TOWARD A CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON OF
CHINESE AND AMERICAN NARRATIVE

A Thesis

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by

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CHAPTER I

IN SEARCH OF PATHS FOR INTERPRETING WORLDS:
THOUGHT AND LANGUAGE

The novelist has an infinity of choices. He chooses what is to happen, to
whom it happens, and in what way he will relate what happens. The picture
he constructs is complete in its own terms. When he says “This is the story
and the whole story” we must accept it. Perhaps novelists are the only
people who do tell the truth.

Penelope Lively, According to Mark

Truth

This paper is about truth. And it is about stories. The idea that storytellers are the
only truth tellers may go against the grain. We grow up learning that truth is something
concrete, scientific, and that stories are made up for our enjoyment and certainly not
factual. Even on the inside cover of the Stephen King novel lying on my table is the
disclaimer: This is a work of fiction...any resemblance to actual persons, living or dead,
events, or locales is entirely coincidental. We can accept that storytellers do tell the truth
because the stories they create arise only within the boundaries of worlds of their own
creation. They do not suppress or distort facts because the facts of their stories are what
the storyteller says they are.

Without a socially approved role such as ‘novelist’, the rest of us cannot choose
as freely. We cannot tell a completely true story from observing what happens and to
whom it happens. Life would be interminable if we could: “I ate dinner after work last
night” might become “I turned the door knob and climbed the stairs, skipping the top
step. I walked into the kitchen, etc.” What we include and what we leave out are choices
that are limited by conventions. In essence, everything we apperceive is through culture.

1
No absolute truth is discoverable by just being objective enough, because it is always processed by individuals who are trapped in a culture. Goodman explained that the abstract notion of what we call the world is a product of our minds, and culture is an instrument which produces our worlds (Goodman: 1-22). Knowledge is not merely information, it is the ability to function in our worlds, to have expectations about things. The knowledge to function in one world does not sufficiently prepare us for functioning in other worlds. On the other hand, our worlds have no discrete boundaries; many times they overlap, fooling us that we are on mutual territory, only to break down because we continue to apply old expectations in new worlds.

Gaining knowledge, then, is not the reception of facts, but a cognitive process of creating or inventing meaning from environmental information and then storing it. When the environment changes (e.g., another culture), new knowledge, and therefore expectations, are necessary to function. Two people will encounter identical information and store it or process it differently in their minds, depending on what expectations go into the interpretation of new information. Take an example from the weather: Kevin and Jimmy are both visiting Ohio in the winter when it is 40 degrees Fahrenheit. Kevin, a Hawaiian, might complain that it is cold. He may state the temperature as proof that he knows the weather is cold. However, Jimmy, from Toronto, sharing the same information, might insist that it is a mild temperature. Both individuals have encountered the same data and processed it as different knowledge in their minds. They store it differently too. This will effect how they retrieve it and how each forms expectations for learning. Kevin might form the expectation that Ohio is cold. When his sister is packing for a trip to Ohio, he remembers “that-trip-to-Ohio-where-it-is-very-cold” and urges her to pack an extra sweater. Jimmy may store it as “unexpected weather”. He was not expecting the winter to be so warm, and did not connect the warmth with Ohio per se,
since it is not far from Toronto. When the summer in Toronto is hotter than usual, Jimmy may retrieve his weather experience in Ohio and make the statement, “this year the temperatures are higher than average”, concluding that it must be the result of global warming. Two minds have created different interpretations from the same information.

Truth in a universal sense is a moot point: what is the real truth, what is really there before the smoke and screens of culture? It is a philosophical cliché to wonder whether a tree which falls in the forest and is heard by no one, makes a noise. Because everything is interpreted through culture, it is a meaningless question. Truth is relative; it is the generally shared meaning that a culture accepts at any given time. The “truth” that we seek here, therefore, is the process by which we construct our worlds, and how they constrain our actions. We do this in order to learn to transcend our own worlds by discovering what composes them.

**Worlds and Culture**

The devices by which we interpret what we apperceive are the tools with which we construct our worlds. People who inhabit the same world use shared “tool kits” for cooperating and coordinating with each other, their worlds of shared intention and meaning compose their culture or cultures (1986: 49-55). When worlds are shared, few words convey much meaning. People like to let others fill in the gaps, and only say what we feel is necessary to be understood. When intention is misinterpreted there is a breakdown in communication. In the film *Pretty Woman*, a prostitute is entertaining a man in his penthouse suite. She is perplexed by the room service attendant who, after serving champagne, refuses to leave, and looks at her expectantly. She doesn’t realize he wants a tip. The waiter is angry, she is embarrassed, her date is condescending. Even though she had his wallet, her date did not tell her to give the tip. Tipping was not an explicit
rule for him nor did he realize it would be missing from her world, so he didn’t think to prepare her. In contrast, he did not need to tell her to pay for the champagne, since this rule was understood in both their worlds. The second time the waiter comes she tips him immediately. She has learned some of the rules in an unfamiliar world.

Discovering Culture

Knowing our own culture, permits more freedom to decide and adapt. Take eating for an example: often we eat without being aware of cultural dictates that prescribe what we eat and how we do it. If you had no idea which foods make you gain weight and you ate indiscriminately, you might gain or lose weight alarmingly. With proper dietary information, you have the ability to choose your own course. You can diet to lose weight or to gain weight, or you can continue to eat indiscriminately. The difference is the knowledge you command: with a knowledge of more than one pattern of diet you are able to make the decision; whereas, with a single (monocultural) pattern of eating as your knowledge basis, you do not choose because you have no choice. Transcending our cultures, or at least discovering aspects of them, helps us understand the stories of our own lives and enables us to approach members of unfamiliar cultures with the willingness and capacity to communicate.

Discovering our worlds can be difficult because if they are functioning satisfactorily, we are unaware that they exist. People participate in culture both implicitly and explicitly. Implicit participation is behavior that we are unaware of or that we are unwilling to admit to. Instances of implicit culture are noticed most easily where cultures conflict. A Japanese teacher once admitted that she thought it strange that Americans give new guests tours of their houses. I realized that I myself did this without thinking about it and probably would not be able to explain this practice to an ethnographer studying the
behavior of American hosts. Since my conversation with my Japanese teacher, I either do not show a Japanese guest my apartment or I am sure to explain why I am doing so.

In *Beyond Culture*, Edward Hall explains that anthropologists often study the wrong things, the things that people know how to talk about. Often meaningful cultural patterns are found in what people do not know how to talk about. Social behavior and the worlds that underlie it are created in a way that can be discovered only by the principle of negative feedback. If other worlds conflict with our expectations of the way things should be, we try to interpret them, and in doing so we can achieve an awareness of our own systems. An American who is disappointed that he never gets to see anything but the sitting rooms of Japanese houses can realize that in his own culture touring the host’s house is a social obligation. He can change his expectations about visits in Japan and may vary his behavior when he has Japanese guests in his own home.

**Language and Culture**

Cultures around the world each have unique ways of creating meaning. If we can learn about them, we can learn more about the international community and about ourselves. Language is the most obvious way that people share meaning. The analysis of language has shed much light on interpreting cultures. Hall cites *The Navajo*, by Kluckhohn and Leighton (Hall: 12). They demonstrated that Navajo children experienced difficulty in white American schools because the Navajo language was more verb-oriented and English is more adjectival. An analogous case may be children from black families who have been raised speaking a different dialect of English having lower scholastic achievement when they enter schools where the expectations are derived from the dominant culture.
Clearly, the relationship between language and cognition is an important one. Language is a system of symbolic meaning with a function of conveying meaning and intention between people. It reflects the cultural needs and values of the people using it. No person uses the full potential of the English language or any other language when speaking or writing. We each access portions and styles of a language. It is not just that some of us have larger vocabularies, but that we each speak in distinct ways at specific times such as when we are assuming the expectations of contrasting worlds. For example, linguists have studied the use of ‘n’ and ‘ng’ endings in and out of the workplace (O’Grady: 334-335). For many office workers, the more casual workin’ and eatin’ are used strictly outside the workplace, while the ‘ng’ is maintained on the job. Similarly, vocabulary choice and speaking style also change according to situation.

People access different worlds and, therefore, different language styles for various situations. The study of language and our selective use of it offers perspectives into the working of our minds. If individuals live in several different worlds and use different versions of language, which are only restricted portions of the entire spectrum of different languages, then we can imagine how the chasm must grow when trying to understand the worlds of people who speak different languages.

There are three general theories on the relationship between language and thought: either language or thought is dependent upon the other; language prescribes the way we are able to think; somehow language and thought are interdependent (Crystal: 14-15). Today, most people see the third relationship as the most accurate characterization of the current state of knowledge in this area. While not going to extremes in claiming that language can predict the way we think, it maintains that language can affect the way we store and recall knowledge and choose our words (Crystal: 15). When words are precise and easily available, they are more likely to be used. Anyone who has spent time
communicating in a foreign language community finds certain concepts that are difficult to communicate quickly and precisely in the foreign language. This reflects the ‘mismatch’ between the words which readily index these concepts in the person’s native language and the way those concepts are conveyed in the foreign language. While meaning can be translated and explained, it may take several words to identify a concept that is referred to by one word in the native language. In environments where more than one language is understood by all the participants, one often hears a native who is communicating primarily in his own language switch codes to say a term in his second language. If asked to explain he might say, “It’s hard to get this point across in my native language.” Clearly, when communicating our thoughts and ideas, access to appropriate terminology can facilitate the process.

Following this line of reasoning in *Shaping Thought*, Alfred Bloom claimed that language played a role in shaping thought and sought to discover which linguistic differences would indicate corresponding cognitive differences. He claimed that once language has been acquired by means of an underlying cognitive structure, it may transcend its role of communication and become itself a cognitive tool. In one of his studies, Bloom focused on a grammatical construction, namely the counterfactual conditional (e.g., If Freud were alive today, he would have a lot to say about *The National Inquirer*). If a language lacks the counterfactual conditional, its speakers must also have difficulty in counterfactual thought. He found Chinese people consistently misunderstanding theoretical questions posed in a questionnaire and that led him to test this hypothesis. His study involved native Chinese and English speakers. Chinese people, whose language he claimed, lacks a simple and precise counterfactual conditional, had difficulty answering such questions as: ”If all circles were large, and this small triangle ‘Δ’ were a circle, would it be large?” While Americans largely answered the
question as “yes”, readily accepting the unnatural premise, Chinese tended to answer “no” or to argue with the premise. Bloom’s study concluded that the existence of a linguistic label in a particular language will encourage the individual speaker to develop a cognitive schema specific to that way of thinking (Bloom: 69, 84-86).

Bloom’s article on the relationship between thought and language created a burst of controversy. He seemed to be categorizing Chinese people as intellectually inferior and incapable of thinking theoretically. Bloom noted that few Chinese philosophical works have dealt with theoretical concepts, such as the difference between property and entity (39). One school that was the exception was the Logicians of the fourth century B.C. In the Kung-sun Lung-tzu the distinction between such concepts as white and whiteness was discussed. However, the Logicians were severely criticized by contemporary and later philosophers, and their ideas never entered mainstream Chinese philosophy. The dearth of theoretical philosophical works cannot preclude the existence of theoretical ability. Early China was responsible for such important inventions as paper and the compass. It is difficult to imagine the creation of a great civilization without significant theoretical abilities.

In a sense, Bloom has created his own linguistic trap. He defines somebody as good in theorizing if they can understand logic as translated from Western terminology. When the translations become difficult and understanding is not achieved, he claims that this is proof of cognitive failure. What he does not examine is whether there is a different kind of theoretical thinking. While his conclusions are stretched, he has at least offered interesting data involving cognitive difficulty with the Western mode of theoretical interpretation. The faddish politically correct language of the nineties might refer to Chinese as “differently-abled theoretical thinkers”.
In the latest essay to address Bloom’s study, Donna Lardiere contended the conclusions of the study, but not on the basis of his results. She accepted them at a certain level—that differing cognitive abilities occur between languages—but objected to what she saw as Bloom’s conclusion: that the lack of a precise grammatical marker for the counterfactual conditional is at the root of Chinese difficulty with natural counterfactual reasoning (Lardiere: 236-241). She contends that culture rather than language structure accounts for this discrepancy. She argued that language does not determine thought; rather, cultural factors inhibit the development of certain kinds of thinking. In getting to this point, Lardiere tended to oversimplify Bloom’s study which does not discount cultural factors in the development of thought: If, perhaps due to cultural factors, a linguistic feature is absent from a language, then its culture would be less likely to develop that mode of thought without the aid of a newly created word or a borrowed term from another language. Lardiere’s study does, however, clarify some issues. She conducted the same study with native Arabic speakers because Arabic does have a natural counterfactual grammatical construction. Arabs seem to have similar cultural patterns as Chinese in relation to theoretical thought. As she predicted, the Arabic speakers had trouble with the counterfactual cognitive process as posed by Bloom just as the Chinese had had. The problem was grounded in cultural tradition and values as they relate to ways of thinking.

The relationship between thought and language is one of mutual dependence. Lardiere’s study only suggests that the existence of a schematic label does not necessarily determine one’s facility with that cognitive function. If that function is devalued by the culture and even if a grammatical function is available, a speaker of that language may not be facile with this kind of cognitive task. Arabic has a counterfactual conditional, yet Arabic people resist this type of thought. This revelation does not entirely negate
Bloom’s point that “a word can act as a directive force in leading (one) to think about the world in certain novel ways and as a locus around which the results of that thinking come to coalesce” (Bloom: 69). The absence of a counterfactual conditional in Chinese language is a good indicator that Chinese people might have difficulty with that corresponding cognitive process, even if it does not prove lack of theoretical ability. A complex mode of thought is easier to understand if one has a label to hang it on. Lardiere demonstrated that neither the label itself nor the ability to use a linguistic label will determine facility in a cognitive function. Of equal importance is that the label seems to be a tool in creating a cognitive world for this function, and its existence should indicate a likely corresponding cognitive process. Further, cultural differences may also reside in the situations in which particular cognitive processes are applied not only with the existence of a process in one cultural group and its absence in another.

**Worlds and Pedagogy**

One area in which these issues recur is the study of foreign languages. If, as Galal Walker lectures on the subject, foreign language pedagogy is concerned with devising the means of transmission of knowledge between cultures, then in order to transmit knowledge each learner must not only know vocabulary, but must somehow acquire a sense of the appropriate situation and manner in which these terms can be applied. Traditionally the language pedagogy has centered around item recognition devoid of context. Learning terms out of context is not really learning how to communicate at all, and causes gross gaps in communication. For example, one day I was walking across the university campus when a fellow graduate student saw me and demanded in English: "Where are you going?" Busy trying to figure out how to explain my current destination, I glanced up to see he had continued on his way. While the
student's words were understandable, they were inappropriate to the situation. A brief consideration of the matter made me realize that he was translating directly from Chinese. In Chinese it is common to greet a person on the street by inquiring the other's destination. The answer is usually a brief and ritualized "out" or "home." On an American campus, his words in English were not successfully recognized as a greeting, but were interpreted as a rather nosy demand. The intended social ritual was unsuccessful. Had he said the same words to some one less familiar with his language, which would have been highly likely, the gap would have been greater.

**Narratives and Thought**

One of the fundamental types of discourse we can use to discover our worlds is narrative. Not narrative as in fairy tales and story hour, but as Mink describes it: an irreducible means towards understanding our experiences (Mink: 129-130). Narratives are the rhetorical forming of worlds. Whenever information does not fit neatly into our worlds, our minds naturally invent an understanding which often is in the form of a narrative. When driving down the road, you do not wonder, "Why are there cars coming towards me in the opposite direction in the left lane?" The information is canonical. But if an on-coming car veered suddenly into your lane (and presuming you had time to think) you might speculate "Maybe he is drunk, or has had a heart attack." Or, if you are a member of an illegal underworld, you might think, "maybe it is an enemy trying to wipe me out." Essentially, you are narrating to create meaning from non-canonical information. According to Bruner (1990: 68-90), narration is a basic early learned form of coping with the world. At an early age children begin to tell stories in order to deal with the non-canonical incidents which baffle them from day to day. We do so by creating narratives, both internally to ourselves and by telling others. A study of young
children shown pictures of birthday scenes elicited only brief sentences when the scenes were typical. When the scenes were atypical, such as the birthday girl was crying, children went to great lengths to explain this situation by creating narratives (Lucarielli: 142-149). The importance of narratives in interpreting our worlds make them a good subject of study in the search for insight into the cognitive processes people employ.

A major study looking at narrative production was compiled in *The Pear Stories* (Chafe: 1980). The purpose was to discover how people talk about experiences and then recall them. The assumption was that knowledge is stored non-verbally because of the difficulty of putting thoughts into words and the fact that we use different words for the same things at different times. In the hope of discovering a mental process of verbalization the authors chose to base narratives on a film because it approximates a real event and people often react to them with real responses. Deborah Tannen, in a cross-cultural analysis, compared Greek and American narratives. Her study showed a major difference in how the task was interpreted by the subjects. Greeks seemed to see it as a challenge to create a story and thus framed their responses in a story like manner. The Americans were more concerned with the memory process and with "getting it right". They were also more conscious of the film as a genre and reported what was labeled the "film viewers perspective." This kind of cross-cultural analysis using narratives as a metric may lead us closer to discovering our worlds and the other worlds around us.

**A Focus: Chinese Narratives and Thought**

A cross-cultural study of Chinese and English narrative is appealing for many reasons. China has long been hailed as an exotic world "inscrutable" to Westerners. Recent studies in an effort to negate this earlier myth may dismiss differences too cursorily. Many generalizations about Chinese culture may be outdated, such as, the
importance of family to the Chinese, which may be outdated or exaggerated.
Furthermore, a study of narrative production in both languages by both American and Chinese subjects presents useful avenues for comparison for developing pedagogical research.

The earliest studies comparing narrative thought of Eastern and Western cultures, namely Chinese and American, claimed that Chinese thinking and narrative form were spiral while American thought and narrative form were linear (Kaplan). This kind of study was a symptom of the bias that the East was an exotic enigmatic culture, merely because it was not understood. James Fu (1987: 45-46) declared that the best way to examine the organic view of Chinese narrative and cognition is to study a contemporary Chinese short story. The problem with this study is that it examined artifacts of written culture, a highly marked form of the culture. A written narrative is already laden with premeditation and culturally influenced genre models. It cannot say anything fundamental about basic cognitive or narrative styles. Narratives collected orally, rather than expository prose, will reveal more basic cognitive patterns.

Continuing the kind of study found in The Pear Stories, but publishing separately, Mary Erbaugh collected narratives from a group of Chinese subjects using the same film. She then compared her results with the previously collected American results. She found that the American-produced narratives were almost identical to the Chinese-produced narratives in terms of sequencing, listing of actions and object identification. This directly refuted the idea that Chinese had a unique spiral process of thinking. Although Americans told longer narratives, most of the length turned out to be due to more personal comments such as "I like it" and the film viewer's perspective rather than a more detailed description of action. Erbaugh did detail a list of socially revealing differences, while minimizing their importance. Seemingly concerned with discrediting
the traditional exotic mysterious description of Chinese thought, Erbaugh concluded that differences were few, and de-emphasized these differences in her conclusion. She did offer some pedagogical implications, such as that Chinese introduce characters with subjectless Verb-Object sentences. This kind of analysis is helpful as a model for teaching Chinese and more of it would have been welcomed. These data were relegated to her conclusion.

From the perspective of cultural contrasts, the differences are much more significant than she allowed. She labeled them socially revealing differences which offer insight into the two cultures (Erbaugh: 26-29). Chinese narratives were more likely to include social and moral interpretations which are similar to results of other studies cited below. Perhaps this is because there is a strong emphasis in Chinese education on teaching moral lessons by story and example. They were also more likely to prescribe psychological interpretations: who was happy or in pain. On the other hand, Americans paid slightly more attention to detail. She posited that this was because Americans were accustomed to memory experiments, and hoped to score well. Chinese, on the other hand, told a better ‘story’. Another interesting result was that Americans tended to use general terms for naming nouns such as ‘man’ or ‘girl’. Chinese were more explicit, using terms such as ‘fruit picker’. Most interesting is that Chinese often created themes, such as of theft and thanks, while Americans stuck to more neutral interpretations. These socially oriented differences give some insight into cultural determinatives of narratives, or how people interpret their worlds and should be re-examined with the intention of examining these differences rather than brushing them aside.

Another study compared story completions collected orally from Mainland Chinese and American children (Domino). The goal was to discover some of the basic psychological phenomena which would indicate differences between Chinese and
American cultures. Again, a greater number of psychological interpretations (he labels them "affectations") among Chinese was reported. Domino's theory had some rather bazaar conclusions. Citing studies that claimed that Chinese college students were less mature and more emotionally 'unstable' than their American counterparts, he drew the conclusion that instability could be interpreted to mean expressiveness (13). Even without determining the accuracy of the studies he cited, highly questionable to begin with, the connection between instability and expressiveness has yet to be established. On the contrary, a person unable to express emotion or thoughts could be labeled immature and unstable. If we were to grant, for a moment, that Chinese are more expressive, this fact could be used to contradict any studies indicating immaturity and instability in Chinese behavior.

Domino further supported his theory by introducing the Chinese concept of yin and yang which he claimed to be less rational. He explained yin and yang as attributing contrasting characteristics to things like disease and diet, such as hot/cold and soft/hard (14). He does not consider this affective emphasis rational. Categorizing third world countries as soft, natural and irrational, and Western nations as cold, rational and technical is Eurocentric, and is in fact employing the very yin and yang concept that Dominos labels irrational. Equipped with this theory, Domino predicted more psychological descriptions, what he called 'affect', and this is what he found.

Domino's study also determined a lesser concern with economic issues among the Chinese than American subjects based on then current economic situations in the China and America (Domino: 15). He based this on such issues as themes of payment for damages, allowance and economic jealousy. The contention that Chinese have less economic concern goes contrary to most personal observations. Most of the people in Mainland China own fewer objects than do Americans and, thus, they highly value
possessions that Americans are likely to not value, such as newly bought Western stuffed animals. These fluffy animals will perch, still wrapped in plastic, in display cases, with the price tag strategically placed in full view. While no one can say that Americans are not a materialistic culture, we are obliged to hide this feature. In America one would be breaking social mores to talk about a person’s salary, while in China it is usually the first question Chinese acquaintances ask. My experience shopping with a Chinese friend for presents to send back to China presents another example. She selected several cheap necklaces which were on sale. When she asked them to be wrapped, the sales person proceeded to cut off the price tags, whereupon my friend protested. The sales person was confused and said, “I thought these were a gift.” “Exactly,” said my Chinese friend, “So could you please replace these with some necklaces that still have the price tags without the sale price marked?” While in America, we are supposed to hide the price, my Chinese friend felt that it was important to prove that she had been generous with her friends (even though she was not as generous as she intended them to think). A more helpful way of examining economic issues in China and America would be to examine in what manner members of each culture talks about them, rather than debating the degree of economic concern.

This study will address what can be learned about cultural differences by studying how we talk about things and remember them. If narrative strategies are found to differ between Chinese and Americans, we can examine whether today’s students of foreign languages are learning to live in the worlds of the target culture, to socialize like a member of the target culture, or whether they are mapping their base culture strategies onto their target culture performances.
CHAPTER II

THE STUDY

To test the various hypotheses on narrative formation in Chinese and to further this discussion, a pilot study was designed to elicit and analyze various narratives. It will strive to determine if narratives are a useful tool for interpreting cultures. A film segment was shown to Chinese and American subjects and eliciting narratives from them. The narratives are analyzed on a dual level. On the one hand, all narratives produced by Americans are compared with all of those produced by Chinese. On the other hand, similarities and differences of Chinese language versus English language narratives produced by Americans and Chinese are examined and contrasted. Unlike the literature addressed above, this is a cross-cultural study using bilingual subjects. The study of bilingual subjects can lead to an understanding of where learning has occurred and where it has fallen short. A few aspects of previous literature are also tested (Erbaugh, Domino), including use of family terms, attention to economy and the degree the narrative seems like a ‘story’. The latter may indicate how the subjects interpret the task. Like several recent studies on narrative in Narrative Thought, Narrative Language, (Britton), the numbers dealt with do not constitute a significant quantitative study, but are, rather, exploratory in nature. The intention is to generate a valuable database which can serve to reveal differences in narrative performances in Chinese and American cultures as an aid in discovering pedagogical implications.
Subjects

The subjects were Chinese and American graduate students, professors and some spouses of students. The Chinese-Only subjects consisted of three subjects who were female spouses of graduate students from mainland China, aged 30 to 40 years. On paper the fact that they had studied English in China from three to six years would make them ineligible as a control group. Because their learning experience emphasized recognition of lexicon in isolation and virtually ignored active speaking, listening, and writing skills their command of English was limited and made them a control group. Two had studied to the secondary level, and one had finished college. None had studied other foreign languages. Ideally non-English speakers were sought, but due to the limits of this experiment (based on an American college campus) this was the best control group available. The Chinese subjects who also speak English (hereafter referred to as bilingual Chinese subjects) are mostly from mainland China with one from Hong Kong and one from Taiwan. They are a highly educated group with years of exposure to English consisting of six graduate students—three male and three female—in linguistics or literature from thirty to forty years of age. Most had studied English for at least ten years, and had been in America for an average of three years. Four of them had studied Japanese from one to four years. The linguistic students’ possible familiarity with this kind of study may influence the results.

The English-Only subjects consisted of three non-Chinese speaking Americans and one with only ten weeks of Chinese. Three were college graduates, currently working, and one professor of Arabic. Their ages spanned from 32 to 56 years. The American subjects who speak Chinese (hereafter referred to as bilingual American subjects) were also graduate students in literature or linguistics and included one professor. They had studied Chinese for an average of seven years and had spent about
two years in Asia. The English-Chinese and Chinese-English subjects will be referred to as bilingual subjects for convenience, but is not necessarily accurate, since several of them speak more than two languages. Because the English-Only and Chinese-Only groups are so small, they can be considered a control group only in the most tentative sense. When the Chinese control group matches that of the Chinese bilingual speakers, it clearly reinforces the results. However, when the control group’s results are different, it may or may not be significant.

**The Film**

The film segment was taken from a 1949 black and white Chinese film called *Biao* (The Watch). It begins with a scene of a cold day on a busy city street in Shanghai, in pre-revolutionary China. Three young boys differing in size and age, who appear to be poor and hungry, peer into the window of a bakery. They see a little girl with a woman standing behind her, choosing a cake. A driver is seated in a car along the street. The girl and woman exit, cake in hand, along with a man who waves his hand, perhaps at the driver. The poor boys gape at them. One of the boys runs to hold open the door of the waiting car. Another skirts around the back of it. As the family begins to enter the car, the smallest poor boy runs by and swipes the cake out of the little girl’s hands. The three gather around the cake to eat it. The man who seems to be the father of the family beats them, but they continue eating. Cake is on the face of one of them. Finally, a voice says ‘*Eh! Xiao biesan!* (Hey! You rascals!) in Shanghainese and the arm of a uniformed man comes and takes the cake away. (In appendix ‘A’ a more detailed description of the film short can be found.)

It should be understood that my description above is itself biased. I have assumed the cake buyers are a family. Because they never speak to each other, there is
no way to ascertain whether or not they are a family. Many subjects spent a great deal of
time identifying the man, and came up with servant, father, grandfather, husband, and
simply, the man accompanying the woman and little girl. A more serious error was
avoided before this paper was completed. I had assumed that the boys had schemed to
steal the cake: one would open the door for diversion, another would take the cake.
Therefore, I initially checked how many people had noticed this scheme. Several said
something like, “One boy opened the door. Another ran up and stole the cake” which I
had counted as plot recognition. Then a Chinese consultant informed me that it was not
uncommon for beggars to assist rich people on the street in return for a tip and that
opening the car door was not necessarily connected to the theft of the cake. I realized that
I had interpreted the scheme based on a pre-existing script of theft. While either
explanation is possible, because the boys did not talk with each other and because they
did not run off to escape, but sat right down and ate the cake, the theft probably was not
a preconceived plan. In recounting, only narratives which explicitly mentioned or implied
the scheme were counted, such as “this poor kid..um..uh pretended that they opened
the door for them, then another kid just grab the cake.” Five Americans had also made
my assumption, once each, and only one Chinese had done so, twice. My assumption
and discovery of it, serves as an example of how difficult it is to see our own created
worlds until we learn about somebody else’s.

This film segment was chosen for several reasons. It had no dialogue, although
there is a sentence shouted and a cry. This would allow the subjects to create their own
internal dialogue or narration as they piece together the plot, without interference from
dialogue. Further, I wanted to avoid the need for translation. The one shout was so
muffled by the quality of the film, that only two people mentioned it. Some people did
not recall or realize that the film was in China, and some English-Only subjects would not recognize the voice as Chinese.

Further, the film segment offered a brief (less than 1 minute) complete scene with a plot, limited number of characters and a problem. The brevity was a consideration because the subject might otherwise be too concerned with the film as a genre and less concerned with the story. In *The Pear Stories* an entire film seven minutes was shown. Americans subjects who viewed *The Pear Story* were less likely to narrate with social or psychological interpretations, they tended to list facts. Erbaugh posited that this was because Americans were more concerned with proving their memory capacity. They often couched the retelling within a film-viewer’s perspective (i.e., the camera zooms in on a shop). Chinese were also likely to do so, although not quite as much as Americans. This study hoped to gear the experiment towards obtaining something closer to a true narrative in reaction to events seen. A shorter film segment, might move the focus away from memorization and the film viewer’s mode.

Another useful aspect of this short clip was the possibility it provided for disparity in the selection of the protagonists. While subjects seemed to agree on the poor children as the victims, there was a discrepancy in which characters were mentioned first, and whose actions were followed most. Also, when creating the imaginary contiguous scene, there was a discrepancy in whose story was developed: the poor kids or the rich family.

Since attention to social, moral and economic issues were a factor in previous studies (Erbaugh, Domino), these factors were also considered in selecting the film segment.
Procedure

1. After answering a short survey about their age, foreign language and study abroad experience, (see Appendix B) the subjects viewed the film clip twice without knowledge of the purpose of this study, narrating after each viewing. The bilingual subjects initially narrated in their non-native languages. After the second viewing and second narrative they then narrated in their native language.

1.1 After the first viewing I asked, “Tell me what you just saw” in English, and in Chinese, “Neng bu neng gaosu wo shenme gangcai fasheng-de?” The question was always asked in the language which was expected from the subject for narration. The control groups performed in their native languages. The bilingual subjects performed in their non-native languages. This was in hopes of preventing interference from their native languages. If they asked for clarification, I would prompt with, “Tell me the story.” The session was video-taped.

The purpose is to elicit as quickly as possible what was gleaned from the viewing, how the subject interprets the assignment, and how they narrate. As Tannen mentions when she compared Greek to American narratives of The Pear Story, viewing the film will not have the same significance for the groups. The way each individual defines the situation will determine how the narratives will be formed (Tannen: 51-55). The film segment was shown on a one to one basis. The Pear Story had been shown to groups, and those involved with the project admitted that this strategy caused a few problems (Dubois: 2). Individual sessions could avoid lag time between the viewing and the elicitation of the narratives and prevent the tendency of observers to talk amongst themselves and compare notes. On the other hand, by conducting the interview myself, I ran into the problem of the situation seeming forced or unnatural. Subjects may have
wondered why I would ask the subject to describe the film segment if I had just seen it as well. This sometimes led to briefer narratives, since the viewers were assuming shared knowledge. In her second viewing, one subject began by saying, “Same thing” and then added some information. It may also have prompted a tendency for memory-test oriented narratives as opposed to explanation oriented ones: why explain, since I, the interviewer, had obviously seen it. However, I weighed this against the desire to control the input of each session; during a trial run in a classroom situation, one interviewer tended to prompt the students when they had trouble remembering something or when to help with lexical items and I hoped to avoid such occurrences.

1.2 The film segment is immediately shown a second time. The request is made: “Tell me again.” Again this is asked in the non-native language for other than the Chinese/English Only Groups.

During the second viewing, the subject views with a different intention: to gather detail and retain relevant information. Are faulty impressions corrected or reinforced? Was a skeletal plot filled in, or a lengthy story condensed? Would their second telling be a theme oriented summary or an event oriented memory test kind of narrative? The answers to these kinds of questions might lead us towards understanding what kind of cognitive processes are typical in narrative formation for the two cultures.

1.3 The third question is only asked of the bilingual subjects. They are asked to tell it again, for the first time in their native languages without another viewing.

It was hoped that comparisons could be made of the Chinese and English renditions. For example, would the Chinese produce English narratives similar in style to Chinese ones? Or had they learned to use a typically English approach? If few
differences in approach are determined, would these narratives reinforce the similarities? Would these people, being bilingual, tell narratives similar to each other but different from the control groups? Of concern is the possibility that the retellings would be influenced by the language the narratives had been told in first. The control groups, though small, may give some indication of the existence of this problem.

2. For the second session, the subjects returned in four weeks for a final narration without viewing the clip. The bilingual subjects narrated first in their non-native language and then in their native language. The control groups narrated once in their native language. At that each subject also narrated imaginary sequels with the bilingual subjects narrating in both languages.

2.1 They are asked to describe what they remember in their non-native language once, and immediately after in their native language (one time only for the control groups).

The purpose is to see where and how this has all been stored. According to Schank reminding makes us categorize things into different groups (Schank: 12). We store things in general scripts that help us to have expectations for similar situations. Later, when we encounter similar situations, we employ the script, avoiding the need to wonder, for example, at the dinner table what the fork is for. We do not remember each time, rather, our dinner-eating script is already at play. Stories are often stored as scripts. Schank gives the following example. Suppose you are walking down the street and a man is stopped ahead of you. He is wearing a tuxedo. He nods his head and says, "Yes?" You are perplexed. Now imagine you have just entered an expensive restaurant and the tuxedoed man does this. You can process the latter scenario much better because you have employed your restaurant-going script. In that context it makes sense. In the
first session the subjects told stories, and now are asked to recall them. Because these narratives are memories they should be more different from the original narratives.

2.2 Finally, they are asked to compose an imaginary sequel in first their non-native language and then in their native language. I asked, “If you wrote this film, how would you write the next scene?”

One purpose of this exercise was to confirm the choice of protagonist, especially if this proved to be unclear by the first session narratives. Further, it was hoped that the ‘story tellers’ could be weeded out from the ‘reporters.’ In Erbaugh (29) Chinese told a better story. In Tannen (54-55) Americans interpreted the assignment as reporting events rather than creating a story. It was assumed that the sequels would reveal how the narrators interpreted the original film. Finally, this question might identify those people who had trouble with creativity.
CHAPTER III
DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES IN NARRATIVE STRATEGY

Introduction

The resulting data is made up of 77 narratives transcribed from the videotapes (see Appendices D-I). This chapter examines what has been observed about narrative strategies for the two cultures. Issues which were broached in Erbaugh, Domino, and Tannen about social and economic issues and the disparity between story mode and report mode were examined. Differences in narrative approach were observed including tendency to hedge and to couch the narrative in a film viewer’s perspective. Below is a summary of these issues, after which the data are discussed. Chapter IV then examines the cross-cultural differences in language choice and narrative construction.

The first category is concerned with social issues. The search for socially revealing differences produced some unexpected results. It was expected that Chinese would identify the characters more often with familial terms. This expectation was based on general knowledge and descriptions of the Chinese family in literature. References to a Chinese society which values relationships and family occur as early as the Confucian Analects. Contrary to expectations the data indicated that Americans mentioned family more often than the Chinese. Intriguingly, the Americans were much more likely to misidentify the poor boys as a family with parents and a child.

Economic and or class issues were another arena where social differences were expected. Domino’s data cited in the first chapter construed the Chinese as much more likely to have economic concerns. The data in this study was analyzed to determine the
members of each culture talks about economics rather than debating the degree of economic concern. It was assumed that Chinese would be more likely to mention class differences. Policy of Communist China is supposed to eradicate class differences. However, stratification of China’s society based on status and wealth persists. Fronting of a narrative indicates the focus. It was expected that the Chinese would focus on the rich characters because there are fewer wealthy people in China. Narratives tend to be about the unexpected and wealthy characters are the anomaly. The results did not show a simple division of concern.

The second category investigates the following questions: is a story being created, a detailed report being recalled, or is this even a valid distinction? These questions were approached by classifying the details reported as psychological, character traits, given action or actions beyond the given. What kind of details are told may give a clue to how the situation is interpreted. Subjects may feel they must answer correctly, prove their memories, or understand the story. Erbaugh defined a ‘better’ story as one which is bolder in describing psychological interpretations, thematic motifs and information beyond the given and discovered that Chinese were more likely to tell a better story based on this definition. Additionally, a narrative with a conclusion may indicate that the narrator is consciously telling a story rather than reporting facts. A report mode narrative includes verifiable events and actions, and is less inclined to supply psychological interpretations, thematic motifs and extraneous information.

Erbaugh found that Americans tended towards the report mode, and suggested that this was because they were familiar with memory oriented examinations (27). The conclusion of Erbaugh studies was that Chinese were more story oriented and Americans more report oriented but the difference was not great. Contrary to Erbaugh’s discoveries, this data demonstrated that Chinese and Americans were equally as likely to describe
psychological states. However, they support Erbaugh's overall conclusion that American and Chinese narratives are similar in style. Americans reported a greater number of action and traits creating lengthier and more factually accurate narratives being much more likely to include every scene. Results of the Chinese and American subjects look very similar as far as numbers of narratives with conclusions. The line between story and report is fuzzy.

Overwhelmingly Americans hedged their stories more than Chinese in both Chinese and English, being twice as likely as the Chinese to qualify their stories with words like 'maybe', 'it looked like', or 'haoxiang' (it seems like). The degree of hedging or qualifying statements reveals the mind-set of the subject; much hedging may indicate anxiety about accuracy. The American tendency to hedge correlates with their telling of more accurate narratives shown by their attention to factual details.

Another question of approach is whether the subjects couch the story within the film viewing perspective. While there were hopes that this issue would be avoided due to the brevity of the film, this was not the case. Americans were more conscious of the film as an entity, mentioning the word 'movie' or 'film' and using words from the film viewer perspective such as "the camera zoomed in on" three times more than the Chinese, particularly in English. This confirms a result in Erbaugh's narratives.

**Examining the Data**

**The Family**

Americans were one quarter more likely to mention family. In looking at the data by group, the Americans and the Chinese-only subjects were almost matched in use of family terms, while the bilingual Chinese subjects fell far below, mentioning family terms half as often. However, the American bilingual high scores occur in English only. In
Chinese, they resemble the results of the Chinese bilinguals. Americans were almost five times more likely to misidentify the three poor boys as a family, usually mixing up gender and labeling them as mother, father and children. Even if we single out the rich characters, Americans still used family terms more than the Chinese. One might wonder whether once they saw the film a second time, they would realize that the poor characters were all boys. This was not the case. Those who mistook them as a family, almost consistently did so. While these results show Americans as overwhelmingly activating the 'family script', the Chinese did do so in a different way.

**TABLE 1**
Number of Times Family Mentioned for Rich Characters and Poor Characters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th># Narr.</th>
<th>Family as rich</th>
<th>Family as poor</th>
<th>Total Family</th>
<th>per person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English-Only</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Bilingual</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-Only</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Bilingual</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When Americans applied family terms to the poor characters, it was usually a case of misidentification—grouping the three into mother, father and child. But when the Chinese used family terms for the poor they referred to them as qiong renjia de haizi or qiongren de haizi (poor people's children). Characters with clearly no familial identity were still referenced as belonging to some existing social group. It would be more
fruitful to examine the ways in which the concept of family is important to cultures, and what kind of world is created when the concept of family is invoked, rather than making statements about comparative esteem for the family.

**Economic Concerns**

The results did not show a simple division of economic concern. While both groups mentioned wealth or the lack of it, only the Chinese framed their narratives from the rich perspective. In introducing the characters Chinese favored the rich characters, framing narratives from that perspective about 60% of the time. Americans mentioned the poor characters first roughly 75% of the time (not necessarily using the word poor). There was no significant difference among each group in different languages, nor in the retells. Chinese were slightly more likely to mention the poor characters first in the retell (45%) than in the first session. These results are exaggerated in the control groups, which reinforces their relevance. In the English-Only group 80% of the people started their narratives with the poor characters, and 100% in the retell. The Chinese-Only group were even more likely to introduce the rich characters first: 88% did so, and 100% in the retell.

Although the Chinese mentioned the rich characters first, they did not dwell on them throughout the story. To determine this, I examined which group was more apt to describe the characters as rich and poor, and in which languages, counting words such as poor, rich, upper class and homeless. Unfortunately, this analysis did not create a clear picture. When looking at the total numbers, the Chinese and American results were similar. Focusing on the bilingual groups, Americans mentioned rich slightly more often than the Chinese, and poor an equal number of times. When the narratives were isolated by language the difference was greater. Both bilingual groups mentioned poor and rich
about as often in their non-native languages, but in English, the Americans mentioned the rich twice as often, and in Chinese, the Chinese mentioned poor slightly more often. Emerging is a picture of the Chinese people framing their stories by the rich characters and then focusing on the poor, and the Americans noticing the poor first and continuing with an even focus on rich and poor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th># Narratives</th>
<th># rich</th>
<th>per person</th>
<th># poor</th>
<th>per person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English-Only</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American bilinguals</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-Only</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese bilinguals</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The control groups, however, paint a different picture. The Chinese-Only group mentioned the terms rich and poor twice as often as the English-Only group. The one similarity of the descriptions of the two control groups lies in the ratio of poor to rich: both groups mentioned poor twice as often as they mentioned rich. Both saw the poor as the protagonists and so developed those characters more fully. Analyzed alone the results of the control groups could indicate that the Chinese are more conscious of class, be it rich or poor, than the Americans. In conjunction with the results of the Chinese bilinguals, it loses significance.

In his study on completions of stories, Domino (15) found that Chinese children were much less likely to mention money as reparation than Americans. An analysis of
sequels created by the subjects is described below, but here it is appropriate to anticipate some of the results. Only two people brought up the issue of fining the children for their crime, and both were Chinese. Also, two people supposed that the cake was not worth enough to create a fuss over, and that the rich people would realize their error and offer charity to the poor children: one Chinese and one American.

**Description of Detail**

Unlike previous studies where Chinese were said to produce more descriptions of psychological intent, the present study indicates the Chinese having only a slightly greater inclination for psychological interpretation. The Chinese and the Americans each described about the same number of psychological states and character traits, while Americans told about 25% more action. When we examine how the groups describe details in each language, there is more divergence in the results. The American bilingual results are about the same for description of psychological states and traits and talk about ungiven action/event half again as often in English as in Chinese.

Results from the Chinese group differ. Chinese tell much more in each category in their native language, than they do in English, especially psychological descriptions. In English, the Chinese group’s psychological details are about the same as the Americans. But in Chinese, these details soar to thirty percent more. The actions, when described in Chinese, also come closer to approximating the American’s average number of given action per narrative. In character traits and ungiven action, Chinese also tell more details in their native language than they do in English. Despite the similar number of details described, Chinese narratives were on the whole shorter, and tended to be even shorter in English than in Chinese, while Americans usually told equally lengthy stories in both languages.
TABLE 3
Types of Description: Average Mentions Per Narrative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Psychological</th>
<th>Given Action</th>
<th>Character Traits</th>
<th>Ungiven Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English-Chinese</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ungiven Action

The presence of ungiven action strengthens the significance of schema in recreating stories and recall. Americans and Chinese told about the same number of ungiven actions, with each telling more per narrative in their native languages. These results were intriguing because they show how people create worlds based on pre-existing models or scripts. While no individual theme was significantly repeated for all, some themes of ungiven information appeared frequently. Three typical themes are shopping, door opening, and birthday.

The shopping theme was told by Americans ten times and by Chinese fifteen times. Although the family is actually first seen inside the bakery, the rich people were often described as driving up in a car, getting out, entering the shop, or at least one of these sequences. Females were more than twice as likely to tell the shopping theme.

The shopping theme was often combined with the door opening theme. In the film, the boy opens the door for the rich family. Immediately after, another boy swipes the cake from the little girl’s hands as she is about to enter the car. Six people—five Americans once each, and one Chinese, twice—interpreted this as a planned scheme, where the one boy held the car door in order to distract the family as the other boy stole...
the cake. Since the children did not run away, but squatted right there and ate the cake, the cake stealing by the smallest boy was most probably on impulse. The older boy could have been offering service to the family in hopes of receiving a tip, possibly by command of the rich man who gestures ambiguously. In either scenario people saw it as an important action in the film, but its form changed. The original door holding incident changed into pre-existing scripts involving opening doors. Chinese and American examples are quoted below.

4/C-II.2  Zai yi tiao jie shang you... you yi bu chezi kai lai le, ranhou chezi ting zai yige mai binggan dian-de menkou, ranhou you ren ba che men dakai, suo yi mama gen zheige ni'er jiu xia che, ranhou, qu mai dangao.

(On a street a car pulls up, then the car stops by the door of a bakery, then somebody opens the door so the mother and daughter can get out, then they go and buy a cake.)

In the above example from a Chinese, the car door is opened before the purchase of the cake as part of a shopping script. The example below is from an American.

9/A-III.2  And then this family went into this store, this...this...husband held the door for his wife and...his little girl and they went in and the girl pointed to the cake...and they bought the cake for her.

Here, it is the store door and the rich man is holding the door for his wife. The theme of a man holding the door for a woman is a typical Western tradition. The Chinese has the door opened for the rich and the American has opened it for a family member.

Finally, five Chinese and one American created a birthday theme, calling the cake a birthday cake and in the sequels mentioning a party. Typically, cake for birthday is a Western phenomena. However, it has been adopted by at least a certain set of Chinese. In fact, whereas Americans may have a white frosted cake for several different occasions, including merely dessert, Chinese are more likely to identify this kind of cake specifically with birthdays, not having the fixed concept of an after meal dessert. This probably accounts for the higher number of Chinese describing birthday themes.
**Telling Conclusions**

If telling a conclusion signals a story, then one might expect more psychological interpretations and themes and fewer detailed descriptions of events in narratives with conclusions. In this study this is the case: narratives with conclusions do tend to be more theme-oriented, and narratives without conclusions often are a report of events. One person who never told a conclusion in his narratives narrated only events, with no psychological interpretation or character traits. He used words like “individuals” rather than “children”, and included no ungiven information (#19/A-O/I.II). It is not surprising that he is a professor in a foreign language department, and is probably familiar with some sort of memory related tests. Whether a narrative had a conclusion did not fall along cultural lines. Americans and Chinese told exactly the same number of narratives with conclusions (19), just under half of the total narratives for each.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Conclusion</th>
<th>Film/Video</th>
<th>Lexical</th>
<th>Theme/plot</th>
<th>Recall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English Only</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>4/11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Bilingual</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>4/11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>11/17</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>19/39</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Only</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>5/8</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Bilingual</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>9/17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>5/12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>19/38</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two groups matched for number of conclusions, so differences in the types of conclusions were sought. For analysis, types of conclusions were divided into four
categories: film/video, "and that was the end of the tape"; lexical, "at the very last", "that's it", "zuihou", "zhei or nei yangzi"; theme/plot, "I guess the inference is that they were so hungry they didn't care about the consequences" or "zhuyao qingjie jiushi zhenma duo de" (that's all to the main plot); and recollection, "and uh that's about...I guess that's about as far as I can go." or "Houlai wo kan bu qingchu, jingcha lai le, haishi shenme, wo bu zhidao" (later I didn't see clearly, the police came, or something, I don't know).

In this study the only film related conclusions were told by the Americans, and Chinese told more theme related conclusions. Lexical conclusions ranked the highest in American conclusions—only in Chinese. In Chinese, Americans were much more likely to tell a conclusion, which they did in 11 out of 17 narratives. The Chinese lexical conclusions are used frequently by American learners of Chinese. Phrases like "nei yang" function both as conclusions to a narrative statements and as common conversational fillers.

Narrator's Sequel

Similarly, the narrator's sequels elicited in the second session were first analyzed by type of details described: event, theme, or moral. This is not to say that each sequel does not follow some kind of theme; these themes are described in the next section below. This section, rather, looks at the manner details were related. An event oriented sequel merely listed what would happen next, usually immediately after the viewed scene. The phrases were mostly action as seen in the sequel quoted below by a bilingual American.

9/A-E/II.5 And then they continue on down the street, looking for food, just in from the countryside, starving, famine, y' know, look down a small, little alley, street and see garbage.
A theme oriented sequel predicted the general theme of the rest of the movie. While, there were in fact no theme oriented sequels which did not also include events, these categories suggest an emphasis. Below an example of this type, as told in English by a Chinese:

13/C-E/ILS Uh, following story is I think should be...well the story, well...it will tell the story of these boys and their...and their adult, and how things will going on for them and what they will do, how can the get food or something else and uh...the basic living...and whether their fate will...will undergone...will undergo some exchanges, some changes.

Sometimes the categories overlapped, but the decision for which category each belonged to was made based on the most applicable label. Words like story and fate were keys to deciding to categorize the above example as theme. The concept of fate is one used often in Chinese stories. (Note the corrected error of the word ‘exchange.’) The same person used the word ‘huan’ in Chinese which is usually translated as exchange. This speaker was aware of the difference in meaning and self-corrected.)

Finally the moral type is similar to theme, but is distinguished by providing some sort of retribution or punishment. Below is an American’s version. The moral is teaching the children.

18/A-E/ILS What would happen? Hmm, I guess...I guess the...some...way...to teach these children...that stealing...isn’t...the right...way...to do things, it’s...it’s that they may have been hungry children but, that stealing is wrong. And that if they need help that there are places to go for help if they’re starving...if their families have...no food in the family that...that there had to be a reason why these children did what they did.

For contrast, the Chinese example’s moral is teaching the rich man a lesson.

12/C-O/ILS Wo jiu hui rang qita ren, ranhou jiushi zheige bei aida-de ren ba, oh..tamen..qita jige pengyou yinggai, zai xiang ge shenme banfa ranhou zai ba zhe ge da zhei ge qiongren de zhei wei xiansheng zai zou yi dun. Yinwei wo juede zhe yi ge dangao suan bu liao shenme. Hebi qu da bie ren ne? Shi bu shi? Suoyi wo jiu juede nei qita jige ren wo jiu hui rang qita de jige ren ba, ba nei wei xiansheng jiaoxun yi xia, ruguo wo shi zuoji de hua.. Yinwei wo juede ta zhei yang jiu bu hao, tai neige le yi dian, mei you biyao.
I would make those other people, then just those people who were beaten, oh, several of their other friends, think of another way to think again of beating again the gentleman who beat these poor people. Because I feel this one cake doesn’t count for much. Why go and beat someone? Am I right? So I just feel these other people, I just would make them give that gentleman a dressing down, if I were the author. Because I feel his actions are just not right, just a little too much, there’s no need.

Like the word fate in the previous example, the word ‘jiaoxun’ (give some one a dressing down) carries significant meaning in the Chinese language. It is a compound word made up of two characters, ‘teach’ and ‘morally instruct.’ It involves teaching a moral lesson by modeling proper action. Chinese ethics are often taught by

**TABLE 5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th># Narr.</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Moral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English-Only</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilingual</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-Only</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilingual</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

small stories with morals, similar to Aesop’s fables. The lexical choices in the above paragraph make it uniquely Chinese. For example, the phrase "Tai neige le yi dian," translated as “just a little too much” is literally “too that thing a bit.” As one can see from the results, Chinese told slightly more theme oriented scenes and moral scenes, while Americans told more event scenes.
Another way to examine the sequels is by checking which characters are involved in *specific* themes. There is an even distribution of Chinese and Americans for each category of sequel, which included the fate of the poor boys, class confrontation between the poor and rich, police involvement, rich empathy for the poor and one neutral scene. Erbaugh described Americans as more neutral, and Chinese more likely to pursue thematic motifs. This study showed them equally as likely to develop themes, and in fact, to create very similar themes.

One recognizable category of sequels was singular attention to the continuing fate of the poor boys, with no mention of other characters. One person did not even identify his protagonists, saying “And then they continue on down the street,” although by context, it is clearly the poor children (1/A-E/II.S). People took for granted that the story was foremost about the poor boys. The subjects who described these scenes were also prompted to find a reason for the children’s actions, such as the children being homeless or from the countryside or even just not too smart. They also predicted their fate, such as becoming thieves or members of the underground. Four Chinese and three Americans described this type of sequel.

Another category deals with the dichotomy of rich and poor, describing confrontations between the classes. People who delineated this theme deducted that the film continued to describe both sets of characters. While three Americans who had spent time in mainland China and two subjects from the Chinese Only group described this scene, this category is probably more typically Chinese. No Americans from the control group—who had presumably less exposure to China—described this category. The Chinese presented it righteously, defending the poor. The Americans were more conscious of their scenes being a genre of socialist origins, two mentioning the word propaganda, and the third mentioning words like “dichotomy” and “class distinction” and
“mobs.” This third American’s scene ended up with the poor children in jail, which brings us to the next category, in which the police played a role.

Besides the scene above, there were three sequels emphasizing the police. Only one other American placed the kids in jail, as did one Chinese. Interestingly, it is two Chinese who mentioned fining the children and the futility of it, contradicting Domino’s study which contended that Chinese had less economic concerns, especially involving monetary retribution. No Americans mentioned a fine. The American who placed the kids in jail, as an alternative decided the rich might feel sorry for the kids and offer them charity.

Two other sequels dealt with this empathy theme, one Chinese and one American. The police are not included. They characterize the rich as changing their minds, pitying or seeing the plight of the poor children and inviting them to the rich girl’s party. The American who, as in the case of the class dichotomy scenes, was more conscious of genre, summed it up by saying, “And that’s what I would probably make...a happy ending. Ha!” (17/A-O/ILS).

Finally, only one Chinese person remained neutral refusing to take a position. She said that either the sequel would follow the action of the poor children, if the movie were about the poor children, or it would follow the action of the rich family, depending on the intention of the movie.

Hedging

The most overwhelming difference between the two narratives is the proclivity of Americans to express doubt, or hedge. The following is a list (not exhaustive) of words which counted as hedged:
maybe, looked like, seemed like, guess, probably, or something; kind of; sort of; haoxiang; keneng; dagai; bu qingchu; kan--qilai and other similar expressions.

Words with Verb-qilai were only counted as hedged when another of the list was with it like kan-qilai haoxiang (looks as if). Americans were twice as likely as the Chinese to hedge their narratives in both languages. Below is a typical example of an American narrative in Chinese.

3/A-C/II  Yihou women jiu kan dao le yige...haoxiang shi mai dangao de dian...xifangshi de dangao...uh...you yige xiao haizi...haoxiang hen youqian de xiao haizi gen ta de muqin huozhe na..ruguo bushi ta de muqin jiushi ta jia de yige yongren....

(Later we saw a...it seemed like a cake shop..western cake..uh..there's a small child...it seemed like a very rich child with his mother or that...if it wasn’t her mother it was her family’s servant ...)

In English the same subject said:

3/A-E/II  I think it’s probably a pro..propaganda film made in the early days after..after liberation, but that’s only a guess based on the subject matter.

Americans were even more likely to hedge their statements in English, one person totaling 17 in one narrative, although one American did hedge 17 times in Chinese. As a whole Americans averaged almost five hedged phrases per person. Compare this with the Chinese who as a whole averaged half that number per person. In the Chinese bilingual group the most in one narrative was a mere six. Chinese were only slightly more likely to hedge in English than they were in Chinese. But that they did so at all, could mean that they have learned a little about they way Americans use hedging. Interestingly, the Chinese-Only group hedged more than their bilingual peers, one hedging fourteen times. They were all women and less educated which might account for their reluctance to make assertions. However, neither the Americans nor the Chinese showed any significant difference in hedging along gender lines.
The retells in the second session produced similar results, with each group qualifying their terms even more frequently. The lapse of time had the effect of making people even more careful about declaring facts, such as the Chinese subject mentioned above who corrected herself when she used the word “intentionally” regarding the child opening the door, deciding that it was not related to the theft, though in the initial session she had freely interpreted intent. Despite a difference in hedging practices, American and Chinese shared the tendency to hedge more in the retells. For the most part the Chinese have not picked up on the American tendency to hedge. Likewise, the Americans have not learned to dispense with hedging in Chinese.

**TABLE 6**  
**Number of Hedged Words**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th># Narratives</th>
<th># Hedged Words</th>
<th>per Person</th>
<th>Retell per person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English-Only</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>6.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Bilingual</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>6.27</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>4.93</td>
<td>5.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-Only</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Bilingual</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>2.42</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Film Viewer's Approach**

A brief film had been chosen in hopes that subjects would respond more directly to the action, and not talk about it as a film or video. Unfortunately, this was not successful. Words like film or video were counted, as well as phrases like “the camera pans the street”. This study confirms Erbaugh’s results in terms of use of movie terminology. The Americans were three times more likely to couch their stories in the
film viewer's perspective. However, the Chinese who did so sometimes used an equivalent of the word film as well as movie perspective phrases. In Erbaugh's study, words for film or movie were never used by Chinese subjects. Americans used much fewer film terms in Chinese. This is most likely not due to any insight into Chinese culture, but to a limited access to these film-related technical terms. Chinese also were more likely to use such terms in their own language.

### TABLE 7

**Number of Mentions of Movie and Movie Perspective Terms and Average Mentions per Person**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th># Narr.</th>
<th>Movie Film</th>
<th>per person</th>
<th>Perspective</th>
<th>per person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>English-</strong></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Only</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>American</strong></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bilingual</strong></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chinese</strong></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Only</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chinese</strong></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bilingual</strong></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Analysis of Results

Schank explained that we recall stories by activating familiar scripts such as the restaurant-going scripts described in the previous chapter. Accordingly, one might predict that the Chinese might activate the 'family-script' more frequently than the Americans. In Erbaugh's study Chinese were more likely to use specific terms for people, such as pear picker instead of man (p. 27). So, it was expected that the Chinese would more often identify the characters with familial titles (daughter or mother) rather than generic ones (girl or woman). Therefore the results were surprising. Chinese often
ask Americans why they do not value the family as much as the Chinese themselves do. Certainly the extended family plays a more central role in China, while the nuclear family is more common in America. While there are several differences in how the members of both cultures view privacy within the home, treat their children and behave towards elders, it does not necessarily follow that members of one culture value family more than the other. The data indicate that it may be time to rethink our generalizations about the importance of family in the America and China. If scripts are employed to fill in missing details when memory fails, then since the three boys were uneven in height, like a couple and a child, it is likely that the Americans did apply a preconceived family script in drawing their conclusions. If one function of narrating is to create a form for recall, then it makes sense that once the story was formed, it’s basic gist was maintained.

The fact that Chinese identified the wealthy characters first conforms with the concept of narrative as vehicle for coping with the non-canonical. Since great wealth is confronted less often in China, it may more noticeably draw the attention of the Chinese. Further analysis reveals mixed results in attention to economic detail. Neither group can be said to have a greater emphasis on the economy. As expected Chinese were more likely than the Americans to introduce the story with the rich characters. (For wont of more suitable labels the three boys are referred to as poor characters and the three who buy the cake are referred to as rich characters). Having framed their narratives from this perspective they continued by focusing on the poor characters. Americans almost consistently introduced the story from the perspective of the poor children and continued by describing both sets of characters mentioning the term ‘rich’ more frequently. Apparently, the issues are not as distinct as one might suppose them to be.

A pattern has emerged that Chinese do tell more theme oriented narratives as evidenced by more theme related details and conclusions. Americans described more
events and event oriented conclusions also telling more accurate narratives. Ungiven information is evidence of a ‘better’ story because it shows the process of creation. In providing more ungiven information Americans do not show any lack of story telling ability, although they are more comfortable with this process in English. The sequels show the tendency of Chinese to be more oriented toward theme and moral while Americans told slightly more event oriented sequels. However, the similar number of psychological detail and sequels which detailed theme and moral rules out making the generalization that American narratives are not also story like. The habit of trying to recall details does not rule out the possibility of telling a ‘good’ story. By the standard used in these studies Americans and Chinese are equally adept at telling a story even though Americans remain slightly more oriented towards details.

When the conclusions were divided into types—lexical, thematic and moral—Chinese were slightly more likely to use theme, especially in Chinese, while Americans in Chinese overwhelmingly chose lexical conclusions, such as “Zhei yangzi.” (Like that). Because phrases similar to “neiyang” are used commonly in conversation, this may influence their use here in the narratives. The fact that Chinese do not include as many lexical conclusions in their own language may be a reflection of their relative ease with a variety of patterns. The Americans found fixed phrases like “zheli yangzi” convenient and versatile using them more frequently. Any speaker of a foreign language knows that it is easy to adopt common phrases and perhaps over use them, if only because they are safe.

Comparing the themes of the sequels it is clear that Americans and Chinese share similar story ideas. All but one theme was told by almost equal numbers of Chinese and Americans. This theme was the neutral theme: refusing to take a stance. While the results from one person cannot predict any trends, it is interesting to note that Erbaugh’s
study concluded that Americans were more likely to remain neutral, and in this study, the only person to do so was Chinese. This same person was very conscious of the need for neutrality, as though she had been instructed to refrain from making statements about intention, and should only stick to reporting a neutral story. In the second section she even decided that it was too bold to insist that the children held the door intentionally in order to steal the cake, changing her mind in mid-sentence. Several kinds of themes were described; with this one exception of a neutral stance, each of these themes was broached by equal numbers of Chinese and Americans.

The difference in the two groups for hedging leads us in the direction of discovering how the each groups conceptualizes the task. In Feldman's narrative study hedging occurred frequently when there was cognitive difficulty at the introduction of a new idea or event (Feldman: 14-15). This theory might be applied to the American tendency to hedge: Americans are concerned with detail, as though they were on the witness stand being expected to convey the events with accuracy. More of the American narratives included every scene, while Chinese tended to leave out at least one. A person concerned with accuracy would be more apt to qualify identification of people and objects. Chinese seemed to interpret their task as answering a test with the right answer. Once an 'answer' was provided they felt they could not hedge, for it would no longer be 'right'. The nature of schooling in Chinese society puts high value on adherence to conventionally prescribed formulae that discourage alternatives. It may follow that a discussion about the truth of a matter could not be hedged, because something can only be either right or wrong.

Both Americans and Chinese equally exhibited cognitive difficulty in another way, pausing and repeating words or phrases. A section of a typical Chinese story in English and Chinese had fewer qualifying words, but did use hesitation and repetition:
First the girl choose a cake and the..the three kids saw this and they waited outside the door and when the girl and the..the girl and the..her parent..

kanjian zheige nü haizi zai tiāo yige dangao..ranhou tamen jiu deng zai ...
deng zai shangdian waimian.
(You see this girl choosing a cake..then they just wait..wait outside the store.)

While Americans hedged more, pausing and stuttered repetition indicate that both groups were uncomfortable with the task.

Stepping away from the study for a moment, I relate common American reactions to communicating with Chinese. A frequent warning given to Americans venturing to travel in China: be careful when you ask directions, a Chinese will without hesitation give you seemingly clear directions even if he does not really know them. My own policy was to ask three people and, if two matched, follow that way. That was a hard bill to fill since all three were likely to be different. A fellow American graduate student reported discomfort in conversations of disagreement. Rather than proffering a qualified, "Perhaps you’re wrong," or a "I can see your point, but if you look at it the other way..." Chinese often directly contradicted her with abrupt statements like “No” and “You’re wrong.” The two groups seem to be operating at different politeness levels. This factor may be related to the tendency for Americans to hedge more in narrative production.

Considering the differences in narratives for both hedging and the film viewer's perspective, Americans and Chinese definitely have not learned these approaches in their second languages. Persistent hedging of Americans indicates performance anxiety. Observing the subjects on videotape, it would not be accurate to say that the Chinese were more nervous than the Americans. The relative reticence of the Chinese could be due to socially acceptable behavior. When a Chinese is uncertain or nervous, he will usually keep his mouth shut. Americans, on the other hand, often talk even more when they are nervous. Hedging also shows how people handle uncertainties. While both Chinese
and Americans were anxious, the Americans were more likely to handle their anxiety by hedging.

Data compared with Erbaugh and Domino about social and economic issues and the disparity between story mode and report mode suggest that generalizations may have to be retested. Besides the large gap in tendency to hedge, the lack of any other major differences in narrative style support Erbaugh’s study. One reason Erbaugh’s study found so few differences might be because she was comparing items too far apart. In the first chapter we discussed Hall’s idea that we can learn more about what we do not know by negative feedback. When somebody fails to meet an expectation, then the existence of that expectation becomes obvious; whereas before it was not. The next chapter compares language performance. If we can suggest where Americans fail in Chinese and Chinese fail in English, we can start to develop hypotheses for future analysis.
CHAPTER IV

PERFORMANCE: WHO DOES WHAT IN WHAT LANGUAGE?

Observations of performance reveal how students learn a foreign language. Both Chinese and American bilingual subjects have about the same language proficiency in their non-native language. They would all be considered to have advanced skills in that they speak fluently. Here, what is meant by fluency is an ease in the flow of speech and the ability to accomplish advanced functions situationally, which does not necessarily have a correlation with excellent performance as far as accurate and culturally appropriate speech. Both have spent time abroad and have studied for several years. While the Chinese subjects have mostly lived abroad for longer periods of time than the American subjects, and studied English for longer than the Americans have studied Chinese, the methods Chinese learned English concentrated on reading text and memorizing discrete words out of situational context. Both groups were nervous about performing in either language, particularly in their non-native languages, feeling more nervous in the second session when they were not permitted to see the film again. An American when asked to speak Chinese said, “Ah, it’s too early in the morning for that.” (3/A-C/II.I). A Chinese woman, complained, “Ni zenme bu rang wo zai kan yi ci, wo wangji le.” (How can you not let me watch it again, I forgot! 4/C-C/II.II). Despite the advanced skills of both groups, when a Chinese produced narrative and an American produced narrative in the same language were read side by side there were major differences in performance. The non-native speaker’s performance did not approach that of the native speaker in terms of complexity, accuracy, style and lexical choice.

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Degree of Complexity

For the bilingual subjects both sets of narratives contained simpler if not shorter constructions in their non-native languages. Chinese constructions such as ba and bei or gei were used more often by native Chinese. The ba construction places the direct object immediately after ba and before the verb. It can be loosely translated as 'take and verb'. Typically, Chinese sentences which involve the idea of disposal will use the ba noun phrase. Further, if the item is definite, that is we both know about it, ba is more likely to be used (Li and Thompson: 463-491). Finally, the ba noun phrase is often used when a suffix is added to the following verb. Sentences with the bei or gei can be loosely translated as 'by' and indicate an agent is involved. While there is an on-going debate in linguistics as to the precise nature of these forms, for the purpose of this study we can admit that they are more complex structures than the simple direct form of Subject-Verb-Object. In Chinese Americans resolutely chose the simple Subject-Verb-Object pattern. Below is a typical Chinese version of scene three in Chinese, which is more complex and uses more idiomatic phrases than the American version in Chinese.


(After she chose the cake, her mother just carried..just..just..um..just went into their family's small car. Um..just at this time suddenly, a small child came over. That child wasn't very big, about the same size as the small guy. He just came over and just (took it and) 'snatched it away'. Having 'snatched it away', he just placed it on the ground, C15I)

Compare this with the typical American version of this scene in Chinese:

9/A-C/L.I Tamen..tamen yao..tamen shi haoxiang shi..hen youqian de ren..yinwei you yige che..tamen yao zuo hounian..suoyi tamen haoxiang shi..shi..hen you qian.. tamen yao zuo hounian..Danshi tamen jinqu de shihou neige xiao nanhai tou neige ni'ai de dangao.
(They...they wanted...they are, it seems like they...are very rich people...because there is a car...they want to sit in the back...therefore they seem like...they’re very rich...they want to sit in the back...But as they were getting in, that boy stole that girl’s cake, A91)

These two examples establish many differences which will be examined in detail below. While both Chinese language versions are equally lengthy, the American version includes simple sentences. The Chinese example uses the ba construction while the American version uses the Subject-Verb-Object construction. After discovering this one difference, it was confirmed that the remaining data resembled this pattern. With only one exception, Chinese consistently used ba, bei or gei constructions to describe the manipulation of the cake. By far the most frequent phrase repeated word for word by different Chinese people was “ba dangao qiangzou le.” The minority who did not use that pattern chose a bei or gei pattern such as, “Dangao bei/gei haizi qiang-guoqu.” (The cake by child grab-away). Americans never used these patterns for this scene, with only one exception “ba dangao touzou le.” (Even this sentence while grammatically correct has lexical problems, explained below.)

One reason Americans do not use the ba construction is because they can avoid it. The simple pattern in Chinese is exactly like that in English (S-V-O): in using it, less comfortable language patterns can be avoided. To the Chinese ear the American’s choice may seem awkward, but it is not grammatically incorrect. But why is there difficulty in using the ba construction? The answer lies in the way it was taught. Students are told that ba means take. However, to say “He took that cake and stole it” in English would be redundant. As long as students assume that one word stands exactly for another, the process of language acquisition will proceed very slowly.

Why do the Chinese use these constructions for the cake episode? When the cake is bought, the simple pattern is used. Li and Thompson’s explanation for when ba
occurs may help us understand why in the cake stealing episode the *ba* structure is most appropriate. First, when the cake is bought, it is usually mentioned for the first time. By the time it is stolen, it has become an object with which the speaker and listener are familiar. Second, while buying implies disposal of an object, grabbing away does this to a greater extent. The greater the degree of disposal, the more likely *ba* will be used. Finally, the cake example shows the tendency of Chinese to use directional suffixes. These are added as suffixes to the end of verbs. The Chinese almost always tagged an ending to the verb *qiang* (to grab) such as -zou (and go) and -guoqu (away from speaker). The Chinese also used the term ‘away’ more in English more often. While the Americans used ‘away’ as well, it was more commonly used by the Chinese. Because the Chinese prefer to use directional suffixes, the use of *ba* is necessary. Since the bilingual Americans are less inclined to use complex verbals in Chinese, there is less of a necessity to use the *ba* construction.

In English, in the cake stealing scene, the Chinese use the same pattern that the Americans tend to use: a straightforward Subject-Verb-Object. However, one person did tell a straight translation from the Chinese. She said “take that cake and rob it from her hands.” This is almost identical to what another Chinese had said in Chinese: “*Cong ta shou li ba dangao qiang-zou le.*” (from her hands take cake, grabbed away). This type of problem stems from mapping the Chinese style onto English words. For the most part, however, the Chinese can be said to have produced patterns more similar to the Americans. Below is an example of the Chinese version in English.

2/C-E/L1 “and then when..they..prepared to..uh..going to the car..aaa poor boy robbed his cake..robbed her cake and then her family kick him out.
An American version in English packs in more information by means of a much more complex sentence structure.

19/A-O/LII As a group of three or four who I would understand to be a family.. uh.. perhaps uh..um.. leave the bakery to get into their uh..car.. in fact those three individuals who were watching the cake being selected from the outside were the ones who uh.. not only.. helped them into the car, ostensibly, but one of these three then knocked the cake out of the hands of the little girl.

The Americans used the passive form as in, “the cake being selected from the outside.”

The Chinese, however, throughout their English narratives stuck consistently with the Subject-Verb-Object constructions.

Another structural difference was that Americans tended to speak Chinese in a straightforward matter, using words like ‘ranhou’ (and then) to separate thoughts. While Chinese did this too, a Chinese convention virtually ignored by the Americans was the repetition of the words at the end of the previous sentence. This is evident below.

15/C-C/I.III Jiu guo lai, jiu ba ta qiang-guoku le. Qiang-guoku le, jiu fang zai di shang le.
(He just came over and just (took it and) snatched it away. Having snatched it away, he just placed it on the ground)

This pattern tends to bind the narrative together to seem more like a story. If Americans learn this they can tell better narratives in Chinese.

**Vocabulary Choices**

Returning to the study on page 50 above as a model, it becomes apparent that vocabulary choice is an issue for both Chinese and Americans. For the American bilingual subjects vocabulary choice was the largest problem in their Chinese performance. This often occurred because people assumed, or had been taught, that words had a one to one correlation when they did not. For example, except for two people, Americans consistently used the word *tou* meaning *steal* rather than the more
appropriate qiang meaning seize, grab. One American corrected himself, saying
“lingwai yige qiongren chong-zhe guolai tou 'amén-de...qiang-zhe...qiang-zhe tamen
de dangao.” (Another poor person rushed over and stole their...grabbed...grabbed...their
cake, 16/A-E/I.1). The difference in meaning is subtle to Americans: tou means to steal,
or pilfer, secretly, while qiang means to grab or seize from someone directly. Chinese
traditionally translate tou as steal and qiang as rob or grab. This causes problems
because the English words steal and rob overlap in meaning and are often used
interchangeably. For example, if you come home and your television is missing you can
say your house has been ‘robbed’. Or you can explain that your television has been
‘stolen’. You can also easily say of a person who just grabbed your purse, “He stole my
purse” or “He robbed me.” In Chinese, the television theft would definitely be tou and
the purse theft would be qiang. ‘Grab’ as a translation is also unclear because it does not
necessarily imply theft.

This is an example where Americans, not having a clear cut distinction of the
concepts ‘to stealthily take or steal’ and ‘to seize’ have difficulty remembering the
distinction between tou and qiang. Most likely American subjects have been taught both
words, but they continue to misuse them because they have not yet developed an
appropriate cognitive pattern for applying these terms. Or, it is also likely that they were
simply taught that tou means to steal, and then applied it to every situation where the
word steal could be applied.

In comparison we examine how this action was described in English. Americans
utilized a larger selection of verbs, favoring ‘take’, ‘steal’ and ‘grab.’ ‘Do a bump and
run’ was the most colorful of the descriptions. The Chinese preferred ‘took away’, ‘grab
away’, ‘grab’ and ‘rob’. ‘Knock’, ‘stole’, ‘steal’, ‘snatch’ and ‘snip’ were also used.
The Chinese were more successful in choosing an accurate term, but this could be
because English offers more flexibility in word choice for this situation. In the preference for words like ‘grab’ and ‘grab away’ Chinese are mapping their own cultural preferences onto the English since ‘rob’ and ‘grab’ map to qiang. The attachment ‘away’ is related to the directionals used in Chinese, ‘v-guoqu’ or ‘v-zou’. The Chinese were taught that ‘steal’ only means ‘tou’ and so would be less likely to use ‘steal’ for this scene.

Another example of over generalization of a term is when describing the window. In English, Americans talk about the shop window which they say in Chinese as ‘chuanghu.’ They have assumed that whenever the word window applies in English it can be translated as chuanghai in Chinese. Actually, the Chinese who talk about the window use the Chinese word chuahuang which means specifically shop or display window. In each case, vocabulary problems arose when people believed they were translating correctly, but were using too general or too specific a word. This suggests the danger of learning language by means of annotated glossaries. In this scenario, belief that words have a one to one correspondence is reinforced. One can learn to apply words correctly when these concepts are memorized in larger chunks of culturally appropriate context.

Vocabulary issues do not all center around generalization. Sometimes there is a lack of appropriate terms in a particular language. ‘Bakeries’ are a western phenomenon although they do exist in China. There are many terms that are applicable, but sometimes too specific. One can say the equivalent of ‘cake seller’, or ‘bread shop’ but these exclude the possibility of selling another item, as does ‘sweets seller’. In English, no Chinese said ‘bakery’, instead using words like ‘cake shop’, ‘cake store’, ‘restaurant’, and ‘grocery store.’ Chinese and Americans had equal trouble describing the store in Chinese, usually choosing the more general ‘shangdian’ (store). Americans utilized similar patterns as the Chinese. The one Chinese term Americans used which the Chinese
did not was 'mai dianxin-de' (a place that sells 'dessert'). The problem is that in Chinese language textbooks 'dianxin' is translated as 'dessert'. The meaning is not a one to one correlation for 'dessert' and is actually extremely different. This word is better translated as snacks or hors d'oeuvres. But that would ignore that dianxin is usually served with tea. Trying to find an accurate precise translation is not the point. The point is to learn to use it appropriately. Teaching a word in context and by situation is the key to promoting accurate language production.

**Tense and Agreement**

The largest problem for the Chinese subjects in their English performance was tense, particularly irregular verbs, such as 'choose' for 'chose' or 'eat' for 'ate.' In the above example, we see 'going' for 'go' and 'kick' for 'kicked.' Verb agreement was also difficult. Since there are no verb changes in Chinese for tense or agreement, these concepts are difficult to learn and apply. While all the Chinese subjects have been taught the difference, and most likely understand it to a certain degree, it is not a natural cognitive process and is difficult to learn. Chinese spend hours memorizing charts of the conjugation of irregular verbs and similar lists. The theory behind that method is that if one memorizes discrete items, one will know them. Clearly that method has not worked. The Chinese in this study have been studying English for years and still have problems with tense and agreement.

**Code Switching**

Code switching, in this case interrupting one language to use another, only occurred with three Chinese subjects and one American. Surprisingly, two of the Chinese who code-switched were from the Chinese-Only group. Both of these were
cases of concepts which, though translatable, had no completely matched term. One said, “Hadxiang shi you jige yong nimen Meiguo de hua jiushi homeless shi bu shi ya?” (It looks like there were several... using your American language it would be homeless, right? 10/C-O/I.I) ‘Homeless’ is not directly translatable into Chinese. In newspapers the term “Wujia kegui de” (no home possible to return to) is used, but according to a Chinese informant implies the situation of circumstances beyond the control of the people involved, something the term ‘homeless’ does not necessarily imply. Other Chinese did not confront the problem of translation, instead using looser terms meaning ‘poor children’. The term ‘wujia kegui de’ was only used once, by an American. Another Chinese said “Mama dai-zhe ta de haizi qu shopping, mai le yige dangao.” (The mother took her child shopping and bought a cake. 10/C-O/I.I). ‘Shopping’ is a concept which extends beyond the usual Chinese translation of “mai dongxi “ (buy things), in that it includes browsing, being able to pick up things and look at them; and even choosing not to buy anything at all. In China, shops usually keep everything behind counters outside the reach of customers. In Hong Kong, ‘shopping’ is a loan word. In these cases code switching was a method for implying a concept which had no exact equivalent in the speaker’s native language, at least according to that speaker.

As for the bilingual person who code switched, it was somebody who frequently switches between languages. She is able to do so because she is surrounded by people who understand both languages. While her English is probably the best of all the subjects, I suspect her situation may make her lax. For example, each time she switched to Chinese during her English narrative, she had paused as though stuck for a moment, and then continued on in Chinese saying “and some...kelian de (pitiful-possessive particle) kids, took away the cake” and “the policeman came and he, uhh...ganzou, he uhh..ganzou, he...asked the kids to go away.” (4/C-C/II.I). Note that the English itself,
has no tense or agreement problems which are in abundance in most other Chinese-
English narratives. The one American who used English while speaking in Chinese had a
specific problem with vocabulary. He asked, "Neige zenme shuo? Shi bushi lashi? Wo
wang-le zenme shuo garbage," (How do you say that? Is it lashi? I forgot how to say
garbage, I/A-C/II.).

Code switching may be a phenomena which occurs more often with speakers
outside their native country, or when dealing with foreign concepts within one's own
country. When I was living in China and was speaking English, I would often use
Chinese words for things encountered only in China even if I knew the appropriate term
in English, such as gong'an ju for public security office. Because I did not interact with
public security in America, or its roughly equivalent entity, I felt more comfortable with the
Chinese term. My concept of public security was more closely linked with the
Chinese term than with the English one. The same may be true of the use of words like
'shopping' or 'homeless.'

The issues in this chapter are all concerned with pedagogy. When narratives
strategies are mapped directly onto words of another language the result is an awkward
narrative. When people access inappropriate vocabulary it is usually because they have
been taught to learn vocabulary by recognition of isolated terms and not in context. More
complex forms are not used for the same reason. A transformation drill which can take a
S-V-O sentence and change it into a 'ba' sentence is only the first step in learning that
form. If that is the extent of the learning process, students will be able to say it, but not
necessarily at the right time. Exercises must involve memorizing and performing
dialogues or narratives in which the appropriate terms are used. If language is taught in
isolation without reference and practice in real situations, or approximated situations, than
it can not be used appropriately.
CHAPTER V

RE-EVALUATING: IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

Nature of the Study

This is a performance based study which is primarily pedagogical in nature. The intent was to generate a body of data from narratives and to determine ways to observe differences in how Americans and Chinese narrate. While numbers were provided to indicate trends, the analysis was primarily a comparative interpretation of data, not a statistical or linguistic approach. An important part of the research and analysis was personal experience, both in terms of knowledge of most of the subjects and in analysis of their responses. The transcripts were taken from a video so the reactions and mood of the subjects were also recorded and can be returned to for further analysis.

Part of the study was to determine what kind of observations about the data could elicit revealing differences. My initial affinity for counting items was derived from studies like The Pear Stories. While counting items such as the number of times family was mentioned established themes and trends, more relevant information was eventually obtained by comparing only one Chinese example narrative with one American example narrative. The results of this type of isolated comparison usually were then supported by checking other narratives for similarities. Like Hall's theory of obtaining knowledge by negative feedback, narrative strategies for each culture became more apparent when an insufficient non-native narrative was seen in the light of a native narrative. This kind of comparison was on touched on briefly. The data could generate many more comparisons which could lead to models for narrative strategy.
Generating the data base itself was one of the goals of this study. Materials for the teaching of advanced levels of Chinese and other less commonly taught languages are scarce. Techniques in the classroom at upper levels rarely draw on research: usually novels are read aloud and discussed in English. Advanced conversational skills are seldom taught in a systematic way. When I taught an upper level Chinese language it became apparent that the students who were required to narrate the sequence of a film had great difficulty. Without a significant body of data it was difficult to specify what made Chinese narrative strategies unique and different from American narrative strategies. Models were needed from which salient distinctions could be made. While we have drawn some useful conclusions here, the data can bear more extensive research. However, I believe that what we have here is valuable as a reference for teachers and for more formal development of pedagogical materials.

The social concerns discussed have led us to reconsider some generalizations about the cultures which can effect our approach in communicating with each other and in teaching the ‘fact’ or cultural oriented aspects related to language acquisition. This study suggests that family is a central issue for Americans and Chinese alike and that Chinese are not as free of economic consideration as other studies propose. Further research might support these hypotheses. In examining narrative approach, we proposed that Chinese and Americans are equally likely to tell a ‘story’ even though Americans provide more details.

Analysis of hedging may lead to discussion involving how Chinese and Americans approach similar tasks. The task provided in this study in some ways mimics some classroom situations. In this study, Americans tended to act like witnesses, providing as much information as possible, hedging frequently as though anxious that all possible alternatives are covered. Chinese tended to view the situation as a game show
quiz, providing only answers they ‘know’ as correct and not elaborating on detail. This
It would be interesting to further study this kind of trend. A qualitative approach might
involve questioning subjects directly as to how they interpret the task. In terms of
pedagogy, Chinese students of English might be taught to be more specific, or else they
may appear too vague. At the same time, Americans studying Chinese might choose to
sometimes speak in more general terms, or else they may seem to be verbose. In Chinese,
Americans should also reduce their habit of hedging.

In language performance two pedagogical questions can be raised. One is the
case of a person mapping his own cultural strategy onto another language. This results in
awkward word for word patterns. An example is “he rob that cake away.” The other
problem is a direct result of failed pedagogical methods. An example of this is the use of
tou for qiang. When a teacher asks a student to be able to recognize a word in isolation,
as in vocabulary quizzes, or elicits expected answers by performing rote drills students fail in using language in a situationally correct manner.

**Implications for Pedagogy and Cultural Understanding**

This study challenges the established expectation that a Chinese is more likely to
emphasize a ‘family’ than an American, although further research would have to be
conducted to confirm this. What we have found here seems to support Bruner’s assertion
that people have an innate readiness for forming narratives (1990: 75-80). This is not to
say that culture and its rules for telling and interpreting do not shape and change these
basic forms but that the schema for family is learned at such an early age that it can be
considered a shared category. Rather than making hackneyed assertions of how Chinese
value the family more than the West, it may be possible to determine that the family and
all that concept entails signifies separate cognitive entities in China and in America. When
in China, I was often compelled to defend myself. I was asked why my Grandma lived alone. When I told them she preferred it that way, nobody believed me because this simply did not fit into the Chinese concept of family. In retrospect, I have thought of a defense: I am better friends with my mother than any Chinese woman of my age I know. How can this not mean valuing my family? While Chinese respect their mothers, their concept of ‘mother’ does not necessarily encompass ‘friend.’ Mine does not incorporate the necessity of an extended family living in one location. Family is a conceptual label that has variant meanings in every language.

Another explanation for ‘family’ appearing less than expected in Chinese narratives is that the family has changed its role in modern China. As people are having fewer children, the Chinese nuclear family is becoming more of a focus. Perhaps the Chinese concept of family is becoming more like the American concept of family. Or it may be that the rise of capitalism in mainland China has made people less group oriented and more individualistic.

What, finally, can be said about economic concerns? We can challenge the concept that Chinese are somehow unconcerned with economic issues. Since the Chinese control group discussed rich and poor more frequently than the American control group, it is worthwhile to examine this issue with statistically significant numbers to see if this holds up. It is not surprising that the bilingual groups are more likely to mention class issues in similar numbers, because American students tend to take courses in Chinese government and politics, and are familiar with the class struggle themes common in Chinese literature.

Another consideration is that the film choice may have limited any divergence in sympathy for rich and poor families. Nobody can sympathize with beating children, and this was an issue for some people, particularly women, who thought the punishment was
greater than any crime committed. If the scene had shown children stealing the cake without being beaten, then sympathies may have been more divided. I had originally considered cutting off the narrative right before the beating for one group, and comparing it with people who had seen the whole thing. Without the beating sequence, there may be more of a chance for people to take sides. The girl cries, which could create more sympathy for her character and stealing may seem more wrong even though the children are poor. Further difference in attention to class issues might emerge if a different type of film were shown.

In evaluating the narratives for presence of a story mode, the results were not clear at all. Chinese were slightly more theme oriented, but the difference was not great. Americans told more details but they did not refrain from exhibiting the qualifications for a ‘better’ story. In the spectrum of narration, one American did produce an entirely event oriented highly detailed narrative with no conclusion. This was clearly narrated in the report mode. Another American told a narrative with little attention to sequence at all, mostly pondering the theme of theft. Americans fall on either end of the spectrum, although they were most likely to be detail oriented. Chinese told less details and included more themes producing shorter narratives. While these broad generalizations can be made, most people fell in the middle of the spectrum. Being detailed oriented is not necessarily criteria for suggesting less adherence to a story mode.

**Implications for Pedagogy and Language Acquisition**

Length of study of a foreign language does not reflect a better handle on the language. Both groups did not perform well in terms of sounding like a native, though some did better than others. Neither group demonstrated a fluent grasp of more complex modes of speech.
The cross cultural language problems were mostly of the nature of wrong assumptions about meaning. This happens when foreign language pedagogy assumes a one to one correlation with words. A common method for teaching a foreign language involves providing readings with annotated glossaries, quizzing for word recognition, and eliciting rote drills. The result is failure when it comes to less restricted situations such as narrative production. The mistake should not be made to move away from memorization. Rather, each chunk of memory should be taught in some kind of appropriate context.

Students will use words for which they have learned a single word interpretation and apply it to all situations. I once asked my fourth year Chinese students how to cry for help in Chinese. They all responded with “Bang wo-de mang!” which is usually translated as ‘help.’ Actually it can only apply for the meaning of help which means give assistance, or offer a hand. When people are taught that \( x \) in Chinese means \( y \) in English, they will use \( x \) for every instance that \( y \) can be used. Unfortunately, this can cause many instances of misuse of vocabulary. Foreign language materials and classroom techniques should avoid assuming that words have one to one correlation. Words should be taught to be used in proper context.

Chinese need to learn to use tense and agreement if they want to sound more fluent. As an aside I showed the transcribed narratives to different people to ask about who they thought told them. Many Chinese thought that American narratives in Chinese were told by Chinese people. Those who correctly identified them as American said it was because of vocabulary choice. No Americans assumed that Chinese produced English narratives were told by Americans. They cited tense and agreement to support their decisions. Chinese are taught English primarily by memorizing grammatical rules
and verb change charts. A more functional based methodology which emphasizes practice in using the language situationally would be more appropriate.

**Directions for Further Research**

The results of this study suggest many areas where generalizing can produce error, either in the assumption about different cultures, such as who values family, or in the misuse of words in another language. It also suggests situations which might explain misunderstandings between cultures. Americans may assume that Chinese are being pushy when they do not hedge their statements, and Chinese may wonder why Americans are so hesitant or tentative. It indicates a need for improved methods in foreign language pedagogy, away from item recognition and towards a holistic method which frames learning in culturally appropriate contexts.

Further cross-cultural studies might indicate more about how what we say determines our assumption and how this interferes with or enhances communication in cross-cultural situations. For the data collected, more comparative analysis should elicit better models for narrative style. One could find out more about what exactly each group does for narratives, following the approach developed in the fourth chapter, comparing narratives side by side. If valuable discoveries are made, these should be tested with a large base of subjects to see if quantitative statements can be made. Further more qualitative research might offer fruitful results. Subjects could be questioned interactively. In viewing their own videos, they could be asked about intention, reasons for their assumptions and how they interpreted the task. Data including video taping real conversations between Chinese and Americans could enhance this type of research.
Models could be made for better instruction. This type of analysis might lead down the road toward developing some theories about narrative production.
APPENDIX A

VIDEO DESCRIPTION
Scene 1
Music. People walk from top right down the screen.
- They are rubbing their hands together because it's cold.
- At the right edge of the screen we see vertically, the side of a new 1949 Buick.
- At the left edge of the screen we see vertically a row of stores
- People are walking from top to bottom, some men wearing traditional long gowns.
- From bottom right, some people wearing modern dress enter and walk up screen.
- Bare trees line sidewalk on right, right of them is the street and the edge of a car.
- Our three protagonists, the poor boys, enter from top screen and walk down towards the middle. At this point they are indistinguishable as important characters.

Scene 2a
The camera moves down the street and stops in front of a shop.
- The right edge of the screen is a tree with a bicycle tied to it.
- The three boys stop in front of shop window. The littlest boy, in the middle, seems to have a bucket on his left arm.
- They wear many layers of tattered clothing.
- They eye a white cake in the center of the window.
- From the outside we see a girl in the inside with braids who points to this cake.
- There are a row of cakes above her.
- A woman stands behind her.

Scene 2b
Now the camera angle is from inside the shop.
- We see the back of someone taking the cake, presumably a shop girl. This takes up, from the right, two thirds of the screen.
- The one third on the left we see the tallest of the poor boys folding his hands across his front, as though cold.
- The cake is taken away.
- The boys crouch down to watch it disappear.
- Because they are ducking, in the background we can see the car with a driver in it behind them,
- and two people in the far ground across the street, on the left.
- The poor boys stand up, the tall boy on the left, fiddles with his coat, and buttons it.

Scene 3
The camera angle is again from outside focusing on the cake shop
- Three people, a man, a little girl and a woman all come out from the shop door in the left.
- The man wears an expensive looking hat.
- The girl is in the middle in a white dress holding the cake.
- The poor boys can be seen behind her, still by the shop window, craning their heads to see the cake.
- At the right edge of the screen we can see a picture of a western woman in the shop window, and some roman script lettering.
- A bicycle wheel in lower right screen.
- A woman walks by from down-screen to up-screen.
- The rich man looks both ways, than waves his hands to the kids or to the driver. The kids run horizontally across the screen.
- The woman with the girl advance slowly, child holding the cake.
- We cannot see the poor kids, blocked by the bicycle and tree in front.
- The camera moves so bike wheel is on left edge of screen, car edge with door open is on right edge.
- The tall boy is holding the car door
- The smallest boy has maneuvered himself up-screen and runs down-screen grabbing the cake from the girl.
- A female voice cries, the woman leans over to comfort the girl.
- The medium boy runs towards the cake.
- The tall boy starts up screen towards front of car and around it.
- The cake cannot be seen, just the three crouched kids around it.
- The chauffeur starts to get out. He wears a uniform with buttons and a hat.
- The woman starts to help the crying girl into the car
- The chauffeur is out, the girl goes in.
- The man with fur hat and coat swings cane and kicks the kids, at least three times, then heads towards open car door.
- A voice cries out.

**Scene 4**

The camera zooms in on a close-up of the three boys
- The tall boy is on the left, the smallest boy is on the right, the medium boy is in the middle, we see his back only, they all wear hats.
- Their hands are grabbing, their faces are covered with frosting.
- They hear a voice saying, "Hey! You rascals!" (*Eh! Xiao Biesan!*) in Shanghainese and look up, faces covered in frosting.
- From the right a leg and hand enter.
- Two hands lean down to take the cake,
- The buttons of a uniform are seen. It is probably the chauffeur, or a policemn.
- Three honks of a car horn, and the music comes to a climax.
APPENDIX B

SURVEY OF SUBJECTS
**Chinese-Only Subjects**

10. PRC, female, age 32, married, graduated high school. Spent 2 years in the U.S. Studied English for about six years.

12. PRC, female, age 36, married, graduated high school. Spent 1.5 years in the U.S. Studied English for about 5 years.

14. PRC, female, age 39, married, B.S. Spent 4 years in the U.S. Studied English for about 1 year.

**Bilingual Chinese Subjects**

2. Hong Kong, female, age 30, single, graduate student. Spent 8 months in the U.S., 4 years in PRC. Studied English for 25 years. Native language: Cantonese.

4. Taiwan, female, age 37, married, B.A. Spent 8 years in the U.S., 1.5 years in Japan. Studied English formally for 6 years, and Japanese for 5 years.

8. PRC, female, age 30, married, graduate student. Spent 2 years in the U.S. Studied English for 8 years, and Japanese for 1.5

11. PRC, male, age 37, married, graduate student. Spent 2.5 years in the U.S. Studied English for 10 years, and Japanese for 2 years.

13. PRC, male, age 39, married, graduate student. Spent 3 years in the U.S. Studied English for 10 years, and Japanese for 1 year.

15. PRC, male, age 40, married, graduate student. Spent 4.5 years in the U.S. Studied English for 10 years, and Japanese for 4 years.

**Bilingual American Subjects**

1. American, male, age 29, married, graduate student. Spent 1.5 years in Hong Kong and 2 months in China. Studied Mandarin for 8 years, Cantonese for 5.5 years, and Japanese for 2 years.

3. American, male, age 31, married, Ph.D. Spent 4 years in Taiwan, 6 months in PRC. Studied Mandarin 4 years, Russian 5 years, and Japanese 2 years.

6. American, male, age 37, married, Ph. D. Spent 2 years total in Taiwan and PRC. Studied Chinese for 10 years, Japanese for 2 years, Latin for 4 years, and French for 3 years.
7. American, male, age 41, married, graduate student. Spent 4 years in China and 2 years in Morocco. Studied Chinese for 10 years, French for 5 years, and Latin for 2 years.


16. American, male, age 31, single, graduate student. Spent 3 years in Taiwan, 1 year in Greece. Studied Chinese for 6 years and Japanese for 6 months.

**English-Only Subjects**

5. American, female, age 36, married, B.A. Never lived abroad. Studied German for five years.


19. American, male, age 36, married, Ph.D. Spent 6 months in Egypt. Studied Arabic for 5 years.
APPENDIX C

CODES FOR NARRATIVES
1) The first numbers, such as '#7' refers to the number given each subject, listed in Appendix B.

2) The letters refer to the nationality of the speaker and then the language.

   C-O = Chinese, Chinese-Only narrative (Chinese control group).
   C-C = Chinese bilingual narrative in Chinese
   A-C = American bilingual narrative in Chinese
   C-E = Chinese bilingual narrative in English
   A-E = American bilingual narrative in English
   A-O = American, English-Only narrative (English control group)

3) The roman numerals refer to the session, and then the sequence of the narrative in that session.

   I.I = First session, first narrative
   I.II = First session, second narrative
   I.III = First session, third narrative
   II.I = Second session, first narrative
   II.II = Second session, second narrative
   II.S = Second session, sequel

4) Sample:

   #7/A-C/I.II = Subject #7, an American. The language used is Chinese. It is the first (I) session, the second (II) narrative.
APPENDIX D

CHINESE-ONLY NARRATIVES
personal interaction
就是刚才我們看了那個…唔…電視上的一段鏡頭，

date
而就是說大概…oh…描寫的是…描寫的是…中國三十到四十年…三十…那年代的事情…

Scene 2b
就是…eh…有錢人呢媽媽帶著她的孩子去shopping 買了一個蛋糕（喔！）買了一
塊蛋糕。

Scene 3
stealing cake
他們正要上車的時候…蛋糕被窮孩子搶了。

beating
然後唔…然後就她的保鏢就過來就打那窮孩子…啊…那麼…但是蛋糕因為搶
了多也就搶了

Scene 4
eating
然後小男孩兒就把蛋糕跟他的朋友…小伙伴兒一起分著吃。
is his husband. What shall I say…

**place**

just as in the time of that era.

**date**

the 1940s…well…

**Scene 2a**

**watching cake**

The children were so hungry, there was an open display case with many cakes and sweets. They wanted to eat, but they couldn’t afford the cake.

**Scene 2b**

**driving to store/shopping/buying cake**

Then…there was a rich family with money, the mother was pushing the child, they drove to this place to buy birthday cake. It was a birthday cake, ha ha.

**scene 3**

**exiting**

After getting the cake, they went back.

**stealing cake**

Going out, it was perfect to see the children stealing the cake.

**beating**

Then the child’s father picked up his staff and beat the child.

**mother’s speech**

Then the mother said, she said “alright, alright” it was very sad to see these children.

**entering car**

Then he took his father and walked out to get in the car. Then went into the car.

**Scene 4**

**eating cake**

Then the child who was poor…ate the cake given to children.

**uniformed intervention**

When they were eating, suddenly, a hand took their cake.
Personal interaction
有一点…基本上…

Scene 2b
shopping
就是一个一个小女孩儿去到一个蛋糕店买蛋糕…nh…出了…

place
就是说有一个蛋糕店，蛋糕店呢，

Scene 2a
watching cake
有很多的穷人的孩子在…在…在看这个蛋糕，他们很想吃。

Scene 2b
shopping
这个时候呢，有一个妈妈呢，带着他的孩子去买蛋糕，他们当然是富人家的孩子，就是买蛋糕，

buying cake
买了蛋糕，

Scene 3
exiting store
出来的时候

stealing cake
蛋糕就被这一群穷人捡走了。

beating
然后呢，他父亲呢，就拿出他的手杖的（袋子）就打这个穷孩子（父亲……打了）。

crying
因为他的女儿哭了，就是挺委屈的。（然后他父亲就打了）？？

entering car
他妈妈呢就拉了他的孩子oh！拉他的先生跟他的孩子就走进了汽车就走了，就走。
Scene 4

eating cake

那麼孩子呢，就拿了這個蛋糕，挺高興地跟孩子就在吃就分着蛋糕吃。

unformed intervention

這個時候有一……有一雙，有一個穿黑衣服的一雙手就拿……就把他蛋糕拿走了。就是……我想就是說……他們去報告警察了。當時的中國這警察穿黑衣服，那麼，就……就拿走了……然後他們就是去告了警察，然後警察就過來處了這個事情吧。

#10/C-Q/IILS

Uh，我想一想可以嗎？警察呢，就……這些幾個孩子呢，就是把蛋糕拿走。然後人在帶走。帶走以後呢，那麼，就是，那時候還沒有發錢，不知道有沒有發錢，我也不知道。就把這些小孩子就到，到警察局。然後呢，因為那個小孩子父母都是相當有錢的，非常有錢，然後呢他告訴那個父母就是說，這一羣孩子呢，就是（？？）當時就是流氓一樣的，或者是小強盜吧。就把這個小強盜，我們已經把抓起來了。那麼就是，我想就是這樣子吧。
date
這個…好像是在四十九年以前的事情吧。

Personal interaction
是不是呀？

Place
在…大概是在大陸的…在我們中國的um。

Process of recall
甚麼地方呢？
可能是靠北邊的一個什麼…小的城鎮大概是。那個時候好像是…用我們…用我們的話來說…就是…好像…當時中國的共產黨好像還沒有…還沒有起…um…還沒有在中國起這個領導作用的是不是？

Characters
好像是有幾個用你們美國的話就是homeless是不是呀?

Scene 4
這…吃什麼…拿東西吃吧好像是。

Scene 3
stealing cake
大概是撿…撿住了一個有…就是比較有錢人那個車了，

Personal interaction
是不是？

kicking
然後那個…那個人呢，就用腳踢他

personal interaction
是不是講的這麼一件事情…

Conclusion
好像就是…我就看大概是這麼一回事。
Personal interaction
在說一遍嗎？

date
就是講的好像是四幾年

Place
在我們大陸發生的事情…一個…一個賣食品的店…賣蛋糕的…

Scene 2b
那麼就是有一家人…哈…他們去買了這個蛋糕…屬上等階級了，

personal interaction
是不是？然後呢，

Scene 2a
有幾個…沒有錢的小孩好像是…這個…他們看到那個蛋糕卻很眼鏡，想吃。

Scene 3
planning
然後呢他們就出了一個主意。

opening car door
就是一個稍微大一點的…我沒看清，不知道是他爸爸還是他哥哥就把門打開…

stealing the cake
然後呢…其他的幾個小孩就擁上去把那個蛋糕搶走了。

gathering around cake
…搶走以後呢…然後就搶了到…旁邊幾個人就一塊吃…

kicking
這個時候呢…uh…他爸爸看到了…用腳踢這…幾個人…踢那個小孩…uh…

personal response
我覺得這個人踢這小孩是不合適的…

conclusion
主要是這麼幾個鏡頭…ah…就是講這麼一件事情。
我...我的印象好像就是说...

date
大概是四九年以前...四九年以后

Scene 1
有個...有...個商店。

Scene 2b
characters
好像是一個...一個小女孩和她的媽媽還是爸爸，那我就印象不是很清楚吧，

buying cake
反正就是好像她要買蛋糕吧，對，買蛋糕。

Scene 3
Exiting store
買了蛋糕以後呢，就出去...然後呢

characters
出去那就碰到了幾個...幾個就是比較窮的人了奧，比較窮的人。

scheming
他們，他們就打他的主意，想把他手裡的蛋糕搶走。

opening car door
nm, 然後呢，他們...他...他們把那個車門打開讓那個...讓那個女孩，這一顆的
其中一個就把那個...(missing)...是她爸爸吧，就拼命地打這個...搶他女兒蛋糕的人。

conclusion
好像就是那麼一個情節，是不是?

#13/C-O/I1S

如果說我要演的話，那麼...我就會讓其他人，然後就是這個被挨打的人吧噢...他們...其他幾個朋友應該，再想個甚麼辦法然後再把這個打這個窮人的這個先生
在揍一頓。因為我覺得這一個蛋糕算不了甚麼。何必去打別人呢？是不是？
所以我就覺得那其他幾個人，我就會讓其他的幾個人吧，把那位先生教訓一下，
如果我是作家的話。因為我覺得他這樣就不好，太那個了一點，沒有必要。
personal interaction
好。刚才发生的…

Scene 1
一條大街上…uh…有好多…街上有好多店…有好多商店…

Scene 2b
然後呢…uh…有…有…有人呢…就去買那個蛋糕.

Scene 3
蛋糕買出來之後呢…mmm…

stealing cake
就被別人搶了。

Scene 4
搶了之後這人就開始吃…在路邊。

Conclusion
主要情節就是這麼多了。
Scene 1
就是在一條大街上
有一個蛋糕商店…uh…

Scene 2a
有一個富人…一個富人太太就帶了一個小女孩子去買蛋糕oh…買的時候呢就…

Scene 2a
這個…櫥台…這個櫥窗旁邊呢，有好多窮孩子在看見呢…

observation
就也都喜歡…就很喜歡蛋糕嘛…

Scene 3
exiting store
後來…uh…這個…這位太太買了之後就拿…就拿着蛋糕出門的時候呢，

stealing cake
就被那個窮孩子搶走了（哈哈）

eating cake
搶走就開始吃嘛…

beating
然後這個旁邊一個…可能是他的先生吧…就打…打…這些窮孩子。

conclusion
基本上就是這個意思。
APPENDIX E

CHINESE-CHINESE NARRATIVES
Scene 1
um... 有一些街童 (流浪) 的街童在街上... 走的時候,

Scene 2a
goti 一個餅... 餅店面前,

Scene 2b
看到裡頭有些... 有個小女孩在挑選蛋糕,

Scene 3
exit store
然後那個女孩出來跟他的家一塊出來，準備那個上車之時候... uh... 一個男孩給他們開車... 一個男孩給他們開車。

stealing cake
另外一個男孩子把那個女孩的蛋糕偷走了。

Scene 4
eating cake
他們跑到另外地方在吃他們的蛋糕的時候...

unformed intervention
突然警察來了把他們趕走。
Scene 2b

 uh...在以前有一個女孩，好像比較...um,富有的家庭。

Shopping

她跟爸爸媽媽去商店看到一個蛋糕點一個蛋糕，他們進去買蛋糕。

Scene 3

exiting store

出了，走出門之時候

stealing cake

碰上一，一個...一個...窮的小孩，他把那個女孩的蛋糕搶走，

chasing

然後那些...那些富有的人家。追他們。

Scene 4

uniformed intervention/beating

然後有一個警察來把那個...那個街童uh...趕走，而且打他。

#2/C-C/ILS

那些街...很可憐因為蛋糕沒了，又給人打了，然後...坐在街上，在街那儿有甚麼扔下的東西吃。
Personal interaction
用中文，哼，用中文比較容易。

Scene 1
有一個媽媽和有一個女孩子
在路上。

shopping
女孩子看到，一家，賣蛋糕的。

speculation
所以她跟她媽媽說她要那個蛋糕。

entering store
媽媽進去買給她。

Scene 2a
外面有一些小乞丐在看她們買蛋糕。

Scene 3
exiting store
然後她們出來以後，嗯。

observation
我想她們大概是有錢的人。

ordering kids
外面有一個人叫那些乞丐走開所以他們兩個有比較
好的路可以走到車子那裡。

opening car door
有一個小乞丐幫他們開門。

stealing cake
然後，另外一個就把小女孩的蛋糕搶走。

eating cake
他們在旁邊吃。
然後有人來把他們趕走。

Scene 4

uniformed intervention

一個警察來把蛋糕拿走。
Scene 1
在一條街上有…um…

car arrives
有一部車子開來了，然後車子停在一個賣餅乾店的門口。

opening car door
然後有人把車門打開，所以媽媽跟這個女兒就下車。

buying cake
然後，去買蛋糕。

Scene 3

exiting store
然後出來的時候

stealing cake
有一些可憐的小孩子就把蛋糕搶走了。

eating cake
在旁邊吃。

crying
所以這個女兒就在…就在哭。

Scene 4

uniformed intervention
然後有…這個警察過來了把這些孩子，都可憐的孩子們，把他們趕走。
這是三十年代的電影，

Personal interaction
不是吧？唔...唔

Scene 2b
啊...是那個...一家有錢人...那個有錢的小孩
兒就想買這個...想買一個蛋糕...

buying cake
結果他媽就給他買了...買了...

Scene 3
exiting store
以後他們出來的時候...

Scene 2a/b
watching cake
那...有幾個...那個...窮孩子...就是...啊... ...
他們在買的時候...那幾個...窮孩子...看到就...
很...很...羨慕...非常要吃這個蛋糕。

exiting store/calling car
所以他們出來的時候叫了一個車。

opening car door
那麼那幾個...幾個窮孩子有故意去幫他們把
門打開...

stealing cake
然後就趁這個小孩兒不注意把蛋糕搶走了...
搶走了...

gathering around cake
他們就馬上就弄到...放在地上吃起來了。
然後那個...aah...那個aah...那個...有錢的小孩兒...那個爸爸就來打他們...。

Scene 4

eating cake
但是...他們好像還因爲還要吃嘛...也沒有管就...就...在那裡吃...。

uniformed intervention
然後來了一個警察...把那塊蛋糕拿走。
#8/C-C/I.11
Setting the stage

date
好像是一個三十年代的電影...

Scene 2

uh…一羣那個窮孩子啊，在一個商店門口

Scene 2

exiting store
有兩個有…有錢人出來拿了一個…一個蛋糕…

making a plan
然後他們就好像…故意…把那個…

process of recall
嗯…不是故意…對，

stealing cake
他們就從他sh…手裡把那個蛋糕搶走了，

beating
然後那…那幾個兩個富人，好像打他們，

eating cake
然後他們就那…那自己就吃起來。

#8/C-C/I.11.S

uh…就是刚才那…那一組鏡頭就是基本上是完成的，所一就是說如果要接下去的話，就肯定是刚才，就是那個故事，就跟換…換一頭鏡頭，就比方說在他們那個住的地方或者就是在那個…ah…就反正是另外一種鏡頭。That’s it.
Scene 1a
一開始就是那個…他們看見這個三個…三…三…大概要飯的小孩子…

Scene 2b
看見這個女孩子在挑一個蛋糕…然後他們就等在…等在商店外面。

Scene 3
等他們買了蛋糕出來以後呢，一個小孩去找到…

opening car door
給他們開汽車的那個門。

stealing cake
最小的那個男孩就把他那個蛋糕搶了，

eating cake
搶了以後呢，他自己就在路上就吃起來。
然後另外兩個就吃…吃那個蛋糕…

Scene 3
beating
小女孩兒的爸爸就用那個手杖就打他們了…

policed intervention
結果他們…（警察）。


Personal interaction
okay.

Scene 2a
...幾個窮孩子在...在一間商店的門口往裡面張望,

Scene 2b
裡面一個富有的婦女在...帶着小孩在買蛋糕...

Scene 3
exit store
他們買了蛋糕以後走出去了...

carrying cake
走出去以後...蛋糕由孩子拿着...

stealing cake
然後幾個小孩，一個小孩子，一個窮孩子就把他的蛋糕搶過去。

gathering around cake
然後他們幾個人围着一塊兒吃這個蛋糕。

shouting
這個時候...那...那個婦女驚叫一聲。
然後被附近那個...那個小汽車...

Scene 4/3
uniformed intervention/beatings
警察來了就把他們打，

taking away cake
然後他們就把蛋糕搶走了。
#11/C-C/H.I

Process of recall
有一點，基本上記得。

Theme (Scene 3)
好像三個小男孩兒偷了一個女孩兒的生日蛋糕。

Conclusion
主要是這個。

#11/C-C/H.S

結尾是甚麼？結尾是警察打他們，打了一頓，啥？很可能他們以後就變成小偷
啊，被甚麼黑社會…參加…的事情。這頁十一重可能。很可能…很可能是孤兒。
我想有很多可能行吧！
Personal Interaction
Uh, 记得一点儿，

Place
Oh,事情好像发生在一个食品店内...

Weather
又好像天气很不好，

Scene 2b
Buying cake
En…一个穿着的很华丽的女子进去买蛋糕...

Scene 3
Exiting store
然后，他们…当他出来的时候…啊…

Scene 2a/b
当她买的时候，外面有人隔着玻璃橱窗往里边看，看他买什么。

Scene 3
Exiting store
当她出来的时候，外面有一个乞丐一样的人，和几个孩子…啊…

Opening car door
这个…这个大人好像给他…把他…帮他…把车门打开的时候…

Stealing cake
几个小孩儿趁机把他的蛋糕夺过去，

Scene 4
eating cake
就，马上就大吃起来，大概是饿的很厉害吧，

Uniformed intervention
然后警察来，好像用脚踢他们…把蛋糕夺回去了。大概是这样吧。
Summary
Uh…我記得他走了以後呢，走了…這個情節最後的結果好像是這小孩儿…這個警察能是不踢小孩儿，是吧？是不是在把蛋糕奪走以後，是不是再提這個小孩儿？我記不太清楚，有沒…有…有沒有打人，我記不太清啊。

Sequel
然後大概我想應該繼續。就是這個…這個孩子和這個…這個成人之間的故事情吧。我想主角應該是這個。這一輩小孩他他們的故事。然後他們繼續會怎樣生活…會碰到甚麼其他的事，他們的命運會不會改變？
Process of recall
就是在那個…這個…這個…這個…鏡頭。

Scene 1
就是…街上一個鏡頭…uh…

date
肯定是解放以前了。

解放以前這個街道就…就…你看那個行人呢…然後
就看到有一家…一個蛋糕…蛋糕店裡頭這個…這個…
鏡頭。

Scene 2a
然後呢…這個…擺着各種各樣的蛋糕啊。然後看見
好多窮人家的孩子…就在那儿看…

Scene 2b
choosing cake
然後呢…店裡頭呢…就有一個…一個小女孩…在
那兒…在那兒選…eh…然後呢。好像是過生日那樣
子。

Scene 3
exiting store
她蛋糕選出來以後呢，他媽媽就帶着…就…就…這
個…就上他們家的小汽車…

stealing cake
那個…就這時候突然呢…就有一個那…窮孩子過來
了。那孩子也不大…跟那個小個子差不多…就過來
就把它搶過去了。搶過去了…

putting cake down
就放在地上了…他也不跑了，就放在地上就準備吃了…

beating
這時候就過來一個老年人…不知道是他爺爺還是他
爸爸…就…就揮…揮起拐杖就開始…開始揍他們。

gathering around cake
那…那…旁邊又過來兩個窮孩子一共好像是三個窮
孩子。
Scene 4

crating cake
也不管挨打不挨打就吃起來了…（哈哈）…

uniformed intervention
吃起來…這個時候就…就…過來一個…過來一個警
察就把它好像搶過去了…

conclusion
這故事就完了。
## Scene 1
那就是看到街上那幾個窮人的小孩子兒。

## Scene 2a
他們在那兒看餐館裡面那個櫥窗，看了就肚子很餓了。

## Scene 3
然後就有個有錢人的這個女兒就好像⋯⋯她端著一個生日大蛋糕就出來了。⋯⋯

*steal* cake
然後就被⋯我忘了是被搶了還是它自個兒掉到地上。

*eat* cake
反正那幾個窮小孩兒就⋯就吃起來了。

*bed*
然後就⋯唔⋯就他爺爺出來了。出來了然後就打那孩子。

## Scene 4
*uniformed intervention*
然後警察來啦。

# 15/C-C/11I

接下來呢。那就是⋯唔⋯那個有錢人家，他們不會在那兒完久呆啦。那一塊蛋糕也不是特別重要的，是吧。也⋯開車走啦。或者是在去買一塊蛋糕呀。或者⋯或者是就算了。那個⋯那肯定就交給⋯交給警察辦了。那警察把那窮孩子也沒辦法。你⋯你打也不是，你反正也⋯也這個敲詐錢也敲詐不出來。⋯⋯就⋯⋯就⋯⋯了不起就把他們弄走了。或者⋯⋯
APPENDIX F

AMERICAN-CHINESE NARRATIVES
1.

Scene 1
…那個人在路上走走。好像。我想一九二幾年，差不多。他們在路上走走，在。e。

Scene 2b/characters
有一個家里，。媽媽。。爸爸。。好像有三個孩子，他們看了一個蛋糕

buying cake
他們就買了。

Scene 3
exiting store
買了以後他們就上車。

stealing cake
上車的時候有一個人偷了他們的蛋糕，

Scene 4
eating
然後呢。 。有三個人在吃那個蛋糕，e。

uniformed intervention
他們吃的時候有一個人就把蛋糕拿出來。
Scene 1
...一些男孩子。他們走走。

Scene 2a
他們在一個鋪子。。

watching cake
他們看見一個蛋糕。。

Scene 2b
buying cake
有。。有。。人買了這個蛋糕。

Scene 3
exiting store
他們出來的時候那三個人。。

watching cake
他們看看好像他們要吃，他們好像很窮。。

stealing cake
所以那個買蛋糕的人。。他們上車的時候。。那個窮的小。。小孩子。。他偷了他們的蛋糕。。

Scene 4
eating cake
然後他跟他們爸爸。。他們都在吃那個蛋糕。

Scene 3
beating
那個買蛋糕的人他生氣了就打。。打。。他們。。

Scene 4
uniformed intervention
然後呢。。有。。好像有一個警察就把那個蛋糕拿出來。
好像記得是那蛋糕的對不對？好，Ah...

有…一個先生，一個太太還有一個孩子好像男孩子。

Scene 1
他們在走路的時候就看見一個錶子就是賣蛋糕的錶子。

Scene 2a/b
裡面他們看見了…一些人買了一個很好看的蛋糕，

Scene 3
那些人，他們出來的時候…uh…

Stealing cake
先生、太太、那個…小孩兒他們就…uh…偷了那個蛋糕，

eating cake
就開始吃。

Scene 4
uniformed intervention
然後呢…有一個…好像有一個警察來

beating
就是好像打他們…

voice
叫他們…叫他們…走啊，

conclusion
那樣。

以後呢那三個人那個先生，太太，小孩兒，他們…uh…他們在繼續走路…找…東西吃因為他們很窮，他們從鄉下來的然後他們看了一條小路在那…那條路他們看見了有些…uh…那個怎麼說？是不是lashi？我…我忘了怎麽說garbage。嘔，垃圾，對了，他們看了一些垃圾就…就開始吃垃圾。
date
大概…這大概是一九三十年代的中國電影…eh...

Scene 1
開始的時候有幾個人在人行道走路。

Scene 2a
可是…以後我們就看到了一個…好像是賣蛋糕的店…西方式的蛋糕…ui…

Scene 2b
characters
有一個小孩子…好像很有錢的小孩子跟他的母親或者那…如果不是他的母親就是他家的一個佣人…eh...

shopping
跟那個小孩子一起買蛋糕，

choosing cake
那個小孩子用手指頭指他要甚麼蛋糕…

buying cake
然後那個女的就指那個蛋糕買起來。

Scene 3
exiting store
他們把蛋糕從店裡拿出來的時候…

stealing cake
有一批…eh…好像在馬路的小孩子
撞到她…撞到那個女孩子…把蛋糕偷走…eh…

Scene 4
在旁邊偷吃，…唔。不是偷吃…公開的吃…um…

Personal interaction
還有甚麼呢?

conclusion
大概這樣子。
Personal interaction
再說？…huh！…hmm…

Process of recall
大概跟以前差不多，ch…就是…現在比較注意到一些唔…比較仔細的…nn…還是一樣…uh…

Scene 1
開始的時候有人在人行道…走來走去…

Scene 2b
然後我看到那個有…有…錢的小女孩子跟女的…

selecting cake
她們在賣蛋糕的店外面停了，那個小女孩就指他要甚麼蛋糕…他要哪個蛋糕…

buying cake
然後那個女的就幫她買。

Scene 3
exiting store
她們從店走出來的時候…uh…

Process of recall
oh！不是…

Scene 2a/2b
他們買的時候有…三個…ch…男孩，很窮的…看到了…err…

Scene 3
exiting store
然後小女孩子從店裡走出來的時候…

stealing the cake
ch…有一個撞到她…偷了蛋糕…偷了蛋糕…把蛋糕偷走了…ch

beating
有一個男的陪那個小女孩就用棍子打他…可是沒有辦法，

crying
那個小女孩子在那裡哭着…這個都是他們正要在…正要坐車子的時候…而發生的…uh…
Scene 4
eating the cake
然後最後的一個景色就是我們看到三個窮的男孩兒坐在⋯⋯只算在人行道那裡蹲着吃那個蛋糕。

uniformed intervention
最後就是好像是警察來把那個蛋⋯蛋糕從他們的手裡拿⋯
Personal Interaction
Ah, it's too early in the morning for that,
ha ha! Yeah, uh***

Scene 1
電影開始的時候我們看…外面的景色就是一個…怎麼說? 人行道好像是大城市
的人行…道… (人行的人行道) 有人走來走去。

Scene 2b
characters
有幾個好像很有錢的女人跟小女孩跟他們的什麼…司機或者佣人，一起去一個
賣蛋糕的的店。

entering store
他們進去看蛋糕。

buying cake
買蛋糕。

watching cake
他們買蛋糕的時候外面有三個小孩子看他們買蛋糕。

scene 3
exiting store
那三個窮孩子等到買蛋糕的人出來的時候，

stealing cake
出來了就把蛋糕偷走了，

beating
配有錢人的…男的…佣人用棍子打一個小孩子，eh 打一個小孩子。

Scene 4
uniformed intervention
好像有警察一個…警察到了，

process of recall
可是那一點我就不清楚，huh，

eating cake
我們也看到了兩個小孩子吃那個蛋糕。
我要是想寫，下一個景色，我不知道我會寫什麼。得看這部電影的題目是甚麼，題目如果是有錢人的生活，我當然會寫甚麼關於他們的景色，不知道是甚麼。如果是關於貧窮人的生活，我…我會寫關於那幾個小孩子的一個甚麼景色，這樣子。
剛…刚才發生的…好像是在舊中國發生的一件事…

大概是二三十年代的時候，還是四十年代的時候。

看起來好像是一個富有的家庭
到麵包店去買蛋糕之類的東西我沒看清楚。

外頭有一些可以說是無…無家可歸的小孩兒，
他們在看裡頭的那麼多好吃的東西…好…好像很久時間他們沒有吃…根本沒有吃飯。可是看那些小孩，裡頭的富有家庭有小孩兒…甚麼都有…而且好像就是…好像非常羨慕他們…反而就看起來肚子裡非常餓所以這些小…

所以這個媽媽給小孩兒買一個很漂亮的蛋糕…

然後打算回家出門…快要上車的時候看起來好像蛋糕掉地上。

那些無家可歸的小孩兒呢…好像就馬上跑過去搶那個蛋糕。

然後呢，可能是父親可能是爺爺…我不知道…
他過去…過去，打那些小孩兒。
Personal interaction
好⋯⋯這一次我從頭看了，

date
所以我現在可以確定大概不是三十年代而是四十年代的時候⋯⋯

place
那個⋯現在確實⋯是⋯那個⋯那個麵包店⋯買一個蛋糕⋯

Scene 2b
小孩兒到那兒⋯擁着那個窗戶看裡頭有蛋糕⋯有幾個蛋糕⋯uh⋯那麼⋯看⋯那個媽媽拉那個小孩兒看⋯這三個蛋糕⋯

choosing cake
然後讓他們挑⋯uh⋯他們挑最大的最白的最好吃的⋯uh⋯

那⋯那個店員把蛋糕包起來

exiting store
然後他們就出門要上車，

opening door
有一個司機，司機幫他們開門，正在進門的時候

getting cake
可能是媽媽可能是小孩兒碰了第二個小孩兒。那個⋯第二個小孩兒正好⋯那個怎麼說呢⋯碰着⋯還是那個蛋糕⋯然後那蛋糕掉地上⋯

eating cake
這時剛才說的那幾個無家可歸的小孩兒呢⋯他們馬上跑過來擁着那個⋯地上的蛋糕⋯搶⋯搶着吃⋯

beating
正好那個家長⋯uh⋯看起來⋯比⋯可能父親跟⋯看來比母親大二三十幾歲了⋯

然後過來給⋯開始打那些小孩兒

speaking
說“不許吃。’’

conclusion
就完了。
Scene 1
在路上那旁邊有一個一九四八年的汽車Buick哈，

personal interaction
你知道嗎？

place
So…這是解放以前哈…好像…好像…是大陸…哈。

Characters
uh…so…就有一些窮人哈…沒飯吃的…好像…

Scene 2a
是一個…不是小飯店…是那個甚麼…是點…點心的賣點心的…特別餓了…餓死了…他們看見那那些小…

Scene 2b
那…uh…富翁哈，買這點心還是蛋糕哈，

observation/scene 3
他們餓的不行，腦子不清楚，

steal
想偷…要偷了那種甜點心哈…

eat
就在這裡在路上就要吃它…看起來不太聰明，哈，他們…偷了以後得跑啦，哈哈他們不跑他們就在這個地方吃…

beating
所以富翁的爸爸打他們…eh

process of recall
後來我看不清楚，

Scene 4
uniformed intervention
是不是警察能來了，

personal interaction, process of recall
還是很煩，我不知道。
我已經說過了。是不是一樣呢?

好…現在是三個…三個窮人哈，一個男的一個小孩兒，一個女的不是…不看，so...

Scene 3
opening car door
一個…oh…最大的要…要…開汽車的門兒，他說進來，進來哈，可能是。好像是他的計劃…想騙他們哈，

stealing cake
那個時候就這時候…這時候偷了，

Scene 4

eating cake
他們在汽車那邊兒，在路上，開始吃。三個人…

uniformed intervention
後來警察來，

personal interaction
看警察的衣服扣子…你看見了嗎？當然你看見了好幾次。
#47/A-C/I1.S

Process of recall
還記得？對！

date
那個一九四八年的Burke哈，

caracter.org
還有那三個窮人，哈，沒有飯吃得要飯吃得，

Scene 3
stealing cake
偷了那個…蛋糕，

Scene 4
eating cake
在路上吃，臉上都有那個…東西。哈哈哈！

#47/A-C/I1.S

 Summary
我沒有看見。Oh！

(Scene 4)
警察來了抓他們，是不是？

Segue
後來有…革命哈，紅…紅…紅兵救他們，oh 不是紅兵是解放軍紅軍…解放軍。
Personal interaction

Oh...

Film id.
這是...這是...好像就是一個電影裡的一個小部分...是...

Scene 1
我們我們一看就是看街上有人走過來

Scene 2a
然後我們我們...有...看有一個...賣點心的商店...賣餅乾的商店。有一個小孩子
一個小男孩子但是只看那些餅乾就好像很想吃...

Scene 2b
然後有些人進去買...他們出來就是有一個母親一個女孩他們買了一個蛋糕...

Observation
他們他們要...他們是好像是...很有錢的人...因為有一個車...他們要坐後面...所以他們好像是...是...很有錢...他們要坐後面...

Scene 3
stealing cake
但是他們進去的時候那個小男孩偷那個女孩的蛋糕然後...

Scene 4
eating cake
最後我們看那...那個小男孩跟他的朋友吃那個蛋糕。
Personal Interaction
我上次說的有一點兒對…

Scene 2a
唔一開始就是三個男人在看那些餅乾…很想吃蛋糕。他們…他們有一個…

Characters
他們之中…他們之間一個…是一個小孩，但是還有兩個人好像是十三十五十
六歲左右…所以有三個。一個小孩兒可能十歲一個人（還？）可能十二歲，一
個小還可能十六歲十七歲，

watching cake
他們三個男孩只是瞪著那些…那些蛋糕…想吃…

Scene 2b
entering store
然後有一家進去那個商店去買，

characters
一個父親有一個很胖的父親，一個很漂亮穿的很漂亮的母親…還有…有…一個…
小女孩…

choosing cake
那個…小女孩點了那個餅乾…他們就買了…

Scene 3
exiting store
他們出去買上車…

opening car door
那三個男人是幫他們…是給他們開車子門…唔…甚麼…所以他們開始進去。母親跟女孩開始進去。

stealing cake
那個時候那些男孩…男人偷了他們的餅乾…

beating
那個父親他打了那個三個男人之一一個，

Scene 4
然後我記不住他們是不是…
theme
這部電影就是…nn…就是關於…唔…有幾個小男子漢到jiu商店去…好像表現很
想去…去買就去吃這些餅乾，這些蛋糕，…nnnn…

Scene 2b
entering store
然後有一…有一…一家人進去了一個丈夫給他的太太打開了門，打開了大門，他
們女…女兒，也跟他們進去…

choosing cake
進去了…nn…這小女兒…點了一個餅…一個…一個餅乾，一個一個蛋糕，對不
起一個蛋糕，nn…

buying cake
他們買了…

Scene 3
exiting store
nn…他們到外面去，
他們正要上他們的…的他們的大車——他們有一個黑色的漂亮的…的車子——
他們就要進去，就要上車。

opening car door
然後…唔…那…那些男子漢的幾的一個人…給他們開門，

beating/stealing cake
然後別的男子漢…漢…漢都打了他們，唔…偷了他們餅乾…偷了他們的蛋糕。

Conclusion
就完了。

#9/A-C/II.S
Nh…以後我會寫那些男子漢，他們可能比較好玩兒。不知道他們…他們為甚麼偷
餅乾，不知道偷餅乾…之後…把…把…把…把蛋糕派到那里去躲藏。哈哈。不
知道有沒有人抓住他們…哈哈。
Scene 1

uh...在...一個城市的...一個城市裡...uh...那個...在...人行道旁邊的一個舖子...好像是賣蛋糕的一個地方...uh...uh...

Scene 2a

在...在窗戶裡他們...安排很多蛋糕...蛋糕。uh...有三個窮人從外面sth...很...像很餓的樣子...看蛋糕...uh...

Scene 2b

他們看一個人買一個很大的...一個有錢人在裡面買一個很大的蛋糕...uh...

Scene 3

exiting store

然後那個有錢人和他孩子和另外一個人好像是他的先生。他們從那個...那個...賣蛋糕的舖子來。

opening car door

一個窮人去...去...uh...到馬路去替他們開車子門...

stealing cake

另外一個窮人沖著過來偷他們的...搶...搶著他們的蛋糕...uh...

gathering around cake

馬...uh...跑...跑不久...跑到一個旁邊的一個地方開始吃。

Scene 4

eating cake

那三個窮人...uh...吃那個蛋糕。

uniformed intervention

好像有一個警察來抓他們。就是這樣子。
Scene 1
好…uh…三個窮人走…uh…走…在人行道。他們到一個…賣蛋糕的…鋪子…在
窗外來…停止…

Scene 2a
看裡面的蛋糕…

Scene 2b
他們在看的時候裡面有…有一個人買一個很大的蛋糕…uh…

observation
那個人好像是有錢人，

Scene 3
exiting store
他和他的女孩兒和他的先生…出來時…
他們…在…在門外停止一下，

opening car door
那個時候有一個窮人…他跑到他們的車子去替他們開門，

walking towards car
他們從容地走到他們的車子…慢慢要進…進入車子就…

stealing cake
突然有一個那個小窮人…那個小孩子…窮人的小孩子…他…他跑着衝來搶他們
的蛋糕…uh…

gathering around cake
馬上在路上和他的窮…可能是朋友或是他的父母…uh…開始吃那個蛋糕。

beating
不管那個有錢的人在他們的肩上打了幾…幾段…uh…

Scene 4
uniformed intervention
最後…uh…有一個人的手拉着快要抓住他們…好像是警察。
Personal Interaction
可能…你要我告訴你？那個…扼要地告訴你。

Scene 1

place
那個…有一天，等一下，第一個鏡頭好像我們看…他們在路上看一個路旁的鋪子，有一個蛋糕的地方，好像不是麵包店，都是…他們賣的看起來都是甜的東西。他們在窗窩窩窩窩窩窩窗戶裡安排很多他們剛才做的蛋糕。

Scene 2a
有…“hmm”…有…有兩個…兩個…“um”…qio…窮人，他們在窗戶外面往裡面看那些蛋糕，他們好像是餓死了。

Scene 2b
他們在看的時候，裡面突然有…一個有錢…太太來…

buying cake
買那個他們刚才…剛剛看的那個，他們正在看的那個蛋糕。

exiting store
她…一個…一個太太和她的女兒和她的先生，他們從鋪子裡…啊…ch…出來的時候，

opening car door
一個，一個窮人他…把他們的…uh…車子的門給他們開。

stealing cake
可是他們要進入車子的時候有另外一個窮人他偷他們的那個蛋糕。

eating cake
他偷…偷…偷…的時候…以後他只…只跑幾步，然後他和他的朋友開始吃那個蛋糕。

beating
最後有錢人打他們的背後就是這樣子。

#16/A-C/11.11
Do I have to say the same story?他們正在吃蛋糕的時候，我想應該有…應該有很多人，很多人來，uh…看那些，那個警察和那個有錢人在打他們，那個蘇珊的人，一…一部分，應該是別的餓死的窮人，另外一部分，比較少的一部分…少數…少數的應該是有錢人和警察。結果是他們…可能吵架一下還是打架，最後那個…那些偷蛋糕的人…uh…要進監獄，坐牢。
APPENDIX G

CHINESE ENGLISH NARRATIVES
#2/C-E/I.I

**Personal interaction**
Oh, I have seen this before...

**Characters**
um..a girl with her mother maybe from very quite rich family

**Scene 2b**
and go shopping and then going to a cake shop

**Process of recall**
what's it called? something..

**Scene 2b**
and then buy a cake

**Scene 3**
*existing store*
and then when..they..prepared to..uh..going to the car aaa

stealing cake
poor boy robbed his cake..robbed her cake

beating
and then her family kick him out

**Scene 4**
eating cake
and that poor boy share that cakes with some other poor boy,

uniformed intervention
and suddenly aaa..somebody um..kicked them away (laugh).
Characters
(poor boys)...

Scene 1
walking around the streets and they go in um..

Scene 2a
stop before the window of a cake shop and

Scene 2b
there a little girl from a very rich family they bought the cake

Scene 3
exit store
and then come out..uh..prepare to go into the car..

opening car door
and then the poor boy..uh..some of them open the door..for that girls and

stealing cake
..another boy rob that cake away..

beating
and the family of the girls..take um..hit the boys

Scene 4
eating cake
and the boys enjoy their cakes

uniformed intervention
and later the police come and kick them away.
C-E/#2/II.I

Process of recall
Um...sounds like something..

theme
some kids buy a cake,

personal interaction
you want me to re..repeat?

Scene 2b
character
A girl from a very rich family,

entering shop
she go into a cake shop and
pick up one

exiting store
and then after...they pick up the cake and...go out of the shop

stealing cake
and then one of the boys they just...he just want to take that cake and rob if from her hands

gathering around cake
and they run away
and the parents of the rich girls..oh..chase after him

Scene 4
beating/uniformed intervention
and the police come and beat them.

#2/C-E/II.S

Um... okay the boy is so...so..so..so..so..so...so unfortunate that he did not have the cake, and, and he was beaten by..by the parents of the girl and he was painful and hungry and he was so dis...disapp..disappointed and so he just sitting on the corner of the street and looking around on...looking around to see if there is some food remain.
#4/E-C/I.I

Characters
(sigh) The mother and the daughter

Scene 2b
buying cake
the mother got a cake for the daughter

Scene 3
stealing cake
then some beggars came and took away the cake
crying
and the daughter was crying

beating
and they were beating up the those beggars.
Process of recall
Hmm..same thing but..ah..but

Scene 4
..there..came some policeman took away the cake from the beggars.
#4/C-E/II.1

**Personal interaction**
Yeah, kind of,

**characters**
there's a mama and the daughter,

**Scene 2h**
**entering store**
they went to the store
and they came out...No!

**opening the car door**
The..somebody opened the door for them to get out..of the car,

**buying cake**
and they went into the store to buy cake,

**Scene 3**
**exiting store**
and then they came out

**stealing cake**
and some..
kelian de kids, took away the cake,

**crying**
and the...the daughter, the little girl was crying

**Scene 4**
**uniformed intervention**
and then the policeman came and he, uh..ganzou, he uh..ganzou, he..asked the kids to
go away.

**Personal interaction/process of recall**
That's a long time, I don't remember, I think that's it.

#4/C-E/S

The girl and the mother went home and...the girl decide that she want to buy more cakes
for the kids, so she asked more money from her mother but her mother..doesn't want to
do it, so she so the girl asked her father, ha ha. But finally they bought the cakes and
they...give it to the kids, or they invite the kids over to the house and they have a party.
Me: Which kids?
Invite the poor kids to the rich kid's..to the rich kid's family and have a party.
#8/E-C/1.I

OH, um..

date
I think it's taken from a .. a .. film in the thirties,

Characters
but this ..um.. I think the rich couple with their kid

Scene 3
exiting store
just came out from a store and they .. had something like a cake

getting cake
and this poor kid
y'know intentionally ran into .. into.. them and knocked the cake on the .. on the floor so
y'know the rich ones wouldn't want it anymore..so the poor ones just grab it

Scene 4
eating cake
and eat it.
okay, um,

**Scene 2b**
*buying cake*
the other .. um.. the rich kid want a cake so her .. it's her mother bought it for her

**Scene 3**
*exiting store*
but when they came out .. um .. they called a taxi

*stealing cake*
and this, this poor kid um uh pretended that they opened the door for for them then another kid just grab the cake and they...

*beating*
and then the father .. the rich father came out and he .. uh.. beat 'em with a stick

**Scene 4**
*eating cake*
but they were .. they were eating

*uniformed intervention*
and the police .. a policeman came and took their cake away.

*conclusion*
better this time, right?
Personal interaction
What I saw what? Oh..oh yeah..yeah, a little bit, but, yeah a little bit...like

date
It was...it was like a movie maybe in the thirties,

theme
the..the.. a bunch of kids..poor kids kind of a stole a cake from this rich...couple yeah,

conclusion
that's about it.

#8/E-C/I1S

Ha ha! uh, you...you didn't tell me I have to be creative! Oh...hm...I don't know...I think maybe...that...uh actually that uh.. uh..the scene was pretty much completed so...it...I think if I have to continue it would be another scene y'know, either, either uh with this poor..uh...kids in the..in the..in the place they're staying or just like that
Scene 3

characters
uh, three kids, uh...three very hungry kids...uh

stealing cake
...take a cake from a little girl, it's her birthday cake, maybe,

eating cake
and then they eat them and then they ate them, ate it.

beating
and then they got beaten...by the uh the father...

conclusion
that's it.
Scene 2b
Choosing cake
First the girl choose a cake and the,

Scene 2a
waiting for family to exit
the three kids saw this and they waited outside the door

Scene 3
exiting store
and when the girl and the... the girl and the, her parent came out

opening car door
they, one...one kid opened the door from them

stealing cake
and the smallest kid took the cake away from them

eating cake
and they eat the cake

beating
and then the father beat them.. with a stick

Scene 4
uniformed intervention
and then the... and eventually the policemen take the cake away.
Scene 2b
Somebody... a lady come to a shop to shop something,

Scene 3
exiting store
and uh... when she and uh... maybe her children.. children come... comes out

stealing cake
a little boy maybe grab something away from.. from her

Scene 3/4

uniformed intervention/beating
and then the policemen beat the...the guy and uh... the car.
character
There are several poor guy

**Scene 2a**
who peep from the window and see what happen in the shop

**Scene 2b**
buy cake
in...in...which a the lady and two children bought some cake...bought a cake I think

**Scene 3**
exit store
and then they comes out that shop

stealing cake
and a...a.. hungry boy grab that cake away

gathering around cake
and then another poor guy comes and

**Scene 4**
eating cake
then to come and eat the food... the cake

uniformed intervention
and then the policemen comes and beat and take the cake away.
Scene 2b
Place
The story happened in a ... in a grocery store,
entering store
a lady, with a very beautiful clothes, came in and bought a cake, a big cake,
watching cake
and when she buy...she was buying the cake, some uh...two or three boys with, peep into the...into the glasses and see what is...what was happening in the grocery,
buying cake
and uh...saw her buy a big cake.

Scene 3
exiting store
And then she went out and, uh and, uh walked towards a her car,
opening car door
the adult opened the door for h..for her,
stealing cake
at that moment, uh, the small boys and the..that small boys grabbed the cake from her hand

Scene 4
eating cake
and immediately they greedily eat that...ate that cake,
uniformed intervention
and then the policemen came and uh..and uh...the policeman took back the cake

Conclusion
and maybe, I think that's the story

#13/C-E/II.S

Uh, following story is I think should be...well the story, well...it will tell the story of these boys and their..and their adult, and how things will going on for them and what they will do, how can they get food or something else and uh the basic living...and whether their fate will...will undergone...will under go some exchanges, some changes.
#15/C-E/I.I

**Personal interaction**
Just that little? Ah.

**Place**
Well in the street somewhere probably in China ... and uh... oh...

**Recall**
I'm afraid I don't remember a whole lot...

**Scene 1**
There come the people walking on the street and then they pass by a cake store or something like that?

**Scene 2a**
and uh some... kids apparently from a poor family is watching the um cakes and uh... seems they're very hungry

**Scene 3**
**exiting store**
and then uh later uh... going to get on a taxi or a car

**stealing cake**
and s... probably someone dropped or throw away a piece of cake and the kids are trying to um... trying get... get a little bit

**Scene 3/4**
**gathering around/eating cake**
and they were... and then um someone was holding it and everybody starts biting it

**uniformed intervention**
and then someone else said something I didn't... didn't hear very clearly, apparently its a policeman or something... said uh... that's not... not allowed to do that in the street (ha ha).
Personal interaction
Oh. It's a little better. It's better this time. uh. OK. uh..

Place
we have a scene on the street
and then the camera to...to...the uh cake store

Scene 2b
and apparently a rich family uh the daughter from the rich family apparently is going to
celebrate her birthday and..

choosing
and she was a...she was uh choosing uh her favorite...favorite cake and then

Scene 3
exiting store
and her mom was escorting her back to the car

watching
and uh eh so the kids from the poor family they were watching

stealing cake
and then one of the poor kid a snatch at the piece of cake from the girl and uh

beating
and then the old man probably her grandfather or her father and um...beat the poor kids,
with a stick
and uh and then the..the...the...uh the poor kids didn't...didn't take care of...didn't pay
attention to the uh stick they were too hungry

Scene 4
eating cake
and (very quickly) started eating

uniformed intervention
and then the policeman came and uh took away the cake.

Conclusion
That's all I remember.
Personal interaction
A little bit, it's not very well.

Process of recall
Well,

Scene 2a
like the...a...the hungry kids peeking into the...the sort of a restaurant, in the show window,

Scene 3
exiting store
and the uh...the...the rich girl carried a birthday cake sort of thing, out into the car

stealing (losing) cake
and the uh...was she dropped to the ground or they just...uh...snapped it from her or something like that,

beating
and ...and then the old man probably the girl's grandfather or something start beating the child

Scene 4
uniformed intervention
and uh...policeman came.

Conclusion
That's all I remember.

#15/C-E/II.S

Um, ha, well, well, probably this lady, the old man and the little girl, they're not going to stay there forever, they're going to just drive away and leave everything to the policeman and uh, well the policeman probably can't do anything about the kid wither because he's so poor and he just uh, just uh...uh...chased them away and that's it.
APPENDIX H

AMERICAN-ENGLISH NARRATIVES
date
Probably in the twenties

place
in a large city in China....

**Scene 1**
there are uh...uh..a poor family...a mother and a father and a son walkin' along the street,

**Scene 2a**
and they come to a store (and) see a cake.

**Scene 2b**
buying cake
The cake at that moment is...is being bought by some wealthy people,

**Scene 3**
exitng store
they come out of the store and

watching cake
the...the poor people look at the cake lustfully (smiling) 'cause y'know, they want to eat it,
opening car door
so they're real nice to 'em, offer to open the door for these people

stealing cake
where upon the..the son then steals or takes the cake

gathering around cake
and then he and the...I think his dad start eatin' the cake beating
and the the guy who bought it s..starts whacking 'em (like that)

**Scene 4**
eating cake
anyway so then all three of um..the next scene is all three of 'em are eatin' away at this cake and...and a

uniformed man intervenes
policeman comes and takes it.. I guess its a policeman who comes.
Scene 1
Uh, this couple with a little kid are walking down the street b___ street and uh, poor, looked poor anyway. They passed by a store that sells cakes, a bakery.

Scene 2a/b
Inside they see this nice cake

Scene 2a/b
buying cake
and then other people are buying it.

Scene 3
This, they wait outside the door

exiting store
and when these other people come out with this cake

sealing cake
they swipe it,

Scene 4
eating cake
begin eating it

uniformed intervention
until the policeman comes and smacks them, and chases them off, like that.

#1/A-E/II.S
And then they continue on down the street.. looking for food. just in froma the countryside, starving, famine, y'know, look down a small, little alley. street and see garbage.
personal interaction
Yeah pretty much so.

Um..it's an old Chinese movic..

date
looks like it was probably made in the thirties

Scene 1
and in..in the beginning we see people walking all over the street

Scene 2a
and the camera focuses on.. I guess a store and

Scene 2b
a woman is I guess takin' a little girl to buy a cake

Observation
and they look like they got a lot of money I think the woman has a fur coat on but I can't really tell and the little girl has a white coat on it looks like fur, too..
but anyway they stand in..

entering store
I guess they go inside of the ..uh..the store

choosing cake
and she..the girl that is..picks out which cake she wants and..uh..

buying cake
the woman that's with her buys it. I don't know if the woman is her mother or her..er..servant

watching cake
and while they're doing this there are three guys..three boys..watching them

Scene 3
exiting store
and then when they come out of the..the..store, cake in hand,

stealing cake
one of the boys I guess the smallest boy runs into her and grabs the cakes

gathering around cake
and runs off with it

beating
and there's a guy who is with the girl and the woman who clobbers him with his cane,
but it doesn't do any good because the cake is gone..
Scene 4

eating cake

so the last scene that we see is the three boys are crouched down on the sidewalk eating the cake

uniformed intervention

and then at the very last..um..I..I.. guess the guy's a policeman comes along and grabs it from 'em.
personal interaction
Oh, vaguely. Well, I guess you want me to retell it again, right? Okay.

Process of recall
Well,

film i.d.
it's a scene from an old movie, looks…it's an old black and white film. Uh, I think I said this before, I think it's probably a pro-propaganda film made in the early days after, after liberation but that's only a guess based on the subject matter.

Scene 1
It starts out with a street scene, we see uh…people walking along a street

place
in China,

date
looks like it's supposed to be set in the twenties or the thirties, maybe later I don't know,

Scene 2b
but…we see…apparently a well to do woman and her daughter and a man who's a driver or a servant or something like that

entering store
drive up to a bakery and they go inside…the bakery

buying cake
and buy a cake,

watching cake
and while they're inside the bakery buying a cake there are I think three...street urchins who look through the window of the bakery and see what they're doing..

Scene 3
exiting store
and then when the...uh...the woman comes out

holding cake
holding the cake,

process of recall
I can't remember whether it's the woman holding the cake or the girl that's holding the cake, anyway

stealing cake
when they came out the street urchins do a bump and run, y'know they bump into the woman or who the whoever's holding the cake
gathering around cake
and grab and go and... they eat the cake and uh...

beating
the guy, the...the servant..the driver..whoever he is he beats one of the guys with a stick, one of the urchins with a stick,

Scene 4
uniformed intervention
and...I'm not sure. I think maybe a policeman that comes along and collars one or more of 'em

eating cake
but there's a scene there where they're sitting, the three of 'em are sitting around the cake, eating it, so the cake is a lost cause...

Process of recall/Conclusion
and uh that's about as much as I remember, I guess that's the...the gist of it.

#3/A-E/II.S

Well it would depend on whether I wanted to focus on ...it, it would depend on the topic of the movie if the topic of the movie was the life of the rich people in China I would do something with the uh the girl and her, er mother, or whatever, whoever those people are and if it were, if the topic of the movie were...uh...the lower classes than I would follow the boys and see what happens to them...I kind of suspect that the topic of the movie was the kids, and since this episode seems to be over, that is they got the cake and they ate it, I'd write about something else that happened to them, I don't know what that would be but y'know another incident...
Well um...See...it's hard to...

**Major characters**
you see a...a very rich family um...

**date/time**
it took place in the thirties or forties um, it seemed that its uh...it's taking place at a bakery um...

**Scene 2b**
the mother was buying...a wealthy family...the mother of a wealthy family was buying a cake for her children and...um...
when looking at what would be about three um...cakes on the window

**Scene 2a**
there was some...uh...homeless children...uh there was three of them lookin’ in

**Scene 2b**
**choosing cake**
and um they chose ...um...the what seemed to be the nicest of the three, wrapped it up um

**Scene 3**
**exiting store**
left the store, um, returned home I guess by car um...there was...

**opening door**
just as they were opening the door or getting in um...one...

**cake**
someone bumped the child holding the uh cake...the cake fell on the ground
and the...the three children were...the homeless children who were looking on the outside came running over

**eating cake**
and started eating it

**beating**
and I guess the uh...either the father or the grandfather came over and uh started beating them

**conclusion**
and uh that's about...I guess that's about as far as I can...go.
Scene 1
Uh, these uh 3 poor people are walking down the street to the bakery

Scene 2a
they're real hungry uh they admire the cakes,

Scene 3
exiting store
they see the rich people come out buying the cake..

opening door
the one pretends to open the door, to distract them,

stealing cake
and then the other two, the smalest child grabs the cake

Scene 4
eating cake
and then they proceed to eat it directly,

Uniformed intervention
and then the cops come.
Observation
Yeah, there was the forty-eight Buick...

Scene 3
stealing cake

Oh! So the three beggars stole the cake from the rich folks,

Scene 4
eating cake
and ate it on the street. A pitiful scene with the frosting on their faces.

#7/A-E/II.S

Summary
Well, actually I think it happened with the cops...come and grab them and...

Sequel
You suppose that there's some propaganda, that kind of scene, ha, being played out. Some kind of righteous cadre or army man is gonna, anyway before liberation you suspect...and then after liberation...

Personal interaction
Well, I'm being too glib, aren't I?
Okay, it's a story about .. uh..

**Scene 1**
first we see the people walking down the street

**Scene 2a**
And we see three people, three male people looking in the window wanting to eat these cakes that are in this window.

**Observation**
There's a small boy and then there's there are two older boys one probably thirteen one maybe about seventeen and they look in the window like they want to eat the cake

**Scene 2b**
then ..uh.. we see a family in the store .. the .. the father enter store
goes in the door, in front of him his wife and his daughter

choosing cake
and the daughter picks out a cake with her mother

buying cake
and the mother buys the cake

**Scene 3**
exit store
and then all three of them go out of the door
and as they're headed for their car the three uh..male.. uh..

opening car door
characters who were staring at the cakes open the car door for them and (y'know) act like they're helping them,

stealing cake
but then they steal the cake,

beating
and the uh father beats up one.. one of them.
Personal interaction
Yeah, yeah I remember, do you were you hoping I forgot? Ha ha. Oh, what we ...what we saw?

Date
We saw a video tape it seemed to me it was probably part of a movie like maybe the thirties or forties

Place
in China and um it was about, it was this scene,

Scene 2a
it had all these people looking into this baked goods shop and there were these kind of young man looking at all these cakes 'n goodies and things and there were really looking like they really wanted some.

Scene 2b

entering store
And then this family went into this store, this...this...husband held the door for his wife and...his little girl and they went in

Choosing cake
and the girl pointed to the cake...

Buying cake
and they bought the cake for her

Scene 3

exiting store
and they left...went out of the store

opening car door
and they were gonna get into their nice big black car, and um...the those little young...the those young men who'd been looking at the cakes I guess one of them opened the door for them.

stealing cake
And then as they were starting to get in, um one of the others kind of pushed them or something so that the cakes like...cake like...fell on the ground or something and um I guess they took it, I guess they stole the cake,

commentary
so it seemed like a, probably a film trying to bring out the differences between social classes or something or something.
Yeah, I'd probably write about those...those little young men, figure out what they did. Did they steal the cake or did they take it to...whether they had a strange looking hide-out with newspapers on the walls..drinking beer or dancing around or...what did they do?
Place
UH...there are...uh
in the middle of the city

Scene 1
There are...uh...three poor people walking down the street

Scene 2a
and they stop in front of...a bakery...

Observation
and it looks like it just has cakes...there are no bread in the window and uh

watching cakes
they look obviously out of hunger at the...at the cakes

Scene 2b
buying cake
and in the inside there's someone, uh, purchasing one of the cakes that they're just
looking at uh, one of the big ones and uh...uh it's a rich woman.

process of recall
I'm not sure if I actually recognized her in the store, but, uh

Scene 3
exiting store
then she comes out with her daughter and her husband

observation
and they ss..stop for a moment uh just as if they've got plenty of time to spare and lots of
money

opening car door
and uh and one of the rich people runs to their car which is at the curb and uh opens the
door

walk to car
and uh the rich people sort of uh saunter on down to their car and as they're about to get
in...

stealing cake
the little child of uh apparently the child of the poor person runs and uh grabs the cake

gathering around cake
and doesn't really ever run very far but just uh, immediately opens it and the other...his
other two companions come
Scene 4/3

eating cake
and uh...and they just begin to wolf down the cake and uh...

beating
they don't care that the rich man is...is beating their backs and uh...

Scene 4

uniformed intervention
but then a... they I think it's a policeman comes and is about to grab them.
Scene 1
Uh...the first shot we're watching, we're on the street watching a...looking at the stores along the...along the street there

Scene 2a
and then we focus in on a store that is selling uh... sort of like a bakery but it seems to be just selling sweets,

watching cakes
and uh there are, as I remember there are two uh...street urchins, outside, uh very poor and scruffy.. looking inside at one of the cakes that's just been baked...and the one they're looking at is a...a big freshly baked cake,

Scene 2b
as they are looking at it a rich woman comes to the window

choosing cake
and points to it and uh buys it and she's inside the store

Scene 3
exiting store
and then when she and her husband and daughter come out of the store,

opening car door
uh...one of the street urchins holds their car door open for them so they can get in

stealing cake
and as they're getting in, another street urchin runs by and takes advantage of the chance to steal their cake

gathering around cake
and she only runs a few steps and then just sort of stops and then they squat in the street and eat the cake,

Scene 4/3
uniformed intervention/beating
and the last scene there are, I believe, one or two people, a policeman and a rich man beating their backs,

eating cake
but they don't seem to mind, they're eating cake.
Okay. Write a scene for the movie? Uh...I guess I would have a, a crowd of people gather around the scene and uh probably establish some sort of uh dichotomy between the uh the police and the rich family, and the uh... and the poor street urchins who are starving and maybe a...a group or a mob of poor people on their side and and then some...a smaller group of rich people, y'know indicating sort of the s...the minority distinction of the rich classes a th...this time and have 'em get into some sort of argument, I think a nd then probably end up with the street urchins in jail..in the next scene after that. And then the plot would get more complicated from there, I imagine.
APPENDIX I
ENGLISH-ONLY NARRATIVES
#5/A-O/I, I

**Process of recall**
Okay from the looks of the picture..uh..

**Characters**
there was a family..um..I can't tell if its a father and two sons or a son and a father and a mother and a daughter and a son and

**Scene 2a**
they were looking in a shop window where they were selling bakery goods

**Scene 3**
exting store
and someone was coming out, a family was coming out

**opening door**
and they opened up the door

**stealing cake**
so they could knock the whatever they got

**eating cake**
so they could eat it

**Observation**
'cause they were hungry and it looked like they were starving and they wanted something.
#5/A-O/I.II

**Personal interaction**
Do I have to tell you the story? I just don't know why they did it were they just not thinking?

**Scene 1**
They were walking along the street,

**Characters**
there was a family this time, there was a mother a father and a son, a small son.

**Scene 2a**
uh..they stopped..and they looked at a shop window, the shop window had all kinds of pastry items..um..as they were looking..

**characters**
a family are.. you see a woman and a daughter richly dressed

**Scene 3**
**exit store**
got out of the..walk out of the door..they go towards a car..

**opening the door**
the father..in the picture..um..moves towards the car and opens the door for her while she and her daughter are in the process of getting into the car,

**stealing cake**
the son takes the package that the little (boy or girl) has which is a pastry items

**gathering around cake**
and the mother runs to the little boy who stops just outside in back of the car and opens up the package

**Scene 4**
**eating cake**
and puts his face into the pastries and starts eatin' it and so does the mother...

**Scene 3**
**beating**
and ...someone comes along..it could have been the driver, or it could have been the father and starts hitting the boy and her (?) mother.

**Scene 4**
**uniformed intervention**
And another official comes and takes the..um.. food item away.
#5/A-O/II.I

**Personal interaction**
N, pretty much so,
I remember some of what, what I said...okay,

**Scene 1**
It was a scene,

date
it looked like it could have been in the thirties or whatever,

place
and I'm not sure where it was, if it were in China or if it could have been in, uh, California, for that matter...it was timeless,

characters
and it was, um, three people I saw,

**Scene 2a**
looking in, looking through a window at..um pastries,

observation
and they looked like they were really really hungry or they were dressed that way that would give you the images that they were hungry.

**Scene 3**
**exiting store**
And someone comes out of the store dressed real richly,

opening car door
and there's a car waiting for them and a chauffeur, not a chauffeur, but a man, and he's getting ready to open the door for the women, that came out that were dressed real richly, and it's a woman and a little girl, and ...they...as the door was..being..opened, ..or..this is where I don't quite remember, are one of the ragged..raggedy people which was the gentleman..or um..or..um it could have been a huge boy..um..opened the door or was by the door and helped the woman in,

stealing cake
and..the shortest of the three people..ran.. by this woman as they were getting in or the little girl, I believe, had a pastry in her hand, and while she..the older woman is getting into the car..uh...the smallest of these three raggedy people runs and takes the pastry from the little girl

gathering around cake
and just goes behind the car and starts eating it..and the other two raggedy people join in.
Scenes 3/4
beating/uniformed intervention
And there's a law or someone that comes and starts beating them.

observation
Which makes you wonder if you're going to steal something why stay there 'cause you should know right then you're going to be.. get caught by... I guess the inference is that they were so hungry they didn't care about the consequences.

#5/A-O/II.S

I would see them being carted off to jail, or else, um the rich people would have, will feel sorry for them and offer them some work or offer some... them some.. wor.. food to continue on this story.
Date
Um... it looked like a nineteen forties, a nineteen fifties movie,

place
probably in... in Communist China, probably...um...

Scene 1
And there were three youngsters, maybe teenagers,
um that were waking by a bakery

Scene 2a
and they saw a cake, um,

Scene 2b
buying cake
and inside there were people buying the cake. There was...looked maybe like a little girl,
a woman and her husband,

Scene 3
stealing cake
and then as they were bringing the cake outside, the little boys grabbed it.

Scene 4
and then took it to the street to eat it

Conclusion
and um that's it.
Date
Again? um, it's in the nineteen forties or nineteen fifties,

Place
um, probably Communist China,
the people seem to be dressed in very Communist style, um.

Scene 1
And there are three young boys
walking, maybe boys, looked mostly like boys...um...very tattered clothing...

Scene 2a
they stop at the window of a bakery

Scene 2b
inside there's a family buying a cake,

Other characters
it looks like a little girl and her mother and father, um they buy the cake

Scene 3
and they walk out the store, and the little boys open the door to the car, um obviously
trying to show some help,

and then as they do that, they steal the cake from the little girl

Scene 4
and then take it into the street and eat it.
#17/A·O/II.1

**Personal interaction**
Yeah, yeah you showed me.

**Film i.d.**
It seemed like an old tape, like a movie or something

**place**
of China.

**date**
Um, that it was very, not very old, I guess, but like 1950’s ‘cause the cars I remember being like that from that era. Um, otherwise I couldn’t have probably told anything except from the automobile, that was what I was thinking when I told that it was older, that was in black and white.

**personal interaction**
Um, do you want me to tell the whole...? Okay.

**Scene 1**
And then there were some young..not small children, but children that were walking down the street.

**Scene 2a**
Obviously not very well off, their clothes were torn and tattered. And they were kind of dirty...and they were walking by a bakery.

**Scene 2b**
**buying cake**
And inside the bakery a rather well-to-do family was in there buying a cake for their little girl.

**Scene 3**
**exiting store**
And...um..as they are walking out the door with the cake for the little girl,

**stealing cake**
the...the boys who must have been hungry...um...stole the cake from the family,

**gathering around cake**
And took it out to the street, immediately opened the box,

**Scene 4**
and started eating it.

**Scene 3**
And then...um..y’know the family’s all upset and everything,
Scene 4

uniformed intervention
and I think a policeman or somebody like that came up to the children and that was the end of the tape.

#17/A-O/II.S

I would probably such that even though the wealthy family was very, very upset about it, what the chil..chil..the children have done, obviously they might see their plight and...um...if it was a party or some kind of big celebration they're having for the daughter's birthday, maybe invite them to that, 'cause I'm sure in China they have, y'know huge amounts of food and that kind of stuff, and have a celebration. And that's what I would probably make...a happy ending. Ha!
comment
Um it looked like ...there was...child abuse...

Scene 3
it looked like um... the man was kicking the child, and it looked like he didn't want to get into the car or something, so the man was kicking him...

Scene 4
eating
and the next I saw were two children or a couple children eating different...they were eating something but I couldn't tell what exactly,

date
but it looks like a film from back in the...early forties.
Personal Interaction
Okay, yes uh...

Scene 2a
they were looking in the bakery window at a cake, and then...uh... it looks like street children

Scene 2b
buying cake
and then the...uh...family with a small daughter bought the cake

Scene 3
stealing cake
and when they went to carry it to the car the younger child grabbed the cake out of their hands

Explanation
and that's why he was getting beaten

Scene 3
and the next thing you saw was that the three that were originally looking in the window had stolen the cake and

Scene 4
was enjoying it.
#18/A-O/II.I

**Personal interaction**
Uh..yes,

**Process of recall**
what do I remember, um,

**Scene 2**
there...there was..aa..birthday cake...and parents,

**Scene 3**
stealing cake
there were some children that ..that tried to steal the birthday cake as the..

**entering car**
I guess the parents and the child were getting into an automobile or something

stealing cake
and the children tried to steal the birthday cake.

**beating**
The father was going after the children or something.

#18/A-O/II.S

What would happen? Hmm.. I guess...I guess the...some..way..to teach these
children....that stealing...isn't...the right..way..to do things, it's it's that they may have
been hungry children but, that stealing is wrong. And that if they need help that there are
places to go for help if they're starving...of their families have... no food in the family
that...that there had to be a reason why these children did what they did.
place
Uh...what I saw was an urban street scene...shot from ...uh ... out...out doors,

Scene 1
uh...the camera followed uh...some individuals down the uh...sidewalk

Scene 2
and...uh...ended up...with a ...bakery as the...ah...object of attention,

Scene 3
exiting store
And what I saw was a group of people, presumably a family, leaving the bakery with a cake or some sort of confection .. uh...leaving the bakery and moving toward a car and

stealing cake
...uh...suddenly some...uh...street uh kid and eventually kids uh...uh...knocked the uh...cake out of the uh little girls hands

Scene 4
and uh started in to uh...eat it.
Personal Interaction
Okay. From the top?

Place
Urban street scene, uh the camera is uh from outside, uh..

Scene 1
it uh...pans down the street uh...from some distance uh...

Scene 2a
until it stops at the uh... bakery which is shown from outside...there are three individuals watching the cake

Scene 2b
choosing cake
being selected uh...inside the shop,

Scene 3
exiting store
uh...as a group of three or four who I would understand to be a family uh...perhaps uh...um leave the bakery to get into their uh... car...

stealing cake
in fact those three individuals who were watching the cake being selected from the outside were the ones who uh... not only ... helped them into the car, ostensibly, but one of these three then knocked the cake out of the hands of the little girl.

Scene 4
beating
And they were then subsequently beaten by some... constabulary sort.
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