M6 ふふ

F6 私は、都会、都会。なんだ〇〇ってまあは一、一つの県なんだよね。で、県で、よいしょ。

M6 んん

F6 で、けんしょう、県庁所在地みたいなのところに行ったら、あの一、全然コロナ気にしてないみたいだったし、で一なんだっけ、そう、とか、あの一田舎に来たらぜんぜん全然もう情報すらテレビ以外入らないみたいな、

M6 ふふ

F6 な感じで、そうそう、だから、よいしょ、そう、だから、コロ、んーコロナがね、どうなってるかね、全然知らない

M6 そっか

F6 まーでもなんか、感染者数はやっぱクリスマスあとにロックダウンしたから、あの一減ってきてるみたいなこと言ってるけど、ただそれはまあ人の移動が減ってるから、んーあの一少なくなってるだけなんじゃないかなって。そのクリスマス前にそのロックダウン解除しちゃったからそれで増えて、で、後でロックダウンしたからまー減ってきてる、んじゃないかなと思うけどね。まあワクチン接種も、今、60代?65以下の摂取が〇〇始まって

M6 ふーん

F6 るらしくて、そうそう、でまああたしたちの年齢、もたしかなんだっけ7月までには一回目は打ち終わるっていう

M6 ふーん

F6 状況

M6 外国人もできるんだ、じゃあ

F6 あー私は、ビザ持ってるからできると思う。その、あのね国保の、日本で言う国保のお金をね、もうビザ申請時に、ビザの申請期間中の分全部払ったのね、一括で

M6 あーんはいはい

F6 だから、私も権利があるはずなのね、ないって言ったらね、ちょっとね、私はね、だだだだだって、文句を、あのコンプレインをしますって感じでね

M6 かんじか

F6 感じな感じ。はは

M6 ふーん

F6 やーもー〇〇ちゃんとかね、あの主張しないと。私、私ちゃんと権利もってまーすって、やないと、そうそう、忘れられるから

M6 そうね。

F6 まあまあ、待つところは待つけどね。そうだから、私もビザが7月に切れちゃうから、それまでにまず1回目が終わるか終わらないか。

M6 うん

F6 って感じ。まあただ〇〇によってそのワクチン接種のタイミングが、この年齢のね。タイミングばらばらだから、まあ移動した方がそのワクチン受けられる可能性が高くなるのかな、どうなのかなってふと思ったりするけどね。うーん

M6 うん、そうか

F6 そうそう、ただまあ、その〇〇移動するにも、やっぱり色々、まあホスト探す、州の規制を確認する、あの一公共交通機関動いてるかチェックするとか、色々あるし、でホストと合わなかったらどうするかとかそういうところまで考えると、あ、もういっかになって気分には、田舎暮らし満喫しようかなって思ってる

M6 ふん

F6 で一なんかね、周りの農家さんがシープ飼ってて、で、そーシープの出産が3月末らしくて、

M6 ふ

F6 是非手伝ってよみたいな

M6 そう

F6 なんか、そう、そうそう、なんかね、引き釣り出すらしくて、小さい手で、その何だろう、お腹の中に手突っ込んで出した方が、絶対に、あのいいから、手伝ってよとか言われて、えーまじみみたいな感じだったんだけど、でもなんかそれはまあ最悪の状況らしくて、まあ大体は普通に自分で出産してくれるらしい。

M6 まあね。

F6 うん、そうそうそう。

M6 うーんそんな感じ

F6 そんな感じ

M6 こっちはまだワクチンは全然だな

F6 ねえそうらしいね。

M6 なんか

F6 なんかね。まあ、〇〇早い方だと思うよ。だって、その認証

M6 作ったもんね、

F6 そうそう、

M6 ん？

F6 いや認証、最終認証待たずに生産始めてるから、

M6 そっか。

F6 だからその分早いんだよね。だから、で、それで、なんか、私もね、あのーショートメールもらったんだけど、そのあの国保のきょう、協会？ 国保からあの、12月末だったね。大晦日かそれぐらい?にあのーワクチン接種始めますってメッセージ入ったから、そうそう、それにまあ他の国はまあやっぱり認証してから生産が多分多いんだと思うんだよね。ロスを減らすために。ロスを減らすためというか、うん。

M6 副作用とかね

F6 そうそう、なんか、その、まあ私もねあの製造業だったので、あるんだけど、そのね。最終認証し、する前に生産して発売日を合わせるみたいな。

M6 ん

F6 ことをしたりしたことがあるのね。だから、それと一緒に、最終認証し、がこうOKでないと、あのーえーなんだっけ販売できないんだけど、あー販売できないイコール量産しても意味ないって話じゃん。だから、最終認証、量産をするんだけど、あのー今回の場合はその、やっぱりそのスタートを早くしたいってのがあから、もう、えーと、最終認証の前の段階のあの段階？