

The « dark side » of humor

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- First synthesis of a work in progress
- Focus on **failed humor produced by the hearer** during face-to-face French conversations
 - Analyzing both:
 - The reasons of the failure
 - And the types of reactions to failed humor
- Hearer's humor may (of course) succeed
- But punctually, it may also complicate the progress of
 - The ongoing activity (here, storytelling)
 - The ongoing conversation

Introduction Plan

Theoretical background

Data

Analysis

Conclusion

- Brief overview of
 - Failed humor
 - Aggressiveness of humor
 - Conversation
 - Storytelling in conversation
- Presentation of the data
 - Methodology
- Quantitative results
- Sequential analysis of some examples
- Conclusion

What is failed humor? Brief overview

- Humor which leads to a **negative reaction** from the hearer (Hay 1994, Hay 2001; Eisterhold et al. 2006; Attardo 2002; Bell 2009, Priego-Valverde 2003; 2009) => failed humor is not the observable *per se*
- Humor which highlights a **failure of both speaker's production and hearer's reception (perception and / or appreciation)** (Hay 2001, Bell & Attardo 2010; Bell 2015)

Focusing on hearer's humor, what can lead the failure of humor?

- Its potential aggressiveness?
- Conversational rules?
- Rules of the various activities during the ongoing conversation?
- Nature of the relationship?

Aggressiveness of humor

- Humor can be benevolent and / or aggressive (rich literature)
- Work focusing on **teasing** has highlighted its ambivalent nature: both playful and aggressive (Haugh 2017)
- Like teasing, other forms of humor can be also aggressive: **self-deprecating humor** (Priego-Valverde 2007; Schnurr & Chan 2011), **sexist, racist, black...** (Dolitsky 1986; Schnurr & Rowe 2008; Priego-Valverde 1998, 2006)
- At the same time, **opposite functions** have been highlighted in various contexts (such as simultaneously construing a shared identity (Archakis & Tsakona 2005), and enforcing a leadership (Schnurr 2009))

But

- The aggressiveness of humor concerns mostly its **content** which can violate participants' faces => work on **teasing and (im)politeness** (Holmes & Schnurr 2005; Haugh & Bousfield 2012), **humor and face** (Zajdam 1995; Haugh 2010)
- But its aggressive content is often described as just apparent and **underlying positive social / relational functions** (« from bonding to biting », Boxer & Cortés-Conde 1997)

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=> Both aggressiveness and its positive reasons and / or effects on the participants are **incontestable**

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From an interactional point of view, the link between failure and aggressiveness is not so clear or systematical (like laughter and humor)

- While aggressive humor can succeed
- Non-aggressive humor can fail
 - Why?

Interactional marks highlighting this stake

- Overlaps
- Repetitions
- Disfluences
- Turn-taking system
- Change of topic
- ...

-> Usually analyzed in *Conversation Analysis* (Sidnell & Stivers 2012) and *Interactional Linguistics* (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018)

Example 1. Non aggressive humor which fails

LJ : i would have said \$no stuff\$ but there was my girlfriend I don't know I didn't feel like saying no you know like that well pff I let him enter

AP: you were with who↑

LJ: and in fact the er but the

AP: brunette blonde

LJ: the plan er brunette

AP: red hair

AP: bald

AP: brunette

LJ: the er the plan was

AP: rather

AP: copper

LJ: \$we give you a drawing if we are in fact we are out of jail\$

- LJ engaged in a storytelling: he has been disturbed at home (with his girlfriend) by peddlers selling drawings
 - AP wants to know more about the girlfriend (not necessarily humorously)
 - But LJ keeps going telling his story



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- In overlap, AP switches into humorous frame questionning about how was the girlfriend
- At first, LJ **ignores** AP's humor
 - He keeps going telling, repeating « the » and adding « plan »
- Then, we **answers seriously**: « brunette »
 - Probably in order to be able to continue his story

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- But AP **insists**, often in overlap
 - Hypothesizing the color of the girlfriend's hair
 - Until absurd (« bald »)
- LJ **ignores** all these items
 - He tries to continue his story
 - Which does not seem easy:
 - Repetition of his previous utterance
 - Disfluency

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- But **AP picks on LJ**
 - Producing a last humorous hypothesis
- **LJ ignores it**
- And seems to have recovered his storyline
 - No more disfluence
 - Reported speech staging the peddler
 - As if he has never been interrupted

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- Such failures are not due to the aggressiveness of the content
- Rather, because his utterances seem **parasitic** to the speaker:
 - In overlap
 - While LJ is in his story
 - He disrupts the ongoing activity (Sherzer 1978; Norrick 1993)
 - Which could lead to a change of topic (Norrick 1993)

 Humor is not ratified

Importance of ratification

- **Ratification is necessarily acceptance of both**
 - Content itself
 - Humorous frame

- If humor is not ratified => failed humor

 Ratification is a **fundamental element for humor to succeed** (Priego-Valverde 2018)

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Importance of the conversational rules and constraints

- Beside the content, the absence of ratification can be due to 2 interactional reasons
 - Conversational rules
 - Storytelling rules

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Importance of the nature of the relationship

- All participants are close but **more or less intimates**

What is conversation?

Commonly described as

- Symmetrical interaction by contrast to storytelling (Stivers 2008; Guardiola & Bertrand 2013)
- Cooperative (Vion 1992; Traverso 2016)
- Collaborative (Goodwing 1990)
- Structurally organized (Sack, Schegloff & Jefferson 1973)
- A joint activity (Clark 1996)
- ...

What is conversation?

- **But a conversation is an heterogeneous interaction**
 - Constituted by various sequences (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1990; Vion 1992; Traverso 1996)
 - Constituted by various activities (Sidnell & Stivers 2012; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018) such as storytelling, complaints...
- As observed in my data, the **moments of real ping-pong game** between participants where both are equal and could legitimately take the turn are **not so frequent**
- So, if conversation remains symmetrical *in principle* (at least because the social roles are less important than elsewhere)
- It is also constituted by many various activities where participants' roles are distributed
 - As main speaker and hearer
 - Such a distribution changing regularly during the conversation

Storytelling in conversation

- **Studies on storytelling**

- Have certainly **confirmed the necessary collaboration** by both participants in order to make the activity
« interactionally achieved » (Schegloff 1981)
- But have also highlighted **the distribution of the interactional roles** between participants, with correlative actions

Alignment and affiliation (Stivers 2008)

- When the hearer respects the ongoing activity (preferred responses)
 - **S/he aligns**
- When the hearer respects the Sp's stance
 - **S/he affiliates**

Humor and conversational rules



Non-respect of conversational rules may lead to failed humor

- Non-respect of the **turn-taking system** > disalignment
 - Non-respect of the **serious frame** > disaffiliation
 - Non-respect of the **ongoing topic** > disalignment
- **These violations of conversational rules can make humor perceived as**
- **Parasitic** (according to the frame)
 - Hearer's humor does not respect the speaker's serious frame
 - **Illegitimate** (according to the interactional roles)
 - Hearer's humor is produced while it's not his turn

Humor and conversational rules

- Such non respects lead to failed humor => 3 negative reactions observed
 - **Humor acknowledged and seriously answered** > Alignment and disaffiliation
 - **Humor ignored** > disalignement and disaffiliation
 - **Humor rejected** > possible alignment and strong disaffiliation

« **CID** » : **Corpus of Interactional Data** (Bertrand et al., 2008)

- 8 Face-to-face French conversations
 - Non mixed dyadic conversations (around 1 hour each)
 - Audio and video recorded in the soundproof room at the LPL
- **The task:** the participants were given instructions to tell personal stories:
 - Unusual stories (4 dyads)
 - Stories about work conflicts (4 dyads)

- **Particularities of the data:**
 - « Semi controlled » (soundproof room + a task to start the conversation)
 - Experimental protocol **counterbalanced by**:
 - The identity of the participants
 - Students or members of the university (they all knew the soundproof room and were used to it: reduction of a potential anxiety linked to the setting)
 - The nature of the relationship between the participants of each dyad
 - Friends outside the university
 - The duration of each recording (1h) favouring digressions from the tasks and a punctual omission of the setting
- **These characteristics were thought to favour conversations as natural as possible**
 - Very frequent digressions from the initial task
 - Some very intimate anecdotes (to the point that some of them were never voluntarily shown)

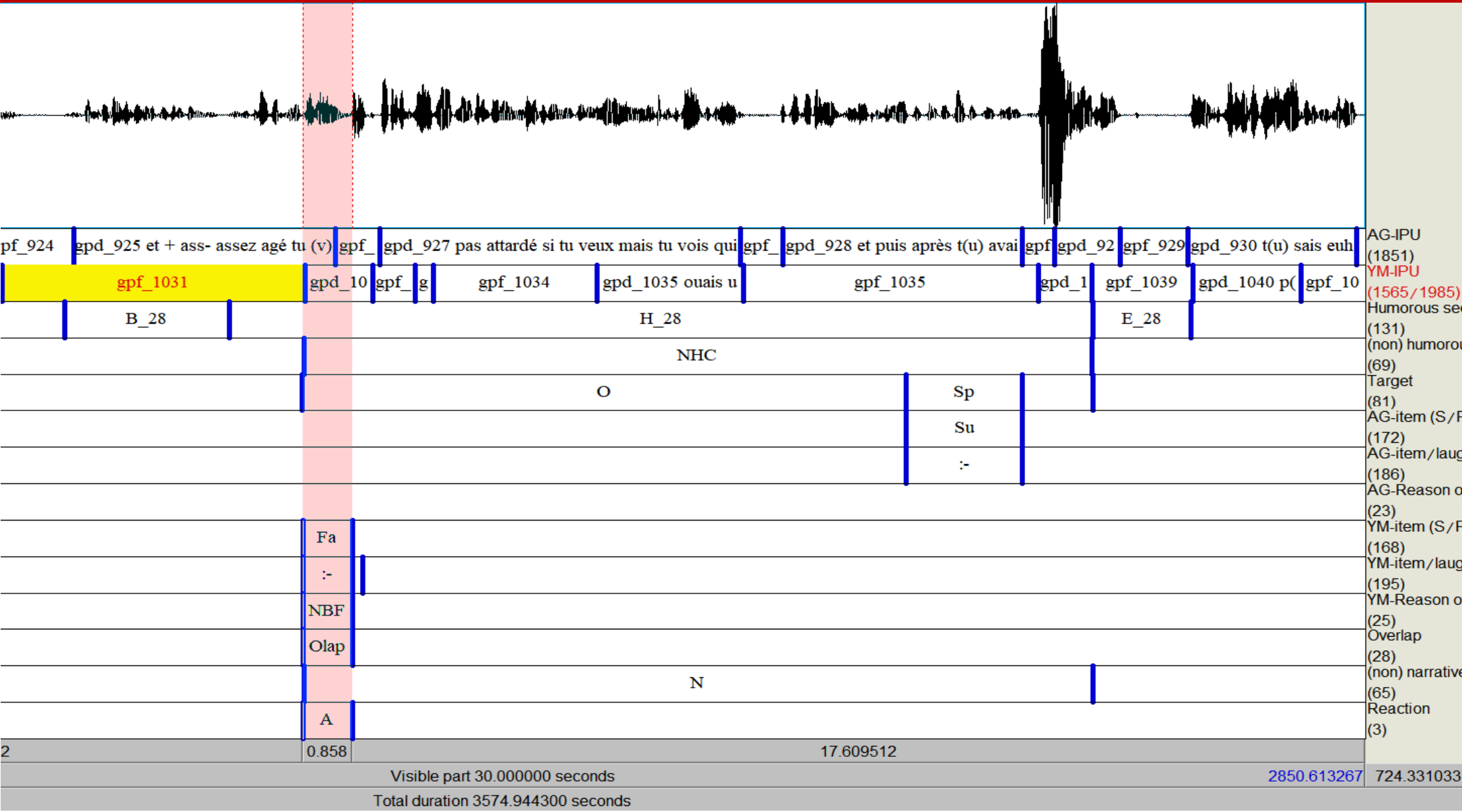
Data from « Cid » for this study

- 3 conversations
- Only between male participants
 - 1 about unusual stories (AG_YM)
 - 2 about conflicts (AP_LJ, EB_SR)
- If all were friends, seeing each other outside the university
 - **2 were very close friends : AP_LJ**
 - **2 were less intimates (EB_SR)**
 - AG_YM: in the middle

Transcriptions

- Audio files segmented in IPU's of 200ms (Inter Pausal Unit)
- Manual orthographic transcription (*Enriched Orthographic Transcription*, Blache et al. 2009)
 - Using Praat (Boersma 2002)
 - One tier for each speaker
- Laughter automatically detected (@)
- Laughing speech manually transcribed (@@speech@@)

Manual annotations

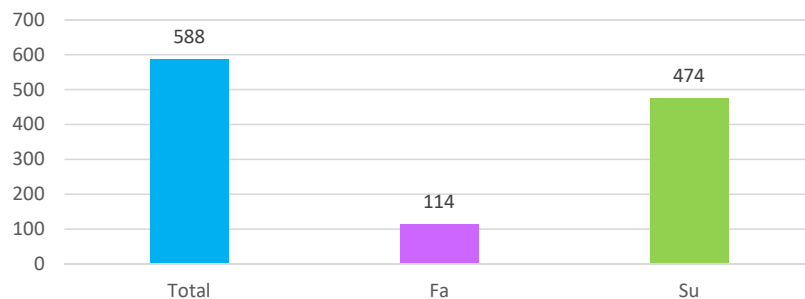


Number of humorous sequences and failed humorous items per conversation

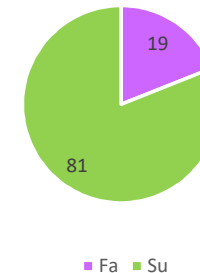
Conversation	Number of humorous sequences	Number of humorous items
AG_YM	32	181
AP_LJ	55	246
EB_SR	38	161
Total	125	588

Failed humorous items in the 3 conversations

Total number of failed humorous items in 3 conversations combined

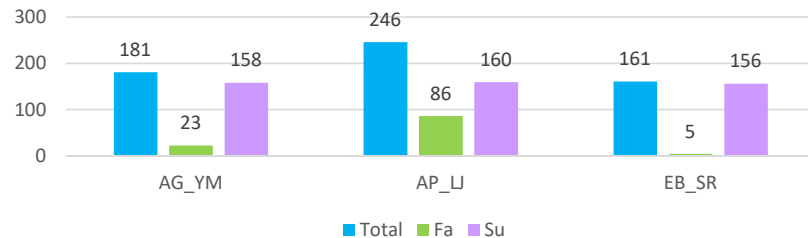


Percentage of failed humorous items in the 3 conversations combined

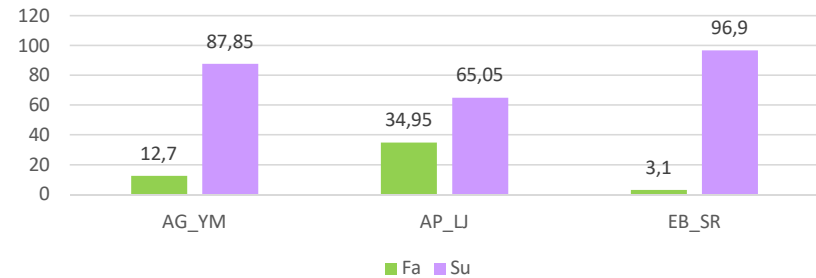


- Failed humor is **not a negligible phenomenon**
- But such a result has to be refined
 - A failed humorous item does not lead to a failure of the humorous sequence (as a whole) in which it is inserted
 - High variation of the results, according to the conversations

Number of failed and successful humor in each conversation



Percentage of failed humor in each conversation



- **AP_LJ produce much more humor than the other pairs**
 - Not really due to the task: storytelling about conflicts (not unusual)
 - More probably their very close relationship
- **AP_LJ produced much more failed humor than the other pairs**
 - More than a third of their humorous items fail
- **EB_SR: amount negligible of failed humor**

- Each time, where AP_LJ are the more prolific
 - EB_SR are the less prolific
 - **Also in failed humor**
 - AG_YM being in the middle

- Each time, where AP_LJ are the more prolific
 - EB_SR are the less prolific
 - **But yhey produced also very few failed humor (only 5 items)**
 - AG_YM being measured



The impact of the closeness between the participants is questionable

Introduction

General overview

Data

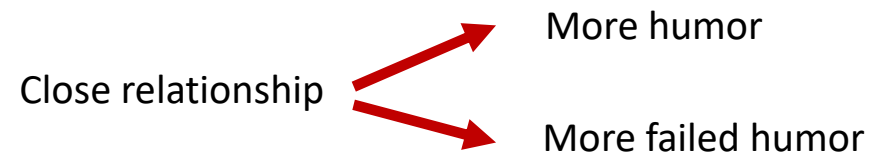
Analysis
Quantitative

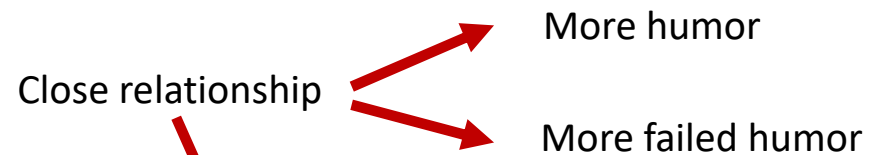
Conclusion

Close relationship



More humor





- As if being good friends would make participants feel authorized to reject humor or to show explicitly their lack of understanding
- As if closeness would reduced the importance of facework (Priego-Valverde 2003)

Close relationship

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graph LR; A[Close relationship] --> B[More humor]; A --> C[More failed humor];
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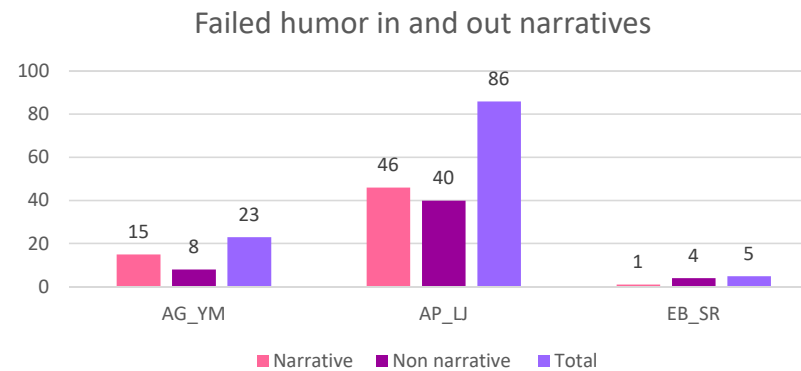
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Which are the other reasons?

- Impact of storytelling rules?
- Impact of conversational rules?

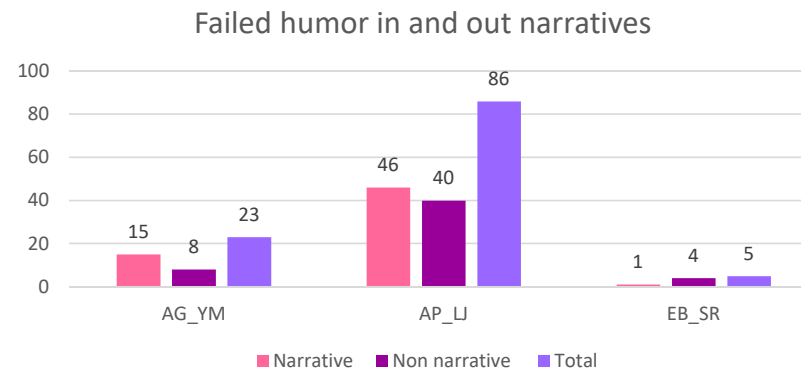
Impact of the storytelling?



▪ Contrasting results of H's humor in narratives

- Less frequent in EB_SR
- More than the double in AG_YM
- Almost equivalent in AP_LJ

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➡ The impact of the asymmetrical aspect of storytelling **does not seem significant**

Impact of conversational rules?

4 reasons observed

A- Hearer's switch from BFC > to NBFC (Raskin 1985)

- H's intervention while Sp's speech + change of frame

B- Speaker's switch from BFC > to NBFC

- Change of frame by the Sp himself

C- Understanding issues

D- Role

- H's intervention with the same humorous frame initiated by Sp

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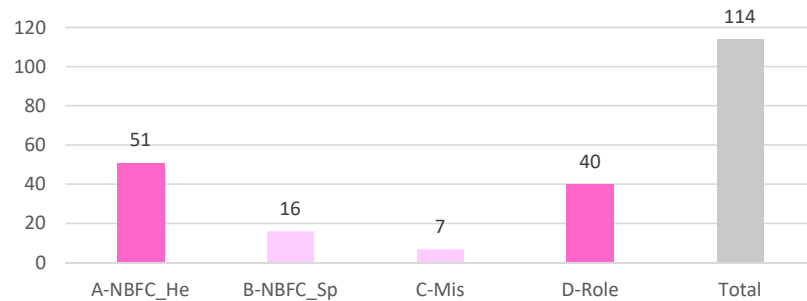
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- B and C are out of scope because concern Sp or both
- A and D concern only the H's humor

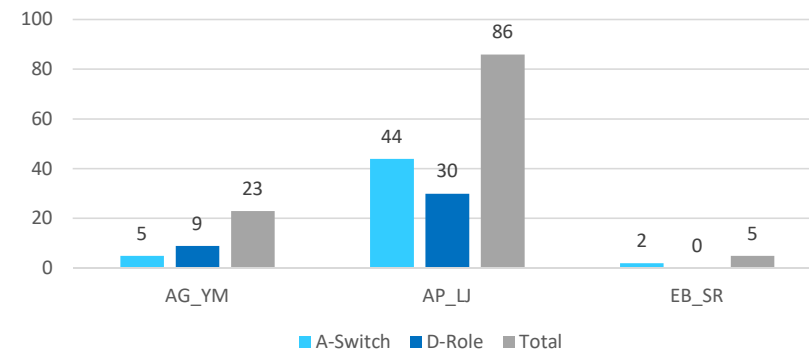


Focus on the hearer's failed humor (A & D)

Reasons of failed humor / number in the 3 conversations combined

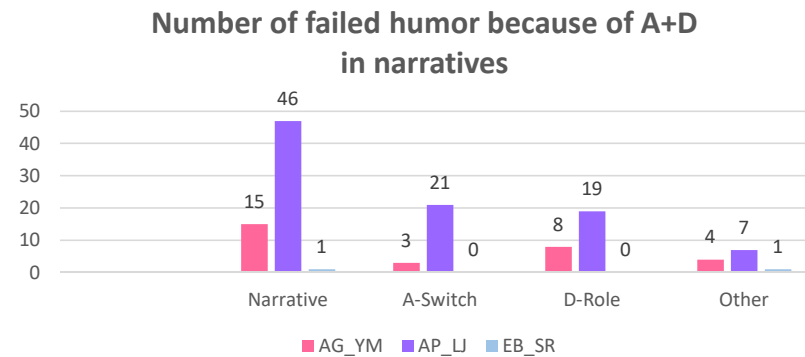


Reasons A & D in each conversation



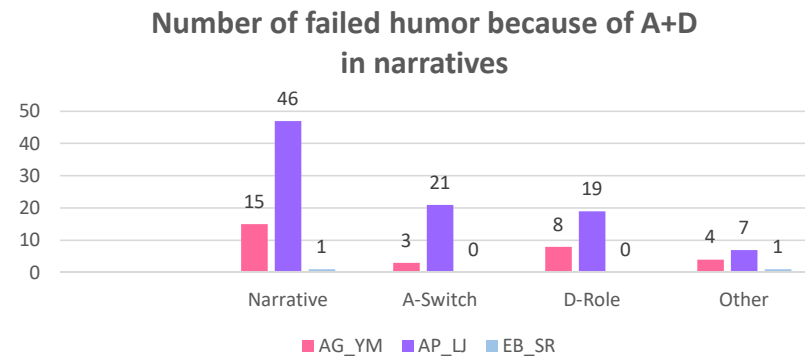
- In the **3 conversations combined**, humor mostly fails because of **A & D**
 - **91/114 (79.82%)** when humor is produced by the participant in the position of hearer
➡ Weight of interactional rules
 - Each conversation => more balanced picture
 - A+D is predominant in AP_LJ: **74/86 (86,04%)**
 - More than the double in AG_YM: **14/23 (60,86%)**
 - Less than the double in EB_SR: **2/5 (40%)**
- ➡ Between the less intimates: A & D are the less frequent reasons**

Impact of A and D in storytelling?



- A+D is predominant in AP_LJ: **40/46 (86,95%)**
 - Equivalent than in the whole conversation
- Dominant in AG_YM: **11/15 (73,33%)**
 - More than in the whole conversation
- Less important in EB_SR: **1/5 (20%)**
 - And less than in the whole conversation

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Confirm that the impact of storytelling is not significant

Impact of the close relationship?

- **AP_LJ are the closest friends**
- **In each case, AP_LJ are more prolific**
 - More humor
 - More failed humor
 - More failed humor in storytelling
 - More failed humor because of A & D (regardless of the type of activity)
- **The opposite results with EB_SR**

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Confirm the impact of closeness on failed humor

Tendency observed

- Impact of storytelling is not significant
- Weight of interactional roles and constraints : whatever the type of the activity
 - Almost equivalent
 - Increased in a close relationship

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Makes the symmetrical dimension of conversation more than questionable

Example 2. Humorous item answered seriously

AG: and + quite old you know he should be in his forties so he was a student you know who came to do er

YM: retarded mh @

AG: not retarded if you want but you know who kinda at 40 years old in India he needs to have a er a er a certificate or something he came there

YM: yeah

- AG is recalling student memories: when he was student, he lived in a foreign country, renting an apartment with other foreign students from various kinds of countries and of all ages
- Beginning of his storytelling (*orientation phase*, Labov & Waletzky 1966) => he only sets the scene
 - He talks about one of the students who was around 40 years old
 - And why this student was there (“who came to”)



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- He **rebounds** on the student's age (40)
 - And produces humor playing in a **double meaning** on the French word "attardé"
 - Late vs retarded
- YM also frames his humor by laughing at the end of it
 - He switches into NBFC while AG was serious
- He both disaligns and disaffiliates
 - Disaffiliation by the switch into NBFC
 - Disalignment for 2 reasons
 - As the hearer, his evaluation comes too soon, before "story completion" (Stivers 2008) by the teller
 - He disrupts AG's story
 - Highlighting the student's age, he forces AG to interrupt his telling and to "excuse" the Indian student, justifying why, at around 40, he is still a student

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- **AG reacts seriously:** he takes into account YM's utterance but in a serious way
 - He does not take into account the humorous dimension
 - And reject the term "retarded"
- Not ratifying YM's humor, AG shows he wants to stay serious
- And he delays his story, justifying the Indian student's situation
- Which is finally accepted by YM
 - Alignment and affiliation to the teller

Example 3. Humorous item explicitly rejected

LJ: they programmed an encrypted movie
from canal + a porn film

AP: @

AP: @

LJ: er @ but wait but it was incident

AP: @

AP: § it's european er terrorism §

LJ: no it's it's don't laugh it was a diplomatic
incident er kind of so

AP: fuck you surprise me er

LJ: the guys they took it very badly

- LJ, the main speaker, spent a large part of his childhood in various countries of the Middle East
- Because of that, during the conversation, he tells many different stories about these countries
- In addition, he presents himself as an “expert” who knows and understands these countries
- Here, he is telling a story about Arab Emirates
 - Many people have a satellite dish in order to watch French channels
- First utterance is the *climax* of his story: one day, in this country (depicted as highly religious earlier in the conversation), a French TV channel transmitted, by mistake, a porn movie
 - **LJ does not frame his utterance as humorous**

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- **AP laughs**, clearly switching into a humorous frame
 - Disaffiliation
- **Firstly, LJ laughs too**
 - He accepts his switch into NBFC
 - Affiliation

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- But then, **LJ rejects** AP's switch
 - Explicitly ("wait")
 - In order to produced his own stance toward the event related ("incident")
- He wants to go back to a serious frame

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- **AP keeps going laughing**
 - Staying in a humorous frame
- And more, in overlap, **he anticipates and exaggerates the teller's evaluation**
 - Programming a porn movie in such a country is associated with terrorism
- He thus denigrates the Arab Emirates, making fun of their religiousness
 - He disaligns, overlapping on LJ's utterance
 - He disaffiliates (humor vs. serious)

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- Faced to AP's such an insistence, **LJ rejects more explicitly** AP's humorous reaction and denigration ("don't laugh")
- And gives his own serious stance about the event ("kind of diplomatic incident")
 - Disalignment and disaffiliation with AP's humor

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LJ: the guys they took it very badly

- Finally, **AP aligns with LJ's serious frame**, producing a long feedback
- And LJ can explicitly tell the way the country perceived the event

Interesting example

- Structural point of view
 - Both disalign
 - Speech in overlap, explicit rejection
 - Heteroneous interruption
- Affective dimension
 - Both disaffiliate
 - Conflict between 2 frames

Example 3. Humorous item explicitly rejected

LJ: they programmed an encrypted movie
from canal + a porn film

AP: @

AP: @

LJ: er @ but wait but it was incident

AP: @

AP: § it's european er terrorism §

LJ: no it's it's don't laugh it was a diplomatic
incident er kind of so

AP: fuck you surprise me er

LJ: the guys they took it very badly

More importantly: *evaluation phase* (Labov & Waletzky 1966) after the climax

- **In principle: symmetrical** moment of the storytelling where both participants can evaluate the related event
 - Both can be “co-speaker”
- **In the fact:** they disagree on the evaluation
 - Serious for the teller
 - Funny for the hearer
- Here, the teller claims his role of main speaker and decides whether or not the hearer's utterances are (non)legitimate
- **The reason of such an interactional “conflict” is not structural but probably interpersonal**
 - LJ's considers himself an “expert” about Arab Emirates
 - Such a perception of his position + their close relationship allow him to reduce the facework process and to clearly reject AP's humor

To sum up the data

- Failed humor is **not a marginal phenomenon** in conversations: **19%**
- Quantitative data **confirmed** by sequential analysis

4 Reasons of failed humor

- 2 concern directly the **hearer (A+D)** > highly frequent (78.94%)
- 2 concern **both the speaker and the hearer (B+C)**

3 Reactions observed

- Answering seriously humor
- Ignoring
- Rejecting

Impact of conversational constraints

- **Storytelling does not really impact on the failure of humor**
- Confirms that, whatever the type of activity, **humor is conditioned by interactional roles** (with correlative actions) and **constraints**
- **It does not contradict the necessary collaboration** between participants in order to achieve the conversation

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- **It does not contradict the necessary collaboration** between participants in order to achieve the conversation



However, it seems that each participant has to collaborate « from his own shoes »

Main speaker / Hearer

Impact of the nature of the relationship between participants

- All participants were friends outside the university
 - **But AP_LJ were the closest friends** (intimate friends)
 - **EB_SR were the less intimates**

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 - Much more humor
 - Correlation between close relationship and humor
 - Much more failed humor
 - Close relationship does not guarantee successful humor
 - Even more, it increases the failures

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 - Much more humor
 - Correlation between close relationship and humor
 - Much more failed humor
 - Close relationship does not guarantee successful humor
 - Even more, it increases the failures
- **Close relationship diminishes facework process**
- **Close relationship increases the respect of conversational rules and participants roles**
- **Confirmed by the opposite results in EB_SR**

« Dark side » of humor

- **Producing humor as a hearer often violates conversational constraints**
 - **Impact on the producer of humor** (position of hearer): failure
 - **Impact on the main speaker's interactional trajectory**

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 - Impact on the producer of humor (position of hearer): failure
 - Impact on the main speaker's interactional trajectory
 - This trajectory is suspended
 - The main speaker has to deal with a humorous utterance perceived as **parasitic and / or illegitimate** according to the producer's position of hearer

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 - Impact on the producer of humor (position of hearer): failure
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 - This trajectory is suspended
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« Dark side » of humor

Thank you for your attention!

Introduction

General overview

Data

Analysis

Conclusion

Annexes

Example 2. Humorous item ignored

AP: yeah i don't remember
something happened with er a
guy he knows who pretended to
have chatted a saudi girl up
through internet er er er a saudi
girl you see

LJ: mh mh

AP: and supposedly the family
has been notified I don't know

LJ: great idea @

AP: I can't tell you er how why etc

AP: but the guy he had issues

LJ: ah yeah

- AP, the main speaker, is telling a story he heard few years before about a man who contacted a Saudi woman via the internet which did not please to the woman's family
- LJ answers with a short feedback to let AP pursue

Example 2. Humorous item ignored

AP: yeah i don't remember
something happened with er a
guy he knows who pretended to
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through internet er er er a saudi
girl you see

LJ: mh mh

AP: and supposedly the family
has been notified I don't know

LJ: great idea @

AP: I can't tell you er how why etc

AP: but the guy he had issues

LJ: ah yeah

- AP hasn't produced yet the *climax* (Selting 2017) which delivers his stance i.e. what he thinks about his story
- LJ does not wait for AP's stance and produces his own stance with an ironical comment (blaming the responsible of the denunciation)
 - LJ disaligns with AP into 2 ways
 - Producing more than a feedback
 - Anticipating on AP's stance (even if its probably the same)
- LJ also disaffiliates with AP
 - Switching into NBFC (ironical comment framed with laughter)
 - While AP stays in a BFC ("issues")

Example 2. Humorous item ignored

AP: yeah i don't remember
something happened with er a
guy he knows who pretended to
have chatted a saudi girl up
through internet er er er a saudi
girl you see

LJ: mh mh

AP: and supposedly the family
has been notified I don't know

LJ: great idea @

AP: I can't tell you er how why
etc

AP: but the guy he had issues

LJ: ah yeah

- AP **ignores** LJ's comment and finishes his story, producing the *climax* ("issues")
- AP's reaction can be explained by the fact than LJ's humor is both
 - Disaligned (non-preferred answer at that moment of the story)
 - Disaffiliative (switch into NBFC)
- **Perceived by the main speaker as parasitic and illegitimate**

Sequential analysis**Example 5b. Humorous item explicitly rejected (H_26)**

LJ: in you're you're anyway handicapped enough there is a school excavation sites

LJ: from which you pay a lot I think there is one in Lattes

AP: you pay to search

LJ: everything

LJ: yeah you you you pay yeah but you leave you have a sort of not a diploma I don't know but well it's \$I searched at\$

AP: @ you pay to be a worker

AP: great

LJ: and there well it's it's

AP: @ \$I've a diploma of searcher\$

LJ: if you want it's it's been done er

AP: @ \$I've hold a pick during one week\$

LJ: it's a school excavation site meaning you have classes you have classes about ceramics er

AP: ah hm hm hm

AP: hm hm ah yeah ok yeah

LJ: er all the stuff well and it's it's anyway full and and it's hard but however er

AP: oh yeah yeah okay yeah it's not only digging yeah

LJ: I think I haven't been there but I heard about this site it's er

LJ: it's peeled there is nothing well if you want

LJ: it's not a I guess it's not a very interesting site well you dig and you dig and you dig and @

AP: @ it's the site where nothing is to be found no

LJ: no yes but let's say that in comparison with sites where you have some rests pieces of monuments stuff like that

AP: the site for rookies

AP: mh mh

LJ: er I think it's

LJ: hm hm it's a little ungrateful well

AP: eh yeah ok yeah yeah

Remarkable for:

- Its duration (36s)
- The numerous interactional moves both do
- Never explicit rejection but an appearance of conflict because of its duration
- **Analysis divided into 3 parts**

Part 1

LJ: in you're you're anyway handicapped enough
there is a school excavation sites

LJ: from which you pay a lot I think there is one in
Lattes

AP: you pay to search

LJ: **everything**

LJ: yeah you you you pay yeah but you leave you have
a sort of not a diploma I don't know but well it's \$I
searched at\$

AP: @ you pay to be a worker

AP: great

LJ: and there well it's it's

AP: @ \$I've a diploma of searcher\$

LJ: if you want it's it's been done er

AP: @ \$I've hold a pick during one week\$

- LJ studied Archeology when he was younger and explains the functioning of excavation sites (orientation phase of storytelling)
 - A student has to pay to intern at there

Part 1

LJ: in you're you're anyway handicapped enough
there is a school excavation sites

LJ: from which you pay a lot I think there is one in
Lattes

AP: you pay to search

LJ: everything

**LJ: yeah you you you pay yeah but you leave you
have a sort of not a diploma I don't know but well
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AP: @ you pay to be a worker

AP: great

LJ: and there well it's it's

AP: @ \$I've a diploma of searcher\$

LJ: if you want it's it's been done er

AP: @ \$I've hold a pick during one week\$

- Interrupting LJ, AP rebounds on the payment
 - With a **verbatim repetition** (« you pay »)
 - Considering it at least incongruous and surprising
- AP disaligns and disaffiliates
- LJ suspends his story to answer AP's remark (like ex.3 (retarded))
 - He answers seriously without neither highlighting not sharing the incongruity of the situation
- In order to justify the payment by a student, he tries to explain how serious are these interships
 - Students have a kind of diploma
 - Knowing himself it's not the right word (« a sort of not a diploma »)

Part 1

Sequential analysis

LJ: in you're you're anyway handicapped enough
there is a school excavation sites

LJ: from which you pay a lot I think there is one in
Lattes

AP: you pay to search

LJ: everything

LJ: **yeah you you you pay yeah but** you leave you
have a sort of not a diploma I don't know but well it's
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AP: @ §I've hold a pick during one week§

- In overlap with LJ's explanation, AP insists with his humor, with other devices
 - Laughter
 - Pejorative word: searcher > worker
- He then produces an ironical comment (« great »)
- Such utterances disrupt the ongoing telling
 - LJ begins his utterance, n trying to continue his story
 - And after a discursive marker (« well »), he tries to answer AP's denigrating comments (with disfluencies)

Part 1

LJ: in you're you're anyway handicapped enough
there is a school excavation sites

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AP: great

LJ: and there well it's it's

AP: **@ §I've a diploma of searcher§**

LJ: **if you want it's it's been done er**

AP: **@ §I've hold a pick during one week§**

- AP not only picks on LJ
- But using LJ's own words
- Various devices:
 - Laughter
 - Verbatim repetition of (« diploma ») but voluntarily ignoring that the word was not satisfying for LJ himself
 - Using the same ERS
 - Which denigrates even more the intership: searching > holding a pick
- LJ acknowledge the content of the utterances but not the humorous frame
 - He aligns but disaffiliates
- Probably in order to keep going telling his story

Part 2

Sequential analysis

LJ: it's a school excavation site meaning you have classes you have classes about ceramics er

AP: ah hm hm hm

AP: hm hm ah yeah ok yeah

LJ: er all the stuff well and it's it's anyway full and and it's hard but however er

AP: oh yeah yeah okay yeah it's not only digging yeah

LJ: I think I haven't been there but I heard about this site it's er

LJ: it's peeled there is nothing well if you want

LJ: it's not a I guess it's not a very interesting site well you dig and you dig and you dig and @

- Sort of interactional parenthesis
- Collaboration between both participants
- AP has accepted the serious frame initiated by LJ
 - Many feedbacks of acknowledgement and agreement
- LJ can continue his telling
 - He keeps a long turn: confirmation of his main speaker status

Part 2

Sequential analysis

LJ: it's a school excavation site meaning you have classes you have classes about ceramics er

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LJ: it's peeled there is nothing well if you want

LJ: it's not a I guess it's not a very interesting site well

you dig and you dig and you dig and @

- Interestingly, LJ frames himself his story as humorous
 - Exaggerating the students' work: repeating the action of digging
 - Laughing
- One again, LJ acts as if his role of « main speaker » or « teller » was less important than his position of « expert »

Part 2

AP: @ it's the site where nothing is to be found no
LJ: no yes but let's say that in comparison with sites
where you have some rests pieces of monuments
stuff like that

AP: the site for rookies

AP: mh mh

LJ: er I think it's

LJ: hm hm it's a little ungrateful well

AP: eh yeah ok yeah yeah

Confirmation with this 3rd part

- AP, as hearer, enters in the humorous frame just initiated by LJ
 - He rebound on the same idea: digging a lot for nothing
- But LJ does not ratify
 - He returns in a serious mode, comparing the excavation site he is described with other he know
 - He aligns with AP
 - But disaffiliates answering seriously
 - And more: he reinforces his position of expert, comparing various sites

Part 2

Sequential analysis

AP: @ it's the site where nothing is to be found no
LJ: no yes but let's say that in comparison with sites
where you have some rests pieces of monuments
stuff like that

AP: the site for rookies

AP: mh mh

LJ: er I think it's

LJ: hm hm it's a little ungrateful well

AP: eh yeah ok yeah yeah

- AP tries a last humorous utterance
- Immediately followed by a serious feedback

- LJ ignores it, continuing his story
- Which is accepted by AP
 - Many feedbacks

Example 1. Aggressive humor

AP gpd_166 635.83 quoi que pour un resto antillais ça pouvait euh être un atout tu vois mais bon
LJ gpd_117 637.59 ouais
LJ gpd_117a 638.059 @
LJ gpd_118 640.059 si si euh y en a des roux @
AP gpd_167 640.25 et @
AP gpd_168 642.19 ouais ouais y a des roux
LJ gpd_119 643.3 @
AP gpd_169 643.57 y en a un qui m'a demandé une fois il m'a dit § vous êtes de là-bas §
LJ gpd_120 646.828 @

Example 1. Non-aggressive humor

LJ : j'aurais dit § non machin § mais y avait ma copine je sais pas j'ai je me suis pas senti de dire non tu sais comme ça bon pfutt j'ai laissé rentrer

AP : t'étais avec qui

LJ : et en fait le euh mais le

AP : brune blonde

LJ : le plan euh brune

AP : rousse

AP : chauve

AP : brune

LJ : le euh le plan c'était

AP : plutôt

AP : cuivrée

LJ : § on vous donne un dessin si on est en fait on sort de prison §

Example 2. Humorous item ignored

AP : ouais je sais plus il s'était passé une histoire avec euh un mec qu'il connaissait qui avait soit disant branché par internet euh euh euh une saoudienne euh quoi

LJ : mh mh

AP : et soit disant la f famille a été m mise au courant je sais p

LJ : super idée @

AP : je s je peux pas te dire euh comment pourquoi etc

AP : mais le mec il a eu des problèmes quoi

LJ: ah ouais

Example 3. Humorous item answered seriously

AG: et + assez assez agé tu (v)ois il d(e)vait avoir la [quarantaine, quarantaineu] donc c'(é)tait l'étudiant tu vois qui venait faire euh

YM: attardé mh @

AG: pas attardé si tu veux mais tu vois qui gen(re) à quarante ans en inde / il avait besoin de faire euh un euh un certificat ou un truc il venait là

YM: ouais

Example 4a. Humorous item explicitly rejected

LJ : ils ont passé un film crypté de canal plus, un film de cul

AP : @

AP : @

LJ : euh @ mais attends mais c'était incident

AP : @ *

AP : § c'est du terrorisme euh européen §

LJ : non c'es c'es c' r rigole pas c'était incident diplomatique euh limite quoi

AP : putain tu m'étonnes euh

LJ : les mecs ils l'ont très mal pris

Example 4b

LJ : en t'es t'es quand même bien handicapé y a des chantiers école

LJ : que d où tu payes euh bonbon je crois qu'y en a un à Lattes,

AP : tu payes pour fouiller

LJ : tout ça

LJ : ouais tu tu tu payes ouais mais a tu sors t'as une espèce de pas un diplôme je sais pas mais enfin d c' c'est § j'ai fouillé à machin et §

AP : @ tu payes pour faire le manœuvre

AP : * super

LJ : et là bon c'est c'est

AP : @ § j'ai un diplôme de fouilleur §

LJ : si tu veux c'est c'est fait euh

AP : @ § j'ai tenu une pioche pendant une semaine §

LJ : c'est un chantier école c'est-à-dire que t'as des cours t'as des cours sur la céramique euh

AP : ah hum hum hum

AP : mh mh ah ouais OK ouais

LJ : euh tout le bordel quoi enfin et c'est c'est quand même complet et et c'est hard mais par contre euh

AP : ah ouais ouais d'accord ouais ouais c'est pas que creuser ouais

LJ : je crois que j'y suis pas passé mais j'en ai entendu parler de ce site là c'est euh

LJ : c'est pelé y a rien enfin si tu veux

LJ : c'est pas un je crois que c'est pas un site très intéressant quoi tu creuses et tu creuses tu creuses et @

AP : @ c'est le site où y a rien à trouver quoi

LJ : non si mais disons que p m par rapport à des sites où t'as y t'as y te reste des bouts de monuments des trucs comme ça

AP : le site des bleus

AP : mh mh

LJ : euh je crois c'est

LJ : hum hum c'est un peu ingrat quoi

AP : eh ouais d'accord ouais ouais