

Punch Line Paratone: A Special Use of Discourse Intonation

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► Key Words

Paratone
Punch Line Paratone
Textual Metafunction
Systemic Linguistics

▼要 旨

選択体系機能言語学の枠組みにおける音調（イントネーション）研究は従来、節という単位を中心として分析されてきた。この小論では、節が複数連なって構成される談話単位で生起するパラトーンについて検証する。

従来のパラトーン研究では、高と低という二種類が区別されてきた。これらは高パラトーンが話題転換、低パラトーンが本題からの逸脱というように機能においても分別されていた。この小論で提起するのは低パラトーンと共通する音声的特徴を持ちながら機能が異なる変種で、これをサゲ音調と位置付けた。日本の伝統的話芸である落語や小咄のサゲ（オチ）において声を低めて演出を高める効果が観察されるところから、実例を収集して分類した。小咄と落語の本題、サゲが地口であるかそうでないかによって四種類に区分し、いずれの範疇においてもサゲ音調が有効であると確認した。サゲ音調の機能は一続きの談話においてその終端を示すという点において、選択機能言語学の枠組みではテキスト形成の分野を担う。

1. Introduction

Paratone is a phonological category which is intended as the counterpart of the paragraph in orthography (Tench 1996, Wennerstrom 2001). One of the most crucial functions of Paratone is that it organizes the structure of the discourse, helping the listener(s) better understand the intention of the speaker. Tench (1996) and Wennerstrom (2001) postulate two kinds of Paratone: high and low. High Paratone marks a change of topics, while Low Paratone suggests a temporary deviation from the main topic.

In this paper, I will propose a subtype of Paratone: Punch Line Paratone. Phonologically and phonetically, Punch Line Paratone is realized similarly to Low Paratone, which is recognized as a deviation from the main topic in the previous studies. This subtype is observed in the punch line of traditional Japanese jokes (*Rakugo* and *ko-banashi*). I noticed that at the end of a story – i.e. the punch line — the tone of voice is lowered to mark the end of the story. In my observation, this change of tone is a kind of rhetorical effect to emphasize the termination of a story. In that sense, Punch Line Paratone may be found in similar kinds of stories in the languages other than Japanese. Tench (1996: 25) notes that ‘You should also be able to detect them [phonological paragraphs: KK] in story-telling, and even in jokes.’ This paper will be an exemplification of Tench’s idea.

As a framework of the analysis, it will be reasonable to divide the varieties of jokes into two categories cross-linguistically: puns and pragmatic jokes. Puns are language-specific in that they are not translatable; more precisely, when puns are translated into other languages, the meaning in the original language does not remain, in general. Pragmatic jokes, on the other hand, can be translated into other languages while maintaining the funniness. Below is an example of a pragmatic joke in English (Kadooka 2003: 89), and its translation into Japanese:

(1) line English

- 1 The father was explaining to his friend the difficulty of trying to discipline his son.
- 2 “When I was his age, my father sent me to my room for punishment.
- 3 But my son has his own TV, CD player and telephone.”
- 4 “So what do you do?” asked the friend.
- 5 “I send him to my room.”

Japanese translation

- 1 Chichi-o ya ga yuujin ni, musuko no shitsuke no muzukashi-sa wo hanashi-te-ita.
father NOM friend DAT son GEN discipline difficulty ACC tell
- 2 “Boku ga musuko no toshi-goro, chichi wa batsu ni boku no heya ni tojikome-ta mono da.
I age TOP punishment room enclose-PAST used-to
- 3 Kedo, musuko wa jibun no terebi to CD pureeyaa to denwa wo motte-ru-n da.”
but self television and player telephone has PARTICLE
- 4 “Sorede dou suru-n-dai?”

so how do-PARTICLE
 5 “Boku no heya ni ireru-no sa.”
 send PARTICLE

The funniness of this story seems to be universal in that it is similar both in English and Japanese. Line 5 is the punch line, which is common in English and Japanese versions. The funniness of this story comes from the difference of the abundance of domestic appliances between the father and his son. The implication hidden in the punch line – line 5 – is also common to English and Japanese; though the father does not say explicitly, it is implied that there are no TVs, no CD players, no telephones in his room. Hence, it would be punishment for the son to be sent to his father’s room without any appliances. It is insightful from the pragmatic viewpoint that the reader or the listener of this story immediately understands this implication, either in English or in Japanese. The intonation pattern of the English version of this story will be examined in the concluding section, to contrast with the examples of Punch Line Paratone in Japanese.

2. Definition of Paratone

In this section, as a starting point of the contrast in the following sections, the definition and examples of paratone will be given.

Wennerstrom (2001) introduces paratone as one of the typical means of the discourse functions of intonation. Tench (1996: 24) lists the following six characteristics as the guide to paratone:

- (2) 1. The high pitch on the onset syllable of the initial intonation unit.
2. The relatively high ‘baseline’ of that initial unit; this means that the low pitches are relatively high, compared to the low pitches in the final unit of the paragraph.
3. There is a gradual lowering of that baseline until the final unit is reached.
4. The depth of fall in the final unit is the lowest in the whole paragraph.
5. There is usually a slowing down process in the final unit.
6. There is a longer pause [than: KK] in normally allowed between intonation units.

These six conditions are considered to match other languages, including pitch-accent and tone languages.

Below are the examples of High (a) and Low (b) Paratone (ibid., 24-25) with the notation of phonological transcription:

- (3) a. DUCKS that had a LÓWER PLÚMAGE RÁTING TÉNDED ÁLSO TO HAVE A
 LÓWER BEHÁVIORAL RÁTING. (2.1)
 ↑ Let’s SKIP FOR RIGHT NOW onto the NEXT PLOT

- b. And the QUÉSTION that was being ADDRÉSSÉD by this
PARTÍCULAR STÚDY~ was whether d CRÓSSBREEDS~ (0.4)
 ↓ so DUCKS that had a- ONE MÁLLARD PÁRENT and ONE PÍNTAIL PÁRENT~ (.4)
 ↑ if you LOOK at THEM~
- Notation CAPITALS: high pitched nucleus UNDERLINED CAPITALS: low preceding high
 SUBSCRIPTED CAPITALS: low pitched nucleus - : incomplete thought
 (2.1): pause of 2.1 second
 ↗ : low-rise → : plateau ↑ : high paratone ↓ : low paratone

The high paratone signals the beginning of a new topic in the discourse. In (a), the introduction of a new topic is also recognized by a rather long pause of 2.1 seconds. The low paratone, on the other hand, marks an aside or parenthetical topic, beside the main one in the discourse. Thus, paratone controls the turn of the topics, or can be defined as ‘a kind of intonational “paragraphing” to mark topical junctures’ (ibid., 24). It is of a highly textual nature in that it spreads over more than one clause, organizing several topics. The longer a discourse is, the more salience is needed among the context in order to mark the change of topic or deviation from the main subject matter. In this respect, paratone will be a major instrument in pitch-accented languages such as Japanese and in tone languages like Chinese.

When compared with the variation of the meaning of intonation, paratone seems more consistent across languages. Such typological differences have been investigated in Kadooka (2000, 2001, 2002, 2004a, b, 2006). As a result, a classification into three categories has been made: tone languages, pragmatic intonation and non-pragmatic intonation. To testify the hypothesis that there is less variation of the function of paratone across languages is one of the purposes of this paper.

3. Paratone in Japanese

Following the definition of paratone for English in the previous section, we will look at the paratone phenomenon in Japanese.

As examined in Kadooka (2000, 2001, 2002, 2004 a, b, 2006), Japanese is classified as a non-pragmatic intonation system. That is to say, clause intonation functions not so pragmatically as in English, mainly because of the pitch-accent system at the lexical level. Though pragmatically restricted, the clause intonation system in Japanese is positive, which makes sense when contrasted with tone languages such as Chinese.

The first instance is that of a high paratone, changing of topic. This citation is from a Diet session. The inquirer is the LDP Diet member, Tarô Asô, in the morning session of the Budget Committee of the House of Representatives, on February 12, 2002. In the first half of the citation, he concludes his question to the Foreign Minister, and in the latter half he begins questioning the Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. This change of

topics is signaled by the high paratone. The method of transcription is after Wennerstrom (2001).

(4)	line	Japanese	gloss
1	kono ten-ni tuite →		this regard-about
2	kasane-te →		repeatedly
3	go-doryoku, go-zinryoku, go-sidou-wo ↗		effort, contribution, instruction-ACCUSATIVE
4	o-negai-itasi-masu. ↓ (1.0)		ask-POLITE
5	↑ sokode tugi-ni ↘		then, next
6	kyouiku-ni tuite ↘		education-about
7	Tooyama-daizin-ni →		Toyama Minister-DATIVE
8	ukagai-tai to omoi-masu. ↓		inquire (polite)-want COMP think-POLITE

‘In this regard, I will ask you for more effort and instruction. Then, I should like to inquire of Minister Toyama concerning education.’

In lines 1-4, the addresser terminates the first half of his question session, signaling by the low, suppressed tone. Notice that there is a pause of 1.0 second between lines 4 and 5, which signals that the former topic has ended. Then, in line 5, he suddenly changes the tone of voice (high paratone), together with a loud volume, indicating the turn of a topic. Besides this intonation signal of high paratone, the change of a topic is lexically manifested with *sokode tugi-ni* (then, next). In the case of high paratone, it is often the case not only in Japanese but also with other languages including tone languages, that lexicogrammar, in the sense that Halliday (1994) suggests, helps make a change of topic more salient. High paratone should be interpreted as the combination of change of the tone and voice, and pause from the old topic to a new one. These phonetic elements strongly suggest the organization of the text to the hearer(s).

The next instance is an exemplification of the low paratone, also from a Diet session. The inquirer in this citation is Taichirō Nishikawa, a member of the Conservative Party which was a party in the ruling coalition. The session is again the Budget Committee in the Lower House, in the afternoon, on February 12, 2002.

(5)	line	Japanese	gloss
1	souiu zittai-ga →		such actual-condition
2	↓ watasi-wa yotou-desu yo ↗		I-TOPIC ruling-party AFFIRMATIVE Phrase-Final-Particle
3	watasi-wa (sic) yatou mitai-ni kan-tigai sareru to komaru kedo ↘		I-TOP opposite-party like be-mistaken feel-embarrassed though
4	yotou da ↘ (0.2)		
5	↑ yotou demo desu-ne → (0.1)		
6	kore-wa → (0.1)		this-TOPIC
7	watasi-wa desu-ne yappari ↘ (0.1)		as for me, after-all
8	sikkari yatte-itadaka-naku-te-wa komaru to omou-n-desu ↘		

properly do-make-should feel-embarrassed I-think

‘The actual situation must be – I should like to emphasize that I AM a member of the ruling parties, not one of the opposition parties – dealt with properly.’

The low paratone in lines 2-4 can be regarded as a complementary explanation to emphasize that the addresser is a member of the ruling coalition, rather than as a deviation of the topic from the main stream. When we consider these eight intonation groups as one chunk of a clause, the subject is in the first line: *sou-iu zittai* (the actual condition). *Kore* in line 6, a pronoun whose antecedent is in line 1 (*sou-iu zittai*), is the direct subject of the predicate in line 8. The seventh line is an insertion which is redundant from a grammatical point of view, but the addresser definitely wanted to add this line as part of the demonstration of his self-assertion. The subject of *omou* in line 8 is *watasi-wa*, topically emphasizing the speaker himself, and an adverb *yappari* (‘after all’). Grammatically speaking, the particle here must be the nominative *ga*, instead of the topic marker *wa* as in the transcript. This usage of *wa* by the speaker may indicate that ‘*watasi-wa kan-tigai sareru*,’ leading to a possible misunderstanding that the questioner’s intention was ‘*watasi-wa komaru*.’ The core idea of this message is, however, that the current situation surrounding Japan must be dealt with properly by the government. Notice that under the current parliamentary system in Japan, the ruling party must command a majority in the House of Representatives, but his party is a smaller one in the coalition, and he is afraid that its status is not known generally. This is why the questioner is purposefully emphasizing his position with the low paratone as an insertion. The deviation signaled by the low paratone is an addition as the addresser’s personal appeal.

4. Punch Line Paratone in Japanese

The third variation of paratone, which is tentatively assumed for the first time here in Japanese, is a subtype of a low paratone. As tentative as it is, the universality of this subtype is subject to future exemplification. This subtype is observed in the punch line of Rakugo, a traditional art of telling stories by one person on stage. In the sense that Punch Line Paratone is performed in a limited environment, it is a specialized and purposeful usage. Before examining the intonation patterns of the Rakugo stories, let us have a brief look at the history of Rakugo.

The ultimate origin of Rakugo goes back to some 400 years ago when story-tellers entertained their samurai feudal lords. During the second half of the seventeenth century in Kyoto and Osaka (‘Kamigata’: literally, upper-region), Rakugo originated in public spaces such as in shrines and temples, while in Edo (the former name of Tokyo) it was performed in tatami rooms. In those days, there used to be only shorter anecdotes which lasted a few minutes. About 300 years ago, the format of Rakugo resembled that of the current style. The stories had become longer and longer, with improvements added one after another. The longest ones take more than

one hour nowadays. A series of a journey, e.g. ‘Higashi no tabi’ (a journey to the east), consists of nearly ten stories that are separately told nowadays.

In the course of the development of Rakugo over these three or four hundred years, it has taken various styles from the state of the art. From Kabuki, for example, o-hayashi or musical accompaniment by shamisen, and drums is inherited. In Joururi, on the other hand, the storyteller’s recitation only entails the accompaniment of shamisen. This is in contrast with Kabuki in which actors tell their own words. Some of the stories of Rakugo are brought from Joururi and Kabuki, but many have been added as originals. One of the typical instances of the borrowing from Joururi is *Chūshin-gura* (literally *The Storehouse of Loyal Subjects*), a story of revenge by samurai warriors. Its origin had been established in Joururi, then Kabuki imported from Joururi.

It will be useful in the following discussion to categorize the varieties of punch lines. When categorizing the punch lines into two types, it will be better to divide into puns and the others. The others include those in which characters say or do something stupid, or those which make the listener think before laughing. In the following discussion, the latter category will be referred to as ‘pragmatic punch lines’ in the sense that they are not puns, and directly translatable into other languages. The English example (1) is classified in this category.

When reviewing the history of Rakugo, it is assumed that shorter stories – they are called ‘ko-banashi’ (literally *small stories*) – have developed into longer ones. The longer stories will be defined as ‘hon-pen’ (literally *main stories*) tentatively here. It is often the case that some short stories are told before the longer main story. Such short stories are called *makura* in Japanese, literally *a pillow*. As a framework of analyses, the varieties of the Rakugo stories will be divided into ko-banashi and hon-pen. In addition to this division, the second criterion would be to classify the quality of the punch line: a pun, which is language specific and difficult to translate into other languages, and a pragmatic one which is translatable into other languages retaining the funniness of stories. With the combination of these two criteria, altogether four categories are established as follows:

(6)

length / type	pun	pragmatic
shorter	I	III
longer	II	IV

When the division is made according to the length of the story, my hypothesis is that the Punch Line Paratone tend to be emphasized with the longer stories. This is because of the Textual effect of the paratone that the change of tone help the listeners understand the structure of the discourse. It does not directly lead to the opposite assumption that shorter stories do not need such intonational markers, however. The detail will be shown with the samples in the discussion below.

The Punch Line Paratone, tentatively dubbed here, is realized to indicate the end of the

story in Rakugo. Though the phonetic realization is similar to the ordinary paratone examined up to now, the function of the punch line paratone is different. It is to signal the end of the story. Such stylistic indication became necessary as the stories got longer and longer, it seems. First, it is examined whether this subtype of low paratone is applicable or not in the shorter anecdote – kobanashi.

The first one to be examined is a pun (Category I), with the English narration followed by the dialogue in Japanese.

(7) 〈 Episode 1: Oil Merchant (*Abura-ya*) 〉

Narration: Once, there was a rumor that a ghost cat haunted on the roof of an oil merchant's store. The master of the store made up his mind to probe whether the rumor was true or false. At midnight, when he was patrolling, he found the cat and said:

Master: Omae-no-sei-de, uchi no abura wa obaka-abura ya to iwarete,
owing to you my store GEN oil TOPIC haunted PARTICLE CITATION say-PASSIVE
erai meiwaku shi-teru no ya.
much nuisance do-PROGRESSIVE NOMINAL

(Owing to you, our oil is dubbed as haunted, and we have much trouble.)

Narration: Then the master threw a stone at the cat. The cat dodged it and said:

Cat: Abura- ya no.

oil-merchant PARTICLE

The punch line is a pun of “abuna-ya-no” (dangerous) and “abura-ya-no.” In the actual performance¹⁾, the master's tone of voice is a little louder than usual, reflecting his excitedness. Then the punch line by the cat is suddenly lowered, disappointing the listener's expectation which follows the former master's appeal to the cat. If this punch line were to be uttered similarly to the former excited tone, it would sound highly out of place.

It is surprising that there are fewer short stories with the pun punch lines than are expected, as far as I examined the material. The next one is one of few examples:

(8) 〈 Episode 2: A Thief and the Deva 〉

Narration: Once, a thief sneaked into a temple, and was going out of the gate with the treasure of the temple. Then the statue of Deva, finding the thief, suddenly began to move and caught the thief. When the Deva trampled the thief, he broke wind and said:

Thief: Niou ka?

Deva Q ‘Are you the Deva / Do you smell?’

In the actual performance, almost all of this story is the narration, followed by the punch line monologue by the thief ‘Niou ka?’ As well as the former story (7), the punch line follows a longer

narration in (8).

Next is the one belonging to Category II, a longer main story with a pun punch line. It is one of the typical Kamigata stories — those inherited in Osaka and Kyoto, ‘Neko no Tadanobu’ (The Cat Tadanobu). This story is a parody of a Joururi or a Bunraku (dramas performed with puppets, and stories told by a Tayuu accompanied by a shamisen) story ‘Kitsune Tadanobu’ (The Fox Tadanobu). Its fourth act is highlighted as *Yoshitsune Sembon-zakura* (literally *Yoshitsune* (a tragic general of the twelfth century) *and one thousand cherry trees*), and more often performed than the other acts. As these titles show, the Rakugo story utilized the Joururi original, adding many laughs. After some 20 minutes’ preparation or introduction of the story, the climax comes with the revealing of the cat that had taken the form of Tsunekichi, one of the leading roles of the story. The following lines come after the cat’s lengthy monologue. The sudden change of the topics from the cat’s monologue to the expectation of the presentation of Joururi may embarrass the listeners:

(9) 〈Episode 3: Tadanobu〉

line	Japanese	gloss
1 Jiro:	Soyakedo Tsune-yan, os-shohan,	Then, Tsune-yan, Mistress,
2	korede kondo-no kai,	our coming presentation
3	oo-atrī, machigai nashi ya.	will surely be successful.
4 Tsune:	Nande ya?	Why?
5 Jiro:	Sou-kate,	Because
6	Sembon-zakura no yakuwari-ga	all roles of Sembon-zakura are
7	sorouta-arū ya nai-ka.	here
(omission)		
8 Tsune:	Kanjin-no Shizuka-gozen wa?	Who is Shizuka-gozen, the title role?
9 Jiro:	Aho-rashii,	Silly!
10	kiryō to ii, namae to ii,	as for her beauty and her name,
11	Oshizu-san, os-shohan-ga	Oshizu-san or our mistress will be
12	Shizuka-gozen ni pittari ya ga-na.	Suitable for Shizuka-gozen.
13 Oshizu:	Nan-no,	Well, well,
14	watashi-mitai na otafuku ni	me as a flat-faced woman
15	Shizuka-gozen ga nai-masu kai-na.	is far from Shizuka-gozen.
16 Cat	Niau.	You suit. / Meaow.
Jiro: “Then, Tsune-yan, Mistress, our coming presentation (of Joururi) seems to be a sure success.”		
Tsune: “Why?”		
Jiro: “Because all the roles in (Joururi) Sembon-zakura are here. ...”		
Tsune: “Who is the title role, Shizuka-gozen?”		
Jiro: “Silly, you! Oshizu-san, our mistress, is suitable considering her beauty and name.”		

Shizu: “Well, I don’t think I am suitable for that role.”

Cat: “You are.”

The punch line (16th line) is a typical pun; ‘niau’ in Japanese is a verb (‘to suit’) and mimicking of a cat’s sound (meow). When this story is actually told on stage, this punch line is uttered with a low tone, suggesting that this is the very end of the story. Toward this end, the first half of the story is lengthy and rather dull, and then suddenly becoming strained when the cat revealed its real figure. Then, the cat told the reason for taking the form of Tsunekichi. The pun ‘niau’ in the punch line releases the tension all of a sudden. The punch line low paratone is effective in multiplying such a conversion of mood.²⁾

The punch line of the longest story of the Kamigata Rakugo, i.e. *Jigoku-bakkei mouja no tawamure* (literally ‘the eight scenes of hell; jest of the dead’; henceforth referred to as *Jigoku*) is also a pun. Hence, it is ascertained that the pun functions as a punch line regardless of the length of stories. The whole story of *Jigoku* lasts more than one hour, combining some substories featuring nearly ten characters. In the second half of this story, Yama the King of Hell tortures the four dead by ordering the Jin-don-ki (literally ‘man-eating-ogre’) to gulp the four. The four dead rampage around in the ogre’s stomach, thus torturing the ogre reversely. In the last scene toward the punch line, the Jin-don-ki asks the King to allow him to gulp the King down to be relieved from the torture:

(10) 〈 Episode 4: Man-eating Ogre 〉

Ogre: Mou kou nat-ta-ra, anta wo noma-na shou-ga-nai.

thus so become-PAST-CONJUN you drink no way

‘now that there is no way other than to gulp you down’

Yama: Washi wo non-de nan to suru?

I ACC what CITATION do

‘Why would you gulp me down?’

Ogre: Daiou non-de kudashi-te-shimau no yaga-na...

the great king/rhubarb have-diarrhea finish NOMINAL PARTICLE

In the Master Beicho’s performance (www.nicovideo.jp), the punch line is realized as a low paratone. As the punch line of the longest story, this finishing paratone is significant in that it betrays the listener’s expectation. In the pun *daiou*, one meaning is the King Yama or the *Emma Daiou*, and the other is the name of a Chinese traditional medicine which causes diarrhea.

Thus, those stories belonging to Categories I and II are puns, and it has been demonstrated that both categories are realized with Punch Line Paratone regardless of the length of the story. To summarize the examples of puns so far, it is effective to realize them as Low Paratones to emphasize the punch lines of stories.

Then, the next punch line patterns to be examined are the pragmatic ones which are

classified as Categories III and IV. The first one is the shortest one, belonging to Category III:

(11) 〈 Episode 5: Duck and Scallion (*Kamo ga Negi Shotte*)〉

Narration: When a duck is swimming in the river, a piece of scallion flows from the upper stream and struck the duck. The duck said:

Duck: "Oo, kowa..." (How horrible...)

This story is based on the popular Japanese idiom “kamo ga negi shotte yatte-kuru” – literally ‘a duck comes along with a scallion on its back.’ The funniness of this story will need a background explanation; in traditional Japanese cuisine, duck is an ideal ingredient, and a scallion is also suitable for the side ingredient, especially when they are cooked together in one pot. Hence, it is a premise that a duck that comes along with a scallion is the most favorable situation for a human being to eat the *kamo-nabe* (duck pot). Under this premise, ducks MUST be afraid of the situation in which they are with a scallion. Hence when a duck happens to come upon a scallion, it would be an ultimate occasion to be afraid of. When a listener calculates this premise and the situation, he/she bursts into laughter.

The next example is a longer ko-banashi with a narration before the monologues of the characters.

(12) 〈Episode 6: Haunted Hole (*Yuurei-no Ana*)〉

Narration 1: When some youngsters went to a graveyard at midnight, they saw a ghost coming out of a small hole.

1 Youngster 1: Kono ana, husaida-ra donai naru yaro? "If we bury this hole, what will
 this hole bury-if how become will become of the ghost?"

Narration 2: Then the ghost returns, but can't find the hole. The day is about to break, so the ghost is upset.

2 Ghost: Washi-no inochi mo koremade ka... “My life seems to be terminated (I am dying...)”
 my life TOPIC so far PARTICLE

As ghosts are believed to appear only during nights, they will “die” with the daybreak unless they disappear and go back to their netherworld. One of the funny things in this story is that the ghost will die for the second time. When this story is told effectively, line 2 – the punch line -- must be said pitifully with a Low Paratone. Though the narration comes before the monologue of a youth and the ghost, the funniest portion is the direct citation of lines 1 and 2.

The second example in this category is longer, with the full dialogue without narration. There are two speakers: Kiroku and Seihachi. In this regard, this is totally different from the ones (11) and (12) with narrations. It can be predictable that the longer the story is, the more necessary will be rhetorical technique such as Punch Line Paratone for the listener(s) to

understand the structure of the story – where is the end of the story. In that sense, Punch Line Paratone may be universal among languages.

(13) 〈 Episode 7: Literate Dog 〉

Line	Japanese	gloss
1	Kiroku: Ano yokomachi-wo na,	Listen, around that lane
2	tooru-no kowai nen.	passing by is terrible.
3	Seihachi: Dai-no otona-ga,	A grown-up
4	sonai-na nasakenai koto ii-na.	may not say such a shameful thing.
5	Kiroku: Soukate, kowai inu-ga otte,	Say, because there is a fearful dog
6	jiki-ni hoe-kakaru no ya-ga-na.	it always barks at passers-by.
7	Sehachi: Son-nara, majinai-wo shitaro.	Then, I will give you an incantation.
8	Tenohira-ni tora-to-iu ji-wo kaiet-yaru sakai,	I will write a Chinese character symbolizing a tiger,
9	inu-ga hoete-kitara sono ji-wo mise-tare.	when the dog barks at you, let it see the character. then the dog will be afraid of a tiger and cease barking; (little while after)
10	Kiroku: Akan, kikime nai de.	No good, it was meaningless.
11	Yappari hoete-kita sakai,	It barked at me as usual,
12	tora-no ji-wo miseta kedo na,	I showed it the tiger character,
13	zen-zen kikime nakatta de.	it was useless at all.
14	Seihachi: Uumm, sono inu-wa muhitsu ya na.	Let me see.... the dog must be illiterate.

The whole story consists of only 14 intonation phrases, with a pause inserted in order to suggest that the former half of the lines 1 through 9 and the latter half of lines 10 through 14 take place at differently times. The last line, 14, is the punch line. Here the teller lowers the voice and tells more slowly than in the other lines. Such a technique seems to add variation in the course of the narrative text. The effect of the punch line low paratone is explicit in short stories. If the punch line is told similarly to the other lines, the listeners may have some difficulty to find the punch line.

An example of a longer story with a pragmatic punch line is from *Atago-yama* (Mt. Atago). The punch line of this story is typically classified as *manuke-ochi* (literally 'stupid punch line'). A rich merchant (*danna*) in Kyoto, one day went on a picnic to Mt. Atago (924 m) with geisha and taiko-mochi (male entertainer). Halfway up the mountain, they had a break and the danna enjoyed himself by throwing pieces of roof tile into the bottom of a ravine. When the danna happened to throw twenty pieces of golden *koban* money away instead of a roof tile, a taiko-mochi Ippachi tried to go down to the bottom to pick the money up. Ippachi successfully went down with a large parasol like a parachute, and came back up by the bending of a bamboo both

going down and up are reckless fiction. The last scene toward the punch line is as follows:

(14) 〈 Episode 8: Atago-yama 〉

Danna: Erai mon ya na, agat-te ki-yot-ta de. 'How brave you are! You climbed up!'
 too much thing PARTICLE climb come PARTICLE
 Sorede, kane wa?
 then money TOPIC 'Then, did you bring the money with you?'
Ippachi: A, wasure-te ki-ta.
 oh, forget-PAST come-PAST 'Oh, I left it in the valley...'

Toward the end of the story, the audience is worrying whether Ippachi could get out of the ravine and go back to his company's place or not. In such a strained situation, Ippachi managed to come back by jumping with a bamboo, but he left the vital money in the valley, which releases the audience's tension all at once. The Punch Line Paratone helps this kind of talk arts effect.

To summarize this section, the Punch Line Paratone is effective and necessary for ending Japanese funny stories Rakugo and ko-banashi. Its Textual effect is to emphasize the end of stories and to evoke listeners' laughter. In all the categories I through IV in table (6), the Punch Line Paratone effect has been observed; that is to say, the Punch Line Paratone is effective regardless of the length of a story of the type of the punch line (whether it is a pun or not).

6. Concluding Remarks

From the consideration up to the previous section, several findings have been made with regard to paratone as a discourse marker. First, it has been clarified that paratone is a phonological discourse marker functioning somewhat differently from lexical markers. Though paratone is a kind of intonation pattern, it covers a longer range in discourse than clause intonation. When there are more than one intonation phrase in one clause, intonation phrases are shorter than clauses definitionally. Paratone covers more than two clauses, hence is necessarily longer than intonation phrases. In this sense, paratones can be defined as discourse intonation markers.

The second finding is that the Punch Line Paratone is universal, even among tone languages. This is because paratone ranges over longer units than sentence intonation does. This is in clear contrast with the limitedness of clause intonation systems in tone languages and languages with non-pragmatic intonation systems. Clause intonation is not applicable to tone languages in some cases; for example, rising tone is impossible in interrogative clauses of falling tones. In non-pragmatic intonation languages such as Japanese, minute nuance cannot be carried by intonation. Instead, final particles *ne*, *yo*, *da* carry such nuance.

To examine whether the Punch Line Paratone is universal or language specific, the English joke (1) will re-analyzed with the intonation notation based on (3)³⁾:

(15) line English

- 1 The father was explaining to his friend the difficulty of trying to discipline his son. ↘
- 2 “When I was his age, my father sent me to my room for punishment. ↘
- 3 But my son has his own TV, CD player and telephone.” ↘
- 4 “So what do you do?” → asked the friend. ↘
- 5 ↓ “I send him to my room.” ↘

These five lines consist of six intonation groups, one with a level tone and five falling tones. Hence, the falling tones are unmarked while the level tone is marked in this example. It is significant that a brief pause is inserted before the punch line.

Notes

- 1) I referred to the performance by Master Katsura Beicho through the following website: www.nicovideo.jp
- 2) The performance by Master San'yutei Enshou, which is transplanted from Kamigata to Tokyo, is different in its intonation pattern; the punch line 'niau' is highlighted (See www.nicovideo.jp).
- 3) This English example is read aloud by a native speaker of British English. The intonation notation is analyzed in this way.

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