# A CROSSLINGUISTIC COMPARISON: EPISODIC BOUNDARIES IN JAPANESE AND ENGLISH NARRATIVES

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Literary analysts, cognitive psychologists, and linguists have approached narrative in a variety of ways. Researchers in each of these fields have identified similar characteristics of narrative as a discourse unit; however, these same researchers do not agree as to how a narrative is segmented, how its "segments" relate to one another, and the importance of those segments to the surrounding context.

In this chapter, I will begin by briefly outlining the various definitions of narrative found in these three fields, with an emphasis on the similarities across research disciplines. From these definitions, a discussion of the relations of features within narratives and the relationship of narrative to the greater discourse context will demonstrate the basic perceptual nature of narrative and its relation to human interaction with the world. These relationships within a narrative have been defined and elaborated in numerous ways. I will focus on these relationships as they relate to the segmentation of narrative into episodes. I will end this chapter with a discussion of the research questions for my study as they relate to episode boundaries.

### Definition of Narrative

All three research disciplines agree that a narrative is a discourse unit with chronological sequence, which has functional relationships both within the narrative and

between the narrative and the greater discourse. The differences that can be found between the three disciplines are in their approaches to narrative, their analysis techniques, and their underlying beliefs about the importance of narrative.

The field of linguistics has approached narrative in such a variety of ways that at times it is difficult to categorize the studies as purely linguistic. Further elaboration of linguistic studies will come at the end of this Chapter and in Chapter Two. One of the original narrative researchers is William Labov who, in his 1972 study, provided a thorough linguistic definition of personal experience oral narratives as a bounded discourse unit. His minimal definition of narrative was "any two clauses which are ordered in a temporal sequence." He segmented narrative into five different functional parts, which all have different syntactic and semantic properties that contribute to their distinction as separate units. Labov's study was the first of its kind in that it focussed on oral narratives. This focus led to a plethora of linguistic research analyzing various aspects of narrative, all giving credit to Labov for first identifying the functional relatedness of the units within a narrative and between that narrative and the greater discourse context. Labov's study laid the foundation for two major linguistic narrative studies: "the pear stories" (Chafe, 1980; and others) and "the frog stories"(Berman & Slobin, 1994; and others) which have direct bearing on my study. These research studies will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

The literary researchers have analyzed narrative mostly in written format from published sources. In general, literary analysts have tried to identify the characteristics related to the quality of a narrative (Prince, 1982), to explain what holds narrative together (Rimmon-Kenan, 1983), and to demonstrate the interrelatedness of the parts of

narrative (Holloway, 1979). The hierarchical relationship within a narrative between the sets of events, both in adding new information and in traveling toward the final goal of the narrative, has been reiterated in many literary studies (Chatman, 1978; Prince, 1982; Rimmon-Kenan, 1983; Smitten & Daghistany, 1981).

Literary studies have analyzed mostly written published sources, and the linguistic studies have mostly analyzed oral narratives. However, both groups tend to agree that the parts of a narrative (in whatever way they have defined them) relate to the other parts in the narrative so that the sum of the narrative is greater than the separate parts. In addition, narratives are created by speakers or writers; not in a vacuum, but within a greater discourse context; not for willy-nilly reasons, but with a definite purpose. All of these concepts regarding narrative will be expanded in greater detail in the coming chapters.

The cognitive psychologists have approached narrative differently from the literary or linguistic fields, but with some similar results. Building upon gestalt principles of perception, and dissatisfied with the behaviorist views in psychology, many researchers have outlined convincing arguments as to why narration is a fundamental, heuristic conception of experience. Sarbin (1986) proposes that "human beings think, perceive, imagine, and make moral choices, according to narrative structures" (p. 8). Human beings impose a structure upon their experience, hence "eating breakfast, going to school, brushing one's teeth and studying" are all classified as episodes of the continual experience of life. Somehow, in some way, humans conceptualize these acts as gestalts. This view of narrative, as a guiding principle for human actions, has been researched in a variety of contexts, including day-to-day interactions, as speakers attempt to make

themselves understood (Mancuso & Sarbin, 1983); scientific language and "objective" attempts to describe human behavior (Gergen & Gergen, 1986); and jury decision-making, in which jurors mapped the evidence of a case using a narrative structure (Pennington & Hastie, 1992).

Although each of these research fields has approached narrative from a variety of viewpoints, a number of parallels can still be drawn regarding the nature of narrative. All three groups would agree that

1. A narrative is a temporal ordering of events,
2. The parts of narrative relate functionally to each other,
3. A narrative has some relationship to the greater discourse unit (Narratives do not occur in vacuums – they occur in larger contexts and may be related to that context in perceptual, social, and experiential ways.)

Although researchers in different fields define the parts of narrative in different ways, they agree that narrative is greater than the sum of its parts. These are the principle views of narrative that have been adopted in this study. This research project will attempt to illuminate the relationship of those parts within a narrative to each other and to the narrative as a whole.

## Functional Relationships within Narratives

Among researchers both within and between research fields, the definition of the specific parts or relations found within narrative is still the object of intense debate. The debate is fueled by differences in the types of texts studied (oral vs. written narratives, personal experience stories vs. memory recall stories), and by differences in research

goals (for example, identifying the quality of narrative or elaborating an underlying human memory structure). In this section, I will briefly outline various analysis techniques of narrative and how they relate to episodic organization.

Story grammarians have attempted to specify all of the parts of narrative with the idea that if these parts could be defined and their relationships established, then perhaps a scale of "narrative goodness" could be found. They were initially attempting to chart the structure within narratives in much the same way that sentences are diagrammed. Eventually, as the story grammars were being developed, the idea of an internal segmentation of narrative called *episode* developed.

Much of this research has assumed that the hierarchical nature of narrative and the functional relations between the parts play a role in the perception of a good or bad narrative. Hence, narratives that have *xyz* characteristics, but no *w* characteristics would, theoretically, be "better" narratives than those with only *xz* characteristics. Although a description of the features that identify the "goodness" or "badness" of a narrative is not relevant to this research, a discussion of the various techniques used to analyze narrative in these studies will illuminate the complexity of narrative and the necessity for a clear paradigm related to narrative segmentation.

For the purposes of this discussion, I have classified Labov's research (1972; Labov & Waletzky, 1967) as a story grammar analysis (Peterson and McCabe, 1983, and others), even though Labov's research and the other story grammarians' research differs on a number of levels. First, Labov's narratives were collected from extended sociolinguistic interviews, while many story grammarians designed experimental studies. Many of the story grammarians worked with written or elicited narratives, while Labov

worked mostly with oral personal experience stories. However, despite the differences between Labov and other story grammarians, these studies are classified together because of their overall goal of identifying the parts of narrative and the relationship of those parts to the other parts and the discourse as a whole.

According to the Labov research, narratives consist of five main parts. The first is an *abstract.* This statement indicates to the listener that what follows is a narrative which will expand. In addition, it summarizes the situation of the narrative. Labov found that speakers encapsulated the main point of the story as they began the narrative. However, Labov found that the functional role of the abstract is much broader than a simple summary; it also makes a connection to the reason for the story to be told in the first place (i.e. its relationship to the context) (Labov, 1972).

The *orientation* clauses are the next portion of a narrative. These clauses set the stage for the narrative by giving the setting, characters, time, and place. Labov discovered that these statements generally include habitual or stative verbs -- which sketch "the kind of thing that was going on before the first event of the narrative occurred or during the entire episode"(Labov, 1972, p. 364). These clauses generally occur at the beginning of the narrative; however, they may be interspersed throughout the narrative whenever additional information related to their function is required. In other words, whenever a re-orientation to the scene of the action is necessary, narrators use orientation clauses to reset the stage.

The third part of the structure of a narrative is the *complicating action.* In general, Labov found that the switch from orientation to complicating action involves a verb tense switch. This means that it immediately follows the preceding action and shifts the

listener's reference point for the characters of the story to the action that follows. In other words, when speakers feel that the "real" story begins – the high point is being reached - they switch to a verb tense that demonstrates immediacy, for example, present or present progressive tense. The speaker has now switched from giving background and reason for the story to actually telling the story.

The final two parts of narrative, according to Labov, are *evaluation* and *coda.* Throughout the narrative, speakers evaluate the narrative, the situation, the action, the characters, etc. Evaluation enables the speaker to shift reference, suspend the action of the story for outside world events, and emphasize important points. Evaluation statements are marked in a number of ways: exclamation, stress, simile and metaphor, attention getters, etc. The coda is the final part of the narrative. It summarizes the story and brings the listener and speaker out of the frame of the story and back to the real world where the narrative was being told. The formulaic, fairy tale coda is "and they lived happily ever after." However, in oral personal experience stories, narrators do not end in that way. Instead, Labov found codas like "and that is that." Labov argues that after a coda has been delivered, if the listener were to ask "And then what happened?", the narrator would answer "nothing, I told you what happened" because the main point of the story would have been portrayed.

While Labov's research did not outline episodes per se, his findings have implications for this study. First, he demonstrated that certain linguistic features occur at certain points in narratives to illuminate the functions of statements within the narrative and the discourse context. In addition, he demonstrated that units (clauses) within the narrative are also defined in relation to one another. For example, the abstract

summarizes the story, which therefore pre-identifies the point of the story for the listener. A complicating action clause is related temporally to the clause immediately preceding it. The coda relates the entire narrative back to the situation within which it first began to unfold. The function of a clause within a narrative can also shift depending upon where the clause is located in the story. "A clause such as "she was only eight years old" presented prior to the complicating action would be a descriptive background clause (part of the orientation). The same clause embedded in the complicating action would be evaluative--serving to suspend the action prior to resolution" (Schiffrin, 1994, p. 285). Labov, therefore, demonstrated that the different sections of narrative are related functionally both to each other and to the functioning of narrative as a bounded discourse unit. However, he does not go further to identify what the "sections" of narrative are. In other words, the functional relationships established by Labov relate pieces of the narrative to the narrative as a whole and the discourse context. However, his study does not establish an internal hierarchy within narrative, as later studies do.

Labov's description of narrative has been a yardstick by which other research has been measured. However, one characteristic of Labov's study, which has been altered in more current studies, relates to the fact that each speaker told their own story from their own experience. So obviously, all of the stories varied in content. Because Labov asked each to tell a personal story, the cognition of events (what actually happened), the salience of the actors (who actually completed what actions), and the narrative coding (triggers for a salient action to be coded) were unknown because the narrative event occurred in the past outside the realm of experience of the researcher. Nevertheless, Labov's research made great strides toward an understanding of the functional

relationships within narratives and opened the door for investigations of the intricacies and hierarchies of the segmentation of narrative.

According to numerous other story grammar researchers, narratives have a "story-line" or a "plot-line," which enables narratives to be identified as such (Chatman, 1978; Prince, 1982; Stein & Glenn, 1979; Peterson & McCabe, 1983, Mandler, 1978; Schank and Abelson, 1977). There seems to be a great deal of agreement regarding the salience of action over characters as the organizing principle of the story-line. However, Rimmon-Kenan has argued for a functional hierarchy within narrative, which can be altered with respect to the narrator's focus. While this argument parallels nicely with much other research (Labov , 1972; Stein and Glenn, 1979; Rumelhart, 1977), she does not specifically indicate what exactly makes up a narrative and how those segments can be identified.

Toliver (1974) viewed the segmentation of narrative as akin to the life experiences of the narrators and receivers (p. 261). In this vein, he defines the idea of episode as a perspective within which duration, focus, technique, and knowledgeable commentary play a role. The "speaker's" focus must be directed toward something because even when an event is relayed immediately after it occurs, certain events are focused on more and are hypothetically more salient for one reason or another. This salience is related to the idea of a central goal to a narrative, which has connections to the "plot" of the story.

> Significant units-those that match up with meaningful episodes-are not merely incidents but pieces of a symbolic action charged with a certain energy and capable of utilizing our attention (Toliver, 1974, p. 253).

In other words, an episode is a salient happening in the story which directs attention from one action to another toward the goal, along the linear structure of the narrative. Again, he agrees that the narrator's focus has an effect on the narrative, and he gives another viewpoint of the role of an "episode," but he does not discuss how to determine one.

Various researchers (Chatman, 1978; Holloway, 1979; Prince, 1982; Rimmon-Kenan, 1983; Toliver, 1974; Sarbin, 1986) have suggested a psychological or biological connection between narrative episodes (whatever their definition is) and man's interaction with the world.

> For the reader an "action" is usually "meaning" and the rhythm of episodes is therefore a rhythm of riddles. The phases of the biological organism...suggest ready mimetic shapes and encompassing units for individual stories. Complex schemes, curves of psychological development, and even the progress of whole epochs take their measure from such basic careers as everyone experiences (Toliver, 1974, p. 261).

Just as a parallel has been drawn between narratives and human experience, so too, basic similarities have been identified between "episodes" of a narrative and "episodes" of human experience. Generally researchers (such as Sarbin, 1986, and others) have stated that there is a basic organization of human experience that plays a role in the organization of narrative. However, although this parallel has been identified in the research, an agreement about what an episode is, what it does, and how to find one has still not been reached.

Other story grammarians have elaborated similar definitions of narrative segmentation, whether they use the term episode or not. In his analysis of narrative,

Chatman (1978) distinguishes between "kernels" and "satellites." Kernels are defined as the actions that make up the major plot line of the story and satellites as the minor plots that go along with it. He emphasizes the hierarchy that exists between the main plot line and the minor one with various possibilities of connection and interrelation between them. Kernels and satellites are bits of *action* that change the state of the story and move the story toward its goal, "advance the plot by raising and satisfying questions"(p.53). Deletion of "kernels" from the story would destroy the logic of the narrative, but deleting a satellite simply "impoverishes" the narrative aesthetically. This viewpoint parallels Labov's (1972; Labov & Waletzky, 1967) study in that Labov discussed a skeleton of sufficient and necessary features of narrative which could be elaborated upon and reorganized to meet the needs of a narrator.

Although the story grammar analyses outline elaborate views of episodes and the various possibilities of the structure of those episodes, these analyses fall short of a comprehensive view of narrative structure in three ways. First, because their initial goal was to determine the quality of narrative in an "objective" way, they have not informed the discussion about the extent to which narrative production reflects perception. Furthermore, episodic analysis (such as Stein and Glenn, 1979; Peterson and McCabe, 1983) largely ignores language. Differences in verb morphology, reference, or propositional content are not coded in these researchers' analyses. Hence, nuances of language and, as a result, perception do not come into play. Secondly, although these researchers mention and sometimes discuss a biological and perceptual basis, they do not elaborate that connection. They do not give definitions of episode which are linguistically quantifiable or measurable separate from introspection and intuition. And finally, the

approach that they have used has resulted in complex, unwieldy schemas for narrative which are being constantly updated as new information arises.

On the other hand, story grammar researchers widely agree that a functional relationship exists within narrative, and between narrative and the context within which it is created. In other words, regardless of the terminology that researchers use to describe narrative, they view the segmentation of a narrative as akin to the life experiences of the narrators and receivers. Just as human beings do not simply exist and create narratives, characters are not in and of themselves enough to advance the goal of narrative. Instead those characters as *actors in some event* (i.e. an episode) seem to be a common theme. But how do humans segment narratives or even their life experiences? What constitutes an event or an episode?

Certainly each separate action of a character or a human is not an episode. In such a case, then not only would the fact that I am working on my dissertation be an episode, but also each key that I am pressing would be an episode, and not only that but each movement of my fingers north or south on the keyboard toward each key that I am pressing would be an episode. Obviously, humans segment their lives or their narratives at a higher level than the movements of fingers toward letters on a keyboard; however, that segmentation and how it is done cross-linguistically is at the heart of the investigation for this research. Humans, on some level, conceptualize wholes, not parts; and parts only in the purpose they play in the whole (Downing, 1980).

A related question regarding episodic structure relates to its variability across cultures. Numerous studies have analyzed certain functional relationships within narrative cross-linguistically to determine the extent of the overlap of narrative structure

across languages and cultures (Chafe, 1980; Downing, 1980; Berman and Slobin, 1995; Clancy, 1980; and others). These studies have attempted to outline the impact of linguistic and cultural typology in the production of narrative. What features are salient? How is salience coded? What linguistic devices do speakers from different languages use to mark episode boundaries? These studies, their analysis techniques, methodologies, and approaches to narrative have direct bearing on the research questions of this study and will be elaborated further in Chapters 2 and 3.

## Summary

A variety of research has focussed on episodes or episode-like equivalents in narrative. However, much of this research has approached narrative in much the same way as the story grammarians, attempting to identify all the possible relationships within narratives and all of the possibilities for the interaction of those relationships. These analyses, although quite thorough, do not approach narrative from the standpoint of perception, which according to much of the narrative theory is the basis of our understanding of our experience and by extension, the basis of our production and understanding of narrative.

The purpose of this research is to aid in the identification of episodes in narrative discourse by expanding upon research which has identified the linguistic devices used by English and Japanese speakers to mark episode boundaries. This study examines the linguistic and cultural differences between Japanese and English and the role those differences play in the production of narrative. Once the linguistic devices and episode boundaries have been established, a cross-linguistic analysis will provide evidence for

similarities across these languages and the perceptual salience of episode boundaries and narrative organization.

The next chapter focuses on two variables which have been demonstrated to affect narrative production: language and gender. Because of the vast differences between Japanese and English language and culture, any similarities found across languages with respect to the episode boundaries may give a strong indication of the contribution of perception to episodes and the linguistic cues used to code them. A second variable examined by various studies is gender in conversational interaction and language production. Although, gender was not a major variable in my study, it was controlled for in each of the groups and a number of interesting findings surfaced. Hence, the final section of Chapter 2 will discuss the gender-related research that has informed my study. Chapter 3 discusses previous research on episodes and episode-like equivalents from the variety of perspectives shown in this chapter. It then discusses "flow of consciousness" and its relationship to the linguistic production of narrative. Finally, it elaborates a perceptual view of narrative which will inform the hypotheses of this study. The subsequent chapters report the methodology and results of a study designed to test this definition of episode. Finally, the implications of this study for narrative analysis are discussed.

# Chapter 2

## Features Affecting Narrative Production

As outlined in Chapter 1, narrative has been analyzed from a variety of viewpoints and with a variety of outcomes. Both typological and gender-related characteristics of narrative production have been shown to have direct bearing on the types of narratives produced and the perception of those narrative tasks. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the studies in language and gender which have informed and shaped the narrative study reported here.

### Studies Related to Language

Two languages were investigated in this research: Japanese and English. These languages were chosen for a number of pragmatic, linguistic, and cultural reasons. The pragmatic reasons for choosing these two languages relate directly to my prior experience living and working in Japan as an undergraduate and my employment after graduate school in an Intensive English Program (IEP) for homogeneous groups of Japanese students. Having studied the Japanese language and culture extensively, I am continually amazed by the differences in our cultures and how those differences manifest themselves in sometimes enormous, sometimes innocuous ways. The purpose of this section is to outline the linguistic characteristics of these languages, which I have hypothesized (and which have been demonstrated by other researchers) to be important to the cognition, and ultimately, the telling of the frog story in this study.

Because one of the purposes of this research is to examine the previously defined referential markers at the beginnings of episodes, my discussion in this chapter will focus on where those referential markers differ between Japanese and English. Typological differences have been demonstrated to have an effect on the production of narrative (Tomlin, 1987; Sridhar, 1989). So initially, I will outline basic typological differences between Japanese and English. Then, I will compare the markers of boundaries: definiteness / indefiniteness (Downing, 1980), explicit / inexplicit nominal reference (Clancy, 1980a, 1980b), and pronominalization (Tomlin, 1987; Clancy, 1980a & b; Sridhar, 1987). In addition, because my study has taken an approach to episodes that integrates prosodic and syntactic constraints on consciousness, Japanese evidence regarding intonation units (Chafe, 1976, 1980, 1988, 1994) will also be discussed.

Volumes have been written outlining the vast linguistic differences between Japanese and English (Kuno, 1973; Yasuo, 1987; Kindaichi, 1978; Taylor, 1979; Clancy, 1980a, 1980b; Downing, 1980). However, although Japanese and English sentence structures are strikingly different, SOV and SVO respectively, in general *the content words* of the sentences can be categorized in much the same way: nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and conjunctions. In Japanese, particles and auxiliaries are classified as *function words* in much the same way as prepositions are in English. These particles are postpositions that are usually attached to nouns in a sentence to show the grammatical relationship of that noun to the rest of the sentence. Auxiliaries are attached postpositionally to verbs or adjectives to show aspect and tense relationships.

Word Order

Japanese is an SOV language, while English is an SVO language. English has fairly stringent requirements regarding the placement of lexical items in their proper place in a sentence. For example, the following two sentences say very different things.

(2.1) John hit Mary.
s v o

(2.2) Mary hit John.
s v o

In English, the place that a word holds in the sentence in large part determines the role that that entity plays in the action. In contrast, Japanese has a rigid requirement for the sentence-final position of the verb, but relatively free word order apart from that, as can be seen in the following examples:

(2.3) a. *John ga Mary o butta.*
S DO hit (past)
b. *Mary o John ga butta.*
DO S hit (past)
`John hit Mary'

(2.4) a. *John o Mary ga butta.*
DO S hit (past)
b. *Mary ga John o butta.*
S DO hit (past)
`Mary hit John'

The content words in the sentence can change positions because the relationship of those content words in the sentence is preserved by the particles attached to them. This is not to say that word order in Japanese is entirely free. In fact, there is "overwhelming evidence in Japanese that the subject precedes the object" (Kuno, 1973, p. 4) except in certain locative constructions and emphasis situations. In comparison to English,

however, word order in Japanese is much more flexible, "where it expresses the speaker's attitude toward the information being communicated, and defocuses material which is less important or easily deductible in context" (Clancy, 1980b, p. 75).

Another aspect of the differences between these two languages with respect to word order comes into play in the organization of the content words in relation to the rest of the sentence (Hasegawa, 1996). Chafe (1980, 1988, 1994) and many others have argued that the organization of information in English sentences is as follows. Sentences begin with old information, or at least trivial new information, and they end with new information. This argument is made on the basis of processing constraints because this organization gives the receiver / listener the chance to focus on the information that will be new information as it comes at the end of the utterance. In spoken Japanese, two important features occur at the end of Japanese sentences: the verb and the subjective view of the speaker. This makes the end of the sentence clear and definite, and gives the listener the complete picture of what is being described, but also requires that the listener wait until the very end of the sentence to know or understand the outcome.

Although English speakers can wait until the end of the sentence to indicate their subjective view of the situation in the form of an intonation contour or prosodic cue, the listener already has an indication of the action in which the entities of the sentence are engaged. This feature allows the listeners to chunk (Chafe, 1988) the ideas about the entities before the end of the sentence. In Japanese, listeners must keep entities active separately as they listen because it is not until the end of the utterance that they have any indication of the relationship between these entities. This feature of Japanese whereby Japanese speakers introduce referents (content words) and syntactic relationships

(particles) without explaining the actions of those relationships (verbs) indicates an online processing ambiguity (Clancy, 1980b).

## Reference

Previous narrative research in a variety of languages, including Japanese and English, has demonstrated that new characters are introduced into the narrative with noun phrases. Further research has shown that at episode boundaries, narrators restate an explicit mention of the noun (Clancy, 1980, 1980b; Downing, 1980). However, after the initial mention of the noun, Japanese and English diverge. English has a complex pronoun system and a strong head-initial syntactic requirement. Although English speakers do use subject ellipsis, it is not the expected norm. In Japanese, information that is easily understandable from context is expected to be ellipted. There is no strong head-initial requirement in Japanese.

### *Ellipsis and Pronoun Use*

A variety of narrative studies, including some pear story (Clancy, 1980a) and some frog story (Nakamura, 1993, and others) research, have demonstrated the difference in the amount of ellipsis in Japanese compared to English. Referent, subject, and even predicate ellipsis has been distinguished as a major characteristic in Japanese discourse (Hinds, 1982). According to Maynard (1997), "generally speaking, in Japanese any and all elements are left unsaid as long as what is unsaid is assumed to be understood or unnecessary" (p. 104). Ellipsis also occurs in English, but unlike the Japanese occurrences, is "limited to subject position and rather special semantic and syntactic circumstances" (Clancy, 1980b, p. 132)

Pronouns in these two languages have inherently different meanings. Hinds (1978) has argued that the pronouns *kare* (he), *kanojo* (she) and *karera* (they) carry presuppositions in their inherent meanings that are not present in their English counterparts. These referents in Japanese presuppose a personal relationship between the speaker and the referent. Hence, Clancy (1980a) found no instances of these referents in Japanese in her analysis of the pear story narratives because the narrators did not personally know any of the characters in the pear film. On the other hand, English pronouns carry inherent number and gender markings, but no indication of the narrator's personal involvement (Hinds, 1978; Clancy, 1980a; and others). When a referent is understood from the context, the subject is ellipted in Japanese; however, in English, a pronoun is generally used. Consequently, in coding for those linguistic features that mark beginnings of episodes, English can be expected to have more pronoun occurrences.

*Switch Reference*

Another feature of Japanese, which potentially results in greater ambiguity than in English, is inexplicit reference at switch reference points. When narrators are telling a story and the subject changes, they indicate this change most readily by a nominal reference (Downing, 1980; Clancy, 1980a).

> Assuming that it is at least slightly more difficult for a listener to interpret inexplicit reference on the basis of context than to understand references which are unambiguous at the point of utterance, it would appear that switch reference is one point in discourse at which the Japanese listener must work harder than the English one in order to understand what is being said. (Clancy, 1980a, p. 166)

At these points (of switch reference), the use of an inexplicit referent would give an indication of the language user's tolerance for ambiguity. In Clancy's 1980(a) study, she found that English speakers only had four instances of inexplicit reference in a switch reference while Japanese speakers used ellipsis 28 percent of the time in switch reference (p. 166).

Intonation Units

Although Chafe (1988) argues that intonation units are partially based on processing constraints, research has shown that there are linguistic differences in intonation units across languages. Clancy (1980b) found a highly fragmentary nature to Japanese discourse in which several intonation unit can be characterized as one clause. It is possible for a speaker of Japanese to first verbalize the temporal or locative setting for an event, then give the subject, next express any other arguments in the case frame and finally produce the predicate. It seems likely that syntactic planning often spans more than one intonation group, since the correct case particles must be used with nominal arguments of the predicate as they are verbalized (Clancy, 1980a, p. 74). She hypothesizes that the fragmentary nature of Japanese spoken discourse is evidence of processing of the narrators as they verbalize. English speakers, on the other hand, tend to have fewer intonational patterns which occurred mid-clause resulting in longer intonation units than Japanese speakers. Pauses and false starts have been shown to indicate a shift in consciousness (Chafe, 1979, 1988, 1994) and their occurrence has been implied to be a further indicator (in addition to reference) of episode boundaries.

Scene Description

In her recent work entitled *Japanese Communication*, Senko Maynard attempts to "characterize ways of communicating in Japanese" by describing "some language associated ways of thinking and feeling in Japanese" (p.ix). Maynard (1997) states that in Japanese the primary characteristic in the description of an event or an encounter is the *scene*. Generally, Japanese prefer to comment on the topic rather than describe the world in actor – agent terms. Japanese do not view actors as individuals; instead, they are viewed as a part of the whole, whatever that whole might be, a picture, an experience, the society. In my study, I hypothesized that this tendency would manifest itself in fronted adverbial clauses and less frequent strong agent coding.

An outgrowth of this concept of *scene* setting is the tendency of the Japanese to use the verbs *aru* ( to be / exist) and *naru* (to become) to describe scenes.

> Japanese tends to frame the event as (1) something existing rather than someone possessing something, and (2) something becoming or happening, often beyond the agent's control, and not as something that an agent who has full control 'initiates and causes to happen' (Maynard, 1997, p. 176).

Japanese are more likely to interpret an event as coming to be on its own rather than as an event which results from the actions of an agent, as Americans would interpret it.

Nominalization

There is also evidence of this scene-setting tendency in Japanese use of nominalization. In this case the distinction that Langacker (1987) draws between the process of what is happening and the conceptual unit in an abstract region is useful in

understanding this tendency in Japanese. Langacker states that the words "explode" and "explosion" may both describe the same event, but differ semantically and cognitively. Japanese use the terms *koto* and *mono* (both translated as thing) to nominalize concepts in their sentences to capture the event as a whole rather than describe it as an agent-as-acting.

(2.5) *Kinoo katta koto wa tashika da.*

Yesterday bought NOM S certain be

That (I) bought (it) yesterday is certain.

In this example, we can see that the event described is being treated as a thing or a fact instead of an action. In this way, the event is not an action any longer; it has become a state. This characteristic of Japanese also relates to the centrality of the scene and the tendency of Japanese to describe the world relationally.

Summary

Linguistically, English-speakers tend to break the world into agent – action descriptions. The English language requires them to state the agent and the action initially or at least near the beginning of their utterances. Because they view the world as an "active" place, their discourse is very action – consequence oriented.

Japanese focus on the relationships that are at play in whatever form of discourse they are engaged in. They tend to set scenes which can evolve into other scenes not focussing on agents and their actions; but on the topics and comment on those topics. Several language conventions reinforce these values. Because predicates occur at the end of sentences and postpositions allow for relatively free word order, a Japanese speaker can highlight whatever portion of the "stage" she chooses. In addition, because the

predicate is at the end of the sentence, a Japanese speaker has a greater latitude in adapting and changing his position as he is speaking.

In light of the differences between Japanese and English which have been outlined in this chapter, it seems logical to assume that many linguistic devices used in different ways in the narratives can be traced back to linguistic or cultural roots. Although research has shown that nominal reference occurs similarly in Japanese and English, Clancy (1980a) found that it occurred more often in Japanese even though the Japanese told shorter stories. Pronominalization occurs with varied frequency and semantic intention. Intonation unit boundaries may have different motivations due to typological differences. Finally, because of the variety of differences between Japanese and English, I hypothesize that if similarities exist, they may give an indication of a perceptual basis for the structure of narrative.

## Studies Related to Gender

With varying results, numerous studies have investigated the gender differences in same-sex / mixed-sex, formal / informal, conversational / narrative interaction. For the purposes of this study, an extensive discussion of gender related issues is neither necessary nor possible. However, the following outline of gender findings in the amount of talk and task-based variation will inform the analysis of the results of this study.

### Amount of Talk

Stereotypically, women are thought to talk more than men. James and Darkish (1993) completed a critical review of the research which investigated mixed-sex

interaction. They found that roughly 43% of the fifty-six studies completed between 1951 and 1991 concluded that males talked more than females. Roughly 20% of these studies concluded that males talk more than females in some circumstances, and no significant difference in the amount of talk between males and females was found in other circumstances. 28.6% of the fifty-six studies found that overall there was no significant difference in the amount of male and female talk. And, only 3.6% of those fifty-six studies concluded that females did in fact talk more than males (p. 284). And yet the stereotype persists.

James and Drakich (1993) summarize the main explanations that have been proposed to explain these findings. One such explanation deals with greater amount of power and status that men have compared to women (Tannen, 1998; Kantrowitz, 1998). This concept has been used to explain how men interrupt women more (Tannen, 1998) and do not pick up on women's topics (Pfeiffer, 1998). However, many of the studies listed in James and Drakich (1993) found that there was no difference in male and female interaction, so this explanation may not be able to account for enough of the variation.

Another possible explanation which has been proposed relates to the way that men and women are socialized. Tannen (1990) found that the socialization rewards for females differ from males. Girls generally are expected to develop verbal prowess because they are socialized to build harmony and maintain close relationships with peers, in largely "private" settings. Tannen identifies private settings as those where people know each other well and care for others' feelings resulting in close relationships. Boys are discouraged from discussing feelings and praised for demonstrating their verbal

prowess in establishing status relationships. Hence, boys' topics of and approaches to conversation differ from girls.

James and Drakich (1993) propose another possible explanation related to status characteristics theory (attributed to Berger, 1977). In this analysis, they propose that in interaction, speakers evaluate themselves in relation to the other participants and make judgments regarding their status and performance expectations. "A status characteristic is any characteristic that is socially valued, is meaningful, and has differentially evaluated states which are associated, directly or indirectly with beliefs about task performance ability" (p.286). In this way, James and Drakich (1993) have accounted for the relational nature of male-female interaction and for the variation in the amount of talk found in the fifty-six studies they analyzed. Rather than having specific performance expectations for men and for women, performance expectations are relational across gender groups (p. 287).

James and Drakich also identified additional features of status characteristics theory which may be playing a role in the variation in amount of talk across genders. Because previous research found that those with higher status talk more than those with lower status, status characteristics theory predicts the findings of the previously-discussed fifty-six gender studies. Especially when there is a task required (mock jury, faculty meetings, committee meetings etc.), males talk more than females (p.290). Females talk more in same-sex situations than in mixed sex situations. A related study found that when discussions were task-oriented and women were assigned the higher status role ostensibly due to a higher performance on a test (but actually assigned randomly), they participated more than the female leaders assigned by publicly drawing lots.

> Thus when gender and associated expectations are nullified, males and females behave similarly with the amount of talk in task-oriented groups; it is only when gender influences the interaction that differences in amount of talk appear (James and Drakich, 1993, p. 291).

Hence, James and Drakich have argued for the adoption of status characteristics theory as an explanation for the varying amounts of talk found in the studies they analyzed.

The discussion in this section has briefly shown the differences in findings of male and female research in the amount of talk and possible explanations for those findings. However, all of the previous research has been focussed on interactional discourse - impromptu conversations, committee meetings, jury meetings, staff meetings. The research task in this study required subjects to tell a story based on a series of pictures to an absent audience. In this case, status characteristics theory may not hold the key to which gender will talk more because of the lack of explicit interaction.

## Gender Narrative Studies

A variety of research has investigated gender differences in narrative production in interactional contexts. Generally, these studies have found that men and women use stories in conversation in very different ways. Johnstone (1990, 1993) found that women tend to create worlds, through their stories, which involve social power. They paint themselves as powerless when they are acting alone, but powerful when they act in concert with others. By contrast, men tended to create stories about contests with individuals overcoming great odds in opposition to others. This finding parallels numerous other research studies in conversational analysis related to gender (Sheldon,

1993; Tannen, 1990; Goodwin, 1993). In Johnstone's opinion, women are not powerless nor do they see themselves as powerless, instead they construct discourse tapping into the source of their power - the community of which they are a part.

Goodwin (1993) studied the participation frameworks of girls' and boys' stories to investigate how the stories "constitute tools for accomplishing social tasks" (p. 110). One of her research goals was to investigate the stories within their social framework instead of abstracting them from the context in which they were produced (Labov, 1972). She found that there was some overlap in features of the boys' and the girls' stories in that the topic of the stories are almost always the offenses rained on the narrator by another, and that one of the characters in the story is a participant in the current discourse. She also found vast differences between the genders in relation to the resolution of conflict, the organization of the discourse constructed, and the social processes involved. These differences, Goodwin argues, relate directly to the social organizations of the gender groups and "provide arenas for each gender to negotiate concerns central to each group's notions of social organization"( p. 129).

These and other narrative studies have investigated narrative in relation to gender within the interactional context of discourse. However, in the current study, male and female subjects told a picture story to an absent audience of children. There was no interaction except that which the narrator creates in order to complete the task. As a result, there is some question as to whether the previously discussed findings of narrative and other interactional discourse will apply to the task required of the subjects in this study.

## Summary

In this chapter, I have attempted to outline two areas of linguistic investigation which have been demonstrated to have an effect on narrative production. The first section of this chapter focussed on the typologies of the two languages under investigation. In this section, the typological differences which I hypothesize to have a bearing on the linguistic production of the frog story were outlined. The second section of this chapter discusses a variety of research in gender studies which may inform this study. There are no research studies reported which require the subjects to complete a task similar to the task used in this study. To my knowledge, there are no such studies. However, the findings of the studies reported here may be supported in the current study. In the next chapter, I will further discuss literature in the field which addresses the two independent variables investigated in this study: episode and format.

## Chapter 3

## Issues Related to Episode and Format

As was seen in Chapter 1, all definitions of narrative include some idea of the temporality of events within the narrative and the function of those events. Although researchers in each field have broken narrative into various functional, perceptual, and linguistic segments, there is little agreement as to what the particular segments are. Chapter 2 outlined research related to two control variables in this study: language and gender.

This chapter elaborates the other variables investigated in this study: episode and format. One purpose of this research is to identify the segments called episodes. Researchers in the various fields under investigation seem to mention *episodes* or *episode-like equivalents*. However, there is little agreement as to what an episode is, and what function it performs, and what linguistic, perceptual, and cognitive characteristics coincide with an episode's occurrence. This study adds to the debate regarding the perceptual salience of episodes as perceptual organizers of narrative.

In the first section, I begin with a discussion of a variety of definitions of episode and episode-like equivalents. In the second section, I will elaborate linguistic research regarding the flow of consciousness in narrative and the implications of perception for narrative production. Specifically, I will discuss the effect that altering formats of

narrative production tasks has on narrative production. Finally, I will outline the hypotheses for this study.

Before I begin, I would like to note that these research fields have undertaken the analysis of narrative and its segments in a variety of ways. Each field had its own approach to the analysis, and the results demonstrate the variety of motivations for the investigations. However, the narrative analyses that will be discussed in this section did not develop in a vacuum. At numerous times in the past thirty years, each field has informed the other, resulting in a blending of researchers and research techniques. In addition, certain studies related to discourse processing and the related cognition and perception of events have a direct bearing on this research although most of these studies have not used narrative as their research area.

## Episodic Analyses

Because the research regarding the episodic organization of narrative largely grew out of the story grammar research, episodic researchers tried to identify all of the parts of episodes and narratives and all of the possible relationships that could exist between those parts. Although these researchers' approaches to narrative have varied, they have all arrived at common organizing principles of narrative. Stein and Glenn (1979) make several assumptions about how narratives are organized, which are widely held in this group of researchers.

1. Narratives have an internal structure within which the elements of narrative relate to each other in much the same way parts of speech function in sentences.

2. There is a hierarchical network of categories within stories and logical relations that exist between the categories.
3. The network is somehow related to the way receivers and producers organize story information. This network defines a logical order which is assumed to exist between categories. (p. 57)

Stein and Glenn (1979) then describe in detail the various episode possibilities within a narrative. Their goal was to identify a story grammar that accounts for the variety of possible manifestations of episodes.

Stein and Glenn Analysis

Stein and Glenn (1979) began with a basic definition of what a story is and defined a rule for its creation. According to Stein and Glenn, a story consists of a setting category plus an episode system, and is defined by the following rule.

Rule 1: Story → ALLOW (Setting, Episode System)

The setting category serves two purposes in the story. It introduces the main characters and it describes the context (social, physical, or temporal) in which the remainder of the story occurs. The setting category is basically stative in nature; however, habitual or long-term states or behaviors can also be included as setting (p. 59).

The remainder of the story is described by an episode system. The episode system is characterized as a higher order category and incorporates the entire story structure with the exception of the initial setting (p 62). An episode is "structured around goal-directed action and outcomes and is itself a mini-plot." One important characteristic of this study was their assumption that causal, temporal, or logical connections related the categories

of information found in the story to produce an overall structure. This overall structure included a beginning (the setting or initializing event), the unfolding (characters' goals, plans, responses, and actions), and an end (the outcomes of the ongoing events and the overall goal of the story, evaluation and reaction to these outcomes).

For Stein and Glenn (1979), an episode is "the primary higher order unit of a story and consists of an entire behavioral sequence"(p. 69). According to their schema, in order to be considered an episode, a behavioral sequence must contain some reference to the following three criteria.

(1) the purpose of the behavioral sequence,

(2) overt goal directed behavior, and

(3) the attainment or nonattainment of the characters' goals.

Therefore an episode must contain

(1) an initiating event or an internal response which causes a character to formulate a goal-directed behavioral sequence,

(2) an action, which can either be an attempt or a consequence, and

(3) a direct consequence marking the attainment or nonattainment of a goal (p. 71-72)

If these three criteria are not met, then the episode is considered incomplete or *abbreviated.*

There are quantitative rather than qualitative differences between abbreviated and completes episodes. *Abbreviated episodes* describe the aims of the protagonist, but not the planning, which must be inferred. Two components are required: 1) some motive for action, either an event in the environment or an internal motivating state, which leads to

2) a specified consequence that achieves or fails to achieve the protagonists' goal. The goal may be inferred rather than explicitly stated. *Complete episodes* also describe purposive behavior, but there is more evidence of planning. A complete episode must include at least three of the following categories: events, motivating states, attempts, and consequences, with the consequence category as obligatory.

Peterson and McCabe Analysis

Peterson and McCabe (1983) adapted the episode structure of narrative proposed by Stein and Glenn (1979) which stated that the constituents of stories are causally related to each other. They diagrammed an optimally complete episode (containing all four categories of events, motivating states, attempts, and consequences)and inferred a hierarchy for a complete episode.

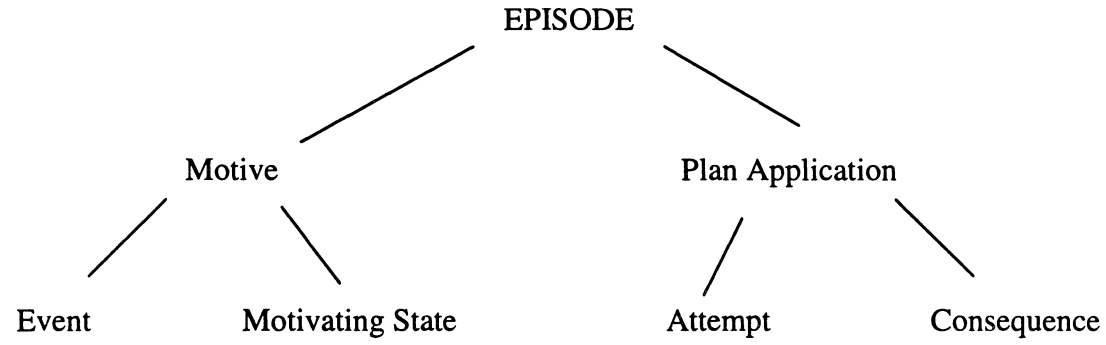



**Figure 3.1 Idealized Structure of a Complete Episode** (Peterson & McCabe, 1983, p.75)

Peterson and McCabe (1983) went on to describe a variety of structures for complex episodes which are seen as complications of a complete episode. Peterson and McCabe and others (Warren, Nicholas, & Trabasso, 1979; Trabasso, Secco & van den Broek, 1984; Trabasso & van den Broek, 1985; Trabasso & Sperry, 1985: Trabasso, van

den Broek, & Suh, 1989) have adopted and elaborated the episode categories of Stein and Glenn (1979). However, they focused on the causal inferences that link the states and actions of a story, which enabled them to create a causal network process model within which an episode constitutes a connection.

Episodic researchers outline very elaborate, comprehensive views of the episodes of narrative. These analyses has gone a long way toward the elaboration of the structure of episodes and of the links between episodes. Episodic analysis differentiates between links within narrative that are simply temporal and those that are causal. This analysis also indicates what is necessary and sufficient for each type of structure elaborated.

However, one of the major drawbacks to story grammar episodic analysis is elaborated by Peterson and McCabe (1983). Unlike the focus on language found in Labov's research, episodic analysis largely ignores language. Two examples from Peterson and McCabe (1983, p.185) will demonstrate this point.

3.1.a When a cat sees a mouse, it always wants to chase it. And it always gets the mouse and kills it.

b. My cat saw a mouse and chased it. He got the mouse and killed it.

In an episodic analysis, the example narratives in 3.1 a and b would be equivalent because the morphology of verbs does not come into play. In this sense, the first example is stated as an overall truth, while the second is a specific narrative, a fact of experience. Episodic analysis does not allow for a difference in these.

In addition, episodic analysis breaks the narrative into "statements." Stein and Glenn (1979) (and consequently Peterson and McCabe, 1983, and others) view stories as logical sequences of information, in other words, as *statements*. Researchers must classify statements into informational categories in order to determine the progression and classification of the episode or sequence. In this methodology, the analysis of the language of the narrative has been abstracted away from the actual narrative produced. Even though the language is the medium for the ideas of the narrative, the discourse is graded on the completion of the narrator's ideas, the logical arguments of those ideas, and the causal, temporal relationships that are illuminated by those ideas. In other words, although they are arguing that the episode has some cognitive basis, they are not viewing the online processing of the narrator as part of that cognition.

## Linguistic Analyses

Research categorized as linguistic analysis of narrative has been placed in this section because of the researchers approach to narrative. The goals of the research outlined in this section varies from identifying developmental characteristics of children's' narrative to elaborating the linguistic features used by narrators to foster the goal of the narrative. However, the research in this section take as their base of investigation the language used by narrators to tell their stories. Whereas the episodic analyses focussed on the logical and causal links between statements, the linguistic analyses have looked at the language to determine logical and causal links.

Much linguistic narrative research since Labov has investigated the functionality of narrative by having various subjects use the same prompts to tell stories. As

previously stated, Labov collected personal experience stories based upon the "danger of death" question. The narratives that his speakers produced were obviously varied in content. As a result, although the structure of the stories could be compared, how humans conceptualize events could not. A methodological jump in the field was necessary. Researchers in two major narrative studies began to collect narratives which required each subject to produce a narrative based upon the same material. Both of these research projects are relevant to this study. In this section, they will be called "the Pear Stories" and " the Frog Stories."

The Pear Story research, which was spearheaded by Chafe in the late seventies, was focussed on how people verbalize essentially the same experience (watching a film) and how that information is stored in memory. Much of the research in this area has been informed by memory and cognition research and has focussed on the linguistic evidence of conceptualization. As a result, many of the approaches to this data and to cognition have been adapted from this body of research for use in my study.

The Frog Story research, begun by Berman and Slobin (1994), was focussed on how narrative ability developed in children. Just as with the Pear Stories, a huge body of research has been completed with this frog story as its medium. However, much of this research has been cross-linguistically developmental in nature, investigating what children do to tell a story and how it relates to adult narratives. Although my study utilizes the "frog story" as the means for collecting the narratives from adult speakers, much of the developmental research that has been completed on this story does not apply to my study. However, a brief outline of the adult frog story narratives and two episodic studies based on the frog story will be discussed.

The Pear Stories

The Pear Story narratives are based upon a short film that was designed by Chafe and his colleagues. Chafe and his research team created a film with carefully staged interactions and situations without any spoken language at all. The situations and interactions of the story required the subjects to evaluate the events of the story to carry it though to the end. A description of a small portion of the story will illustrate this point. In one of the film's scenes, a man who is picking pears places a basket full of pears at the base of the tree. A boy rides by on a bicycle and picks up that basket and rides away. Did he steal the pears? Is he delivering them? What is his purpose? Subjects must evaluate that action with reference to the remainder of the film and judge the motivations and intentions of the character (Bernardo, 1980). The subjects in Chafe's study watched the film and then narrated the film immediately following their viewing (and in some cases, they retold the story after a six week lapse of time). An interviewer met with each subject and recorded the narrative while he/she listened personally to the subject's version of the story.

Throughout his career, Chafe (1974, 1988, 1994) has outlined a view of language structure which has veered significantly from his early structuralist training. Initially, he hypothesized that the conceptualization of human beings could be dichotomized into two areas: verbs (both events and states) and nouns (both concrete and abstract notions).

> Rather than think of an experience as being stored in memory in terms of distinct episodes, it seems preferable to think of a more complex storage in terms of coherent spaces, coherent temporal continuities, coherent configurations of characters, coherent event sequences, and coherent worlds. At points when all of

these change in a maximal way, an episode boundary is strongly present. But more often, one or more will change less radically, and all kinds of varied interactions between these several factors are possible. (Chafe, 1979, p. 179-180)

In this way, he outlines a hierarchy of perception and processing. Although we humans can think great big thoughts, we only do so by breaking them down into pieces (linguistically and conceptually) which we can handle in active consciousness. His evidence for this process is the prosodic and syntactic elements, which coincide in varying degrees to form intonation units and correspondingly, centers of interest. Because narrative has a special status as a discourse unit, some sort of idea of the narrative schema is held in semi-active consciousness; otherwise, coherence suffers because there is no overall goal of the narrative.

In the 1980 pear story study, Chafe hypothesizes how a shift in consciousness occurs and how it affects the language produced. He elaborates the notion of shifting of consciousness by demonstrating the concepts of given and new information and "idea units" (p.13). He also identifies "types of focuses" (p.15) by the functions that those focuses perform in four areas which were outlined by Labov (1972): "(1) personal interaction between the speaker and his or her audience, (2) processes of recall as such, (3) the recall of narrative as a series of introductions of characters and their engagements in states and events, and (4) evaluative comments" (Chafe, 1980, p.17). He argues that the focuses combine to form "centers of interest" which enable the human organism to process more information than is readily available in a single focus. These centers of interest are expressed with syntactic and intonational closing characteristics. This closure indicates that the speaker feels that the image has been adequately portrayed.

In addition, Chafe studied linguistic evidence for centers of interest and intonation units. He found that, in general, subjects hesitated more when transitioning from one center of interest to another than when they were moving around in the same center of interest. He hypothesized that this phenomenon had to do with the amount of reorientation that was necessary to carry on the story. This is not to say that a change of orientation is either present or absent and therefore indicates a change of interest center. Instead, orientation always exists but in varying degrees because shifts in space, time, and people can all be present or all be changing at any point in a story.

By his 1994 work, Chafe began to examine pieces of discourse larger than a center of interest and an intonation unit. In this work, he outlined a view of episode and related it to work on basic level categories (Lakoff, 1987, Rosch, 1973, 1975, 1978; Langacker, 1987). He posited that narratives may be evidence of basic-level topics or perhaps supertopics. Supertopics gain their coherence from the presence of a general schema or orientation, and narrative schema may be one of those. In addition, he argued that within episodes, or perhaps basic-level topics, there are centers of interest which are expressed with intonation units. In other words, at any one time, in semi-active consciousness, narrators may have in mind the narrative schema and be constantly updating it as they produce (and listeners as they receive) the intonational units which portray centers of interest which fit into the narrative schema. Hence he outlined an interaction of consciousness which is basic (no pun intended) to the outcome of this study.

A further discussion related to consciousness describes the interaction between introverted and extroverted consciousness. Chafe (1994) argues that in conversation and

in written fiction, there is a linguistically evident difference between displacement and immediacy. In other words, the language used to represent events being remembered or imagined (introverted consciousness) differs from language used to describe events being perceived, acted upon, or evaluated in the current environment (extroverted consciousness). However, he is quick to point out that this difference is a qualitative one. Extroverted consciousness has the quality of "a continuous, uninterrupted flow" (p.202). The experiences being experienced flowing directly out of the experiences immediately prior and the those that will follow. However, introverted consciousness has an "islandlike quality" (p. 202) whereby past experiences are displaced from the current situation and remembered as isolated segments of experience, requiring a spatial or temporal grounding for the listener. Chafe argues that this is why when a speaker begins to share an introverted topic they typically begin by giving a setting or orientation to the listener so that the listener can join them in the distal arena of their experience.

Another feature in which introverted and extroverted consciousness differs is in the amount of detail available to the speaker for description. Extroverted consciousness has available a wealth of detail by virtue of the fact that the speaker is in the environment. Introverted consciousness, because it deals with things remembered, does not have the same quality of detail except when the experiences being recalled are *generic*(i.e.enriched by virtue of their repeated experience). When a speaker is employing extroverted consciousness, he or she must make perceptual choices about what to code and how to code it. He or she must choose which details to focus on. In introverted consciousness, that wealth of detail is not there and the perceptual requirement of segmentation and weeding-out of detail has been completed already.

One of the variables investigated in this study relates to the format from which the subjects told the frog story. This distinction of introverted and extroverted consciousness may play a role in those tellings. One of the formats was a book and one a scroll. In the scroll format, the experience of the story is more *continuous* because the pictures were laid end to end with more of the pictures being able to be experienced by the tellers at one time. Subjects had a wealth of information available to them and had to segment the pictures to tell the story. Tellers who told the book story could see only one or two pictures at a time, hence the story had already been segmented for them These narrators had to remember the actions portrayed on the previous page so as to connect them to the current page. Narrators in the scroll stories could rely more on extroverted consciousness then book narrators due to the nature of the task in front of them. Scroll narrators had more detail and continuity available to them than book narrators. This difference in formats was expected to result in different stories. Further elaboration of this expectation is forthcoming.

Chafe's pear story film has been the basis for numerous studies regarding the overall structure of narrative and comparative analysis of the pear story narrative in different languages (Tannen, 1980), lexical choices (Downing, 1980), referential choice (Clancy, 1980a) and definiteness (Dubois, 1980). Each has taken the idea of shifting consciousness and applied it to language in an attempt to define, or even just identify, a linguistic, syntactic, or semantic correlate for the concept. Because my study is concerned with the various conceptual, linguistic, and discourse factors influencing narrator choice at episode boundaries, portions of each of the previously mentioned pear story studies informed my frog story research. A description of these studies follows.

Dubois (1980) focuses on the topic and the linguistic evidence in the narrative which demonstrates the speaker's determination as to whether the topic is given or new, old information or new information. Examining article and noun phrase use, he makes a connection between salience and how an object is referred to throughout a narrative. If the object is salient in its own right, it will be referred to more often, and more often definitely. If the object is only salient in relation to another object, then the reference becomes spottier and less definite. His study shows that speakers judge the salience of an object's identity throughout the narrative process and suggests that "speakers address their attention to either the task of introducing or to the task of advancing the story-line, but not to both at once" (Dubois, 1980, p. 273). He also cites evidence for perceptual frames of the discourse because of which narrators introduce wholes before parts within the conversational constraints of given and new information.

On a related path, Bernardo (1980) investigates subjecthood and the conscious constraints which determine whether a noun phrase in a clause is the subject of that clause. He argues that subjecthood depends upon two things: a) the activation state of the entity in consciousness, and b) the perceptual properties of the individual being referred to. He outlines a very convincing argument which supports other researchers' ideas that subject position is reserved for old information because that information is active (Chafe, 1976, 1980; Fillmore, 1977). Fillmore (1977) argued for the following saliency hierarchy.

1. An active event outranks an inactive one.
2. A causal element outranks a noncausal one.
3. A human or animate experiencer outranks other elements.
4. A changed element outranks a non-changed one.

5. A whole element outranks a part of that element
6. Foreground outranks background
7. Definiteness outranks indefiniteness. (pp.74-78)

Bernardo (1980) found evidence for this hierarchy in his analysis of the pear stories. He found a high correlation between "individuals playing human and causal roles and individuals expressed as clause subjects" (p. 287).

The final two pear story studies Clancy (1980a) and Downing (1980) inform my study in two ways. First, I have adapted their methodologies because both studies focus on the lexical choices for reference at consciousness shifts. Secondly, I have investigated the same languages: Japanese and English.

Downing (1980) investigated various factors which influence lexical choice in narrative. She demonstrated that in both Japanese and English, there was a basic-level category of mention which relates to the experiences of the narrators. So, in the pear story, narrators referred to the *bicycle* or *jitensha* rather than the vehicle or the ten-speed. She also demonstrated that there are cognitive, textual, and contextual factors which have some influence on the lexical choices of narrators. She states that although we can approach a linguistic description of the situations whereby narrators make lexical choices, the factors that contribute to that choice are so numerous and so context-bound that the description becomes unmanageable.

Clancy (1980a, 1980b) investigated the cognitive and discourse constraints on the referential choices of Japanese and English narrators. She found a cognitive distance / recency effect in the number of clauses, sentences, and other character mentions which can occur between an ellipted or pronominal mention of an entity. She also found that within each language, certain discourse requirements led to linguistically different old and

new information statements, ambiguity avoidance, and point of view characteristics. In addition, individual differences and perceptions of the task played a role in how narrators chose to refer to the characters in the narrative.

Clancy (1980a) looked at what kind of reference occurs at episode boundaries, one characteristic of which is a hesitation of more than two seconds. For her study, episodes are defined as "unified in terms of character configurations, spatial location, and coherent temporal and event sequences"(p.130). She found that across episode boundaries English and Japanese speakers shifted from either elliptic or pronominal mention of characters to definite mention. In addition, she found that Japanese speakers used more nominal reference than English speakers. She argues that this occurred for two reasons. First, Japanese speakers told shorter stories and hence crossed episode boundaries more often. In addition, in cases of switch reference, the English speakers could refer to the backgrounded entity with a pronoun, but Japanese speakers do not have that feature available to them. In Japanese, pronouns are not used to refer to known entities. Instead, ellipsis of the subject is the norm when the entity is known.

Although many of the Pear Story researchers did not focus specifically on the definition and elaboration of episodes and their boundaries, their research regarding the shifting of consciousness has direct bearing on the current research. The concept that certain linguistic devices used by speakers signal a shift in perspective or activity in a story is a basic hypothesis of this study. In my study, I investigated many of the same variables that Clancy did; however, I will be looking at the frog story to investigate whether the same tendencies of reference occurred at episode boundaries. In fact, I

continue the argument that an episode boundary may be defined as the place where such a shift occurs.

The Frog Stories

In the 1980's, Berman and Slobin (1994) began a cross-linguistic study of the development of narrative ability in children and how their narrative development compared to adult narratives. Their study involved a children's picture book drawn by Mercer Mayer in 1972. Similar to the Pear Story Film, this picture book contained no words, but told the "story" via a series of twenty-four pictures (see Appendix 1 for a description of the pictures).

Initially, Berman and Slobin and their colleagues wanted to investigate the interaction of form and function in the development of narrative ability. Berman and Slobin's study looked at five different age groups in five different languages with respect to five functional categories: temporality, event conflation, perspective, connectivity, and narrative style. In analyzing the functional interrelatedness of the narrative, they (and other researchers) attempted to elaborate the linguistic devices used developmentally by children and by adults to meet the need of telling the frog story.

Berman and Slobin's methodology was similar to Labov's and Chafe's in that a researcher met with each subject and recorded the story as the subject told it. The subjects were introduced to the task with these initial instructions:

> Here is a book. This book tells a story about a boy (point to the picture on the cover), a dog (point), and a frog (point). First I want you to look at all of the pictures. Pay attention to each picture that you see and afterwards you will tell the story. (Berman & Slobin, 1994, p.22)

Interviewers were instructed to minimize their verbal feedback especially when their prompts could lead to certain lexical choices by the subjects.

Although this methodology has been used by a number of researchers, it has numerous drawbacks. For example, the subjects tend to assume that the interviewers have heard the story before (and rightly so). Subjects do things like introduce the protagonists using definite articles instead of beginning with indefinite ones. They also seek interviewer approval in the form of "isn't that right?" and "you know what I mean." The subjects may feel as though they are being tested because they are in the presence of a person who (obviously?) knows the story better than they do (lecture notes, Slobin, 1995; Clancy, 1980a; Chafe, 1980; Downing, 1980). This type of situation has been a drawback of many studies where the interviewer has been present collecting each narrative individually.

Berman and Slobin (1994) found remarkably parallel patterns for the development of narrative abilities across languages. They remark that "with age, speakers learn about 'relating events in narrative' in ways that are only partially explained by the constraints imposed, and the options afforded, by a particular native tongue" (p. 84). Their study included three-, four-, five-, and nine-year olds and adult narrators. Three-year olds were "pregrammatical" and viewed the task of telling the picture story as an interactive and communicative one. They largely relied on extralinguistic means to aid their tellings. By the age of five, children across languages had developed an understanding of narrative structure and could use linguistic forms to elaborate the events within those structures. Nine-year olds demonstrated abilities to have a thematic organization for the entire narrative. And only adults displayed "full rhetorical flexibility in the range of expressive

devices which they employ and in the narrative functions realized by those devices" (p.84).

Other researchers working with Berman and Slobin (1994) investigated other developmental aspects of narrative production. Trabasso and Rodkin (1994) found a similar pattern of development in the ability of children to realize planning knowledge in narrative. By age five, children have moved from isolated descriptions to encoding temporal sequences to encoding those sequences in relation to the overall plan. Trabasso and Rodkin also argue that the conceptual knowledge underlying "plot" is that of goal/plan. They argue that "the structure of the plot is a conventionalized categorization imposed on what may be regarded as a particular application of the knowledge of goal/plans to interpreting and generating a set of events" (p.106).

One final note regarding the findings of Berman and Slobin's study relates to the way each of the languages in their study provides each of the speakers of that language with an array of rhetorical options for relating the events of the narrative. Slobin (1996) has expanded this idea where he encourages linguists to move away from the idea of "thought" and "language" to "thinking for speaking." His argument, which grew out of the frog story research, is that the experience is not just a group of events in an objective reality which must be translated into language. Instead, humans experience events and those events pass through a filter (which is language) in order to become "verbalized events" (p.75). Each language has typological options which are required for events to become verbalized events. "There is a special kind of thinking that is intimately tied to language - namely thinking that is carried out, on-line, in the process of speaking" (p.75). Children who are learning their first language are learning particular ways of thinking for

speaking - those ways that are related to the requirements of the grammar of their language evidenced by: the rhetorical style which is generally used, and temporal and spatial descriptions. This concept of "thinking for speaking" has implications for this study in that the languages investigated here are typologically different and present their speakers with different rhetorical options for encoding the narratives.

As with the pear stories, numerous researchers have used the frog story as the basis for their research. One such study, conducted by Bamberg and Marchman, investigated the episodic structure of the frog story. They were interested in the linguistic devices used by German and English-speaking narrators to code episode boundaries. Initially, they intuited an overall plot of the frog story following much of the research in story grammar analyses. They "intuitively judged each picture's role in terms of the individual contribution to the search theme i.e. to the overall, most global theme of this story" (Bamberg & Marchman, 1990, p. 68). Their organization of the story can be seen in Table 3.1.

In Table 3.1, column one indicates the number of the picture being classified. Column two shows the intuited organization of the frog story from Bamberg and Marchman's 1990 study. The final column, Overall Mean, relates to a second study completed by Bamberg and Marchman (1991). They identified three roles that any one picture or set of pictures can play in the story: a)instantiate, b) reinstantiate, c) or continue the action of the main character (protagonist)(p.69). Then, analyzing the recurring structure of their intuition, they broke the frog story into five episodes which are shown in the table below. As can be seen, they marked the pictures 1-3 of the story as *prelude*, and pictures 21-23 as *completions* because they complete the action of the story. No episode

in their organization has any completion – instead some episodes are marked as having *goal-blocking*, but not necessarily at the end of the episode. In their analysis, an episode, or a series of pictures, could instantiate, reinstantiate or continue the search for the frog. In their episodic structure, there is only one instantiation and one completion because the search can only begin and end once. The reinstantiations occur when the search has been postponed for some reason. Goal-blocking is the introduction of an unexpected agent that blocks the goal of the protagonist momentarily. Continuations are defined as continuations of search activities.

**Table 3.1 Episode Structure, Bamberg and Marchman (1990)**

| *Picture* | *Episodic Structure* | *Overall Mean* |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Prelude | Prelude (Mean 3.6) |
| 2 | | |
| 3 | | |
| 4 | Instantiation | Episode 1 (Mean 1.89) |
| 5 | Continuation | |
| 6 | | |
| 7 | | |
| 8 | Reinstantiation | Episode 2 (Mean 2.39) |
| 9 | Continuation | |
| 10 | Goal-Blocking | |
| 11 | Reinstantiation | Episode 3 (Mean 2.34) |
| 12 | Goal-Blocking | |
| 13 | Continuation | |
| 14 | Reinstantiation | Episode 4 (Mean 3.14) |
| 15 | Goal-Blocking | |
| 16 | Continuation | |
| 17 | | |
| 18 | | |
| 19 | Reinstantiation | Episode 5 (Mean 3.15) |
| 20 | Continuation | |
| 21 | Completion | Completion (Mean 4.24) |
| 22 | | |
| 23 | | |
| 24 | Final Response | |

However, this elaboration of the frog story episodic structure raises some serious questions regarding the nature of episode boundaries. First, according to Bamberg and Marchman's analysis (1990, 1991, 1994), there is only one instantiation and one completion in each story, but each time the protagonists begin to search again after something has thwarted the search, it is called a reinstantiation. Also, the instantiation begins at picture four of the frog story which is the beginning of the search, but not the beginning of the reason for the search. The category of "prelude" has been likened to the idea of "setting." While I would agree that the introduction of the characters and their relationship to each other is "prelude," the escape of the frog is not – it is the initiating action for the story and should be categorized as such. I would argue that the escape of the frog (Picture 2) cannot be segmented into the Prelude as it is the reason for the entire story.

In addition, Bamberg and Marchman segment a number of pictures as continuations. They argue that in these pictures the narrator is continuing the search for the frog after the unexpected meeting with another agent has temporarily thwarted it. However, in that case, some of the categories of the pictures are also unclear. For example, the goal-blocking pictures are numbers 10, 12, and 15, when the boy meets the gopher, the owl and the deer respectively. These pictures are considered goal-blocking because ostensibly the boy's goal of finding the frog is blocked by meeting these characters. However, in pictures 6 and 7 (categorized as continuation) the dog has fallen out of the window and broken the jar, and no search is happening at that point. Why are these pictures not categorized as goal-blocking? Because no new character is being met? In that case, is one of the characteristics of a goal-blocking picture to have a new

character introduced? Numerous frog story subjects have used the meeting of the new characters as an opportunity for the owl, the mole, or the deer to help the boy and the dog search. In this case, are these characters really blocking the goal? The characteristics of the categories outlined by Bamberg and Marchman leave many such questions unanswered.

In Table 3.1, the third column contains the overall means of the episodes based on a picture judgement task. In an attempt to make a connection between episode salience and the overall plot of the frog story, Bamberg and Marchman (1990) investigated the organizational structure of the frog story independent from the actual telling of the story. Subjects were asked to give each picture an overall rating from 5 for "very important" to 1 for "not so important" to the goal of the story. The results of that study demonstrate that the onset and initiation of the goal (prelude) and the resolution of the goal (completion) were the most important (i.e. had the highest mean scores).

Bamberg and Marchman found a great number of parallels between their intuited organization of the frog story and the picture judgement task. First, the episode means increase as the story progresses. They argue that this is because of the proximity of the episodes to the completion of the goal. However, they also argue for the interchangeability of the episodes because of their parallel structure. So, the argument of proximity is based more upon the organization of the story than on the inherent importance of the semantic content of the episodes themselves. Secondly, they found that the beginning (instantiation) and ending (completion) of the search had the highest means. They argued that these framed the narrative – the purpose or goal and the achievement of that goal.

Although Bamberg and Marchman found a great deal of overlap between the two analyses that they performed on the frog story, the categories that they have used are not very clearly defined (as previously discussed). In addition, they attempted to identify linguistic devices which tend to mark these various categories developmentally. They found that inceptive tense marking and forestalling (reference to actions mot actually shown in the pictures) mark the instantiation of the search (Picture 4), but they found only intermittent marking of these at the reinstantiations (Pictures 8,11,14, and 19). They found that narrators assumed continuation because there was a lack of marking for continuation. They argue that each event is viewed in relation to the narrative context, building a hierarchical structure through linguistic means.

Although Bamberg and Marchman stated that one of their goals was to identify linguistic correlates for episode boundaries in the frog story, they did not elaborate many. What sorts of things occur at episode boundaries or indicate a perceptual shift of focus in linguistic terms. As previously stated, a great deal of linguistic narrative work looks at hesitations and reference as a marker of the beginning of a shift of consciousness (Clancy, 1980a; Downing, 1980; Chafe, 1980) which ostensibly would be a beginning of an episode. However, these previously identified features of beginnings have not been studied in relation to the frog story. One of the purposes of my research is to investigate to what extent the linguistic devices which have been shown to mark beginnings of episodes correlate with the previously identified episodes of the frog story.

Linguistic Processing Studies

A variety of linguistic research has focussed on the linguistic marking of beginnings and the hierarchical salience of entities within a discourse. One of the goals of this study is to determine to what extent these linguistic devices correlate with the previously defined episode boundaries of the frog story. In this section, I will outline the studies which inform that goal.

In his research attempting to determine whether syntactic subject primarily encodes thematic information or agent information, Tomlin (1983) analyzes online play-by-play production of hockey taken from videotaped games. He outlines a hierarchy of thematicity which determines the subject relation dependent upon the highest level the noun phrase has reached in that hierarchy. If two NPs have equal or neutralized thematicity, then the subject takes the agent role.

This hierarchy is also demonstrated in Tomlin's later work on episode boundaries (1987). In this study, Tomlin is arguing for a functional syntax of reference which is based on an episodic approach. He defines episode as " the sustaining of attention on a particular paragraph level theme, a pragmatic instantiation of a rhetorical act" (p. 458). Episode boundaries " represent major breaks, or attention shifts, in the flow of information in discourse" (p. 460). Tomlin required subjects to tell a story based upon a series of slides or a specially-designed videotape. He altered the shutter release cycle of the slides to provide alternative episodic boundaries, and he altered the video cuts in the videotape. He assumed that these perceptual disruptions (arguably episode boundaries) would require the narrators to reorient enough to demonstrate the linguistic devices used for reference at episode boundaries.

Tomlin found that regardless of where the episode boundaries were placed, the behavior of the narrators with regard to reference remained the same. Subjects in the slide study and in the videotape study used nouns to reinstate reference across episode boundary and pronouns within episodes when episodes were manipulated for non-linguistically (as previously described). Episodes in Tomlin's study were argued to be a function of attention.

> The video data and the experimental data seem to converge to show that episode boundaries do control the syntax of reference, for one obtains consistent and harmonious results in two very different discourse production tasks. (Tomlin, 1987, p.469)

Tomlin's findings have direct implications for this study. By altering the attention allocation of his subjects, he found that the artificial boundaries influenced the production of the narratives. In my study, narrators told the same story in two formats in order determine what effect format had on the episodic structure of the narratives.

Expanding upon the idea of reference as an indicator of attention allocation, Bates and Devescovi (1989) examined various iterations of reference in relation to the concepts of given and new information in English and Italian. Subjects were asked to narrate a short cartoon which had been carefully controlled for semantic content (only one aspect of the picture changed) and for pragmatic constraints (given and new information). They examined several aspects of the narratives including lexicalization and ellipsis, pronominalization, and definiteness. In general, they found that lexicalization, ellipsis, definiteness and pronominalization occur more often with given information, and indefiniteness was most often reserved for new information.

Bates and Devescovi (1989) also found cross-linguistic differences between the two languages based upon typological requirements. Because Italian allows subject ellipsis in free-standing declarative sentences and a wide variety of word order with clauses, from the point of view of the listener, Italian speakers have much more freedom and can be more "relaxed" than English speakers. Because of the very strong syntactic constraints of subject in English, English speakers must commit to the structure of the sentence early. Italian speakers can "begin a sentence from any of several points of view, and flesh out the details later" (p.253). In general, Bates and Devescovi (1989) demonstrated that there are cross-linguistic differences in narrative production (and perhaps perception?) which result at least in part from the typology of the languages in question. This study also informs my research because the typological differences of the two languages under investigation may result in specific features of the languages which affect perception.

In his 1989 study, Sridhar attempted to demonstrate that "a number of crucial properties of language – including word order, clause order, choice of perspective, structure of locative expressions, degree and type of elaboration of referential expressions, negation, transitivity, and a host of others – are determined by universal cognitive principles involving the perceptual, motivational, and communicative dynamics of human informational processing" (p. 209). A number of aspects of language are anchored in perception (Berlin and Kay, 1969; Clark, 1971). Sridhar used a film of seventy perceptual scenes which ran for one hour. The film was controlled not only for the perceptual stimuli but also for how the subjects would construe that stimuli. Subjects were asked to describe each scene in no more than one sentence. Because he was arguing

for a universal cognitive basis for these linguistic properties of language, Sridhar used approximately thirty subjects from each of ten languages.

Part of the goal of Sridhar's work was to draw distinctions between the visual array and the description of the scenes in the film. Because in my study, I did not investigate the order of perception as it relates to the visual representation of the pictures in the frog story, those findings will not be discussed. However, his findings regarding the linguistic representations of perception tangential to the visual field have direct bearing on my study and are summarized below.

- Nominals denoting figures of states and agents of actions consistently precede those denoting grounds and patients. They also tend to be expressed as sentence subjects.
- Speakers tend to express changes of state overwhelmingly more often than accompanying constant states.
- The order of clauses expressing perceptual events corresponds to the sequence of events in perception.

The findings are significant for a number of reasons. First, he found that all languages contain structural devices and tendencies which enable speakers to "express certain fundamental cognitive distinctions" (p. 223). Secondly, he demonstrated that a large portion of the way humans construct language is determined through cognitive and perceptual principles.

Summary of Linguistic Analyses

In this section, I have outlined various linguistic approaches, variables, and views of narrative which have served as the basis for this study. The frog story picture book is

the medium used in my research to collect the narratives. My description of the pear story and frog story research outlined a view of how consciousness is involved in the production of narrative. Various other research studies have tested the typological, attentional, and syntactic features of episodes and episode-like equivalents. The studies outlined in this section share a view of narrative as a perceptual, cognitive phenomenon and each study attempts to illuminate a portion of that cognition.

## Summary of Episode and Format Research

In this chapter I have outlined the features of narrative production and comprehension of task which relate to the current research study. Episode has been demonstrated to be a category in narrative which has functional relationships between the parts of the episode (Stein and Glenn, 1979; Peterson and McCabe, 1983). These functional relationships relate not only to each other, but also to the narrative as a whole. Episode has also been identified as a portion of narrative with specific linguistic devices used to mark the beginnings of those episodes. Clancy (1980a) and Downing (1980) found varying uses of reference in Japanese in English; however, in general, beginnings are marked by definite reference. Continuations of action are generally marked less frequently than beginnings (Fillmore, 1977; Tomlin, 1987, 1989; Sridhar, 1989).

Effects on narrative production in relation to format were also addressed in this chapter. Chafe's (1994) ideas regarding introverted and extroverted consciousness suggest that because the scroll format is a more continuous form requiring less use of introverted consciousness, the stories told by scroll narrators will differ significantly from those told by book narrators especially in the features of continuity and detail. Slobin's

discussion of "thinking for speaking" suggests that the habitual rhetorical styles which are options for narrators may also play a part in the descriptions of the frog stories. Tomlin (1987, 1989) found that the position of the beginning of an episode was wholly determined by the allocation of focal attention. When Tomlin altered the positions of the episode beginnings, regardless of the content of the episode, subjects referentially coded the beginnings as beginnings. These findings also suggest that when the format of the frog story is changed, the episode boundaries may also change because breaks in the focal attention will be more widely distributed across a series of pictures (scroll) instead of emphasized by page-boundaries (book).

Two other features, which were outlined in the previous chapter, may also have a bearing on the narrative production in this study. First, typologically different languages were chosen for this study. One of the goals of this study is to address the question of the perceptual evidence for episodes as organizational frames of narrative. It is hypothesized that cross-linguistic similarities found (if they are found) will provide evidence toward this goal. The other feature of narrative production which may have an effect in this study is gender. In this study, each group was balanced for gender because previous conversational narrative studies have determined that each gender has different interactional expectations, goals, and strategies. However, the interaction in this study was minimal. In fact, because of the nature of the task, the only interaction that the subjects experienced was the interaction that they created for themselves (from perhaps introverted consciousness?). Because of the differences in task between the previous research on gender and my study, the effect that gender may have on narrative production is uncertain.

## Research Hypotheses

The basic questions that this study will attempt to answer are as follows:

- To what extent do the linguistic devices that have been shown to mark "beginnings" correlate with the Bamberg and Marchman's episodic structure of the frog story?
- Do the previously identified beginnings of those episodes change when the format of the frog story changes?
- Are there cross-linguistic differences in the marking of the beginnings of episodes?

From these general goals, a series of hypotheses was developed and are listed below.

1. *The beginnings of episodes in the frog stories (as identified by Bamberg and Marchman, 1990, 1991, 1994) will demonstrate a significantly higher occurrence of definite mentions of characters.* This hypothesized correlation was assumed because the variables which were chosen have been demonstrated to mark beginnings of episodes (Sridhar, 1989; Tomlin, 1987; Clancy, 1980;.Downing, 1980)
2. *The occurrence of the dependent variables which mark beginnings of episodes in scrolls will differ significantly from those occurrences in book stories.* Tomlin (1987) found that episode boundaries were changed when the format of the input to subjects was changed. In addition, Sridhar (1989) found saliency principles applied to narrative production across languages. Hence, when the format changes the perception changes and saliency is altered (Chafe, 1994).

3. *The occurrence of typologically distinct variables (such as zero-mentions and pronoun mentions) which mark episode boundaries in Japanese and English will differ significantly.* This hypothesis was informed by the typological differences outlined previously and the cross-linguistic variation that results (Clancy, 1980; Downing, 1980; Berman and Slobin, 1994; Slobin, 1996; and others)

The next chapter will outline the methodology adhered to for this study. The variables under investigation will be discussed and operationalized. In addition, the statistical treatments and other measures will be explained.

## Chapter 4

## Methodology

Having outlined the research areas of narrative and episode boundaries and the linguistic differences between Japanese and English, I would like to restate the goals of this research. First, using the linguistic devices which had previously been identified to mark beginnings, this study examines to what extent these linguistic features coincide with the previously defined episode boundaries of the frog story (as perceived by Bamberg and Marchman, 1990, 1991, 1994). Secondly, the occurrence of those episode boundaries will be examined over two formats to see what effects format has on narrative production (Tomlin, 1987). Finally, this study examines the crosslinguistic differences and similarities in episode boundaries across those formats.

In this chapter, I outline the steps taken for this study beginning with the tool and the task and ending with the data analysis. This project involves a number of variables which are defined and exemplified in this chapter. In addition, the general principles adhered to during data analysis are shown, as well as exceptions to those principles.

### The Tool

The tool used to elicit the narratives for this study is a picture book entitled *Frog, Where are you?* written by Mercer Mayer (1976). The twenty-four pictures in this story (Picture Descriptions are in Appendix A) were originally published in book form. For

this study, subjects told the story from either the book form or a scroll form in which the pictures were laid end to end on a long roll of paper. In the scroll form, subjects could view eight or ten of the pictures at a time; the only boundaries within the scroll story were the lines that framed the pictures themselves.

## The Subjects

The 100 subjects for this study consisted of fifty American and fifty Japanese university students. The students in each group ranged in age from twenty-one to twenty-eight. The Japanese students were either university students or Intensive English Program (IEP) students. Because the Japanese students told their stories in their native language and received all instructions for the task in Japanese, their English ability was assumed to have no bearing on the study.

The groups of Japanese and American subjects were controlled for gender. In each format / language group (i.e. Japanese Book, Japanese Scroll, English Book, and English Scroll), there were 15 males and 10 females. However, gender was not considered to be a major focus of this study.

Most subjects were asked to complete this task for credit in their classes. The subjects enrolled in the IEP were given extra points in class to complete the task. Former Japanese IEP students were asked to participate in order to reach the necessary number of Japanese subjects. For the American students, faculty on a large Midwestern University campus announced extra credit for participating in the project and circulated appointment schedules. Students signed up for specific times, and I reported the names of those who participated to the professors.

## The Task

Before beginning this study, permission to conduct this research was received from the Institutional Review Board (Approval Form can be found in Appendix B). Each subject was given an information request sheet, a consent form, and a copy of the picture book (either in book or scroll form). Each subject was asked to read and sign the consent form and then fill in the information sheet and read the prompt at the bottom. The information sheet elicited information about age, sex, native country, native language, major, and level of study in the university (i.e. freshman, sophomore, etc.). The prompt was as follows.

> Directions:
>
> This is a children's picture story. There are no words written for this story. National Public Radio would like to play stories like this one on Saturday evenings for young children to listen to on the radio right before they go to bed. The children do not have the pictures to look at, only you, the announcer on the radio program, will have them. Children will be lying in bed listening to you tell them this story.
>
> Take about five minutes to look through the pictures and learn the story yourself. Then record the story in English for the children to hear next weekend. You may look at the pictures as you tell the story.

A native speaker of Japanese translated the Japanese prompt from this prompt, and another native speaker checked the translation. The English and Japanese prompts were identical except for two changes. Instead of using National Public Radio (NPR) as its forum, the Japanese prompt mentions the NHK company in Japan. NHK was chosen because in Japan it is comparable to NPR. The second change was that the Japanese speakers were, of course, asked to record their stories in their native language.

This prompt was designed with a few very important considerations in mind. First, in previous studies involving this frog story, the subjects told the story to an interviewer who was present and listening. This led some subjects to the assumption that the listener already knew the story. This sort of interviewer interference manifested itself in such ways as subjects beginning the story with definite articles or referring in some way to the picture book with gestures during the storytelling (Slobin, 1995). In my study, however, no listener was present. The subjects needed a detailed description of the audience and a more authentic context for the telling of the story. It was hypothesized that by having an absent audience and an audience without the picture book to look at, the subjects would provide detailed descriptive stories without the interviewer interference of previous studies.

Another consideration was the mention of the "five minute" time frame to study the story before beginning to record. Again, previous studies have found that the subjects take a woefully short amount of time to familiarize themselves with the story, but that when a greater amount of time is taken, the stories are more detailed and descriptive (Slobin, 1995). So, for this study, a somewhat arbitrary "five minute" limit was determined because it was twice as long as it took me to study the book as if I were going to tell the story.

## The Setting

As has already been mentioned, one of the attempts of this study was to remove interviewer interference, which has been a drawback of some earlier narrative studies. Therefore, the stories were collected in a listening lab setting, where subjects sat at

separate carrels and completed the task. Subjects wore headsets with attached microphones so as to simulate the "radio program" task. In all cases the "interviewer" was not in the room as the subjects recorded the story; however, in some cases two or more subjects were in the room simultaneously. This was not viewed as a problem because subjects were seated far enough apart to ensure that they did not overhear other subjects' stories.

## Data Collection

All data was collected within a sixteen-week period. Each groups' stories were transcribed into intonation units by native speakers of the language of the story. For this portion, Chafe's (1994) criteria for intonation units were used:

- changes in fundamental frequency (perceived as pitch),
- changes in duration (perceived as shortening or lengthening of syllables or words), changes in intensity (perceived as loudness),
- alterations of vocalization with silence (perceived as pausing),
- changes in voice quality of various kinds (p.58)

I held a short "training session" with the native Japanese transcribers with both Japanese and English examples of what an intonation unit was and how to determine it as they were listening to the tapes. At the end of the "training," using the last five samples of discourse (each sample having what I had determined to be five intonation units), the Japanese transcribers agreed with my assessment in 23 out of the 25 unit boundaries. At that point, I felt comfortable in allowing them to transcribe the remaining stories.

Whenever a difference of opinion occurred, I attempted to resolve it. If I was unable, a third transcriber was called in. When all of the Japanese stories had been transcribed, I randomly chose five (5) from each group of twenty-five (25) and asked each transcriber to transcribe those five from the other's group. I then compared the transcriptions to verify that the intonation units were being broken at the same boundaries. Then, a native speaker of Japanese translated each story and another native speaker checked each translation. When differences of opinion occurred in the translations, a third Japanese speaker was consulted.

## Data Analysis

In order to determine how well the linguistic features that mark episode boundaries matched the episode boundaries intuited by Bamberg and Marchman (1990, 1991, 1994), it was necessary to divide each narrative into what portion of it described each picture.

### Phase One

The initial data analysis involved assigning each intonation unit to a picture of the story (Appendix C contains sample English and Japanese stories). Example (4.1) (book, American, male subject) is a relatively straightforward example of how this was done. As can be seen from the breakdown of the intonation units, the intonation units assigned to Picture 1 are setting the scene and introducing the main characters of the story. In picture 2, the narrator describes the actions of the frog which will lead to the plot of the

rest of the story. The characters cannot search for a frog that is not gone. In picture 3, the protagonists discover the absence of the frog.

Example (4.1)

_____
Here is a very special story
about a boy named Tommy
1 and his best friend Spade
Spade and Tommy found a frog
_____ Tommy and Spade really loved this frog
At night Tommy and Spade went to bed in their usual places
2 Spade on top of Tommy
Now unknown to them
_____ The frog left that night
3 and when they woke up in the morning
_____ he was gone

Identifying intonation units was a relatively easy task when compared to the task of assigning each intonation unit to a picture in the story, in that some subjects did not completely follow the pictures in the order they were presented in the story. An example of a narrator straying from the pictures in the story is as follows. Example (4.2) (scroll, American, female subject) elaborates action that does not occur at that point in the story; however, the actions that she elaborates serve to bridge the actions that are occurring at that point to the remainder of the story. This particular example concerns picture 8 where the boy and the dog are heading into the woods.

Example (4.2)

_____
__8a_ they ventured out into the backyard
Timmy looked in the trees
around the bushes
? under bushes
in the trees
and in the logs
_____ but he was nowhere to be found
__8b_ he kept calling and calling and they kept going deeper into the woods

The narrator begins in line 8a to set the scene for this picture. When the narrator begins elaborating the ? section, it seems as though the entire story is being summarized. The bushes, the trees, and the logs are not shown in the story until Pictures 11, 14 and 19 respectively. The protagonist, Timmy, does not look into a tree until Picture 11. However, then the protagonists are going deeper into the woods (line 8b). This is an example of what Bamberg and Marchman (1991) refer to as forestalling and nesting. The narrator is signaling the overall theme of the story (p. 289-291). In this case and others like it, because the questionable clauses are surrounded by the description of picture 8 and because the narrator ultimately continues with the story, these clauses were assigned to picture 8 for this telling of the story.

When a narrator decided to deviate from the story line, the question was how to assign the clauses that did not refer directly to any one picture. In the case below, the narrator summarizes the actions of the protagonist in pictures 11-13 showing a continuation of the action of the story. However, the clauses do not apply to one particular picture more than any other.

Example (4.3)

| | |
|---|---|
| _____ | |
| | but there was no frog |
| 10 | only a critter came out and |
| | bit him on the nose (laughter) |
| _____ | the little boy knew that the frog must not be in the hole (laughter) |
| | so the boy was still looking |
| ? | in the woods he looked everywhere |
| _____ | but he still couldn't find his little frog |
| | The little boy at one point gets up on a rock |
| 14___ | and he thought wow maybe if I'm higher up the little frog can hear me |

In this case (Example (4.3) book, American, female) and other similar cases, I assigned an average number to each picture that was summarized. Therefore, in this case, pictures 11, 12, & 13 received a value of one clause each for the purpose of clause counting.

When a narrator chose not to mention a picture or describe it in any way, a zero was entered for that picture in the analysis. The following, Example (4.4), is an extreme case of a scroll story told by a Japanese male which is unusually short.

Example (4.4)

| | |
|---|---|
| | Masashikun wa bin no naka ni kaeru o katteimashita |
| 1 | Masashi (S) jar (POSS) inside (in) frog (DO) have (PAST) |
| ____ | Masashikun had a frog and kept it in a jar |
| | Aru yoru, kaeru wa sono bin kara nukedashiteshimaimashita |
| 2 | One night frog (S) that jar (from) escape (PAST) |
| ____ | One night, the frog escaped from the jar |
| | Masashikun wa asa okite kaeru ga nigedashitano ga wakaru to |
| 3 | Masashi (S) morning wake up frog (S) escape (S) realize |
| _____ | Masashikun realized the frog had escaped when he woke up |
| | inu to issyo ni kaeru o sagashi ni ikimashita |
| 8 | dog (and) together frog (DO) search (in) go (PAST) |
| _____ | Then he went out to look for the frog with his dog |
| | mori no naka o sagashiteru toki |
| | forest (POSS) inside (DO) search (PROG) time |
| 12 | During the search in the forest |
| | Masashikun to inu wa hachi ni osowaretari hukurou ni osowaretaishimashita |
| | Masashi (and) dog (S) bee (in) attack owl (in) attacked (PAST)(PASS) |
| ____ | Masashikun and his dog were attacked by bee and owl |
| | suruto soko ni kaeru no nakikoe ga kikoeta |
| 19 | then there (in) frog (POSS) voice (S) hear (PAST) |
| _____ | Then he heard the croak |
| | node mitemiru to |
| 21 | as look (and) |
| _____ | He looked around |
| | kaeru no oyakoto - kodomo ga soko ni imashita |
| 23 | frog (POSS) family – child (S) there (in) be (PAST) |
| _____ | At the time, there was a frog's family |
| | Masahikun wa kodomo o ippiki moratte ie ni kaerimashita |
| 24 | Masashi (S) child (DO) one was given home (in) return (PAST) |
| _____ | Masashikun was given a child frog and went back to his house |

In this example, the search in the forest from picture 9 to picture 18 are summarized by the intonation units which have been assigned to picture 12. In this case, the narrator specifically mentions being attacked by the bees and the owl. Picture 12 is the only picture in which both the bees and the owl appear. In addition, it is the picture in which the owl first appears. Such situations were dealt with on a case by case basis.

Another very common situation, especially in the scroll stories, occurred when the boy and the dog were engaging in separate actions simultaneously. This situation is especially evident in Pictures 9 to picture 16. In these pictures, the boy and the dog are engaged in separate simultaneous actions. Narrators telling the story from the book format had cases of switch reference within this group of pictures within page boundaries. However, in the scroll format, because the narrators could see more pictures at a time, the switch reference occurred after a larger number of pictures had been described. In the scroll stories, narrators tended to follow through on a series of pictures for one of the protagonists and then go back and repeat the same series of pictures with the other protagonist. Example (4.5) shows this tendency as it was demonstrated by an American male telling a scroll story.

Example (4.5)

9____ Snoopy found a beehive

10___ Snoopy went and started barking up the beehive

12___ and got chased around by all the bees

9 then after a while

_____ Billy was looking in a hole

10___ And a mouse came out and tried to get him

The description found in this narrative is interesting for two reasons. First, it demonstrates the tendency of narrators to follow one protagonist's actions through to the end before turning to the other protagonist. In this example, however, the narrator describes the actions of the dog first and then the boy. This was an uncommon situation in the data. Generally the narrators tended to describe the boy's actions first and then the dog's (if they described the dog's at all. In these situations the parallel nature of the pictures was noted, and the total for each picture was entered. So for the previous example, picture 9 received an intonation count of three and picture 10 received a count of two.

Phase Two

The number of intonation units per picture is one of the variables analyzed in this study. Therefore, the number of intonation units were totaled for each picture for each story within language and gender groups. Then, additional counts of various linguistic features within the stories were completed. First, each picture in each story was analyzed as to whether the picture description contained any **false starts** or **fronted adverbial clauses**. Then, using previous episode research as a source for referential choices, each of the main characters (the boy, the dog, and the frog) was traced through the story as to how it was mentioned in each picture according to the following categories.

**Elaborated noun phrase**
**Noun phrase**
**Proper name**
**Pronoun**
**Subject ellipsis**
**Non-subject mention**

Examples and definitions of each variable in each language follow. The examples are in italics.

Fronted Adverbial Clause: This variable (FAC) was hypothesized to be an indicator of a shift of scene, and perhaps consciousness. For this variable, only instances where the adverbial clause occurred prior to the main clause describing the picture were counted. One-word discourse markers such as "so" and "then" were not counted as fronted adverbial clauses. However, more advanced one word organizers such as "meanwhile" were counted as FAC. In addition, combinations of one-word adverbials were included in the category.

| Subject | Picture # | Example |
|---|---|---|
| S005AM | 1 | *Once upon a time* there was a little boy named Billy |
| S012JF | 2 | *aru ban ryokun to genki ga neteiru aida ni* kerochan wa-<br>one night ryokun and genki S sleeping during (in) frog S<br>*one night while Ryokun and Genki were sleeping*, the frog.... |

False Starts: False Starts were counted because this linguistic feature has been shown to reflect a shift in consciousness (Chafe, 1988). False starts were considered to occur whenever a subject restated, or began his description of a picture or scene over.

| Subject | Picture # | Example |
|---|---|---|
| B049AM | 11 | *as he – as his paws lay – l – pushing – along* the trunk |
| S105JM | 4 | *tarou to kaeru wa – e – tarou to inu wa* -<br>tarou (and) frog S tarou (and) dog S<br>*Tarou and the frog – e – Tarou and the dog...* |

Noun Phrase: In English, a noun phrase consists of a determiner and a noun. In Japanese, a noun phrase consists of a noun and a particle. Each time a narrator referred by pronoun to a character in subject position of the main clause, that reference was counted in this category. Another category, non-subject mention (forthcoming) was used to count the references to the characters which did not occur in subject position. For the purposes of this study, proper names of the characters were not counted in this group, but were counted separately.

| Subject | Picture # | Example |
|---|---|---|
| B001AF | 22 | *the frog* had had a wife |
| B149JF | 17 | *shikakun wa kenchan to konta o ike ni otoshite-* |
| | | deer S Ken and konta DO pond (in) dropped- |
| | | *The deer* dropped Ken and Konta in the pond. |

Elaborated Noun Phrase: For the purposes of this study, an elaborated noun phrase (ENP) was any noun phrase larger than a basic noun phrase as it is defined for this study. Hence, an elaborated noun phrase was a noun phrase that included adjectives or other modifiers.

| Subject | Picture # | Example |
|---|---|---|
| B044AM | 2 | *the magic frog* escaped from the jar |
| B123JM | 1 | *shyounen no masashikun wa, kaeru no saburou to....* |
| | | boy POS masashi S frog POS saburo and |
| | | *The boy named Masashi* (had) *a frog named Saburo* and ... |

Proper Name: The category of proper name includes all instances when the narrator refers to any character in the story by a name assigned by that narrator, and this name in subject position of main clauses.

| Subject | Picture # | Example |
|---|---|---|
| S028AM | 2 | *Tommy* got out of the jar and ran away |
| S102JF | 7 | genki wa daijyobu deshita |
| | | genki S okay was |
| | | *Genki* was okay. |

Pronoun: This category includes all instances when the characters in the story were referred to in pronoun form in subject position of main clauses. This feature was expected to occur more frequently in English than in Japanese because of the need for a subject to be mentioned in English. The pronoun, "they" was coded as a pronoun mention in both of the referents' categories.

| Subject | Picture # | Example |
|---|---|---|
| B004AF | 14 | but *he* didn't know there was a giant deer sitting behind the rock |
| S110JM | 2 | aru ban kare ga nemuri ni hairu to ... |
| | | one night he S sleep (in) enter (and) |
| | | One night, *he* begins to sleep... |

Subject Ellipsis (Zero Mention): The subject ellipsis category included instances where the narrator did not use an overt marking for the subject of a verb. This was

expected to occur more frequently in Japanese than in English because of the lack of the need to state understood subjects in Japanese.

| Subject | Picture # | Example |
|---|---|---|
| B048AM | 6 | The dog set on the window |
| | | the jar on his head |
| | | *(the dog)* slipped and fell out |
| S115JM | 5 | mado o akete soto o mitemimashita ga sore demo imasen |
| | | window DO open outside DO looked but there also is not |
| | | ( *boy)* opened the window, looked outside, but*( frog)*wasn't there |

Non-subject Mention: In this category, I traced the mentions of the characters when those mentions did not occur in subject position. For this variable, I included all non-subject mentions regardless of form (noun phrase, elaborated noun phrase, proper name, and pronoun mentions) In the English example, *Jumpy*, the frog character, is counted here as a non-subject mention rather than a proper name mention because the reference occurs in non-subject position. In the Japanese example below, the frog is mentioned in direct object position, so the frog character received one count in the "non-subject mention" category.

| Subject | Picture # | Example |
|---|---|---|
| B014AF | 5 | and Edward only cares about *Jumpy* |
| S108JF | 5 | *maku wa mado kara kaeru o yobimashita* |
| | | maku S window (from) frog (DO) called |
| | | Mike called *the frog* from the window. |

Phase Three

After the linguistic devices had been marked and totaled for each story and each group of stories, the stories were separated according to the independent variables of format and language, and patterns of linguistic device occurrence were analyzed. As previously mentioned, numerous researchers have demonstrated that the linguistic devices chosen for this study mark shifts of consciousness and the beginnings of episodes. Bamberg and Marchman's decision about how to categorize each picture into one of these groups was intuited, and later supported by the mean importance rating assigned by their subjects. Bamberg and Marchman's coding of the episodes of the frog story included three groups: a) instantiations and reinstantiations, b) continuations, and c) goal-blocking. For the purposes of my research; however, these episode codes would not suffice. Therefore, I coded the beginnings of episodes in the same place as Bamberg and Marchman, and I coded the endings of the episodes as the picture description directly prior to those beginnings. Any pictures which lay in between a beginning and an ending was coded as continuation (middle). This coding resulted in a different organization of the frog story than the one proposed by Bamberg and Marchman even though the beginnings of the episodes were in the same place.

Therefore, in Phase Three of the data analysis, I compared the mean occurrence of those linguistic devices to Bamberg and Marchman's intuited instantiations and reinstantiations of episodes in the frog story. In addition, mean occurrence for the linguistic devices across formats and languages was also analyzed.

Phase Four

Using the SYSTAT statistical package, a Multifactoral ANOVA completed for each of the variables: format (Book / Scroll), language (Japanese / English), gender, picture number and episode category. In addition, these variables' means and standard deviations were compared and analyzed. Then, the data was normalized by calculating the percentage of occurrence for each variable in each format, language, and gender. For each variable, per-picture averages were calculated by dividing the total number of occurrence by the number of subjects in the group, and then taking that number and dividing by twenty-four (the number of pictures in the story). In order to calculate the episode percentages for these variables, the total number of occurrences per episode per group was divided by the total number of occurrences per group. Finally, in order to control for the varied lengths of the stories, ratios of occurrence were calculated by determining the number of occurrences per 100 words in each group.

## Summary

In this chapter, I have outlined the materials and procedures used to collect and analyze the data for this study. Examples of how the data was coded have also been shown. Finally, I outlined the procedures adhered to during the data analysis. In the next chapter, the results of this study will be discussed.

# Chapter 5

## Results

In this chapter, I will discuss the results of the statistical measures used in this research within and between the two languages. This section begins with the findings for the English narratives across format, gender, and episode. Then, the Japanese results will be discussed. Finally, I will compare the Japanese and American narratives in order to identify those characteristics of the narratives which are occurring across language groups. The statistical analysis of these variables was done to investigate the three major questions of this study.

- To what extent do the linguistic devices that have been shown to mark "beginnings" correlate with the Bamberg and Marchman's episodic structure of the frog story?
- Do the previously identified beginnings of those episodes change when the format of the frog story changes?
- Are there cross-linguistic differences in the marking of the beginnings of episodes?

From these general goals, a series of hypotheses was developed and are listed below. The discussion in this section will apply directly to these hypotheses.

1. *The beginnings of episodes in the frog stories (as identified by Bamberg and Marchman, 1990, 1991, 1994) will demonstrate a significantly higher occurrence of definite mentions of characters.*

2. *The occurrence of the dependent variables which mark beginnings of episodes in scrolls will differ significantly from those occurrences in book stories.*
3. *The occurrence of typologically distinct variables (such as zero-mentions and pronoun mentions) which mark episode boundaries in Japanese and English will differ significantly.*

As previously outlined, the variables chosen for this study were previously identified as marking episode beginnings. Although Chapter 4 served to define and provide examples for each of the variables counted in this study, for the sake of convenience, all of the variables that were investigated in this study are listed below.

*Independent Variables:*

Format

Language

Gender

*Dependent Variables:*

Intonation Units per Picture

False Starts

Fronted Adverbial Clauses

Boy Character –

Definite, Pronoun, Zero and Non-Subject Mentions

Dog Character –

Definite, Pronoun, Zero and Non-Subject Mentions

Frog Character –

Definite, Pronoun, Zero and Non-Subject Mentions

In each case, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was run on each dependent variable in relation to different combinations of independent variables: format, language, gender, and episode. In some cases, in order to tease out specific relationships, the ANOVA was simplified to a t-test to examine one dependent variable in relation to one independent variable. In addition, as is necessary for explanation of ANOVA results, means and standard deviations of some variables are reported. The level of significance was established as $p<.05$.

## English Narratives

This section has been organized into three parts: Format Variation, Gender Variation, and Episode Variation. Each part of each section will be headed by the dependent variable being discussed. In most cases, a table or some other form of visual aid will display the findings, and a short explanation will follow. In addition, examples from the data have been chosen to elaborate the significant relationships being explained.

### Format Variation in English

The idea behind the choice of two formats for subjects to tell the frog story from was the assumption (Tomlin, 1987)) that a difference in format would result in a different narrative being produced. For the English speakers, format played a significant role in the kind of narratives produced in relation to the four variables listed below.

- Intonation Units ($F = 5.29$)
- Boy character – Definite Mentions ($F = 15.11$)
- Boy character – Pronoun Mentions ($F = 34.53$)
- Dog character – Pronoun Mentions ($F = 150.61$)

This section will elaborate these specific relationships in relation to each variable.

Intonation Units

English-speaking narrators had significantly varied numbers of intonation units in their stories depending upon which format the narrators were using to tell the story. The narrators telling the stories from the book form had more intonation units (mean = 2.87, SD = 2.13) than those using the scroll form (mean = 2.62, SD = 2.13) This variation can easily be seen from Examples (5.1) and (5.2). Example (5.1) gives an American male's description of the action in picture eight (8) when using the book format. Example (5.2) gives an example of the same picture description, except the narrator used the scroll format to tell his story.

Example (5.1)

Johnny and Spot ran out-
ran down through the woods
hollering – calling the frog's name
he was nowhere to be found
they searched and searched

Example (5.2)

so they decided to both head out
to the woods behind the house
to see if they could find Kermit

As can be seen from these examples, English book narrators on the whole used more language to describe the pictures than the scroll stories.

Generally, in the book stories, each picture had some description assigned to it. However, in the scroll format, some pictures were not discussed at all; and other descriptions were reduced to simple clauses. Examples (5.3) and (5.4) demonstrate this feature of the scroll stories. Pictures 15 –18 especially demonstrated this tendency. In the book format, pictures 15 and 16 are on a page facing each other so that the narrator sees only those pictures. Picture 15 is the picture where the deer picks the little boy up on his antlers. Picture 16 is when he is running with the little boy on his antlers. Picture 17 is a double size picture in which the boy is falling through the air. In Picture 18, the boy hits the water below the cliff. Example (5.3) shows how the narrator reduced the description of picture 17 and combined it into a description of picture 18.

Example (5.3)

but the trees turned out to be a deer
15 the deer not knowing that Jimmy was there
_____ got up and started to walk
16__ Scruffy barked at the deer and startled it
17___ so the deer dropped Jimmy (18) into a small pond

The narrator of Example (5.3) did not code that the deer dropped the boy (picture 17) and that the boy fell into the water (picture 18) as the narrators who told the book story did. Instead, in one intonation unit, narrators combined the final action with the continuation of the previous action.

Example (5.4)

when what to appear
15 but a deer
_____ the deer knocks the little boy over the rock
18 woah
_____ into the water he falls

As can be seen by examining the content of the Example (5.4), this English-speaking narrator simplifies the boy falling over the rock onto the deer's antlers (Picture 15), being carried (16), and dropped (17) to the boy falling over the rock (15) and his landing in the water (18). Narrators are obviously making the assumption that the listener can infer that if the boy was in the deer's antlers and he landed, he was also carried and dropped. (An interesting note is that this narrator does not mention the antlers at all – a seemingly salient portion of the story.)

The previous discussion has shown that narrators use more language, as measured in number of intonation units, in book form than in scroll form. On average, there are 2.87 intonation units per picture in the English book stories and 2.62 intonation units per picture in the scroll stories. However, a larger average number of intonation units in the book form than the scroll form does not necessarily indicate that there is more language. We need also to consider the average number of words in the stories. In the book format, the average number of words is 528.08. In the scrolls, the average is 491.88. This confirms that there is indeed more language used by the narrators in the book format than in the scroll format.

*Intonation Unit Summary*

English speaking narrators use more intonation units and more words in the book format as opposed to the scroll format. This finding relates directly to the idea of extroverted and introverted consciousness (Chafe, 1994). Narrators telling the stories in scroll format can see more of the story as they are telling it. As is suggested in Chafe's discussion of extroverted consciousness where speakers must segment experience to describe it, scroll narrators have a wealth of detail to choose from and must segment the pictures in some way. Because they have a larger portion of the narrative to perceive, their perception is less detailed, resulting in less language. The scroll narrators are experiencing the pictures of the story very differently from the book narrators. Book narrators already have a segmentation of the story because of the page boundaries, which require them to focus on one or two pictures at a time. They must remember the story from one page to the next, and move the story along. Book narrators generally focus on more detailed descriptions of the actions in the pictures because the segmentation encourages them to do so. Hence, the book narrators use more language to describe the pictures than scroll narrators.

Boy Definite Mention

As previously stated in the Methodology chapter, this variable, definite mention, is a combination of the reference to the boy character in subject position with an elaborated noun phrase, noun phrase, and proper name. These three were combined because of narrators' tendencies to choose one form to refer to the characters in the story and use that form throughout the story.

Table 5.1 shows the results of the mean, standard deviation, and ratio analyses completed for the definite mentions of the boy character in each format in English.

**Table 5.1 Boy Definite Mention Analyses by Format in English**

| *Format* | *Mean* | *SD* | *Ratio* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Book | 0.46 | 0.66 | 2.27 |
| Scroll | 0.33 | 0.48 | 1.64 |

As can be seen from this Table 5.1, in the book format, the mean number of definite mentions of the boy is higher than the mean number of the same in the scroll format. However, this increased reference could be simply a feature of the increase in the amount of language used to refer to the book story as a whole. The following examples demonstrate this point in relation to Picture 9, when the boy finds a gopher hole and the dog a beehive, as they are searching for the frog. Example (5.5) is an American male scroll story; example (5.6) is an example of an American male book story.

Example (5.5)

the- wer- he was yelling in holes

Example (5.6)

Andy gets a little bit deeper in the woods
sees a gopher hole in the ground
so he looks in the hole
he can't see Kermit
yelling Kermit Kermit
meanwhile Spot's barking and barking
and he's looking for Kermit
he's even barking up a tree
where a beehive is in the branches

As can be seen from these two examples, in some cases, book descriptions of pictures resulted in much more language than the scroll format descriptions for the same pictures. This discrepancy could be the reason behind the definite mention significance for the boy character for each format. However, when we examine the ratios reported in Table 5.1, we can see that there is an increase in the number of definite mentions even when the analysis is controlled for the difference in length of the book and scroll stories. From these numbers, we can see that the English-speaking narrators are referring to the boy character with definite mentions more often, per 100 words, in the book stories than in the scroll stories.

*Boy Definite Mention Summary*

In this section, definite mentions of the boy character have been shown to occur more often in book format than in scroll format. Initially, the reason for that significance was thought to be simply due to the additional amount of language in the book stories. However, a ratio of occurrences per 100 words across formats was completed to control for the additional length in the book stories. This ratio also demonstrates a greater number of definite mentions of the boy in the book format. These results support the previous finding regarding intonation units and the segmentation of consciousness. Book narrators, by virtue of the segmentation of the pictures in the story, tell more detailed stories, with more definite mentions of the boy character than the scroll narrators.

Boy Pronoun Mention

Pronoun mention of the boy demonstrates a similar trend. We have hypothesized that the significance demonstrated by the variables across formats could be the result of

the increased amount of language found in the book format; however, the ratios of pronoun mentions of the boy demonstrate that the occurrence of pronoun mention changes with format independent of the overall length of the story. Table 5.2 shows the analyses completed for the occurrence of a pronoun mention of the boy by format.

**Table 5.2 Boy Pronoun Mention Analyses by Format in English**

| *Format* | *Mean* | *SD* | *Ratio* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Book | 0.42 | 0.49 | 2.93 |
| Scroll | 0.26 | 0.44 | 1.86 |

As can be seen by this table, the mean number of pronoun mentions of the boy character is significantly higher in the book format than in the scroll format, especially considering the similarity in the standard deviations across format. In addition, the number of pronoun mentions of the boy character per 100 words is higher in the book format than in the scroll format. This finding shows that the increased amount of language found in book stories is not a factor in the mention of the boy in pronoun form.

*Boy Pronoun Mention Summary*

Pronoun mentions of the boy character have demonstrated a similar pattern to the definite mentions. In English stories, the mean number and ratio of occurrences of pronoun mentions of the boy are higher in the book stories as compared to the scroll stories. This is consistent with the expectation that the book stories would be more detailed than the scroll stories, resulting in more elaboration of the actions and motivations of the boy's character.

Dog Pronoun Mention

Pronoun mentions of the dog character also demonstrated significance across formats. Table 5.3 shows the results of the analyses completed for this variable across formats in the English stories.

**Table 5.3 Dog Pronoun Mention Analyses by Format in English**

| *Format* | *Mean* | *SD* | *Ratio* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Book | 0.28 | 0.45 | 1.91 |
| Scroll | 0.04 | 0.20 | .26 |

By examining the results in Table 5.3, we can see that the scroll stories demonstrate an almost complete absence of pronoun mentions of the dog. The following examples will demonstrate possible reasons for this trend.

Example (5.7)

and then him and Snoopy went off to go look for Hopper
when Billy and Hopper wen-
8 Billy and Snoopy went out to the forest looking all over for Hopper
_____ And they ran
9____ Snoopy found a beehive
10___ Snoopy went and started barking up the beehive
12___ and got chased all around by bees
9____ then after a while, Billy was looking in the hole
10___ a mouse came out and tried to get him
12 so then after that the bees were chasing Billy
and uh Billy and Snoopy
_____ and uh so then Billy and Snoopy ran an- ran an- ran
14 then Billy climbed up on a rock ...

Example (5.7) (American male scroll) begins at picture 8 (a beginning) and proceeds through until picture 14 another beginning. (There is an additional beginning between these pictures, picture 11, but this narrator did not code that picture. A further discussion of this trend will occur in the section on episode boundaries.) This scroll story shows a typical tendency of narrators using this format. They begin by describing the actions of one character and follow those actions through, and then describe the actions of the other character. Typical reference would predict that in a case such as Example (5.7), "Snoopy" would be mentioned in pronoun form in pictures 10 and 11 because the narrator is working with the same referent over a series of pictures. However, scroll narrators tended to refer to the characters by the full noun phrase or the character's name more even when the referent remained the same over a series of pictures. This contrast can be further seen if we examine Example (5.8)( American male book).

Example (5.8)

8____ they walk along the countryside and find a grove of trees
9 the boy peers down a hole
_____ while the dog plays with a hornets nest
10___ the little boy found a mole but not his frog
11 uh- while the dog is jacking with the tree
_____ he knocked the hornet's nest down
12 the hornets swarmed the little boy and the dog
stinging them all over their body
_____ the boy fell from a tree because of the dog stings
as the boy and the dog ran away
13 an owl that the boy had disturbed earlier atta-
_____ swooped down and attacked the boy
14___ the boy climbed up on the rock looking for his frog again

In this example, a typical book description of the same pictures, the narrator follows the progression of pictures and refers to the characters with pronoun mention within the picture descriptions. Typically, in the book formats, there was much more pronoun mention than in the scroll formats. The books resulted in much more typical reference patterns than the scrolls. In the book stories, narrators tended to focus on the actions of both the dog and the boy on a per picture basis as can be seen from the descriptions of pictures 9, 12, and 13 in Example (5.8). This resulted in a greater frequency of pronoun mentions of both the boy and the dog in book stories. In Example (5.7), we can see that because of the way that the narrators segment the story and follow one characters actions through before describing the next character, there is less detail. This lack of detail and segmentation of the scroll stories leads to a significantly different occurrence of pronoun mentions of the dog ( and the boy) across formats.

*Dog Pronoun Mention Summary*

The findings reported in this section have reinforced the tendency demonstrated by the pronoun mentions of the boy. The segmentation of the frog story differs depending upon the format that the narrators are using to tell the story. This change in the perception affects the descriptions of the pictures in two ways. In the book stories, there is more detail and description than in the scroll stories. Secondly, the page boundaries of the book format encourage that detail within the page boundary resulting in more pronoun mentions.

Format Variation Summary

Whether English narrators are telling a story from book or scroll format is a significant factor in the amount of language used to tell the story and consequently, the

focus of that language. Although the formats used in this study encourage subjects to use features of introverted and extroverted consciousness, there are some similarities between the requirements of the task that must also be addressed. Three of theses similarities are the presence of the pictures in the environment (extroverted consciousness), the memory of the pictures in the minds of the subjects from when they viewed the pictures before recording (introverted consciousness), and an absent audience without access to the pictures (displacement). The task has displacement for the audience and some immediacy for the speaker. The variation in the format of the pictures varies the nature of the environment that the speaker has available at a given time. So, for example, a book narrators and a scroll narrator both have a gestalt of the story in their introverted consciousness because they viewed the pictures in their entirety before they began telling the story. However, as the book narrator and the scroll narrator are telling the story, their extroverted consciousness is affected by the amount of information available to them at any given time. In the books, the narrator can only see a small portion of the gestalt she is holding in her introverted consciousness. In the scrolls, she still cannot see the entire gestalt perception, just a much larger portion of it. So, the interaction of the introverted and extroverted consciousness and the resulting linguistic coding is the interesting question.

If we accept that the experience of telling the frog story in the scroll format encourages narrators to use features related to extroverted consciousness, and that the book format more closely parallels introverted consciousness, then we can compare the findings related to format in light of Chafe's theory. The book stories have already been segmented into page boundary groups. These groups require the narrators to focus

specifically on the actions shown in those pictures. We would expect the resulting stories to contain more detail regarding those actions. In this section, we have seen that narrators, who tell the frog story in book form, provide that detail through a higher number of intonation units, definite mentions of the boy, and pronoun mentions of the boy and the dog than narrators using the scroll form. The scroll format allows narrators to see a larger portion of the story at one time. This lack of segmentation of the story requires the narrators to segment the pictures themselves. There is a cognitive cost to this segmentation in that, as narrators are viewing a larger group of pictures, the detail within each picture is lessened. The result is a decrease in the variables previously mentioned. Another effect of the scroll format is related to the tendency of the narrators to describe a series of pictures as a gestalt for one character, and then return to a "starting place" and do the same for the next character. Consequently, the pronoun mentions of both the dog and the boy are affected.

No other variables had significant relationships with respect to format. This also may be an interesting effect of the segmentation of the narrative and how perception affects the salience of the characters. The boy character was significant in two variables - definite mentions and pronoun mentions, but the dog character was only significant in pronoun mentions. This finding is consistent with previous research (Sridhar, 1989) which states that human protagonists have more salience than animal protagonists. If the boy and the dog were of comparable salience, then we might expect the dog to demonstrate significance in relation to definite mentions just as the boy did. The other non-human character, the frog, did not show any significant relationships with respect to format. This perhaps indicates that the frog has a different status in this story as not only

an animal protagonist and but also as the goal of the entire story. Because it is the goal, the perception of the frog may not change due to format. Regardless of that format, the goal remains the same.

## Gender Variation in English

As previously discussed, the research on gender-based production seems to indicate that when males and females interact, there are specific cultural and social expectations which come into play. Among other things, these expectations relate to power and status issues as well as socialization issues. In addition, research has argued that when the expectations of the genders are nullified in the interaction, males and females respond similarly to the task at hand. However, for this study, there was no interaction between genders. Subjects told a frog story to an absent audience of children. In this case, the issue of gender expectations in interaction has not been nullified; it has been removed. How that lack of interaction played out in the results will be elaborated in this section.

In this research, gender was a control variable. Each format group of twenty-five subjects contained fifteen males (15) and ten females (10). In the English stories, gender was a significant feature in relation to the following variables.

- Intonation Units ($F = 28.14$)
- False Starts ($F = 7.22$)
- Fronted Adverbial Clauses ($F = 16.71$)
- Dog Character – Definite Mention ($F = 6.75$)
- Dog Character – Pronoun Mention ($F = 9.68$)

Although all of the variables listed have significant relationships to gender, some of the F-ratios are quite small, indicating that the amount of variation that is accounted for by gender is quite small (especially, for everything except intonation units and fronted adverbial clauses). In the remainder of this section, I will tease out the relationships shown above.

Intonation Units

Intonation units have already been shown to be significant in relation to the format the narrators use to tell the story; this variable is also significant in relation to the gender of the narrator. Table 5.4 shows the means and SD for intonation units by gender.

**Table 5.4 Intonation Units by Gender in English**

| *Gender* | *Mean* | *SD* |
|---|---|---|
| Female | 3.14 | 2.36 |
| Male | 2.49 | 1.93 |

As can be seen from the table, it seems that the English-speaking females use more intonation units than the English-speaking males in these narratives. In an attempt to elaborate this relationship further, an ANOVA was run comparing both Format and Gender (Table 5.5).

**Table 5.5 Intonation Unit Analyses by Format and Gender in English***

| | *Format* | *Mean* | *SD* | *Average # of Words* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Female | Book | 3.38 | 2.31 | 636.90 |
| | Scroll | 2.90 | 2.40 | 574.10 |
| Male | Book | 2.53 | 1.94 | 455.53 |
| | Scroll | 2.44 | 1.92 | 437.07 |

*Combined relations of Gender and Format are not significant.

Although the relationship between format and gender was not significant, Table 5.5 does seem to explain the interaction more specifically. From Table 5.5, it is easy to see why both gender and format are significant when considered separately, but not when they are combined. Regardless of the format, the American females said more than the American males. In addition, there appeared to be a great deal less variation between the book and scroll formats for these males than there was for these females.

*Intonation Unit Summary*

This section has shown that the amount of language produced is related to the gender of the narrators. An elaboration of the non-significant relationship between gender and format showed that the American females spoke more across format. However, American males did not have as much variation across formats, probably resulting in the lack of significance. Implications for these findings are unclear at this time. A possible expectation of this study was that perhaps the males and females would respond to the task similarly since there was no interaction and hence, no social expectations which might affect that interaction. However, females are using more language than males on this task.

False Starts

False starts, as previously defined, occur when a narrator begins to describe a picture in one way, decides better of it, and changes her description. It was hypothesized that false starts would occur when a narrator is attempting to reset the stage, shift her consciousness (Chafe, 1988), and perhaps begin a new episode. Table 5.6 shows the means and standard deviations of false starts by gender in the English narratives.

**Table 5.6 False Starts by Gender in English**

| *Gender* | *Mean* | *SD* |
|---|---|---|
| Female | 0.05 | 0.21 |
| Male | 0.09 | 0.28 |

By examining the above table, we can see that males have almost twice as many false starts as females. This tendency can be easily seen from the following examples which describe Picture 18. Example (5.9) is an American male's picture description; Example (5.10) is an American female's picture description.

Example (5.9)

they fell into a little –
in a –
into a stream of water

Example (5.10)

but don't worry
it was into a puddle of water
he was alright

This tendency of males to have more false starts than females is interesting, and there are a couple of probable explanations. First, the females may have been more accustomed to the task of telling a story to children than the males. The females could have taken more time to prepare for the task; however, since preparation time was not measured, this hypothesis cannot be tested. Also, females may have paused more before beginning the picture description in order to rehearse their description. However, this factor was also not measured for this study and is only the researcher's instinctive feeling.

*False Start Summary*

In this section, gender has been shown to have a significant relationship to the number of false starts used by narrators to tell the frog story with males having a higher mean occurrence than females. However, the F-ratio of this relationship is very small which indicates that a small amount of variation is explained by this variable. A number of factors may have contributed to this finding. However, many of those factors are outside the scope of this study.

Fronted Adverbial Clause

The gender of the narrator is also an indicator of the use of fronted adverbial clauses. Table 5.7 shows the analysis for fronted adverbial clauses in relation to gender.

**Table 5.7 Fronted Adverbial Clauses by Gender in English**

| *Gender* | *Mean* | *SD* | *Per-Picture Average* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Female | 0.49 | 0.50 | 0.525 |
| Males | 0.38 | 0.50 | 0.425 |

As is shown in Table 5.7, English-speaking females use significantly more fronted adverbial clauses in their stories than English-speaking males. Although the relationships shown are not significant, Table 5.8 below elaborates this relationship further by breaking down the occurrences of fronted adverbial clauses in the English narratives in relation to format and gender.

**Table 5.8 Average of Fronted Adverbial Clauses by Format and Gender in English***

| | *Format* | *Per-Picture Average* |
|---|---|---|
| Female | Book | 0.53 |
| | Scroll | 0.52 |
| Male | Book | 0.39 |
| | Scroll | 0.47 |

*Combination of Format and Gender is not significant.

Although Table 5.8 elaborates relationships that are not significant, they are interesting. The females in this study, across formats, had very similar per-picture averages, while the males in this study used more fronted adverbial clauses in the scroll format than in the book. In addition, the averages across genders for scrolls are much closer than the same averages for books. The following examples demonstrate the trend shown in these two tables. Example (5.11) is an American male's book story, and Example (5.12) is an American female's book story.

Example (5.11)

Yeh – but it wasn't
It was a badger came out and bit him on his nose
Slappy was looking around a tree

Example (5.12)

Well Tommy was sitting there
Calling out for Flipper
*And then all of a sudden*
A gopher popped out of a hole
And he was annoyed that Tommy was yelling to his hole
*And at the same time* Spot was barking at a beehive

In Example (5.11), the male narrator uses no fronted adverbial clauses. In the Female example, (5.12), the female narrator uses two. Such examples suggest that females seem to be concerned about the relationships within a scene more than males. Especially in the book format, the females tended to mark simultaneous and surprising action with fronted adverbial clauses much more than males. However, in the scroll format, the picture descriptions were much more similar across genders.

*Fronted Adverbial Clause Summary*

Fronted Adverbial Clauses have been shown to occur with more frequency in female stories than in male stories. It also seems that female narrators overtly code simultaneous and surprising action with FAC whereas males do so with much less frequency. The implications of these findings will be discussed further in the summary of this section.

Dog Reference

For reporting convenience, I have presented the two variables which refer to the dog character, definite mention and pronoun mention, together because they demonstrate similar F-ratios (6.75 and 9.68 respectively) which account for very little variation in relation to gender. The Table below shows the analyses completed for these variables.

**Table 5.9 Dog Reference Means, SD, and Averages by Gender in English**

| | *Definite Mentions* | | | *Pronoun Mentions* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Gender* | *Mean* | *SD* | *Ratio* | *Mean* | *SD* | *Ratio* |
| Female | 0.35 | 0.48 | 1.44 | 0.20 | 0.40 | 1.27 |
| Male | 0.28 | 0.46 | 1.61 | 0.14 | 0.34 | 0.97 |

If we examine the means of the definite mentions and pronoun mentions across gender in Table 5.9, females seem to refer to the dog definitely (by elaborated noun phrase, noun phrase, and proper name) and by pronoun more than males. However, when we examine the ratio of occurrences per 100 words, a different pattern emerges. In the case of definite mentions, males have a higher number of occurrences of dog definite mentions than the females. However, females have a higher number of pronoun mentions than males. This seems to indicate that the dog has a different status in the male stories than in the female stories. Examples (5.13) (American male book) and (5.14) (American female book) demonstrate this trend in their descriptions of Picture 14 where the boy is climbing up on a rock and the dog is returning from being chased by the swarm of bees.

Example (5.13)

as Pete returns
obviously frightened and shaken from the experience
Bobby stands atop a rock
looking for the frog

Example (5.14)

he climbs up the rock and looks around
and screams Kermit
wanting to find Kermit
Spot sure didn't run far away
he came back
made sure Andy was alright
he got rid of the bees though

As can be seen from these examples, these males seem to refer to the dog as an independent protagonist by using a noun phrase much more often than they do by using a pronoun, indicating that the dog's actions are being described with the dog as a focus of attention. However, females seem to be describing the dog's actions independently and then elaborating upon that action with a pronoun mention, hence the closer ratios in Table 5.9 for these two variables.

*Dog Reference Summary*

Table 5.9 elaborates the influence that the gender of the English narrator has in relation to the dog character for both definite and pronoun reference. The females seem to be referring to the dog character using both of these types of reference more often than the males, especially in the pronoun mentions where the difference in per-picture average is greater than the difference for definite mentions. Males are referring to the dog with definite mentions more often than the females. This seems to indicate that females are more likely to refer to the dog character in more than one utterance. The males are more likely to refer to the dog with a definite mention and then move on without follow-up information that might indicate the need for a pronoun mention.

Gender Summary

The gender of the narrator has been shown to play a role in the production of the English frog stories. American females produce more intonation units across formats than American males. In addition, females seem to frame the descriptions of the pictures differently than the males. Hence the females use more fronted adverbial clauses than males. On the other hand, males have almost twice as many false starts as females. The

remaining variables that demonstrate significance are related to the dog character, where females are referring to the dog with definite and pronoun mentions more often than males. However, in the cases of false starts and definite and pronoun mentions of the dog, the low F ratios for those variables indicate that very little of the variation can be accounted for by the gender of the narrators.

Because of a lack of research in the field which deals with the production of narratives outside of a conversational setting and because gender was only a control variable in this study, the implications and possible reasons for these results must be interpreted with care. I assumed that the effects of gender expectations would be nullified in this study, so I expected the males and females to respond similarly to the task at hand. However, the interactional expectations were not nullified in this study; they were absent. This absence may have had an effect on the approach that subjects used when they were faced with the task. Research has shown that females tend to adopt status-leveling techniques in conversation because the goals of their conversation relate to the social situation and their relationship within it. Perhaps, this tendency led the females in this study to attempt to bring the listener "into the know" by describing and elaborating the actions of the stories with more detail. Males, on the other hand, did not feel the need to elaborate and describe; hence they used fewer of the variables discussed in this section than the females did. In any case, the relationship of gender to narrative production was not a major question of this study, and as a result, the questions being posed here are outside the scope of this study.

## Episode Variation in English

Previous research (Bamberg and Marchman, 1990, 1991, 1994) has identified episodes for the frog story. Bamberg and Marchman's categories for the episodes have been elaborated in Chapters Three and Four. When this research study began, I was interested in finding linguistic device correlates for the boundaries of episodes. The frog story picture book provided a straightforward, linear narrative which would lend itself to an analysis of those boundaries. Bamberg and Marchman's coding of the episodes of the frog story included three groups: a) instantiations and reinstantiations, b) continuations, and c) goal-blocking. As previously discussed in Chapter Three, Bamberg and Marchman's decision about how to categorize each picture into one of these groups was intuited, and later supported by the mean importance rating assigned by their subjects. For the purposes of my research; however, these episode codes would not suffice. Therefore, I coded the beginnings of episodes in the same place as Bamberg and Marchman coded instantiations and reinstantiations, and I coded the endings of the episodes as the picture description directly prior to those beginnings. Any pictures which lay in between a beginning and an ending was coded as continuation (middle). This coding resulted in a different organization of the frog story than the one proposed by Bamberg and Marchman even though the beginnings of the episodes were in the same place.

Before I elaborate the variables that had a significant relationship to episode, it is important to note that the interaction of format and episode was not significant for any of these variables. This tendency will be elaborated further in this section with the discussion or percentage of occurrence across episodes in the two formats. However, a

mention of this lack of significance is necessary because the remainder of the discussion about episode refers to the combination of the formats within each group.

Many of the variables chosen for study in this research had been previously demonstrated to mark episode beginnings. As expected, many of these variables were significant in relation to their position in episodes. The following list shows the significant variables.

- Intonation Units (F = 33.36)
- Fronted Adverbial Clauses (F = 39.07)
- Boy Character – Definite Mention (F = 10.30)
- Boy Character – Pronoun Mention (F = 18.36)
- Boy Character – Zero Mention (F = 7.39)
- Dog Character – Definite Mention (F = 19.71)
- Frog Character – Definite Mention (F = 33.07)
- Frog Character – Pronoun Mention (F = 7.52)
- Frog Character – Non-Subject Mention (F = 42.90)

This section will begin with a description of the significance of these nine variables in most cases in the form of a table or some other visual aid. Then in most cases, an example from the data has been chosen to elaborate the relationship being highlighted.

Intonation Units

As with the previously examined independent variables of gender and format, the position of a picture in an episode was an indicator of the number of intonation units used in the description of that episode. Table 5.10 shows the means and standard deviations of intonation units for English narratives.

**Table 5.10 Intonation Unit Means and Standard Deviations by Episode in English**

| *Episode Location* | *Mean* | *SD* |
|---|---|---|
| Beginning | 3.44 | 2.23 |
| Middle | 2.47 | 1.81 |
| End | 2.34 | 2.18 |

As can be seen from Table 5.10, narrators tend to mark the beginning of episodes with more intonation units. Regardless of the coding problem previously mentioned in the Episode Overview, this is a significant finding. For the purposes of this discussion, I was interested in what occurred at episode boundaries. This shows that the pictures that have been coded as beginnings of episodes receive more emphasis in the form of a higher mean number of intonation units. The following two examples will elaborate this point. These two examples describe Episode 1 of the story as elaborated by Bamberg and Marchman. This episode begins with picture four and ends at picture 7. Picture 8 is the beginning of another episode. Example (5.15) is narrated by and American male using the scroll format. An American female using the book format narrates example (5.16).

Example (5.15)

the boy and the dog
Frank and Spot
are looking for the frog
everywhere around the room
4 and cannot find it anywhere
so Spot sticks his head in the jar
an-that's not good
an- he uh- gets his head stuck in the jar
_____ and they are looking for the frog everywhere

6 but Spot falls out the window
_____ falls and falls
and the glass breaks an-
7 so Frank grabs his dog
and he's happy but
_____ he's upset that they still can't find the frog

Picture 4 is coded as a beginning of an episode. That picture description has nine intonation units, while the others have two (middle) and four (ending). In addition, Example (5.15) shows the tendency of narrators to not code continuation of action, Picture 5, in which the boy and the dog continue the search by calling for the frog out of the open window, is not even mentioned in this scroll description.

An examination of Example (5.16) also shows the same tendency for narrators to give ample description to the beginnings of episodes, but less description to the middles and ends. In Example (5.16), the beginning picture is described using seven intonation units. Each of the remaining pictures of the episode has four intonation units of description each.

Example (5.16)

well they looked up and down
all over for little Stormy
but they couldn't find him anywhere
4 Chad looked under the bed
and under a sweater
and Milo looked in the little frog bowl
_____ but couldn't find Stormy anywhere

so they went to their window

5 and they opened it

and they called for Stormy

_____ they called and called and called

well Milo being the little silly dog that he is

6 happened to have the um-

the frog bowl on his head

_____ and he fell out the window

and it crashed

7 and then Chad went outside to see how Milo was doing

to make sure he wasn't hurt

_____ and picked him up

As previously mentioned, format did not have a significant relationship to episode. However, in the interest of establishing the perception of episodes across formats, a further measure was computed on the variables investigated in relation to episode. Across formats, the number of intonation units marking each episode location was divided by the total number of intonation units in the story. Table 5.11 below shows these percentages.

**Table 5.11 Percentage of Intonation Units Marking Episode Positions in English**

| *Episode Position* | *Percentage* | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Book* | *Scroll* |
| Beginning | 0.41 | 0.42 |
| Middle | 0.30 | 0.30 |
| End | 0.29 | 0.28 |

As can be seen from this table, there is a remarkable similarity in the percentage of intonation units allocated to beginnings, middles, and ends of episodes across formats. These findings show that although there is much less language used in the scrolls than in the books, there is a similar allocation of that language across episodes, with beginnings marked with the highest percentage of language.

*Intonation Unit Summary*

The findings of the previous section have demonstrated that narrators, regardless of format, use more intonation units to describe the pictures which mark the beginnings of episodes.

Fronted Adverbial Clause

The variable, fronted adverbial clause, also has a significant relationship to episode. Table 5.12 shows the means and standard deviation of this variable in relation to episode location.

**Table 5.12 Fronted Adverbial Clause Means and SD by Episode in English**

| *Episode Location* | *Mean* | *SD* |
|---|---|---|
| Beginning | 0.59 | 0.49 |
| Middle | 0.38 | 0.49 |
| End | 0.31 | 0.46 |

As can be seen from this table, the occurrence of fronted adverbial clauses in English stories has a similar pattern to the one found for intonation units. Subjects use at least one fronted adverbial clause to indicate the changing of scene which occurs at the

beginning of episodes more often than they use one in a middle or ending of an episode. This tendency can be seen from the following two examples, (5.17) (American book male) and (5.18) (American, book female), which both describe Picture 14, the beginning of an episode.

Example (5.17)

*after getting done with the owl*
Billy climbed up onto a rock
to get a better view to look for his frog

Example (5.18)

then Tommy began to look for Mr. Frog behind a big rock
*and as he looked over the rock*
he leaned on what he thought were tree branches

The mean scores of the beginning episodes are higher than in the other locations because narrators are using fronted adverbial clauses to change the scene or set the stage for the new episode. However, although this tendency is found in both formats, the formats are also doing different things. An ANOVA was run on Fronted Adverbial Clauses in relation to the combination of Format and Episode. Table 5.13 shows the means and standard deviations of that significant relationship.

**Table 5.13 Fronted Adverbial Clause Means and SD by Format and Episode in English**

| *Episode Location* | *Book* | | *Scroll* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Mean* | *SD* | *Mean* | *SD* |
| Beginning | 0.62 | 0.49 | 0.57 | 0.50 |
| Middle | 0.36 | 0.48 | 0.40 | 0.49 |
| End | 0.24 | 0.43 | 0.37 | 0.48 |

As can be seen from Table 5.13, in both formats, narrators progressively decrease the number of fronted adverbial clauses that they use as they proceed through the episode. However, there is some variation in the mean scores as the episode progresses, and the scores reported in Table 5.13 are affected by the length of the stories. In the discussion regarding intonation units, we have already seen that the book stories are significantly longer than the scroll stories. Therefore, a further analysis of the occurrence of fronted adverbial clauses shows the percentage of occurrence at beginning, middle, and end locations of episodes irrespective of the length of the stories. The next table, Table 5.14, shows those percentages.

**Table 5.14 Percentage of Fronted Adverbial Clause by Format and Episode in English**

| *Episode Position* | *Percentage* | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Book* | *Scroll* |
| Beginning | 0.51 | 0.46 |
| Middle | 0.30 | 0.28 |
| End | 0.19 | 0.26 |

When we examine Table 5.14, it is easy to see that English-speaking narrators are marking the beginnings of episodes with fronted adverbial clauses. In either format, almost half of the occurrences of fronted adverbial clauses occur at the beginnings of episodes. In addition, there is a decrease in the occurrence throughout the remainder of the episode in both formats.

*Fronted Adverbial Clause Summary*

The previous section has shown that across formats, narrators mark the beginnings of episodes with fronted adverbial clauses (FAC) more often than they do for

the middles and ends of episodes. Also, across formats there is a similar pattern in the percentage of occurrence of FACs in English stories, in that the almost half of the occurrences occur at the beginnings of episodes with a steady decrease through the middles and into the ends. These findings seem to support the hypothesis that FACs are marking a shift of consciousness, hence they are occurring with more frequency at the beginnings of episodes than in the middles or ends. As was shown by the examples, narrators seem to be using the FACs to set the stage for the action of the episode.

Boy Reference

Two variables related to the boy character demonstrated significance in relation to episode location – definite mentions and pronoun mentions. Table 5.15 below shows the means and standard deviations for those two variables in relation to episode location. As can be seen from the table, both variables seem to occur in a similar pattern in the episodes. Narrators use them with more frequency at the beginning of the episodes and at the end of episodes, and less in the middle.

**Table 5.15 Boy Reference Means and SD by Episode in English**

| Episode Location | Definite Mention | | Pronoun Mention | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | SD | Mean | SD |
| Beginning | 0.50 | 0.52 | 0.46 | 0.50 |
| Middle | 0.31 | 0.48 | 0.27 | 0.45 |
| End | 0.37 | 0.72 | 0.30 | 0.46 |

Examples (5.19) and (5.20) show two descriptions of Picture 14 (a beginning). In these picture descriptions, the narrator uses a great deal of language to describe the actions that

are occurring. Initially in the description, the protagonist is referred to in definite terms, but by the end of the description, the protagonist is referred to as *he*.

Example (5.19)

Billy climbed up on a rock
and he was holding on to
what he thought was two twigs
and looking all around for Hopper
and he was yelling Hopper's name
and crying out for Hopper

Example (5.20)

soon the owl was gone
and Tommy got on top of the big rock
to look and yell for the frog
but he didn't know
that there was a giant deer sitting behind the rock

This explains the increase in both definite mentions and pronoun mentions at the beginnings of episodes in the English stories. However, a more extensive examination of the ratio of occurrence of these variables per 100 words in episodes will further elaborate this trend. Table 5.16 shows those ratios.

**Table 5.16 Ratio per 100 words of Boy Reference by Format in English**

| *Episode Position* | *Definite Mention* | | *Pronoun Mention* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Book* | *Scroll* | *Book* | *Scroll* |
| Beginning | 0.93 | 0.75 | 1.40 | 0.97 |
| Middle | 0.57 | 0.46 | 0.76 | 0.46 |
| End | 0.77 | 0.44 | 0.79 | 0.43 |

As can be seen from this table, the ratios of occurrence of both definite and pronoun mentions of the boy are higher at the beginnings of episodes regardless of the format that the narrators used to tell the story. In the book stories, these mentions occur most in beginning position, second in end position, and least in middle position (although the actual ratios differ). However, in scroll format, although the beginnings are also marked with the highest percentage, the middles and ends steadily decline. An interesting note is that the ratio of pronoun mentions is actually higher in the beginnings than the definite mentions. This is further evidence of the added emphasis placed on the descriptions of the pictures coded as beginnings (as seen in Examples 5.19 and 5.20).

*Boy Reference Summary*

Previous research has shown that human protagonists are more salient than animal protagonists. In English narratives, definite mentions and pronoun mentions of the boy character have been shown to occur more often in beginning locations of episodes. This lends support to the idea that the boy is the main protagonist acting in the search for the frog. The descriptions that are classified as beginnings of episodes have many more occurrences of definite and pronoun mentions of the boy character than the middles or ends. Initially, the higher mean scores of these variables in relation to episode could be attributed to the increased amount of language that occurs at episode beginnings; however, further analysis of each variable's ratio per 100 words shows that, across formats, there is an increase in both definite and pronoun mentions at the beginnings of episodes.

Dog Reference

The dog character was only significant in relation to episode for one variable in this study – definite mention. Table 5.17 shows the analysis completed for definite mentions of the dog in relation to episode location.

**Table 5.17 Dog Definite Mention Means and SD by Episode in English**

| | *Mean* | *SD* |
|---|---|---|
| Beginning | 0.37 | 0.50 |
| Middle | 0.36 | 0.49 |
| End | 0.19 | 0.40 |

As can be seen from Table 5.17, the means for definite mention of the dog are almost exactly the same between the beginnings and middles of episodes (even with the same SD). However, there is a sharp decrease in definite mentions when the narrators are wrapping up an episode. The next table, Table 5.18, will tease out the ratio of occurrence of definite mention of the dog per 100 words across formats for the English stories.

**Table 5.18 Ratio of Dog Definite Mentions for Format by Episode in English**

| *Episode Location* | *Ratios* | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Book* | *Scroll* |
| Beginning | 0.60 | 0.66 |
| Middle | 0.60 | 0.60 |
| End | 0.36 | 0.24 |

Table 5.18 shows a similar pattern to the Table 5.17 in that beginnings and middles of episodes have similar ratios of definite mentions with decreases at the end of the episode.

The following example from an English-speaking female telling the story in scroll format elaborates this pattern.

Example (5.21)

(Timmy) quickly started looking through everything in his room
he and his dog Skippy frantically frantically searched
4 through the clothes on the floor
through the jar
_____ Skippy got his head stuck in that jar
Timmy opened the window
And shouted out
5 Froggie froggie where are you
Froggie Froggie come back
_____ Skippy the dog still had his head stuck in the jar
6 as he's looking out the window
_____ he quickly falls to the ground
7 Timmy rushes outside to help his dog
_____ To make sure he is okay
8 then they go wandering over the hillside
_____ shouting frog frog where are you froggie

Picture 4 is a beginning picture and so is picture 8. In this example, we can see the dog being mentioned definitely only in the beginning picture, number 4, and first middle picture, number 5. In the end picture (number 7) the dog is only referred to in non-subject form. Generally, this example demonstrates the pattern that has been shown in relation to the dog's character. The dog seems to be mentioned almost equal amounts at the beginning and the middle of the episodes, but with a sharp decrease at the ends.

*Dog Reference Summary*

In English narratives, the category of definite mentions of the dog is not really a strong indicator of episode boundaries in that the beginnings and the middles are so difficult to distinguish from one another and endings seem only to be marked with a lower occurrence of definite mentions. This finding also lends support to the previously discussed salience of human protagonists over animal protagonists. The dog character has one significant relationship, definite mentions, in relation to episode, while the boy character has two significant relationships. Also, the dog character's significance seems to be related to the sharp decrease at the end of episodes rather than an increase at the beginnings. In fact, according to the findings outlined in this section, the dog character has also the same probability of being mentioned at the beginning of an episode as it has in the middle. In other words, the reference to the dog does not indicate an episode boundary with the same regularity as the boy character's mention.

Frog Reference

An interesting result of this study relates to the coding of the frog. The frog character is an enigma of sorts in the story. Numerous researchers have found that human protagonists have more salience than animal protagonists; however, the search for the frog is the main point of this story. This fact has led to an interesting pattern of reference to the frog character. Table 5.19 shows a great deal of information; however, it demonstrates a similar pattern across these variables. In each case, the beginning and the end of episodes are marked with an increase in reference to the frog character.

**Table 5.19 Frog Reference Means and Standard Deviations by Episode in English**

| *Episode Location* | *Definite Mention* | | *Pronoun Mention* | | *Non-Subject* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Mean* | *SD* | *Mean* | *SD* | *Mean* | *SD* |
| Beginning | 0.19 | 0.40 | 0.05 | 0.21 | 0.44 | 0.50 |
| Middle | 0.01 | 0.10 | 0.01 | 0.09 | 0.15 | 0.36 |
| End | 0.09 | 0.30 | 0.06 | 0.23 | 0.35 | 0.48 |

This increase is shown also in the following examples.

Example (5.22)

John calls out for *the frog* some more
and he stands on top of a rock and loses his balance
14 and he gets his shirt caught on some branches
(B) and he can't get down
so he's standing there and standing there
_____ and he can't get down
15 (M) so here comes a nice deer with antlers
16 and the deer gets him down
(M) and takes him and the dog
_____ to where he thinks *the frog* might be
17 so once they reach the river
(M)__ the deer drops John and his dog into the creek
18 and then they-
(E)___ they land there in the creek
they're-
19 they are sitting there all wet
(B) and they-
_____ they yell for *the frog*

Example (5.22) is an American male's scroll elaboration of one episode which begins at Picture 14 (Beginning – B) and end at picture 18 (Ending – E). Picture 19 is classified as the beginning of a new episode. The remainder of the pictures are classified as middles (M). The frog is mentioned three times in this example, all of which are non-subject mentions of the frog. Two of those mentions occur at the beginning of episodes, one in Picture 14 and one in Picture 19. The third occurs at a picture which is coded as a middle; however, it is important to note that there are three "middle" pictures in this example. Of those three, only one of them has any mention of the frog at all. Both of the beginning pictures have a mention, and the ending picture did not have a frog mention in this example. Of course, there are examples which could show the pronoun mentions of the frog; however, those mentions were much less frequent than the non-subject mentions and definite mentions as evidenced by the mean scores and SD of the variance of that variable.

Example (5.23) shows a different episode from an American female narrator telling the story in scroll format. This example also shows from the beginning of one episode to the beginning of another. Pictures 4 and 8 are both coded as beginnings of episodes. Pictures 7 is an ending, and picture 6 is a middle. This narrator did not use any language to describe picture 5. This narrator refers to the frog in non-subject position in both of the beginning locations and end locations and does not refer to the frog in an end location.

Example (5.23)

4 he and the dog went searching throughout the entire room

(B) trying to find *it*

_____ during while the dog got his nose stuck in the jar

6 (M)_ then he fell out the window

7 the boy rescued the dog

(E)___ but they still couldn't find *the frog*

8 so they went into the woods

(B)___ searching trying to find *his frog*

A further analysis of the ratio per 100 words of occurrence at episode location also shows a similar pattern. Table 5.20 shows these ratios for the definite mentions, pronoun mentions, and non-subject mentions of the frog character.

**Table 5.20 Ratios of Frog Reference by Format and Episode in English**

| *Episode Location* | *Definite Mention* | | *Pronoun Mention* | | *Non-Subj. Mention* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Book* | *Scroll* | *Book* | *Scroll* | *Book* | *Scroll* |
| Begin. | 0.33 | 0.26 | 0.06 | 0.10 | 0.70 | 0.70 |
| Middle | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.26 | 0.23 |
| End | 0.15 | 0.17 | 0.11 | 0.11 | 0.58 | 0.53 |

From Table 5.20, it is easy to see that a similar pattern has emerged. Beginnings as usual have the highest percentage of occurrence, with endings having the second highest, and middles marked by very little occurrence. The frog character is referred to most when the narrators begin new episodes, and second most when they end them. This pattern is especially interesting in that although the scroll stories consist of less language, there is a great deal of across format similarity in how that language is divided between the episode locations.

*Frog Reference Summary*

English speakers' reference to the frog character occurs mostly at episode boundaries rather than in the middle of the episode. This differs from the other animal protagonist, the dog, which is equally often in beginnings and middles and not mentioned as much at the end of episodes. The frog character may have a special status in this story because the search for it is the goal of the story. Hence, whenever narrators are reorienting to the next scene, they mention that they are starting the search again. Whenever narrators are ending an episode, they tend to state that the frog has not yet been found –hence the search continues in the next episode. Narrators do sometimes mention the frog in the middle of an episode, but that mention occurs with much less regularity than the mentions at the beginnings or the endings of episodes.

Episode Variation Summary

As previously stated, the beginnings of the episodes coded for this research project coincide with the coding of the beginnings of the episodes as Bamberg and Marchman (1990, 1991, 1994) coded them. In this section, those episode location codings have been demonstrated to be a strong indicator of how narrators frame the description, how much language they use to do that framing, and how they choose to refer to the characters in the story. Both the number of intonation units and the number of adverbial clauses are affected by the episodic location of the picture being described. The boy character is the most salient of the three characters examined. This character had a significant relationship to three variables, definite mention, pronoun mention and zero mention. The results of this analysis show that the English speaking narrators tend

to refer to the boy throughout the episodes, but with different referents depending upon the salience of the character and his actions. So, at the beginnings of episodes when the boy is typipcally doing something, the boy is referred to with a definite mention more often. However, in the middles, when the boy has typically caused something to happen (ie. a gopher or an owl to emerge from their respective holes), the boy is mentioned more in pronoun form or non-subject position. The dog only demonstrated significance in relation to its definite mentions, and then, only in a sharp decrease in mean at the end of episodes. This demonstrates that the dog character is not as salient a marker of episode boundaries as the boy. The dog is almost just as likely to be mentioned at the beginning or the middle of an episode. The frog character demonstrates significance with three variables and is a better indicator of episode boundaries because there is a sharp increase in the mean number of mentions of the frog at both the beginnings and endings of episodes. A further analysis of the trends in episodes and across languages will occur in the picture-by-picture analysis of English and Japanese stories combined.

## Japanese Narratives

In this research study, two language groups were examined. Previously in this chapter, I have only discussed the significant relationships between format, gender and episode found in English narratives. In this second section, I would like to broaden the analysis by discussing the results with the same parameters in Japanese. The organization of this section will be much the same as in the previous. I will begin by discussing the variables that significance relationships in relation to Format, then to Gender, and finally to Episode.

## Format Variation in Japanese

In Japanese narratives, format was found to be significant in relation to the four variables listed below with their significance and F-ratio values.

- Intonation Units (F = 22.15)
- False Starts (F = 18.84)
- Dog Character – Definite Mention (F = 8.18)
- Dog Character – Non-Subject Mention (F = 7.89)

It is important to note that the amount of variation being explained by the significance shown in the references to the dog character is very small. However, a brief description of that variance is forthcoming. In the remainder of this section, I will discuss the findings related to each of these variables and provide examples from the Japanese data to support the findings.

### Intonation Units

Japanese speakers, like American speakers, used a significantly different number of intonation units when they told stories in the book and scroll formats. For Japanese narrators, the book format, elicited a higher mean occurrence of IUs (Mean = 2.20, SD = 1.92) than the scroll stories (Mean = 1.74, SD = 1.34). Japanese speakers, on average, use more IUs for narratives told in book format as opposed to scroll format. However, this higher mean may be skewed by the increase an increase in the amount of language used to describe the book format. However, when we compare the average number of words per book format story (428.56 words / story) to the average number of words in the scroll format (342.72 words / story), we can see that the increased number of intonation

units coincides with an increased amount of language overall. The following example (5.24) elaborates the increased amount of language used in the book format.

Example (5.24)

syounen wa heya no iroirona tokoro o sagashitemimashita
boy (S) room (POSS) every place (DO) search see (PAST)
The boy tried to look all over his room
demo kaeru wa mitsudarimasen
but frog (S) find (NEG)
4 but the frog couldn't be found
inu mo issyo ni sagashimashita
dog (also) together search (PAST)
The dog tried to look with the boy
inu wa bin no naka ni kaeru ga inaika
4 dog (S) jar (POSS) inside (in) frog (S) be (NEG)becasue
bin no naka ni atama o irete sagashitemimashita
jar (POSS) inside (in) head (DO) into search (PAST)
The dog put his head in the bottle that the frog wasn't in.
demo kaeru wa mitsukarimasen
but frog (S) find (NEG)
but (the dog) could not find the frog
soshite inu wa bin no naka kara nukedasu koto mo dekimasen
then dog (S) jar (POSS) inside (from) sneak thing (also) do (NEG)
_____ then the dog cannot take the jar off of his head.
syounen mado no soto o mitemimashita
boy window (POSS) outside (DO) look (PAST)
then the boy looked out of the window to search
5 ie no soto ni nigedashitaka mo—
house (POSS) outside (in) run away (also)
outside the house run away---
kaeru wa ie no soto ni nigedashitakamoshiremasen
frog (S)house (POSS) outside (in) run away (also) know (NEG)
_____ The frog may have run away outside
inu wa mado kara soto ni tobiorimashita
6 dog (S) window (from) outside (in) fall (PAST)
_____ the dog fell out of the window

An extremely short scroll story has already been shown in Example (4.4), which is reproduced here.

Example (4.4)

Masashikun wa bin no naka ni kaeru o katteimashita
1 Masashi (S) jar (POSS) inside (in) frog (DO) have (PAST)
____ Masashikun had a frog and kept it in a jar
Aru yoru, kaeru wa sono bin kara nukedashiteshimaimashita
2 One night frog (S) that jar (from) escape (PAST)
____ One night, the frog escaped from the jar
Masashikun wa asa okite kaeru ga nigedashitano ga wakaru to
3 Masashi (S) morning wake up frog (S) escape (S) realize
_____ Masashikun realized the frog had escaped when he woke up
inu to issyo ni kaeru o sagashi ni ikimashita
8 dog (and) together frog (DO) search (in) go (PAST)
_____ Then he went out to look for the frog with his dog
mori no naka o sagashiteru toki
forest (POSS) inside (DO) search (PROG) time
12 During the search in the forest
Masashikun to inu wa hachi ni osowaretari hukurou ni osowaretaishimashita
Masashi (and) dog (S) bee (in) attack owl (in) attacked (PAST)(PASS)
____ Masashikun and his dog were attacked by bee and owl
suruto soko ni kaeru no nakikoe ga kikoeta
19 then there (in) frog (POSS) voice (S) hear (PAST)
_____ Then he heard the croak
node mitemiru to
21 as look (and)
_____ He looked around
kaeru no oyakoto - kodomo ga soko ni imashita
23 frog (POSS) family – child (S) there (in) be (PAST)
_____ At the time, there was a frog's family
Masahikun wa kodomo o ippiki moratte ie ni kaerimashita
24 Masashi (S) child (DO) one was given home (in) return (PAST)
_____ Masashikun was given a child frog and went back to his house

Example (4.4) is, of course, the extreme case, as it was one of the five shortest stories told in scroll format in Japanese. A comparison of the number of intonation units used for the descriptions of the pictures in Example (4.4) and the description in Example (5.24) is useful for a number of reasons. First, the amount of language and the resulting detail in the book story is much greater than in the scroll story. In addition, as previously discussed in the English section, the scroll story is segmented in a completely different

way from the book story because the narrators must segment the scroll story themselves instead of relying on the page boundaries found in the book format.

*Intonation Unit Summary*

In Japanese narratives, the format of the book, as with the American narrators, encourages more description at the picture level resulting in a greater mean number of intonation units in book stories as compared to scroll stories.

False Starts

Japanese speakers demonstrated a higher number of false starts in book form than in scroll form. An example of a false start can be seen in Picture 5 of Example 5.24 (p.124). The narrator begins to think about the possibility of the frog having run away, realizes that he has not mentioned the frog, and begins the entire sequence again. Table 5.21 shows the means and SD scores for Japanese false starts in relation to episode.

**Table 5.21 False Start Means and SD by Format in Japanese**

| *Format* | *Mean* | *SD* |
|---|---|---|
| Book | 0.04 | 0.20 |
| Scroll | 0.01 | 0.08 |

As can be seen from the table, although false starts demonstrate significance, the mean number of occurrences is very small.

*False Start Summary*

For Japanese speakers, false starts was one variable which differed significantly based on the format of the stories. Japanese speakers tended to have more false starts in the book format than in the scroll format. However, false starts did not show a significant

relationship in any other category (other categories will be discussed later). This could be a feature of the narrators doing on-line segmentation as opposed to organizing the segmentation in advance.

Dog Reference

In the Japanese narratives, the F-ratios for the two significant variables related to the dog character are very small. A very small amount of the variation in these variables is explained by format. However, a brief discussion will elaborate what we can conclude from these findings. Table 5.22 shows the analyses completed for both definite mention and non-subject mention of the dog character in Japanese narratives.

**Table 5.22 Dog Reference Analyses by Format in Japanese**

| *Format* | *Definite Mention* | | | *Non-Subject Mention* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Mean* | *SD* | *Ratio* | *Mean* | *SD* | *Ratio* |
| Book | 0.38 | 0.51 | 2.44 | 0.11 | 0.32 | 0.63 |
| Scroll | 0.30 | 0.46 | 2.30 | 0.07 | 0.25 | 0.48 |

As can be seen from the table, the book format narrators tend to have both more definite mentions of the dog and more non-subject mention of the dog than the scroll format narrators. This could be because the segmentation of the book into page boundaries focuses the narrators on the dog character more specifically than the scroll format. The ratios of occurrence of these variables per 100 words also show the same trend even though the difference seems greater in the non-subject mention.

*Dog Reference Summary*

In the Japanese narratives, the F-ratios of the dog character definite mentions and pronoun mentions are very small which means that format accounts for very little of the variation with respect to these two variables. However, there are more mentions of the frog in the book than the scroll, and more definite mentions than pronoun mentions in both formats. These findings indicate that the Japanese narrators refer to the dog more often as an actor than as a receiver of action.

Format Variation Summary

Whether Japanese narrators are telling the frog story in book or scroll form is a significant factor in the amount of language that the narrators use to tell the story. It is also a factor in how the narrators focus those stories. In this section, I have explained the variables which have a significance relationship to format in the Japanese narratives. As with the English narratives, Japanese speakers use more intonation units and words to tell the story in the book format than in the scroll format. In light of the discussion regarding the format variation in the English stories, this finding was not unexpected. If the scroll format has a higher cognitive processing cost due to the fact that the narrators must segment the story themselves and encourages narrators to adopt features of extroverted consciousness, then the detail and the amount of language in the scroll stories is expected to be less than in the book stories.

Another finding was discovered in the relation to false starts in the Japanese narratives. Japanese speakers had more false starts in the book form than in the scroll form. The reasons for this significance may also be related to the segmentation of the

picture book in the two formats. In the scroll format, narrators can see more of the pictures at a time, and because of this, they do not generally begin to describe an action and then change their minds. Perhaps because they could see the outcome of that action while they are describing the initial one, they tended to have fewer false starts. In the book format, narrators must focus on the pictures, which are shown at the page boundaries. When they turn a page, they are faced with remembering not only what they saw on the previous page, but also what they said about the previous page. Perhaps the increase in false starts is related to this juggling of memories as narrators face new pages.

As for the dog reference significance, the F-ratios are very small and account for little of the variation in relation to format. However, another feature could be at work here –that the increases in reference could be connected – in that narrators, by taking time to describe each picture in more detail in the book format, naturally elaborate the actions of the dog as both agent and receiver of action (but not in the same ratios).

No other variables had significant relationships with respect to format in the Japanese narratives. This result is a little odd in that in the English stories, the boy character had significance in two variables. The boy character in the Japanese stories did not vary significantly in relation to format possibly due to the typology of Japanese. As previously stated, Japanese speakers do not have strong head-initial constraints for sentence formation. In fact, when a subject is understood, the appropriate thing to do is to ellipt the subject. In addition, Japanese speakers can ellipt a subject that completes an action which can only be attributed to that character. So, for example, if the boy is the only one who can water ski, then the subject "the boy" can be ellipted because it is understood. These typological constraints give Japanese speakers a variety of options in

their picture descriptions and may have played a role in the lack of significance found in relation to the boy character.

## Gender Variation in Japanese

Significant gender variation in Japanese is limited to one variable, Intonation Units. In addition, that F-ratio is low (7.67). However, Japanese narrators demonstrate a similar tendency to American narrators in the occurrence of an increase in intonation units. Table 5.23 shows the means and standard deviations for the intonation units in relation to gender for Japanese speakers.

**Table 5.23 Intonation Unit Means and SD by Gender in Japanese**

| *Gender* | *Mean* | *SD* |
|---|---|---|
| Female | 2.13 | 1.72 |
| Male | 1.86 | 1.63 |

As with the American females, Japanese females have a higher mean number of intonation units than their male counterparts. Further elaboration of this relationship can be seen in the next table. Table 5.24 shows the analyses of intonation units in relation to format and gender.

**Table 5.24 Intonation Unit Analyses by Format and Gender in Japanese***

| | *Format* | *Mean* | *SD* | *Average # of Words* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Female | Book | 2.35 | 1.91 | 448.50 |
| | Scroll | 1.90 | 1.48 | 400.70 |
| Male | Book | 2.09 | 1.92 | 415.27 |
| | Scroll | 1.63 | 1.23 | 304.07 |

*Combined relations of Gender and Format are not significant.

Although the relationships shown in Table 5.24 are not significant, their elaboration does tease out the effect gender had on the number of intonation units these narrators produced in relation to the format the narrators used to tell the story. These Japanese females had a mean than Japanese males across formats. For both genders, there was a sharp difference in the number of intonation units used in the book format as opposed to the scroll format. In addition, the final column of Table 5.24 shows that the average number of words per story for each gender group across formats also supports this trend.

Gender Variation Summary

The number of intonation units used by narrators to tell the story was the only variable with a significant relationship to the gender of those narrators. There were similar trends in both Japanese and English in relation to this variable. In general, females told longer stories (counted in number of intonation units and average number of words) than their male counterparts. And, across formats within gender groups, there was a sharp decrease in the amount of language used in the book format to the scroll format.

As in the previous discussion of the gender variation in the English narratives, the reasons for this variation in length of stories is unclear. Previous research might have led us to hypothesize that because the gender-specific expectations of interaction had been removed, females and males would respond similarly to the task of telling this frog story to an absent audience. However, that is not what occurred and further research is required to determine why.

## Episode Variation in Japanese

One of the aims of this study was to determine to what extent the episode boundaries, which had been previously established for the frog story, had linguistic correlates. In the Japanese narratives, ten out of the fifteen dependent variables investigated in this study have significant relationships to episode location. These variables and their F-ratio values are listed below.

- Intonation Units (F = 9.92)
- Fronted Adverbial Clauses (F = 23.85)
- Boy Character – Definite Mention (F = 36.20)
- Boy Character – Pronoun Mention (F = 8.23)
- Boy Character – Zero Mention (F = 7.10)
- Boy Character – Non-Subject Mention (F = 8.46)
- Dog Character – Definite Mention (F = 4.24)
- Dog Character – Pronoun Mention (F = 6.50)
- Frog Character – Definite Mention (F= 57.14)
- Frog Character – Non-Subject Mention (F = 34.49)

The remainder of this section will elaborate the specific relationships within episodes for each of these variables under the broad categories of intonation units, fronted adverbial clauses, boy reference, dog reference, and frog reference. Where necessary, Japanese examples will demonstrate the relationships being discussed. A further discussion of the similarities between Japanese and English can be found in the next section, Japanese and English Narratives.

Intonation Units

In the Japanese narratives, the number of intonation units used had a significant relationship to episode location. Table 5.25 shows the means and standard deviations for these variables in relation to episode.

**Table 5.25 Intonation Unit Means and SD by Episode in Japanese**

| *Episode Location* | *Mean* | *SD* |
|---|---|---|
| Beginning | 2.27 | 1.56 |
| Middle | 1.79 | 1.73 |
| End | 1.85 | 1.69 |

Table 5.25 shows the trend we have seen in the discussion of English narrative episode boundaries. Beginnings of episodes are characterized by a higher mean number of intonation units describing those pictures. With the exception of a slight increase in the mean number of intonation units at the end of episodes, the middles and ends of episodes show a sharp decrease from the beginnings. These phenomena can easily be seen from the following example from a Japanese female book story.

Example (5.25)

*sore kara* hutari de mori e bingu-o sagashi ni ikimashita.
That from two (in) forest (to) Bing (DO) search (in) go (PAST)
*After that*, the two went the the forest to search for Bing
sorakun wa "o-i. bingu-" to sakende mimashita ga
8 Sora (S) "Hey Bing" yell try (PAST) (but)
Sora yelled, "Hey Bing"
henji wa arimasen.
answer (S) be (NEG)
But there was no answer.
batako mo sagashiteimasu.
Batako (also) search (PROG)
_____ Batako is also searching.

*sorakun ga mogura no ana o sagashiteiru aida ni*
9 Sora (S) mole (POSS) hole (DO) search (PROG) during (in)
*While Sora is searching in a mole's hole*
batako ga yokeina koto o shite shimaimashita.
Batako (S) too much thing (DO) try to do (PAST)
_____ Batako did something that unnerved Sora.
hachinosu ni hoetechimatta no desu.
10 beehive (in) bark (PAST) (POSS) be.
_____ (Batako) barked at a beehive
hachi wa mirumiru uchi ni dete kite shimaimashita.
bee (S) looklook home (in) exit come complete(PAST)
11 And the bees came out quickly and surprised
soshite, sorakun wa hachi ni bikkuri.
then Sora (S) bee (in) surprise
then Sora was surprised by them
*mochiron* batako mo desu.
of course Batako (also) be
_____ *of course* Batako was also surprised

Example (5.25) shows that the number of intonation units used to code pictures classified as the middle of episodes is lower than the number used to classify either beginnings or endings. In order to equalize the differences in length across formats, a further analysis of the number of intonation units will elaborate the percentage of intonation units at each episode location. Table 5.26 shows these percentages by format and episode.

**Table 5.26 Percentage of Intonation Units Marking Episode Positions in English**

| *Episode Position* | *Percentage* | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Book* | *Scroll* |
| Beginning | 0.37 | 0.40 |
| Middle | 0.30 | 0.30 |
| End | 0.32 | 0.30 |

These percentages show that although there is a great deal less language in the Japanese scroll stories, the allotment of that language is very similar. Proportionately, narrators

using either the scroll format or the book format use approximately 40% of the language they produce at the pictures coded as beginnings. Also, across formats, narrators use approximately one-third of the language that they produce for middles and ends of episodes respectively.

*Intonation Unit Summary*

As was shown with the English narrators, Japanese narrators tend to mark beginnings of episodes with a higher number of intonation units across formats. Initially, this increase was thought to perhaps be related to the increased amount of language produced in the book format. However, a comparison of the percentages across formats showed that regardless of format, narrators allot similar amounts of language to the descriptions of pictures at episode locations.

Fronted Adverbial Clause

Fronted adverbial clauses also showed a significant relationship with respect to episode location in Japanese narratives. Table 5.27 shows the means and standard deviations of this variable in relation to episode location.

**Table 5.27 Fronted Adverbial Clause Means and SD by Episode in Japanese**

| *Episode Location* | *Mean* | *SD* |
|---|---|---|
| Beginning | 0.53 | 0.50 |
| Middle | 0.32 | 0.47 |
| End | 0.32 | 0.47 |

As can be seen from this table, the occurrence of fronted adverbial clauses in Japanese stories has a similar pattern to the one found for intonation units. Subjects use a fronted adverbial clause to indicate the changing of scene which occurs at the beginning of episodes more often than they use one in a middle or ending of an episode. Example (5.25) (on page 133) shows Episode two of the frog story beginning with Picture 8 and ending with Picture 11. This episode has a fronted adverbial clause in both the beginning and ending locations (in italics). In addition, this example has an uncharacteristic middle location adverbial clause. The mean scores of the beginning episodes may be higher than in the other locations because narrators are using fronted adverbial clauses to change the scene or set the stage for the new episode. However, the variation in the mean scores as the episode progresses is small, and the scores reported in Table 5.27 are affected by the length of the stories. Since the book stories are significantly longer than the scroll stories, a further analysis of the occurrence of fronted adverbial clauses which shows the percentage of occurrence at beginning, middle, and end locations of episodes irrespective of the length of the stories is needed. The next table, Table 5.28, shows those percentages.

**Table 5.28 Percentage of Fronted Adverbial Clause by Format and Episode in Japanese**

| *Episode Position* | *Percentage* | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Book* | *Scroll* |
| Beginning | 0.44 | 0.49 |
| Middle | 0.29 | 0.25 |
| End | 0.28 | 0.26 |

When we examine Table 5.28, it is easy to see that Japanese narrators are marking the beginnings of episodes with fronted adverbial clauses. In either format, almost half of the occurrences of fronted adverbial clauses occur at the beginnings of episodes. In addition, there is a decrease in the occurrence in the remainder of the episode in both formats.

*Fronted Adverbial Clause Summary*

The results discussed in this section closely parallel previous findings reported for the English stories. The previous section has shown that across formats, Japanese narrators mark the beginnings of episodes with fronted adverbial clauses (FAC) more often than they do for the middles and ends of episodes. Also, across formats there is a similar pattern in the percentage of occurrence of FACs in English stories, in that the almost half of the occurrences occur at the beginnings of episodes with a steady decrease through the middles and into the ends. These findings seem to further support the hypothesis that FACs are marking a shift of consciousness, hence they are occurring with more frequency at the beginnings of episodes than in the middles or ends. As was shown by the example, narrators seem to be using the FACs to set the stage for the action of the episode.

Boy Reference

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, reference to the boy character in Japanese narratives demonstrated significance in relation to Episode location across four variables. However, the variables have different patterns in their distribution within episodes, so I will discuss them grouped by pattern. Table 5.29 shows the means and

standard deviations for the variables of definite mention, pronoun mention, and zero mention.

**Table 5.29 Boy Reference by Episode in Japanese**

| *Location* | *Definite Mention* | | *Pronoun Mention* | | *Zero Mention* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Mean* | *SD* | *Mean* | *SD* | *Mean* | *SD* |
| Beginning | 0.64 | 0.54 | 0.14 | 0.34 | 0.26 | 0.44 |
| Middle | 0.35 | 0.48 | 0.06 | 0.23 | 0.16 | 0.37 |
| End | 0.41 | 0.50 | 0.08 | 0.26 | 0.19 | 0.40 |

Table 5.29 shows very strongly that the tendency of Japanese narrators is to have an increase in all reference to the boy at the beginning of episodes and a slightly smaller increase at the ends of episodes.

A further analysis of the ratio of occurrence of these variables per 100 words across formats is shown in Table 5.30. The ratios that are reported in Table 5.30 show a similar pattern to the one shown in the previous table.

**Table 5.30 Ratio of Boy Reference by Episode in Japanese**

| *Location* | *Definite Mention* | | *Pronoun Mention* | | *Zero Mention* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Book* | *Scroll* | *Book* | *Scroll* | *Book* | *Scroll* |
| Beginning | 1.52 | 1.69 | 0.22 | 0.64 | 0.57 | 0.65 |
| Middle | 0.70 | 0.92 | 0.13 | 0.09 | 0.29 | 0.46 |
| End | 0.98 | 1.06 | 0.14 | 0.13 | 0.42 | 0.46 |

At first it might seem a bit peculiar that pronoun mention and especially zero mention might be higher at the beginnings of episodes; however, upon closer examination of the data, the reason is clear. As has been shown by the previous examples, Japanese narrators use more language to describe the pictures which occur at the beginnings of

episodes. However, once they have established the topic of that picture description, they can then refer to the boy in either pronoun form or zero mention (especially in Japanese). So, the increase in these mentions is understandable due to the uniform coding of the descriptions of the pictures (i.e. all intonation units coded as beginnings etc.). An added feature of the referential requirements of Japanese is seen in the table in that the scrolls have a higher ratio in each category than the books. This finding may relate to the discussion of extroverted and introverted consciousness and the cognitive cost to the narrators and will be discussed further in the summary of this section.

Non-Subject Mention of the boy character shows an almost opposite pattern from the one demonstrated above. Table 5.31 shows the means and standard deviations for this variable

**Table 5.31 Boy Non-Subject Mention by Episode in Japanese**

| *Episode Location* | *Mean* | *SD* |
|---|---|---|
| Beginning | 0.09 | 0.28 |
| Middle | 0.14 | 0.34 |
| End | 0.05 | 0.22 |

Table 5.31 shows that non-subject mentions of the boy peak in the middle of the episode and are lower at both the beginnings and the ends. This information fits nicely into the previously reported findings for reference to the boy. Non-Subject mention characterizes the boy as the receiver of an action, rather than an actor in the event. If the boy is meeting new characters at the beginnings of the episodes and still regrettably not finding the frog at the end of the episodes, then he would be mentioned in subject position (either definite, pronoun, or zero mention). The boy trying to find the frog and initiating some

action characterizes the beginnings of episodes. However, if during the episode, he is the receiver of some action and therefore not the only actor being coded, the mean number of non-subject mentions would increase in the middle of episodes. In the middle of the episodes, the boy (and the narrator) is surprised by the appearance and meeting of other animal characters (the gopher, the owl or the deer). Narrators generally coed the boy in non-subject mention for these meetings.

*Boy Reference Summary*

Japanese narrators use all four of the variables counted in this study to mark episode boundaries. Three of the variables, definite mention, pronoun mention, and zero mention, occur with greater frequency at the beginnings and the ends of episodes. Non-subject mentions occur with greater frequency in the middle of episodes. This finding differs from the English narratives in that, non-subject mention was not a significant feature in the English stories. Japanese narratives also differ linguistically from English in that zero mention occurs more frequently due to the typological differences of the two languages.

The significant relationships shown in this section relate to the previous discussion of introverted and extroverted consciousness of the narrators. In the book stories, narrators need not focus on the segmentation of the pictures. Hence the narrators can focus on the actions described within the picture boundary that they are viewing. When they describe the actions of the boy, they can be very detailed in their descriptions and can rely on the segmentation to help them focus. Scroll narrators face the task of segmenting a larger gestalt of the frog story (a larger series of the pictures). In their attempt to elaborate the goal of the story, they must be very specific as to the actors and

the actions being completed. So, although in previous discussions, I argued that book narrators provided more detail to their stories, I now argue that scroll narrators must provide more specific reference for theirs, hence the higher ratio of reference to the boy character across formats. Although the book narrators provide more detailed description of the pictures that they are viewing, the scroll narrators must provide more reference to the actors in the pictures because of their view of more pictures at one time.

Dog Reference

Japanese narrators do not seem to use the dog character to mark episode boundaries. Only definite mentions of the dog demonstrated a significant relationship to episode location. The means and standard deviations of this variable across episodes are shown in Table 5.32.

**Table 5.32 Dog Definite Mention Means and SD by Episode in Japanese**

| *Location* | *Mean* | *SD* |
|---|---|---|
| Beginning | 0.39 | 0.52 |
| Middle | 0.35 | 0.48 |
| End | 0.29 | 0.46 |

A closer analysis of the data presented in Table 5.32 shows that the mean number of definite mentions of the dog are similar regardless of the location of that mention in an episode. The standard deviations are similar as well. The significance comes from the decrease in the mean at the end of the episode (the same pattern as was seen in the English narratives in relation to the dog character). The next table, Table 5.33, will

examine the ratio of occurrence of definite mention of the dog per 100 words across formats for the Japanese stories.

**Table 5.33 Ratio of Dog Definite Mentions for Format by Episode in Japanese**

| *Episode Location* | *Ratios* | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Book* | *Scroll* |
| Beginning | 0.96 | 0.90 |
| Middle | 0.86 | 0.75 |
| End | 0.61 | 0.65 |

Table 5.33 shows a similar pattern to the Table 5.32 in that beginnings of episodes have similar ratios of definite mentions with decreases to the middles and at the ends of episodes.

*Dog Reference Summary*

Reference to the dog character is not a strong indicator of episode boundaries in Japanese narratives except that there is a decrease from beginnings through middles to the endings.

Frog Reference

The frog character has been discussed as an animal protagonist with a special status in the frog story because the search for the frog is the goal of the story. This special status seems to be shown by the fact that two of the variables counted for the frog character demonstrate significance in relation to Episode in the Japanese narratives. The means and standard deviations for these three variables are listed below in Table 5.34.

**Table 5.34 Frog Reference by Episode in Japanese**

| *Episode Location* | *Definite Mention* | | *Non-Subject Mention* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Mean* | *SD* | *Mean* | *SD* |
| Beginning | 0.32 | 0.49 | 0.33 | 0.47 |
| Middle | 0.03 | 0.16 | 0.10 | 0.30 |
| End | 0.33 | 0.59 | 0.18 | 0.39 |

As is shown by Table 5.34, both definite mention and non-subject mention of the frog occur in a similar pattern. They both show a marked decrease in mentions in the middle of episodes and a marked increase at the boundaries. However, as with the other analyses, these means may be affected by the amount of language used to describe beginnings. Table 5.35 shows the ratios per 100 words of these same variables across format and episode.

**Table 5.35 Ratios of Frog Reference by Format and Episode in Japanese**

| *Location* | *Definite Mention* | | *Non-Subj. Mention* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Book* | *Scroll* | *Book* | *Scroll* |
| Beginning | 0.63 | 0.75 | 0.59 | 0.81 |
| Middle | 0.08 | 0.04 | 0.22 | 0.21 |
| End | 0.79 | 0.85 | 0.35 | 0.41 |

The ratios shown in Table 5.35 elaborate a similar pattern for the frog character as we saw previously with the boy character. The ratio of reference per 100 words in the scroll format is higher than it is in the book format. My hypothesis is that this is a feature of the different perceptual requirements of the scroll format as opposed to the book format.

*Frog Reference Summary*

Both Definite Mention and Non-Subject mention of the frog character have been shown to increase at the boundaries of episodes. These findings are in line with previously

noted tendencies of narrators to reinstantiate the search for the frog at the beginning of episodes and report the lack of finding the frog at the end.

Episode Variation Summary

In this section, I have outlined the variation of Japanese narratives with respect to Episode location. In Japanese narratives, those codings of episode location have been a strong indicator of how narrators frame the picture descriptions, how much language they use to do that framing, and how they choose to refer to the characters in the story. Both the number of intonation units and the number of adverbial clauses are affected by the episodic location of the picture being described. If the assumption can be made that amount of reference implies salience, the boy character is the most salient of the three characters examined. Narrators chose to refer to this character in definite mention, pronoun mention, non-subject mention and zero mention forms in order to mark the boundaries of episodes. The results of this analysis show that the Japanese-speaking narrators tend to refer to the boy throughout the episodes, but with different referents depending upon the salience of the character and his actions.

Narrators seem to refer definitely to the dog at the beginnings and middles of episodes, and they tend not to refer to the dog at the end of episodes. This pattern indicates that the dog character is not as salient a marker of episode boundaries as the boy. The dog is almost as likely to be mentioned at the beginning as at the middle of an episode.

The frog character seems to have a special status when narrators are telling the stories. The frog is an animal protagonist, but it is also the goal of the story. As such,

narrators seem to be referring to the frog much more than the dog and with a very different pattern. Two variables of frog reference demonstrated a significance relationship to episode location. The pattern that developed was an increase in the reference to the frog character at the beginnings and at the ends but not in the middles of episodes.

Another interesting feature which was elaborated by the analyses discussed in this section relates to the higher ratio of reference in the scroll story with a smaller amount of language. In other words, in the scrolls stories Japanese narrators are referring to the boy and the frog at a higher rate per 100 words than in the book stories. This is an interesting finding especially in light of the argument previously made which states that book stories have more detail than scroll stories. It may seem that these are contradictory arguments; however, they are not. The scroll stories require the narrators to segment the pictures of the book themselves, while the book stories segment the pictures into one or two pictures at a time. The previous argument is based on the idea that the narrators of book stories, although they know the gestalt of the story from their previous viewing, have smaller centers of interest due to the page boundaries, and consequently can focus on the details of the pictures. Whereas the scroll narrators have a series or eight or nine pictures to segment, their centers of interest are larger. Perhaps the scroll narrators in elaborating more gestalt-type descriptions and doing so with less language, must have more reference to move the story along. Perhaps the ratio is affected by the amount of other description that the book narrators do – describing states or motivations, coding surprising or unexpected results, etc. So that, per 100 words, scroll narrators have a higher ratio because they have less description because of the nature of their perception of the task.

## Japanese and English Narratives

Having outlined previously in this chapter the various results of the analysis of the data within Japanese and English, I will now endeavor to discuss the areas of the analysis in which Japanese and English are similar. One hypothesis of this study questions what is happening perceptually when narrators tell stories. Do the episodes of the story stay the same across formats and languages? I have hypothesized that the similarities found between Japanese and English will give an indication of how episodes are perceived and coded. I will organize this discussion by the independent variable being discussed. First similarities and differences in episode, then gender, and finally format will be outlined.

### Episode Variation in Japanese and English

The position within an episode was found to be a significant indicator of the linguistic devices used by the narrators to encode the story information. Table 5.36 shows the dependent variables which were significant with regard to whether they occurred at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of an episode.

**Table 5.36 Episode Significance in Japanese and English**

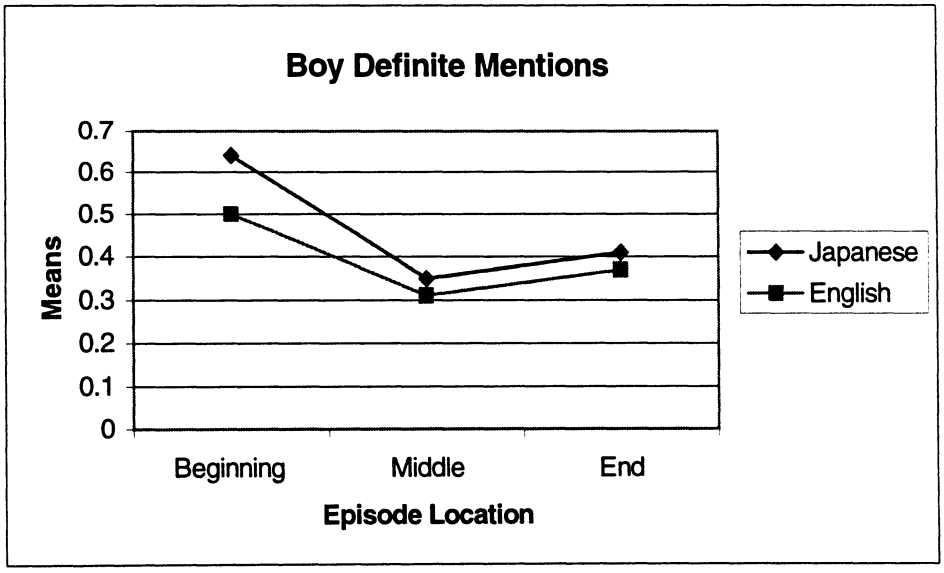
| *Dependent Variable* | | *Japanese* | *English* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Intonation Units | X | X |
| | *Fronted Adverbial Clauses | X | X |
| *Boy* | *Definite Mention | X | X |
| | *Pronoun Mention | X | X |
| | Non-Subject Mention | X | |
| | *Zero Mention | X | X |
| *Dog* | *Definite Mention | X | X |
| | Pronoun Mention | X | |
| | Zero Mention | | |
| *Frog* | *Definite Mention | X | X |
| | Pronoun Mention | | X |
| | Zero Mention | X | |
| | *Non-Subject Mention | X | X |

Four of the variables listed on this table, pronoun and zero-mentions of the frog and the dog, do not demonstrate significance across languages and formats. These variables occurred in varying amounts and patterns within the two languages and are probably due to the typological differences between the two languages.

As can also be seen from Table 5.36, eight of the dependent variables studied (marked with an asterick) demonstrated significance across languages in relation to Episode. However, until each variable is compared across the two languages, the specific nature of that significance is unclear. These eight variables may give insight into the perception and production of the frog story, or each variable may be significant in each language for typological rather than perceptual reasons. By examining these significant relationships more closely, we can dispel any speculation.

The charts which follow plot the means for each variable by language and location in the episode in order to elaborate what is happening with each linguistic device within the episode. Figure 5.1 below shows the intonation unit means as they relate to location in the episode.

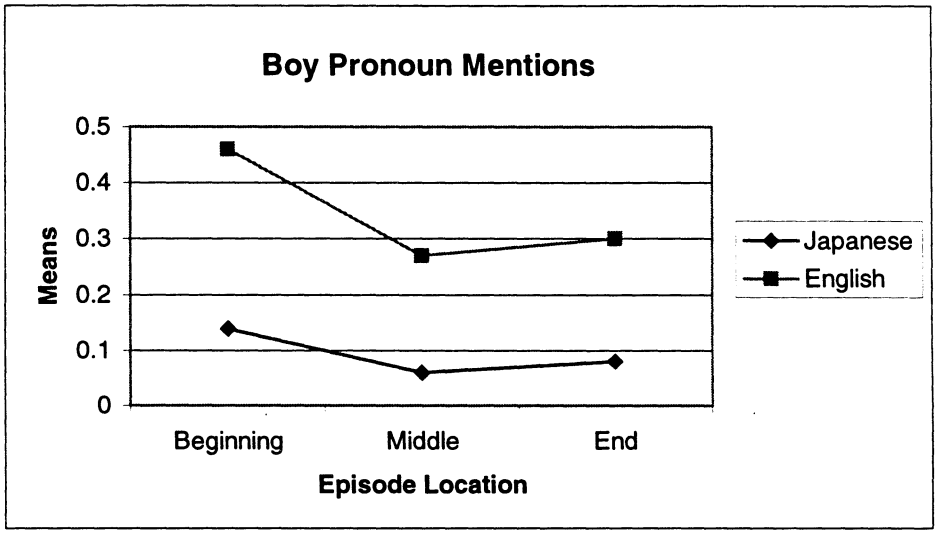
**Figure 5.1**



From the chart, we can see that there are more IUs in English than in Japanese; however the pattern of the means is similar. The beginnings of episodes are coded with a higher number of intonation units in each language, while the middles and the ends of episodes have similar means in each language.

A similar pattern can be seen in an examination of the occurrence of fronted adverbial clauses as shown in Figure 5.2 below. Here again the patterns are the same across the two languages. In both languages, fronted adverbial clauses occur with much greater frequency at the beginning of a episode than at the middle or the end. Again, middles and ends have similar means.

**Figure 5.2**




*The Boy Character*

The second group of charts shows the situation regarding reference to the boy's character. The boy character demonstrated significance in all four variables that were counted. Neither the dog nor the frog did the same.

**Figure 5.3**

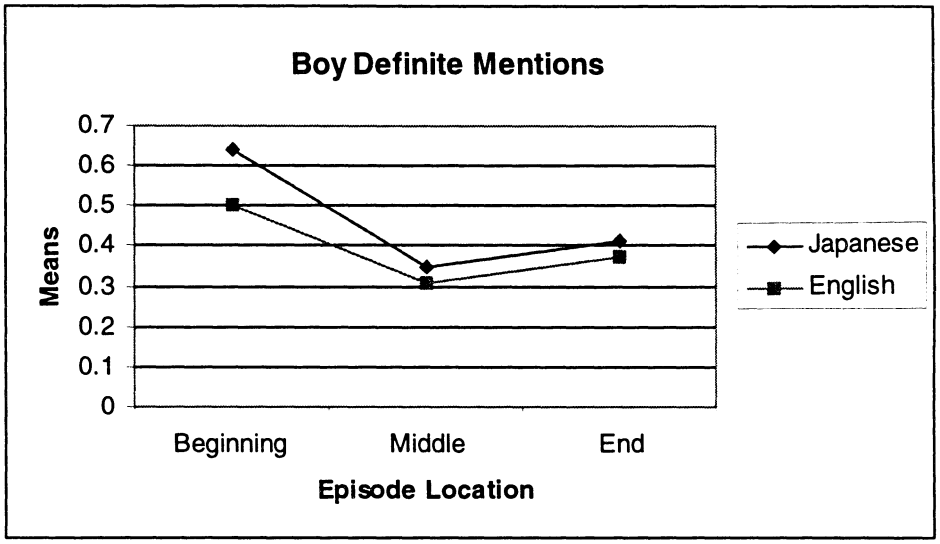
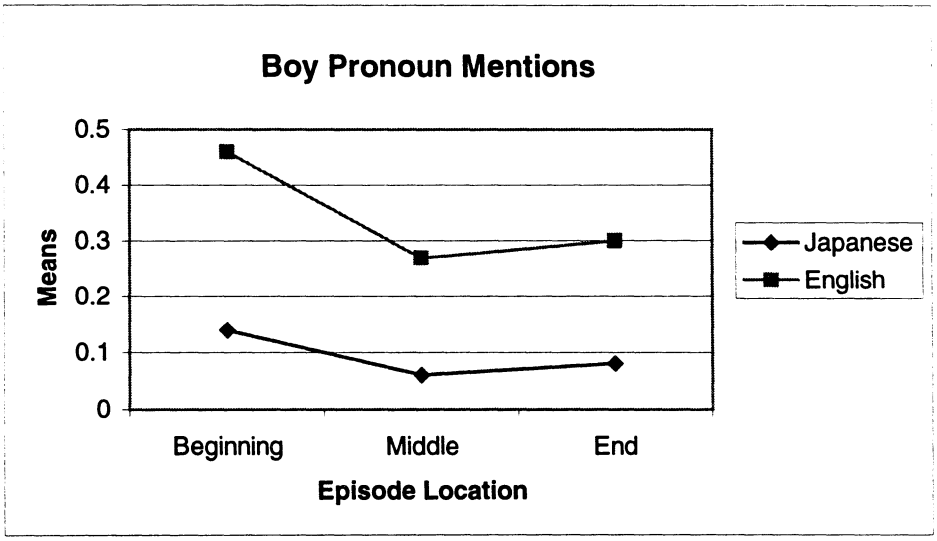



Figure 5.3 shows the results for the total mentions of the boy character. It shows a similar pattern to the previous charts. Beginnings have higher means in each language, while middles and ends are much lower. Figure 5.4 shows the results for pronoun mention.

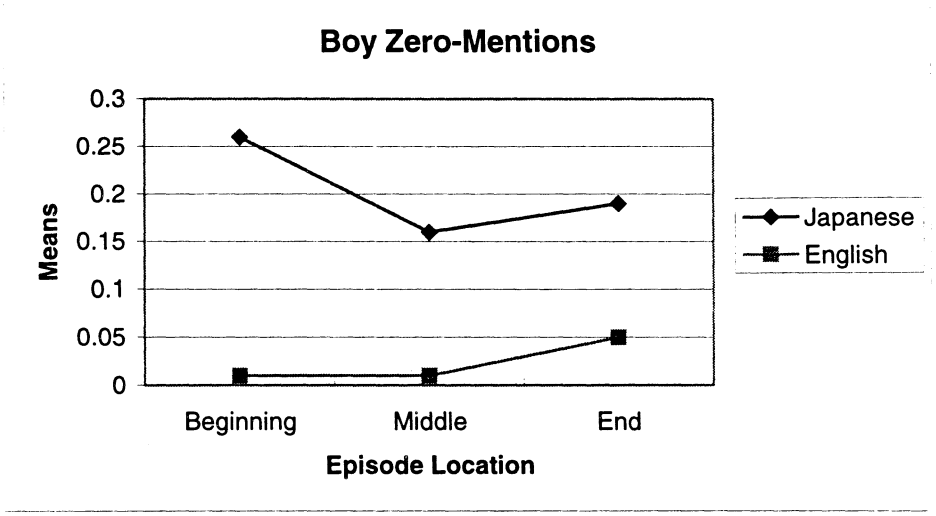
**Figure 5.4**



Both Figures 5.3 and 5.4 demonstrate that the beginnings of episodes are marked with more reference to the boy in both definite and pronoun reference, but with bigger differences in means across the languages. Research has shown that human protagonists are more salient than animals (Fillmore, 1977). Narrators telling the frog story seem to be using the boy character to reorient the action and set up the new episode.

The other variable related to the boy character is Zero-Mentions. These results are shown in Figures 5.5. As expected from the description of the differences between the two languages, Japanese demonstrates a much higher occurrence of Zero-Mentions than English. This is, of course, due to a linguistic constraint of English which does not typically allow much freedom for understood subjects. In Japanese, narrators need not restate the subject of the utterance if it is understood. An interesting point to this argument is that if that is the case, then perhaps we could expect a greater frequency of zero-mentions in the middle and end locations of the episode rather than the beginnings, since narrators supposed to reset the stage at the beginning of a new episode. However, Japanese speakers do not need to restate the subject of the action if they can assume that the actions of the protagonist are purely human actions and thus could not be attributed to an animal. In this case, they can still refrain from overtly mentioning the subject because it is understood.

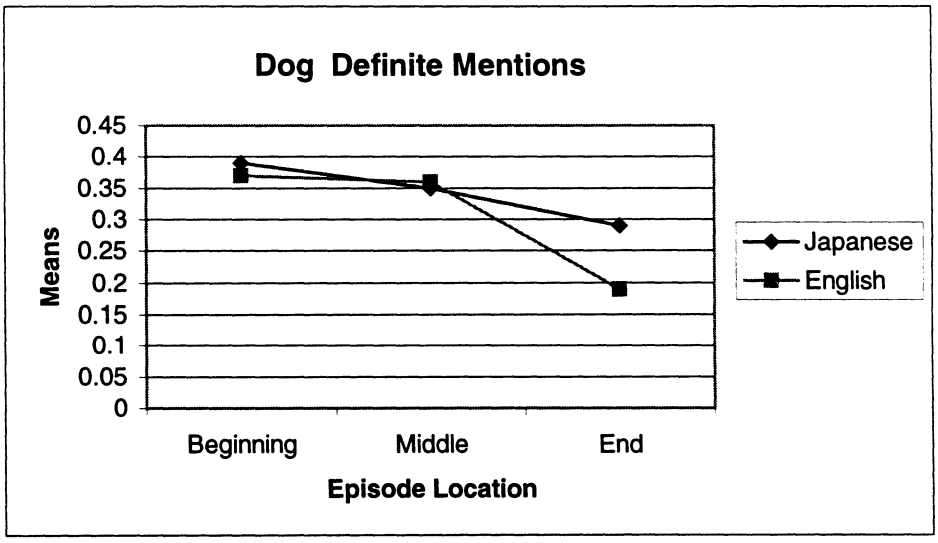
**Figure 5.5**




*The Dog Character*

The dog character demonstrated episode location significance across languages with only one variable, total definite mentions. Figure 5.6 shows that relationship.

**Figure 5.6**




Narrators seem to be mentioning the dog character with the same frequency in either a beginning or a middle location of the episode. The end of the episode is marked with a

sharp decrease in the occurrence of definite mentions of the dog character. Secondly, this variable is the only one to demonstrate significance across languages for the dog as compared to the four significant variables for the boy character. Figure 5.6 seems to show that animal protagonists are not as salient as human ones.

*The Frog Character*

Only two of the dependent variables for the frog character were significant across languages with relation to episode. These are the definite mentions and the non-subject mentions. Figure 5.7 shows the data for the definite mentions; Figure 5.8 shows that for the non-subject mentions. In both cases, the beginnings and the endings of episodes show a marked increase in these mentions.

**Figure 5.7**

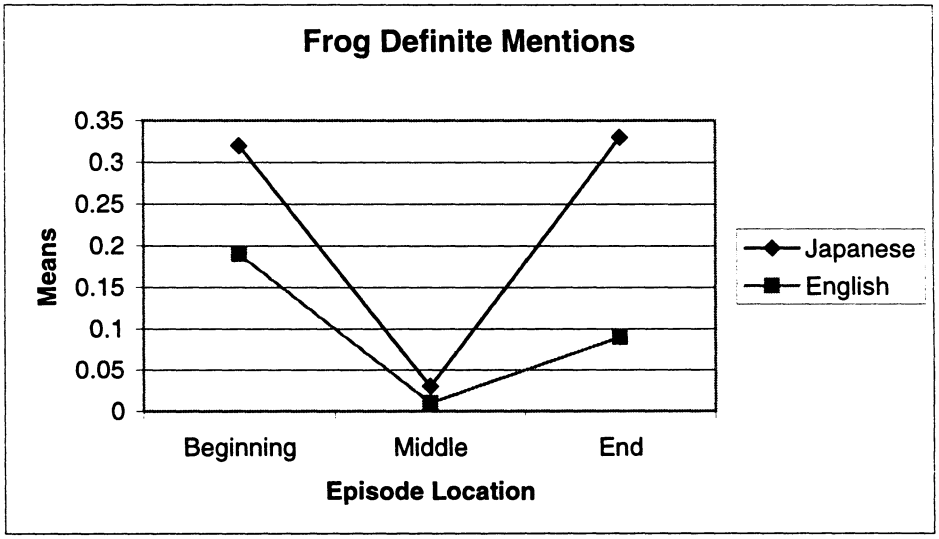
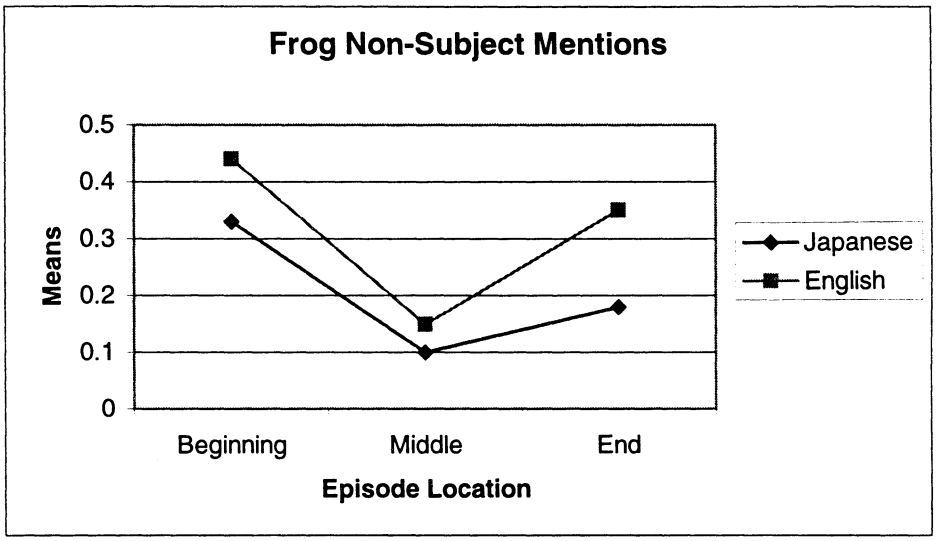


**Figure 5.8**




As can be seen from Figures 5.7 and 5.8, the pattern within the episodes has changed when narrators refer to the frog character. Instead of a high number of mentions in the beginning locations and a similar mean for the middle and end locations, narrators are indicating the search for the frog at both the beginnings and the endings of the episodes. Japanese speakers encode a mention of the frog more often than English speakers. The middle location is only marked by a distinct drop in the mean for both variables. At the beginnings of episodes, the narrators are marking the reinstantiation of the search for the frog. At the ends of episodes they are reporting the lack of finding the frog. Hence the increases in the means in those two locations.

*Episode Summary*

In conclusion, I refer back to the research questions posed at the beginning.

*Which linguistic devices are used in both languages to mark episode boundaries?*

As was seen in the charts, there are eight linguistic devices which were counted in this study which give an indication of the boundaries of episodes in both Japanese and English.

- Beginnings of Episodes are marked by an increased number of :

  Intonation Units
  Fronted Adverbial Clauses
  Definite Mentions of the Boy, Dog, and Frog Characters
  Pronoun Mentions of the Boy Character

- Episode middles seem to marked by sharp decreases in the above variables.
- Endings of episodes are marked only by an increase in the number of:

  Definite Mentions of the Frog
  Non-Subject Mentions of the Frog

*What do the cross-linguistic similarities in episode marking indicate about perception?* This study found evidence which supports a variety of perceptual research in narrative and episode studies, including the perceptual salience of beginnings, coding of continuation of action, and the importance of protagonists.

The tendency across languages and format for narrators to overtly code the beginnings of episodes has perceptual implications. Previous research on episode boundaries indicated that when the format changes, the production of narrative changes (Tomlin, 1987). The results of this study show the amount of language used to tell the story varies depending upon the format of the story. This preliminary finding seems to indicate a perceptual organization of narrative, and it will be further elaborated in the format section (forthcoming).

Continuation of action is not overtly marked by narrators. This supports the research of Bamberg and Marchman (1991, 1992, 1994), Slobin (1994), Givon (1991), and Tomlin (1987). The findings of this study demonstrate that the middles of episodes are not overtly marked. Middles of episodes tend to encompass the continuation of the action begins at the beginnings and carries through to the ends of the episode.

Human protagonists seem to be more salient than animal protagonists (Tomlin, 1987). Reference to human protagonists is a better indicator of where episode boundaries occur. However, there is an interesting feature found in the frog story in that the goal of the story is to find an animal, the frog. This goal leads to the narrator's strong marking of episode boundaries with a reference to the frog character.

## Gender Variation in Japanese and English

Gender was a tangential variable from the beginning because the purpose of this study was to illuminate cross-linguistic similarities, which might give an indication of perception. In each of the four groups compared in this study, there were ten females and fifteen males. The numbers were balanced in order to minimize the effects of gender.

Nevertheless, gender was found to be significant within each language group for a number of variables. Females in both languages told longer stories than their male counterparts. Table 5.37 shows the total and average occurrence of intonation units across the two languages and formats. The "IUs / group" row reports the raw number of intonation units for each group. These numbers can only be used for comparison within a gender group since the number of male and female subjects were different. The average row (Avg /group.) indicates the average number of intonation units for each subject in

each group. The male group totals were divided by 15 because each group of males was composed of fifteen subjects. The female group totals were divided by ten for the same reason. These averages allow for cross-gender comparisons.

**Table 5.37 Intonation Unit Percentage by Language, Format, and Gender**

| | | | *IUs / Group* | *Average* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *English* | *B* | Male | 911 | 60.7 |
| | | Female | 812 | 81.2 |
| | *S* | Male | 753 | 50.2 |
| | | Female | 565 | 56.5 |
| *Japanese* | *B* | Male | 878 | 58.5 |
| | | Female | 697 | 69.7 |
| | *S* | Male | 587 | 39.1 |
| | | Female | 457 | 45.7 |

Two distinct patterns emerge as we study this table. First, as previously stated, the average number of IUs indicate that females across formats and languages have more intonation units in their stories than their male counterparts. Also, males within language groups vary less across formats than females within language groups and across formats.

A further consideration, especially in comparing Japanese and English, is the possibility that the intonation units could be longer or shorter in either language, and this feature could be affecting the results. For example, Clancy (1980) found that intonation units were shorter in Japanese. Therefore, a word count was performed on these stories to provide an additional examination of the stories in relation to gender and format. Table 5.38 shows the results of this count.

**Table 5.38 Word Counts by Language, Format, and Gender**

| | | | *Total Words* | *Average* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *English* | *Book* | **Combined** | **13,202** | **528.08** |
| | | Male | 6,833 | 455.53 |
| | | Female | 6,369 | 636.90 |
| | *Scroll* | **Combined** | **12,297** | **491.88** |
| | | Male | 6,556 | 437.07 |
| | | Female | 5,741 | 574.1 |
| *Japanese* | *Book* | **Combined** | **10,714** | **428.56** |
| | | Male | 6,229 | 415.27 |
| | | Female | 4,485 | 448.5 |
| | *Scroll* | **Combined** | **8,568** | **342.72** |
| | | Male | 4,561 | 304.07 |
| | | Female | 4,007 | 400.7 |

Combined averages were calculated by dividing by 25 (15 males and 10 females). The final column, average is the average number of words per story in that group. As can be seen from Table 5.38, English speakers, on average, used more words than Japanese speakers. Within languages, book stories had more words than scroll stories, but English scrolls (even though fewer than English books) had more words than either Japanese books or scrolls. Another interesting feature of this table is the finding that women spoke more than men within every group, and American women spoke more than anyone else. This table supports the previous findings regarding intonation units.

Previous research outlined for this study has discussed the stereotype which states that women talk more than men even in light of the fact that the majority of the studies examined by James and Drakich (1993) found varying results regarding gender with task-based assignments. Explanations of this amount of talk have been based on the socialization of the genders (Tannen, 1990), power and status issues (Tannen, 1998;

Kantrowitz, 1998; Pfeiffer, 1998) or status characteristics theory (James and Drakich, 1993; attributed to Berger, 1977)

James and Drakich (1993) proposed that in interaction, speakers evaluate themselves in relation to the other participants and make judgments regarding their status and performance expectations. They argue that males and females respond similarly when the issues related to gender and the social implications of gender are nullified. Hence, females and males tend to be more similar in their amount of talk unless they interact with each other because of the social and performance expectations that accompany that interaction. James and Drakich have argued for the adoption of status characteristics theory as an explanation for the varying amounts of talk found in the studies they analyzed. However, in this study, there was no interaction between males and females which would account for the significant difference in the amount of language produced by the females.

Other gender research focussed on the production of narratives in discourse. Johnstone (1990, 1993) found that women and men use stories in conversation in very different ways. Through her stories, a female constructs a world in which she can gain her power from the social community of which she is a part. Males, on the other hand, construct stories, not of cooperation and collaboration, but of individuals overcoming great odds and accomplishing tasks. Goodwin (1993) found that the production of narrative serves the purpose of the narrator as he or she negotiates for the meaning which is important in the teller's social group.

These studies have looked at narrative in relation to gender within the interactional context of discourse. However, in the current study, male and female

subjects told the frog story to an absent audience of children. There was no interaction either within the same gender group or across gender groups - except that which the narrator created in his or her own mind. As a result, there is some question as to how the previously discussed findings of narrative and other interactional discourse apply to the task required of the subjects in this study.

*Gender Summary*

The gender of the narrator played a role in the amount of language produced in the stories. Females across languages told longer stories (measured in intonation units and words) than their male counterparts. However, the reasons for this discrepancy are still unclear. Because of the lack of comparable investigations involving gender, any conclusions drawn from these gender findings are tentative. This study can be classified as task-based, but due to the lack of interaction within the task, it is unclear how gender played a part in the narratives produced for this research.

## Format Variation in Japanese and English

When narrators tell the frog story from either book or scroll format, they are faced with a number of choices. In the books, the pictures are artificially segmented into groups of one or two pictures surrounded by a page boundary. In the scroll format, narrators could see up to eight or nine pictures at a time. Initially, it was hypothesized that this difference in format would result in some sort of change in the narratives that were produced.

One variable, intonation units, differed significantly across languages and across formats. A further analysis of the breakdown of intonation units per picture across

formats, Table 5.39 below, elaborates the nature of that significance. This additional analysis will elaborate the nature of variation across languages and formats with respect to the variation that occurred at episode boundaries.

**Table 5.39 Intonation Unit Count and Percentage by Language and Format**

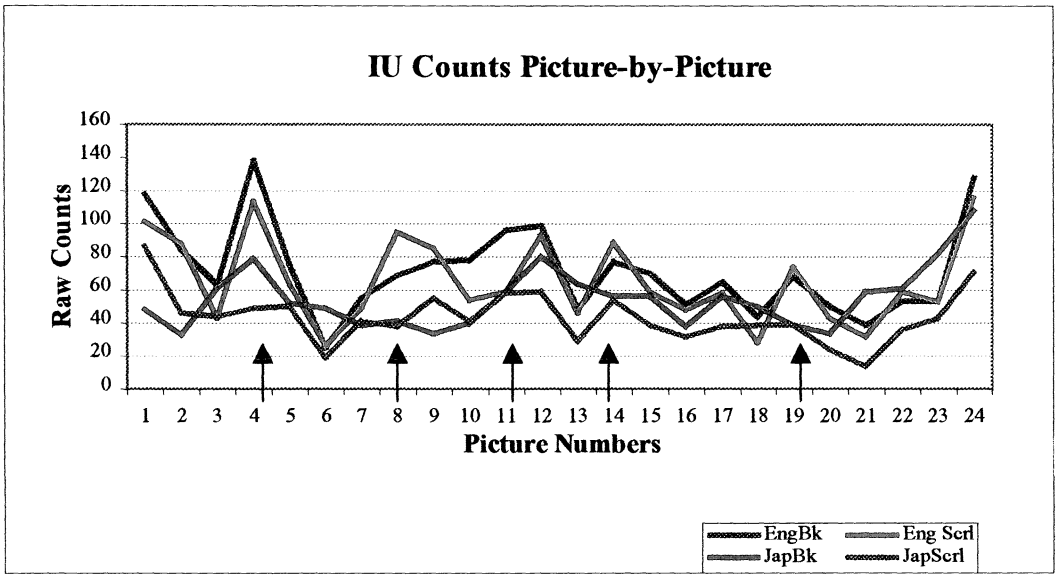
| *Picture* | *English* | | | | *Japanese* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Book* | | *Scroll* | | *Book* | | *Scroll* | |
| | *Count* | *%* | *Count* | *%* | *Count* | *%* | *Count* | *%* |
| 1 | 118 | 7 | 101 | 6 | 48 | 4 | 86 | 8 |
| 2 | 84 | 5 | 88 | 6 | 33 | 3 | 46 | 4 |
| 3 | 63 | 4 | 43 | 3 | 61 | 5 | 44 | 4 |
| **4** | **138** | **8** | **113** | **7** | **79** | **6** | **49** | **5** |
| 5 | 75 | 4 | 64 | 4 | 52 | 4 | 50 | 5 |
| 6 | 25 | 1 | 26 | 2 | 49 | 4 | 19 | 2 |
| 7 | 55 | 3 | 49 | 3 | 39 | 3 | 41 | 4 |
| **8** | **69** | **4** | **95** | **6** | **41** | **3** | **38** | **4** |
| 9 | 77 | 4 | 85 | 5 | 34 | 3 | 55 | 5 |
| 10 | 78 | 5 | 54 | 3 | 40 | 3 | 41 | 4 |
| **11** | **96** | **6** | **59** | **4** | **59** | **4** | **58** | **6** |
| 12 | 99 | 6 | 93 | 6 | 80 | 6 | 59 | 6 |
| 13 | 48 | 3 | 46 | 3 | 64 | 5 | 29 | 3 |
| **14** | **77** | **4** | **89** | **6** | **56** | **4** | **54** | **5** |
| 15 | 70 | 4 | 59 | 4 | 56 | 4 | 39 | 4 |
| 16 | 51 | 3 | 48 | 3 | 38 | 3 | 32 | 3 |
| 17 | 65 | 4 | 58 | 4 | 56 | 4 | 38 | 4 |
| 18 | 44 | 3 | 28 | 2 | 50 | 4 | 39 | 4 |
| **19** | **68** | **4** | **74** | **5** | **39** | **3** | **39** | **4** |
| 20 | 50 | 3 | 43 | 3 | 34 | 3 | 24 | 2 |
| 21 | 39 | 2 | 32 | 2 | 59 | 4 | 14 | 1 |
| 22 | 53 | 3 | 59 | 4 | 61 | 5 | 36 | 3 |
| 23 | 53 | 3 | 53 | 3 | 82 | 6 | 43 | 4 |
| 24 | 128 | 7 | 116 | 7 | 108 | 8 | 71 | 7 |

However, by examining Table 5.39 (where pictures marking the beginnings of episodes are identified in boldface type), we can see that although the number of intonation units had a significant relationship to format and episode across languages, the relationship between the number of intonation units and the boundaries of the episodes is not so clear-cut. When we examine the five pictures that mark the beginnings of the episodes, we do

not necessarily see that those picture descriptions have the greatest number of intonation units. Even Picture 4, a very strong indicator in both formats of the English stories and the Japanese book format, has one fewer intonation unit that Picture 5 in the Japanese scroll stories.

A further analysis (Figure 5.9) examines the data from Table 5.39 and presents it in a visual format to enhance the forthcoming discussion.

**Figure 5.9**




Based upon the previous research regarding episodes and the findings outlined previously in this chapter, a general expectation for an episode contour could be that the number of intonation units would peak at the pictures that mark beginnings of episodes and gradually decrease through the episode until the end. Therefore, the picture immediately preceding an episode boundary picture should contain fewer intonation units than the episode boundary picture, and the episode boundary picture should contain more intonation units than the picture immediately following it (as is the case with Episode 1 of the English Books, beginning at Picture 4). However, the data in Table 5.41 and

Figure 5.9 paint a much murkier picture. For the remainder of this section, I will discuss the specific episode boundaries within groups and compare across groups when it is pertinent to the discussion.

With a few exceptions, the English stories seem to follow this typical pattern for episode organization. As previously stated, the first episode in the English book stories follows the proposed pattern for an episode as it was outlined. In episode 2, the number of intonation units at picture 8 does increase from the immediately previous picture 7, but is not a higher number than picture 9. Episode 3 of these stories has the same pattern as Episode 2. Then the final two episodes (beginning at pictures 14 and 19) follow the proposed organization. The English scroll stories follow the typical pattern for the episode organization in all episodes except Episode 3, which begins at picture 11.

In the Japanese stories, the typical pattern of episode organization is actually atypical. The first two episodes in the Japanese book stories and the fourth episode in the Japanese scrolls follow the pattern. The remaining episode boundaries are much more fluid. In Episode 3 in the Japanese books, picture 11 (the beginning) has many fewer intonation units than picture 12. Then in Episodes 4 and 5 (pictures 14 and 19, respectively), the beginnings of the episodes are marked with fewer intonation units than the preceding pictures.

The Japanese scrolls have only one episode, Episode 4, which follows the typical pattern. In Episode 1 of the Japanese scrolls, picture 4 has a slightly higher number of intonation units than picture 3, but then fewer intonation units than picture 5. The same is true for Episode 3, beginning from picture 11. In Episode 2, picture 8 (the beginning) has actually the lowest number of intonation units of the surrounding pictures. Picture

19, which begins Episode 5, also has a similar pattern except that picture 19 has an equal number of intonation units to picture 18.

For the data in Table 5.39 and Figure 5.9, we can draw a number of conclusions regarding the occurrence of the typical pattern across formats. First, picture 11, Episode 3 is problematic across formats. Either the number of intonation units between picture 11 and 12 is closely comparable (as in the English books and Japanese scrolls) or picture 12 has a greater number of intonation units than picture 11 as in the English scrolls and the Japanese books. This could be related to the fact that picture 12 is a double picture in the story. However, this effect cannot be only related to the prominence afforded a double picture because picture 8 is also a double picture but is not problematic across all formats. However, the content of the pictures could be having an effect. In picture 12, the boy and the dog are doing different things simultaneously. In addition, they are each meeting other animals in this picture. The boy is meeting the mole, and the dog is meeting the bees. In picture 8, there is much less happening, and the boy and the dog are acting in unison. These perceptual features could be playing a role in the fuzziness of the episode boundaries at these points.

Episode 1, beginning at picture 4, is the only episode which follows the typical pattern across formats (although the pattern is very weak in the Japanese scrolls). However, the remaining episode boundaries are much more fluid. This pattern is easy to see from the graph in Figure 5.9. Although picture 4 shows only a slight increase in picture 4 in the Japanese scrolls, the other groups show sharp spikes in number of intonation units. The remaining boundaries tend to have a pattern of increase toward an episode beginning; however, the increase does not always peak at the picture coded as the

episode boundary. This fluidity is especially evident in the scroll stories perhaps because of the lack of page boundaries restricting centers of interest to smaller sections of the story.

Although the summary statistics show that there is an increase in the number of intonation units at the beginnings of episodes, it is not clear that an increase in IUs always marks an episode beginning. The number of IUs is not in and of itself a sufficient marker of episode boundary. It combines with features which must cluster to identify a boundary.

### Format Summary

Narrators had choices to make regarding how and when to code reference to the characters acting in the frog story. Narrators used much less language, as measured by intonation units and average number of words per story, in the scroll stories than in the book stories. In addition, the number of intonation units was not shown to be a determiner of episode boundaries. However, there does seem to be more fluidity in the boundaries of episodes depending upon the format of the story. This feature implies a difference in the perception of the story when the format changes. Chafe (1988) has outlined a view of extroverted and introverted consciousness which illuminate the trends found in this data set.

## Summary

In this chapter, I have outlined the findings of this study. The chapter began with a discussion of English and Japanese separately and ended with a discussion of the

similarities across both languages. The discussions were organized around the independent variables investigated in this study: gender, format, language, and episode.

Previous research in gender studies has not addressed the production of narrative in the absence of interaction. In this study, where subjects told stories to an absent audience, females spoke more than males by both measures: number of intonation units and number of words. This preliminary finding contradicts previous research which states that when there is no interaction between males and females, they react similarly to the task (James & Drakich, 1993).

The two languages were chosen because they were typologically different, and it was hypothesized that those differences would result at least in part in different narrative production. There were variations in the degree of use of linguistic devices: for example, there were more zero mentions found in Japanese stories than in English and there were more pronoun mentions in the English stories as compared to the Japanese. However, the similarities found between the two languages were remarkable.

Many of the variables investigated in this study were chosen because previous research has indicated that they mark the beginnings of episodes. Eight of these variables were significant in relation to episode location, specifically, these variables occur with greater frequency at the beginnings of episodes. Tomlin (1987) argues strongly for an episodic (attention driven) approach to narrative. However, he argues that this approach lacks "explicit and structure-independent means" of identifying episodic boundaries. This study has demonstrated that episode boundaries are marked by a number of linguistic devices, not simply noun or pronoun reference. The current research has not found that one specific device does or does not mark an episode boundary.

# Chapter 6

## Conclusion

In this final chapter, I will attempt to summarize the findings of this dissertation. This research has combined ideas from a variety of perspectives and approaches to narrative in an attempt to provide a cognitive view of episodes. In this chapter, I will begin with a few comments regarding the generalizability of this study. Then, I will discuss the findings of this study in relation to the variables investigated. I will end with suggestions for further research.

In this study, I attempted to improve upon past methodological and operational problems associated with collecting elicited narratives by requiring subjects to produce stories for an absent audience. By doing this, I attempted to overcome the interviewer interference that has dogged other studies of this kind. In addition, previous research on the frog story has loosely applied the idea of episode to the story without specific definitions that are testable. I attempted to overcome this feature of previous studies by providing an overview of the research on episode from a variety of research viewpoints and by combining those viewpoints in this research study.

In order to investigate the episode boundaries proposed by Bamberg and Marchman (1991), all of the language used to describe each picture was coded the same for that picture (i.e. all twelve intonation units for Picture 8 received a coding of Beginning). However, this coding of the pictures was problematic because it makes the

results less applicable to other narrative contexts where pictures do not create externally determined boundaries for the discourse. Arguably, the picture-based coding may have weighted the results in favor of beginnings. This would explain the increase in both pronoun and definite mentions of the boy at beginnings of episodes which would be unexpected in other narrative contexts.

A second methodological problem relates to the possible lack of authenticity of the narrative task used in this study. The task was designed to control the subject matter (i.e. the picture book) and the audience (i.e. children), so that it would be possible to examine those features which make entities salient to subjects and to examine the necessary connections in the story that subjects make to move the story toward its goal (through the episodes). Removing the page boundaries, which artificially segment the narratives into parts, left the narrators to tell the story using their own segmentation and possibly more features of their extroverted consciousness (experiencing), than in the book form, which might have required more use of introverted consciousness (remembering and imagining). However, it is difficult to generalize these findings to other forms of narrative without further study.

## Summary of Results

In this research project, there were four areas of investigation: episode, language, gender, and format. In this section, I will discuss the findings of this study as they relate to these variables.

Episode

Although Bamberg and Marchman found evidence for their intuited organization of the frog story from the picture-importance study that they conducted, there had not been any investigation of the frog story based on the linguistic devices used to mark episode beginnings. Assuming the validity of previous research on the linguistic devices that mark episode boundaries, my dissertation research contributes overwhelming evidence that the linguistic markers investigated mark the episode boundaries identified by Bamberg and Marchman. The referential variables chosen for investigation in this study were based on previous research which identified these variables as markers of beginnings. An additional linguistic device, which had not previously been quantified, the use of fronted adverbial clauses, was also found to mark episode boundaries. These fronted adverbial clauses were often used to set the stage for the change of action that occurs in a new episode.

Initially, an increase in the number of intonation units was hypothesized to indicate the beginning of an episode. Although it was true that on average the number of intonation units was larger for pictures coded as beginnings than for those coded as middles or endings, when the analyses were complete, intonation units were not as strong an indicator of episode marking as originally thought. When the number of intonation units was counted for each picture and totaled for each group, only Picture 4, the beginning of episode 1, had an increase in the number of intonation units across both languages and formats. Picture 4 seems to have a special status because it is setting the stage for the remainder of the story. In Bamberg and Marchman's picture judgement task study, episode 1 was ranked most important to the story and had the highest mean score

of all of the episodes. Because the number of intonation units at episode boundaries may not always increase, the number of intonation units cannot, in and of itself, be used to determine the beginning of an episode.

Reference to the main protagonists of the story played an important role in the identification of episode boundaries. The boy character was actually the most fruitful in terms of the number of significant relationships found by reference to his character. Definite mention, pronoun mention, and zero-mention of the boy all play a significant role in identifying episode boundaries (especially beginnings). Both Japanese and American narrators use definite mentions at the beginning of an episode to renew the topic and reshape the episode. Japanese speakers have many more zero-mentions of the boy due to the typological constraints of their language. Generally, if a subject is understood, then a Japanese speaker can ellipt the subject. However, English has a strong head-initial tendency which influenced the use of pronouns in the English stories. Because English speakers have a strong constraint requiring a subject, they use more pronoun mentions overall than the Japanese speakers and more pronoun mentions of the boy especially.

The amount of significance found in relation to the boy character closely paralleled previous research in narrative analysis which has demonstrated the salience of human protagonists over animal protagonists. The findings related to the dog character further show this trend. The dog character was significant with one variable, definite mentions, and the trend in that significance was very different from the boy character. The dog character is almost equally likely to be mentioned in the beginning or the middle of an episode as at the end. There is a distinct lack of mention of the dog at the end of

episodes. This may be an interaction of the small increase in language at the ends of episodes, the overall salience of the boy as a human protagonist, and the tendency of narrators to mention the search for the frog as an episode was ending.

For the frog character, definite mentions and pronoun mentions increased at the beginnings of episodes and decreased in the middles. In addition, two variables that refer to the frog character also mark the ends of episodes. The definite mentions and the non-subject mentions of the frog increased at the ends of episodes. Directly prior to the beginning of a new episode, narrators mentioned the frog in a reference to the goal of the story. Narrators summed up the actions of the episode with a mention of the character that motivated those actions.

Language

The two languages under investigation in this study were chosen for their typological differences. It was hypothesized that these typological differences would have a bearing on how the narrators conceptualize and consequently tell the frog story (Slobin, 1996). In general, narrators in the two languages supported this hypothesis in that linguistic markers were used to varying degrees to mark episode boundaries. As expected, Japanese narrators used pronoun mentions less, and ellipsis more, than English-speaking narrators did. English speakers, of course, had more reference in subject position due to the strong head-initial tendency in English. Generally, the typological differences between the two languages were manifested in the data in highly predictable ways.

There were also some surprising similarities across languages. Some have already been discussed in the Episode section (such as the increase in reference to the boy at the beginnings; a decrease for the dog at the ends; and an increase for the frog at both the beginnings and the endings). However, others will be elaborated here. First, one of the analyses completed on the variables was a percentage-per-picture and a ratio of occurrence. In the variables, the number of intonation units and fronted adverbial clauses, very similar percentages and ratios were found. This finding indicates that irrespective of language, certain segmentations of experience are perceived similarly; however those experiences when coded in language may manifest themselves similarly or differently depending upon the linguistic devices available in the language. This finding parallels nicely with the "thinking for speaking" theory proposed by Slobin, in which he argues that the linguistic devices available to a speaker of a language influence the way that the speaker encodes an experience.

Gender

The gender of the narrator has been shown to play a role in the narratives produced in English and Japanese. The females in this study produced more intonation units and words across formats than the males. In addition, females seem to frame the descriptions of the pictures differently than the males. Hence, the females use more fronted adverbial clauses than males across languages and formats. There were also some language specific findings. For example, American males had almost twice as many false starts as American females, and Japanese stories only varied with respect to gender in the number of intonation units produced in telling the story.

Because of a lack of research in the field which deals with the production of narratives outside of a conversational, interactional setting and because gender was only a control variable in this study, the implications and possible reasons for these results must be interpreted with care. I assumed that the effects of stereotypical gender status expectations would be nullified in this study, so I expected the males and females to respond similarly to the task at hand. However, the complete absence of interaction might have had an effect on the way the subjects approached the task. Research has shown that females tend to adopt status-leveling techniques in conversation because the goals of their conversation relate to the social situation and their relationship within it. Perhaps, this tendency led the females in this study to attempt to describe and elaborate the actions of the stories with more detail so as to bring the listener "up to speed". Males, on the other hand, may not have felt the need to elaborate and describe, hence they used fewer of the variables discussed in this section than the females did. In any case, the relationship of gender to narrative production was not a major question of this study, and as a result, the questions being posed here are outside the scope of this study.

Format

One major intention of this research project was to demonstrate that the format of the story changes the perception of the story in linguistically quantifiable ways. It was originally hypothesized that the when the narrators could view a series of pictures at a time, the episode boundaries would change. So, for example, instead of having five episodes as in the book format, narrators would segment the 24 pictures of the story in different places resulting in a different number of episodes (perhaps fewer, perhaps

more). In the picture-by-picture analysis of the intonation unit data, it seems that Japanese book and scroll narrators are segmenting the pictures differently from the English-speaking narrators. Across formats, Japanese narrators veer from the typical episode pattern more often than the English narrators. And across languages, the scroll narrators seem to have some fluidity to the boundaries of their episodes which is not found specifically in the English books.

In general, across languages, scroll stories were shorter with fewer intonation units and fewer words. Although the narrators used less language in the scroll stories, the percentage of that language allotted to each picture did not change when compared to the book stories across languages. This finding has implications related to the activation of extroverted and introverted consciousness (Chafe, 1994). I hypothesized that the scroll format would more similar to the experiences described through extroverted consciousness than the book format. Hence, while we can say that experiences described in scroll format result in less language, we cannot say that subjects focussed more attention on certain pictures than others. They did differ, however, in the amount of description they attributed to the characters and the setting. If this were true, then the percentages and ratios across episodes and across formats would have varied significantly. They did not, so we can conclude that an episode structure is salient in both book and scroll stories, but it may possibly be a different structure.

English- and Japanese-speaking narrators use more intonation units and more words in the book format as opposed to the scroll format. This also relates to Chafe's idea of extroverted and introverted consciousness (1994). Narrators telling the stories in scroll format can see more of the story as they are telling it. In much the same way as

Chafe's discussion of extroverted consciousness where speakers must segment experience to describe it, scroll narrators have a wealth of detail to choose from and must segment the pictures in some way. Because they have a larger portion of the narrative to perceive, their perception is more selectively focussed and less detailed, resulting in less language. The scroll narrators are experiencing the pictures of the story very differently from the book narrators. Book narrators already have a segmentation of the story because of the page boundaries, which require them to focus on one or two pictures at a time. They must remember the story from one page to the next, and move the story along. Book narrators generally focus on more detailed descriptions of the actions in the pictures because the segmentation encourages them to do so. Hence, the book narrators use more language to describe the pictures than scroll narrators.

If we accept that the experience of telling the frog story in the scroll format encourages narrators to use features related to extroverted consciousness, and that the book format more closely parallels introverted consciousness, then we can compare the findings related to format in light of Chafe's theory. The book stories have already been segmented into page boundary groups. These groups require the narrators to focus specifically on the actions shown in those pictures. We would expect the resulting stories to contain more detail regarding those actions. In this section, we have seen that narrators, who tell the frog story in book form, provide that detail through a higher number of intonation units, more definite mentions of the boy, and more pronoun mentions of the boy and the dog than narrators using the scroll form. The scroll format allows narrators to see a larger portion of the story at one time. This lack of segmentation of the story requires the narrators to segment the pictures themselves. There is a

cognitive cost to this segmentation in that, as narrators are viewing a larger group of pictures, the detail within each picture is lessened.

No other variables had significant relationships with respect to format and across languages. This also may be an interesting comment of the segmentation of the narrative and how perception affects the salience of the characters. The boy character was significant in two variables - definite mentions and pronoun mentions, but the dog character was only significant in pronoun mentions. This finding is consistent with previous research (Sridhar, 1989) which states that human protagonists have more salience than animal protagonists do. If the boy and the dog were of comparable salience, then we might expect the dog to demonstrate significance in relation to definite mentions just as the boy did. The third character, the frog, did not show any significant relationships with respect to format, which perhaps indicates that the frog has a special status in this story as an animal protagonist and as the goal of the entire story. As the goal, the perception of the frog may not change due to format because regardless of that format, the goal remains the same.

## Suggestions for Further Research

Further research in this area should expand upon the testing of introverted and extroverted consciousness in narrative production. Previously, I discussed the idea that the formats in the task required in this study were stimuli of both introverted and extroverted consciousness. The task enabled each subject to have a representation of the gestalt of the story in her introverted consciousness because she had looked at all of the pictures before telling the story. However, the format altered the stimuli giving input to

the extroverted consciousnesses of the tellers. In this study, the relationship between the scroll story and extroverted consciousness was hypothesized based on Chafe's discussion of continuity, detail, and displacement). However, further study could examine the linguistic markings and the amount of language used to describe experiences being recalled from extroverted as compared to introverted consciousness.

In addition, this study found interesting differences between female and male task-based stories. These findings are neither supported, nor confounded by previous research in gender studies. In fact, very little correlation can be found between the present study and previous gender research due to the nature of the task that required no interaction. Further research should expand the investigation of male and female production in the absence of interaction from either gender.

Finally, further study is needed to investigate these questions with other typologically different languages. In light of Slobin's (1996) "thinking for speaking" which argues that certain typological characteristics of language encourage narrators to code events in subjective ways, further study should elaborate the role that reference and episode boundaries play in this theory.

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## Appendix A

### Description of Frog Story Pictures

Taken from: Bamberg and Marchman (1991)

The picture book used in the narration task described is *Frog, Where are you?* By Mercer Mayer, a Pied Piper Book, published by New Dial Press. The 24 pictures which make up the book are herewith described in sequence.

1. The scene is a bedroom, with a light on over the bed and a new moon visible through the open window. A boy's clothes are strewn about the floor. The boy in pajamas is sitting on a stool, regarding with a smile a frog in a large glass jar on the floor at his feet. A dog is standing on its hind legs peering into the jar.
2. The light is out. Th boy and the dog are both asleep on the bed. The frog, with a smile on his face, is climbing out of the jar.
3. Morning. The boy, with a distressed look, is leaning over the foot of the bed gazing at the empty jar. The dog is looking over the boy's shoulder.
4. The boy's pajamas are tossed on the bed. The boy, dressed except for his shoes, is holding one of his boots over his head and looking into it. The stool is lying upside down. The jar is lying on its side. The dog has put its head into the jar.
5. View of the window from outside. The boy is holding the window open with one hand and has the other cupped at his mouth, which is open. The dog, still with its head in the jar, is balanced precariously on the windowsill.

6. The dog falls from the windowsill. The boy is pressing his fingers against his mouth as he watches.

7. The boy is standing on the ground outside the window with the fragments of the broken jar around his feet, looking angry, with the dog in his arms. The dog is licking the boy's face.

8. The scene is the edge of a wood. The boy is facing the wood, his hands cupped at his open mouth. The dog is sitting at the boy's feet, one paw raised. From a bees' nest hanging from a tree at the edge of the wood there is a stream of bees all the way over to the boy and the dog. The dog is sniffing at a bee as it flies past.

9. The boy and the dog are under the tree from which the bees' nest is hanging. The boy is on his knees with his head close to a hole in the ground, his hand cupped at his open mouth. The dog is jumping at the bees' nest.

10. A small rodent-like animal has half-emerged from the hole. The boy is sitting back on his heels, clutching his nose with both hands. The dog has its forepaws braced against the tree and its open mouth pointing toward the bees' nest.

11. The rodent is looking out of the hole at the boy, who has climbed into a very large tree a short distance away from the tree with the beehive. The boy is looking into a hole in the trunk of the tree just above the branch his sitting on. The dog, still with its forepaws against the bee-tree, is looking over its shoulder at the broken bees' nest on the ground, from which a thick cloud of bees is emerging.

12. An owl with its wings spread is perched on the edge of the hole in the tree. The boy is lying on his back under the spot where he was sitting, with his legs in the

air. Between the owl and the boy is passing a thick stream of bees in pursuit of the dog. The dog is running, its ears flapping.

13. The boy, his hands held up in front of his head, is standing before a large boulder and some smaller rocks. Behind the boulder what appears to be bare branches are sticking up. The owl, with spread wings, is in the air above the boy.

14. The owl is perched on a tree branch. The dog is creeping along the foot of the rocks. The boy is standing on the boulder holding onto the bare branches, his hand cupped at his open mouth.

15. The bare branches are really the antlers of a deer standing behind the boulder. The deer has lifted its head and the boy is draped over the antlers. The dog is sticking its head into a hole behind one of the rocks.

16. The deer, with the boy still on its head, is walking toward the edge of what seems to be a cliff. The dog is leaping in front of the deer, looking up at the boy.

17. The cliff is now recognized as the high bank of a stream. The deer has stopped at the edge, head downward. The boy is falling, along with a jumble of clods of earth.

18. The boy is lying in the stream, legs in the air, with the dog on his stomach. The deer is smiling over the edge of the bank at them.

19. The boy is sitting up in the stream, the dog on his head. The boy has his hand cupped to his ear and is smiling. His looking at a log lying half in the stream and half on the opposite bank.

20. The boy is kneeling next to the hollow end of the log, one hand on the log, the other at his mouth with his forefinger raised in a hushing gesture. The dog is standing next to him in the stream, only its head and tail above the surface.

21. The boy is standing on his toes, leaning over the log and looking down on the other side. The dog is standing on top of the log next to the boy, also looking down on the other side.

22. View from the other side of the log. The boy and the dog are both lying on top of the log, still looking down. On the ground on this side of the log are two frogs nestling together.

23. The boy and the dog are sitting up on the log. Nine tiny frogs are emerging from a clump of reeds next to the log.

24. The two large frogs and eight of the little ones are sitting in a row on top of the log, facing across the stream. The boy and the dog are crossing the stream. Both are looking back at the frogs. The boy has one hand raised in a wave. In the other he is holding one of the little frogs.

Appendix B

**OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY**
**INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD**
**HUMAN SUBJECTS REVIEW**

**Date:** 01-29-96 **IRB#:** AS-96-044

**Proposal Title:** EPISODIC BOUNDARIES OF JAPANESE AND AMERICAN NARRATIVES

**Principal Investigator(s):** Carol Lynn Moder, Mary Theresa DiGennaro-Seig

**Reviewed and Processed as:** Exempt

**Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s):** Approved

ALL APPROVALS MAY BE SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY FULL INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD AT NEXT MEETING.
APPROVAL STATUS PERIOD VALID FOR ONE CALENDAR YEAR AFTER WHICH A CONTINUATION OR RENEWAL REQUEST IS REQUIRED TO BE SUBMITTED FOR BOARD APPROVAL.
ANY MODIFICATIONS TO APPROVED PROJECT MUST ALSO BE SUBMITTED FOR APPROVAL.

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Comments, Modifications/Conditions for Approval or Reasons for Deferral or Disapproval are as follows:

Signature:  Date: February 5, 1996

Chair of Institutional Review Board

Appendix C

Sample Narratives

**English Male Book Format**
B013AM

One evening Johnny set at the end of his bed with his dog Spot
glaring staring at th- his new frog he captured during that day
finally Johnny decided to go to bed
during the night while Johnny and Spot were asleep
the frog escaped from the jar
in the morning Johnny and Spot woke up to find the frog gone
what should they do
they searched the room
tor- turned it upside down
looking under everything
in every closet
just about everywhere
they looked out of the window yelling for the frogs
Spot fell out of the window
Johnny jumped out of the window to grab Spot
Spot was not hurt
Johnny and Spot ran out-ran down through the woods
hollering- calling out the frog's name
he was nowhere to be found
they searched and searched
Johnny got down looking in gopher holes
Spot was checking the bees h- bees hives
Johnny and Spot went on in to the forest searching farther
looking in the trees
calling out the frog's name
but they still couldn't find it
where was it
an owl flew out of nowhere scaring Johnny and Spot to death
they had no idea what it was
a huge owl
Spot ran off barking trying to find a place to hide
Johnny- finally Johnny climbed up on top of a huge mound of dirt
calling out the frog's name
all of a sudden out of nowhere

a deer snatched up Johnny on his h- with his antlers
and started running  running
Spot was chasing them
finally the deer came to the end of a cliff
threw Johnny off
Spot went tumbling over after Johnny
dowm they fell
they fell into a little--in a --into a stream of water
neither were injured
Spot ended up on Johnny's head
they fin- the two got out of the water and went on searching
for the frog
Johnny told Spot to be quiet and listen for the frogs
they climbed wood searching underneath everything
in the grass
through the trees
finally on the backside of a deserted log
Johnny sees the frogs --sees some frogs
Johnny and Spot are very happy
they've found the frogs
Johnny Johnny gets him a frog
and Johnny Johnny gets him a frog
and the two march off home
happy as a lark
Spot wagging his tail and
Johnny singing songs of joy

**English Female Book Format**
B027AF

One night there was a little boy that was getting ready for bed
he had all of his clothes laid out on the floor
and the real last thing he needed to do before he got into bed
was to make sure that his pet frog was in his home which was a canister beside his bed
the little boy  and his dog both wanted the frog to be in the ha-(laughter)
the little boy and his dog both wanted to be sure that the new
the little boy's new pet the frog was in its home
during the night the frog got out
while the little boy was sleeping
the next morning the little boy woke up
and was amazed that the frog was gone out of his home
the little boy looked everywhere
he looked under his clothes
he looked under the bed
the little dog was even helping
trying to find the little boy's pet frog that they had lost

the little boy opened up his window to his room and called out
Where are you frog where are you
but the little frog was nowhere to be found
so the boy and his dog decided to go out
to the woods by their house
and look for the frog tha- they had lost
the little boy looked everywhere
he - at one point he noticed that there was a hole in the ground
and so the little boy got down on his hands and knees and
looked into the hole and hollered
where are you little frog are you in there
but there was no frog
only a critter came out and
bit him on the nose (laughter)
the little boy knew that the frog must not be in that hole (laughter)
so the boy was still looking
in the woods he looked everywhere
but he just couldn't find his little frog
the little boy at one point gets up on a rock
and he thought wow maybe if I'm higher up the little frog can hear me
I need to be able to yell louder
so he crawls up on the rock and he yells for his little frog to come- to come home
but there was no frog to be found
and he didn't even notice it but while he was up on the rock
this elk
lifted- lifted his head up
and the little boy to his amazement was
he was stuck on the elk's head (laughter)
and the elk
this bothered the elk and the elk ran
and bucked the little boy off
into a mud puddle
the little boy laughed but he still hadn't found his little
his little frog
so the little boy looks
and he's still looking
and he looks in logs
and he looks over logs
and his frog's helping him
but they just can't find the frog
and then they decided to look in one more place and
they saw a big log that was laying on the ground
and they looked
and they saw
a whole family of frogs
and they decided that one of their lil- little frogs must be his pet

so the little boy was all happy and
he took his pet
and he waved goodbye to the family
and thanked them for keeping the pet- the pet frog so safe
(laughter) and

**English Male Scroll Format**
S005AM

Once upon a time there was a little boy named Billy
and he had a dog named Snoopy and a frog named Hopper
Billy- Billy and Snoopy always slept together
and Hopper slept in his jar on the floor
one night Hopper jumped out of his jar so
Snoopy started barking and woke Billy
Billy woke up and realized that Hopper was gone
and so him an- him an Snoopy looked all over
Snoopy looked in the jar and he got the jar stuck n his head
then while Billy was looking out the window
Snoopy still had the jar on his head
and he fell off the windowsill onto the ground
so Billy had to get out and go get the jar off Snoopy's head
and then him and snoopy went off to go look for Hopper
when Billy and Hopper wen-
Billy and snoopy went out into the forest looking all over for Hopper
and they ran
Snoopy found a beehive
Snoopy went and started barking up the beehive
and got chased all around by bees
then after a while Billy was looking in a hole and
a mouse came out and tried to get him
so then after that the bees were chasing Billy and uh Billy and Snoopy
and uh so then Billy and snoopy ran an- ran an- ran then
Billy climbed up on a rock
and he was holding on to what he thought was two twigs
and looking all around for Hopper
and he was yelling Hopper's name
and crying out for Hopper and
then he found out that the twigs he thought he was holding onto was a deer
and so the deer started running with Billy on his head
and then he ran all the way to a cliff and
then dropped Billy an- Billy and Snoopy off into the water
then they both fell in the water and they were looking around the water and
Billy heard Hopper making noise
and so when Hopper made a noise

he looked over a log and he found Hopper with a little Miss Hopper
and they had had little babies
an- so then they all lived happily ever after

**English Female Scroll Format**
S009AF

Sitting on the end er- at the end of his bed and with his um pet dog
an-looking at his um pet frog in a jar
an- the little boy goes to sleep and his dog lays by him on the bed
and while he's sleeping the frog climbs out of the jar
well the little boy wakes up and the frog is gone out of the jar
an- the little boy looks through all of his clothes
an- the dog even gets his head stuck in the jar
an- looks up and down in his room and can't find the frog
the little boy opens the window and
the dog and him look out the window to try to find the frog
an- holler for the frog
then the little- the puppy falls out of the window with the jar on his head
so the little boy had to get out
get out of the window and pick up his dog
then they went out into the woods and started hollering for the pet frog
and they see a- a- bun- a beehive
and all the bees are flying around
and so they go over by the beehive
and the little boy is hollering down into a hole for his frog
and while at the same time the dog is barking at the beehive
well then a gopher pops out of the hole and scares the little boy
an- the dog is jumping on the tree barking at the beehive
an- the dog knocks down the beehive and the bees start getting mad and flying around
an- while the boy is looking in the tree a hole in the tree
then a owl flies out of the hole in the tree
an- the bees start chasing the dog
then the owl still chasing the little boy
an- the boy is shoo-ing the owl away
the boy climbs up onto a rock
and hollers for his pet frog
while the dog is sitting down by the rocks
while the little boy is up on the rock
he holds on to deer's antlers thinking its a tree
and the deer gets him on his antlers and runs away with with him
and he falls off the side of a little hill
and the dog and the boy fall off the little hill into the water
an- the little boy thinks he hears something
an- he tells the dog to be quiet so he can hear

an- he looks over the un- stump of wood and finds two frogs
and then he sees all the little baby frogs
so the little boy takes one of the baby frogs
and waves goodbye to the frog family
and off they go

**Japanese Male Book Format**
B100JM

syounen wa aru yoru sono hi ni tsuka mae tekita kaeru o bin no naka ni irete zutto nagameteimasu. totemo tanoshi sou ni nagameteimasu. syonen no katteiru inu mo issyo ni nagameteimasu. amari yoru ga osoku naru to ikenai node, okaasan ni okorareru node, syonen wa inuto toma ni bedo ni hai ru koto ni shimashita. asa, syonen ga okitemiru to bin no naka ni irete oita wa zuno kaeru daimasen. syonen wa heya no iroirona tokoro o sagashitemimashita. demo kaeru wa mitsudarimasen. inu mo issyo ni sagashimashita. inu wa bin no naka ni kaeru ga inaika, bin no naka ni atama o irete sagashitemimashita. demo kaeru wa mitsukarimasen. soshite inu wa bin no naka kara nukedasu koto mo dekimasen. syounen mado no soto o mitemimashita. ie no soto ni nigedashitaka mo kaeru haie no soto ni nigedashitakamo shiremasen. inu wa mado kara soto ni tobiorimashita. sono syougekide, kaeru o irete okuhazu no bin o inu wa watteshimaimashita. syonen wa sukoshi okotteimasu. ieno ura ni wakara tsuzuku mori ni mukatte, syonen wa kaeru ni hanashi kaketemimashita. kaeru o sagasoutoshiteimasu. demo henji wa nakanaka arimasen. syounen wa ana no naka ni iru mogura ni hanashi kakete mitarimashita. inu wa ki ni burasagatteiru hachi nosu no hachi ni hanashi kakeyou toshite, ki o yusuttemimashita. inu wa hachi nosu o otoshiteshimai, hachi o okorasu koto ni narimashita. sono aida syounen wa ki no naka ni iru ki no naka de nemutteiru hukurou ni hanashi kakeyoutoshimashita. hachi o okorasetainu wa hachi ni oikakerare nemutteiru hukurou o okoshiteshimatta syounen mo hukurou ni odoro kasareteshimaimashita. hutari wa hukurou to hachi kara nigeru ko to ga deki, iwabamadeyattekimashita. iwaba no ve ni nobotte, kaeru o - kaeru no namae o sakendemimashita. udadato omottetsukandamo no wa shika no tsu no deshita. bikkurishitashika wa, shyounen o tsuno no ve ni nose, totsuzen hashiridashiteikimashita. inu mo, sono shika o oikaketeikimashita. shyounen o rosetashika wa gake no tokoro made yattekite, shika wa shyounen o gake kara otoshiteshimaimashita. inu mo douji ni ochiteshimaimashita. sono ochita tokoro wa, ike ni natteimashita. shyounen wa - shyounen to inu wa ike ni ochisare mouhuku ga bichyabichya desu. to - totsuzen soko ni shyounen wa nanika o kyoumi no aru oto o kikimashita inu niwa shizuka ni suru you ni shi-- to itte, damarase you to shi masu. so-tto, kinokage kara oto no hou o nozoite miru to, soko niwa, nihiki no kaeru ga imashita. otousan to okaasan no kaeru no you desu. shyounen wa sore o tanoshi sou ni nagameteimasu. kodomotachi no kaeru ga atsumatte kimashita. shyounen wa, motto kyoumi o mochimashita. sono naka no ippiki no kaeru ga shyounen no ie kara nigedashita kaeru deshita. shyounen wa, sono naka no sono ippiki o tsukamaete, kaeru no kazoku ni owakare o iinagara, inu to tomo ni kaetteikimashita. oshimai.

**Japanese Female Scroll Format**
S118JF
kore wa chisana otoko no ko no hanashi deshita. otoko no ko no namae wa kentaroukun to iimashita. kenchan wa kaeru ga daisuki de mainichi kaeru o miteimashita. tokoro ga aru hi kenhan ga neteiru suki ni kaeru wa nigeteitteshimaimashita. asa okite miru to kaeru wa doko ni mo imassendeshita. soko de kenchan to [petto] no inu no wa heya no naka o kumasaku sagashimashita. dakedo kaeru wa doko nimo imasen deshita. kenchan wa mado o akete soto o mitemimashita ga kaeru wa doko nimo imasendeshita. soko de kenchan to wa mori ni sagashi ni itte miru koto ni shimashita. kenchan wa more no naka de ironnna tokoro o sashimashita ga kaeru wa doko nimo imasen deshita. kenchan ga iwa no ue ni tatte koeda o tsukan de ironna tokoro o sagashiteiru to sono koeda ga totsuzenugokidashimashita. sou desu, sono koeda wa shikadatta no desu. sono shika wa okotte kenchan o atama ni nosetamama hashiridashite shimaimashita. kenchan, soshite kenchan o gake kara, otoshiteshimaimashita. shikashi, kenchan wa daijyoubu. sono shita wa mizutamari dattanode kenchan wa tasukarimashita. soshite kenchan ga mimi o sumashitemiruto nandaka otogashimashita. sore de kenchan wa sottochikazuite ittemiru to ano kaeru ga itanodeshita. de- sono kaeru wa okusan to kodomotachi ga ippaiimashita. sore de kenchan wa kodomotachi no ippiki o moratte kaeru ni owakare o tsugemashita. kenchan wa sono ippiki o zutto taisetsu ni sodatemashita. sayonara o iinagara kaetteikimashita.

VITA

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