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ABSTRACT

Conversations between mothers and children from three different cultural groups were analyzed to determine culturally preferred narrative elicitation patterns. The three groups included Japanese-speaking mother-child pairs living in Japan, Japanese-speaking, mother-child pairs living in the United States, and English-speaking Canadian mother-child pairs. Comparisons of mothers from these groups found that: (1) both Japanese-speaking groups provided less evaluation of their children's discourse than the English-speaking group; (2) both Japanese-speaking groups gave more verbal acknowledgement than did the English-speaking group; and (3) Japanese mothers in the United States requested more description from their children than Japanese mothers living in Japan. At 5 years of age, Japanese-speaking children, whether living in the United States or Japan, produced about 1.2 utterances per turn, whereas English-speaking children produced about 2.1 utterances per turn. Thus, whereas English-speaking mothers allow their children to take long monological turns, and even encourage this behavior, Japanese mothers simultaneously pay considerable attention to their children's narratives and facilitate frequent exchanges. Implications of these findings are further considered in the light of improving cross-cultural understanding. (MDM)

Long Conversational Turns or Frequent Turn Exchanges:
Cross-cultural Comparison of Parental Narrative Elicitation

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Running Head:

LONG CONVERSATIONAL TURNS OR FREQUENT TURN EXCHANGES

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Abstract

Children from different cultures develop differently according to the models that the adults around them endorse. In divergent cultural settings, we can observe dissimilarities in parental expectations and their resultant differing communicative styles (Heath, 1983). Conversations between mothers and children from three different groups are being analyzed to determine culturally preferred narrative elicitation patterns: (1) Japanese-speaking mother-child pairs living in Japan, (2) Japanese-speaking mother-child pairs living in the United States, and (3) English-speaking Canadian mother-child pairs. Comparisons of mothers from these three groups yield the following salient contrasts: (1) In comparison to English-speaking mothers, mothers of both Japanese groups give proportionately less evaluation. (2) Both in terms of frequency and proportion, mothers of both Japanese groups give more verbal acknowledgment than do English-speaking mothers. (3) However, Japanese mothers in the U.S. request proportionately more description from their children than do Japanese mothers in Japan. In addition, at five years, Japanese-speaking children, whether living in Japan or the U.S., produce roughly 1.2 utterances per turn on average, whereas English-speaking children produce about 2.1 utterances per turn, a significant difference. Thus, whereas English-speaking mothers allow their children to take long monologic turns, and even encourage this by asking their children many descriptive questions, Japanese mothers simultaneously pay considerable attention to their children's narratives and facilitate frequent turn exchanges. This comparison demonstrates how, as primary agents of their culture, Japanese mothers, while slightly influenced by Western culture, induct their children into a communicative style that is reflective of their native culture. Implications of these findings are further considered in the light of improving cross-cultural understanding.

Long Conversational Turns or Frequent Turn Exchanges: Cross-cultural Comparison of Parental Narrative Elicitation

Children from different cultures develop differently according to the models that the adults around them endorse. In divergent cultural settings, we can observe dissimilarities in parental expectations and their resultant differing communicative styles (Heath, 1983). Parent-child narrative discourse interactions provide good examples of such cross-cultural differences. Conversation between parents, particularly mothers, and their young children forms the context in which narrative discourse abilities emerge (Snow & Goldfield, 1981) and vary across cultures (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Through conversational interactions, parents transmit culture-specific representational forms and rules to their children (Bruner, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978).

While cross-cultural comparisons of narrative have already been made, most of this research addresses cultural differences in the United States. Furthermore, data from languages other than English are limited; we know next to nothing about how narrative styles are acquired in other countries and other languages. Thus, to address this lack of data, I have explored how Japanese mothers guide their children in the acquisition of culture-specific styles of narrative discourse.

Purpose of the Present Study

The general purpose of the present study is to describe several aspects of Japanese narrative, as it is used by mothers and their young children. Japanese mothers guide their children in the acquisition of a narrative discourse style in culturally specific ways. Examining Japanese mothers' narrative elicitation style thus offers important insights into the cultural basis for language/discourse acquisition.

In light of this paradigm, furthermore, comparing Japanese mothers and English-speaking mothers is interesting in many respects. I do this by introducing contrastive narrative discourse analysis. Using the coding scheme that I will explain later, I compare

the parental styles of narrative elicitation of the two languages, English and Japanese. In other words, I believe that contrastive narrative discourse analysis clearly identifies discourse style differences between Japanese mother-child pairs and English-speaking mother-child pairs.

Age Considerations

For the purpose of this study, young preschool children aged five were selected. The reason that I focused on five-year-olds is due to age constraints that emerge from analysis of the development of children's narratives. Children begin telling personal narratives from the age of two (Sachs, 1979), but in any culture these early productions are quite short through the age of three and a half years (McCabe & Peterson, 1991). Three-year-olds' narratives are often simple two-event narratives; four-year-olds' narratives are much more diverse, and five-year-olds tell lengthy, well-sequenced stories that end a little prematurely at the climax (McCabe & Peterson, 1990; Peterson & McCabe, 1983). In other words, preschool age represents the period of extremely rapid development in the child's acquisition of narrative.

Methods

Subjects

Conversations between mothers and children from three different groups were analyzed to study culturally preferred narrative patterns: (1) 10 five-year-old middle-class Japanese children (5 boys and 5 girls, M= 5;3 years) and their mothers living in Japan (none of these mother-child pairs had experienced living overseas at the time of interview); (2) 8 five-year-old middle-class Japanese children (4 boys and 4 girls; M= 5;3 years) and their mothers living in the United States; and (3) 8 five-year-old English-speaking middle-class Canadian children (4 boys and 4 girls, M= 5;3 years) and their mothers. Mothers were asked to tape-record at home conversations with their children

about past experiences. That is, following the method McCabe and Peterson (1990) used in their studies, mothers were expected to ask their children to relate "stories about personal experiences that have happened in the past" (p. 5). While talk about past experiences was woven in with talk about the present and other non-narrative talk, I focused on talk about past experiences. Further, some mother-child pairs talked about more events than others. To establish a comparable data base, however, I decided to analyze only the initial three narrative productions by each mother-child pair.

Use of "huun" as a global linguistic/discursive device in Japanese

When we closely examine Japanese mother-child interactions, we find that as one of the global linguistic/discursive devices, many Japanese mothers use huun ("well"). Extending a topic narrative discourse requires interest on the part of both partners. When a child talks about a particular incident, if the mother says, "huun, sorekara" (Well, then) or more extensively "huun, sorekara do si-ta no?" (Well, and then what did you do?) the mother's use of "well" indicates that she wants the child to extend the topic. If the mother says to the child "huun" (Well), and the child then continues his or her story, on the other hand, it can be interpreted that the mother simply acknowledges what the child has said. Furthermore, if the mother says, "huun, hoka ni nani si-ta no kyo yotien de?" (Well, what else did you do in preschool today?) the use of huun more likely signals that the mother wants to switch topics.

In Japanese adult discourse, huun has been noted as serving a prefacing function (Maynard, 1989; Yamada, 1992). The Japanese mother-child interaction, however, reveals that the use of huun has a more complicated function than has originally been discussed.

Example 1 below is from Ayaka, a 5-year, 3-month-old Japanese girl living in Japan, and her mother's interaction. This example illustrates that the mother uses "huun" in two ways. Ayaka and her mother are talking about what happened at a Buddhist service for her late grandfather. The first huun comes right before the mother's topic

extension statement. Ayaka's mother pushes her to elaborate on the same topic further. The second huun, on the other hand, comes right before the topic-switch; this time, Ayaka's mother changes the topic of her narrative tellings.

Example 1	Ayaka and her mother's interaction
CHI:	otya gasi mitai na yatu tabe-ta.
MOT:	honto.
	huun. [topic-extension]
	sorekara?
CHI:	u:n.
MOT:	banana mo tabe-ta n?
CHI:	un.
MOT:	ne.
CHI:	un tabe-ta.
MOT:	oisik a-tta?
CHI:	un.
MOT:	**huun. [topic-switch]**
	kyo wa nani s i te asob(n) de-ta n?

Translation

CHI:	(I) ate something like a tea cake.
MOT:	Really.
	Well. **[topic-extension]**
	Then?
CHI:	Um.
MOT:	Did (you) eat a banana, too?
CHI:	Yeah.

MOT: You see.

CHI: Yeah, (I) did eat (it).

MOT: Did (it) taste good?

CHI: Yeah.

MOT: Well. **[topic-switch]**

Today, what were (you) playing?

Example 2 includes a different use of huun. This example is from Teru, a 5-year, 1-month-old Japanese boy and his mother living in the United States. Teru's mother uses huun not only as the "topic-switch" function but also as simple acknowledgment.

Example 2 Teru and her mother's interaction

CHI: boku wa **ne**

zu:to **ne**

block atarasi i block de **ne**

zu:to hikoki **ne**

ano **ne**

hikoki toka kuruma toka **ne**

tukur te asob(n) de-ta.

MOT: huun. **[simple acknowledgment]**

CHI: ano zu:to otonasiku asob(n) de ru no boku wa.

MOT: honto?

CHI: Yuri tyan to Aki kun to boku.

MOT: huun. **[topic-switch]**

obento kino wa takusan nokosi te ki-ta kedo.

kyo wa kirei ni tabe-ta ne.

CHI: un.

MOT: o:ku na ka-tta no?

CHI: un.

Translation

CHI: I was, you know,
always, you know,
using blocks, new blocks, you know,
always making an airplane, you know,
an airplane and a car, you know
playing with making (them).

MOT: Well. **[simple acknowledgment]**

CHI: Um, I am always playing quietly.

MOT: Really?

CHI: Yuri and Aki and I.

MOT: Well. **[topic-switch]**
Speaking of the lunch yesterday, (you) left a lot.
But today (you) ate everything, you know.

CHI: Yeah.

MOT: Wasn't it too much?

CHI: No.

Thus, there are three different uses of huun: (1) prefacing of active topic-extension, (2) simple verbal acknowledgment, and (3) prefacing of topic-switch.

Contrastive Narrative Discourse Analysis

To support generalization about the culture-specific nature of caregivers' practices, I now turn to the comparison of the results of Japanese samples with the results of a similar study of North American parent-child interactions (McCabe & Peterson, 1991; Peterson & McCabe, 1992).

In Example 3 below, Yuka, a 5-year, 6-month-old Japanese girl living in Japan, talks about her experience when she participated in overnight schooling in preschool (which is a common practice in Japanese preschools to socialize children as members of a

certain group). Example 4, in contrast, shows a dialogue between a 5-year, 6-month-old Canadian boy, Paul and his mother. These two examples illustrate distinctive features.

Example 3 Yuka and her mother's interaction

MOT: campfire tte don na no?

CHI: ano **ne**

(MOT: **un**)

CHI: ma:ru k u **ne**

(MOT: **un**)

CHI: suwar te **ne.**

(MOT: **un**)

CHI: ano **ne**

(MOT: **un**)

CHI: ano **ne**

(MOT: **un**)

CHI: "mo:er o yo" **ne**

(MOT: **un**)

CHI: no **ne**

uta toka **ne**

(MOT: **un**)

CHI: "ooki na uta da yo" toka **ne**

(MOT: **un**)

CHI: "i:tu made mo tae ru koto na ku:" no **ne**

(MOT: **un**)

CHI: o#uta toka.

MOT: uta (t)ta no?

CHI: un.

Translation

MOT: What is the campfire like?

CHI: Um, you know,

(MOT: uh huh)

CHI: in a circle, you know,

(MOT: uh huh)

CHI: (we) sat, you know,

(MOT: uh huh)

CHI: Um, you know,

(MOT: uh huh)

CHI: um, you know,

(MOT: uh huh)

CHI: "burn," you know,

(MOT: uh huh)

CHI: that, you know,

song, you know,

(MOT: uh huh)

CHI: "(This) is a big song," you know

(MOT: uh huh)

CHI: "Forever, without an end," you know,

(MOT: uh huh)

CHI: those songs

MOT: (You) sang?

CHI: Yeah.

Example 4 Paul and his mother's interaction

MOT: Paul, could you tell me about your trip to the dentist last night?

CHI: Okay.

MOT: And what happened there?

CHI: All right, sure.

I'll tell you what happened at the dentist.

I got a new toothbrush,

when it was finished.

And I had my teeth counted.

And I was and and was very happy to know that I had, ah, the teeth on the on the bottom.

so I really liked, I really liked the ah dentist trip.

The comparison of these two examples shows Japanese children's utterances over turns are much shorter than those of English-speaking children. Yuka's utterances are produced in smaller units than traditional grammatical units, such as a sentence or a clause. Segmented by sentence- or clause-final particles as well as intrasentential ones (such as ma:ru k u **ne** (in a circle, you know) and uta toka **ne** (song, you know)), these smaller parts serves as units in Japanese discourse. In other words, Japanese children constantly use ne at the boundary of a discourse unit, such as a sentence or a phrase boundary.

Moreover, by uttering ne, the speaker--the child in this case--often waits for the hearer's brief vocalization of acknowledgment like un ("uh huh"). As Example 3 illustrates, the mother uses back-channels to construct mutually shared frameworks. In other words, the hearer's back-channels effectively signal that she--the mother in this case--shares the ground on which the speaker--the child in this case--is standing (Maynard, 1989). Overall, therefore, this example shows a narrator's uses of this

Japanese attention-getting device ne ("you know") in conjunction with displays of attention from listeners, un ("uh huh"). In other words, this example illustrates how co-construction takes place; the Japanese mother in this example speaks few words and few utterances per turn and, instead, often simply shows attention, which, in fact, serves to divide her child's utterances into small units. Also, at the end of the conversation, Yuka's mother continued the words that Yuka was to say, as if filling in the blanks ("You sang?").

On the other hand, Paul expands upon a topic of conversation--what happened at the dentist (actions) and how he felt (evaluations); he talks on and on and on. More important, Paul's mother allows him to do so.

Coding

Audio-tapes were transcribed verbatim for coding in the format required for analysis using the Child Language Data Exchange System (MacWhinney & Snow, 1985, 1990). Speech was broken into utterances, and transcripts of all parents' speech were scored according to Dickinson's (1991) system, which was previously used to analyze how speech acts are mapped onto dialogic narrative discourse in English (Dickinson, 1991; McCabe & Peterson, 1991). By using Dickinson's coding scheme as a basis for their own analysis, Minami and McCabe (1991, 1993) have devised appropriate coding rules that are also applicable cross-linguistically, particularly to Japanese data (Figure 1).

Insert Figure 1 about here.

The following are coding rules for parental speech; according to these coding rules, transcripts of all parents' speech were scored. Parental speech patterns were basically divided into three types: (I) topic-initiation (or topic-switch), (II) topic-extension, and (III) other conversational strategies, namely, statements showing attention. Detailed guidelines for these categorizations are explained below:

(I) Topic-Initiation (Switching)

1. Open-ended questions initiating a new topic (e.g., "kyoo yotien de nani si-ta no?": "What did you do in kindergarten today?").
2. Closed-ended questions initiating a new topic (e.g., "suuzi awase yar-ta?": "Did you play matching numbers?").
3. Statements initiating a new topic (e.g., "kono mae Disneyland e i-tta de syo.": "The other day we went to Disneyland.").

(II) Topic-Extension

4. Open-ended questions extending topics (e.g., "nani ga iti ban suk i da-tta?": "What did you like best?").
5. Closed-ended questions extending topics (e.g., "tanosi ka-tta?": "Did you enjoy it?").
6. Statements extending a topic (e.g., "nani ka i tte-ta de syo.": "You were saying something.").
7. Clarifying questions (e.g., "nani?": "what?").
8. Clarifying questions that were partial echoes (e.g., "dare ga tyu: si te kure-ta n?": "Who gave you smacks?" after the child said, "tyu: tyu: tyu tte yar te.": "Smack, smack, smacked me.").
9. Echoes (e.g., "sir a na ka-tta no.": "You didn't know" after the child said, "sir a na ka-tta.": "I didn't know.").

(III) Other Conversational Strategies

10. Statements showing attention, such as brief acknowledgment (e.g., "un.": "Yeah.") and prefacing utterances (e.g., "huun ": "Well.").

Speech patterns that are categorized into topic-extension are further categorized into:

A. Descriptive statements (which describe a scene, a condition, or a state)

"ato Momotaro no hon mo ar-ta de syo.": "Besides there was a book about the Peach Boy."

"denki ga tui te-ta ne.": "There were electric lights, you know."

"zibun de unten su ru kuruma?: "Is it a car that you drive on your own?"

B. Statements about actions (which, accompanied by an action verb, describe a specific action)

"zyanken de saisyo kime-ta.": "We tossed first by scissors, paper, and rock."

"banana mo tabe-ta n.": "You also ate a banana."

"umi ni i tte-ta n?": "Did you go to the sea?"

"Yuki tyan ga ara-tta n.": "Yuki washed."

"nan te kai-ta no Yukari tyan wa typewriter de?": "what did you write with the typewriter?"

C. Mother's evaluative comments

"sore ii ne.": "That's good, you know."

"Aki tyan tisa ka-tta mon ne.": "Because you were small, Aki, you know."

"uso.": "That's not true."

D. Mother's request for child's evaluative comments

"sore do: omo u?": "What do you think about it?"

"u tyan no doko ga kawai i no?": "What do you think makes the bunny cute?"

"oisi k a-tta n?": "Did it taste good?"

Once all the transcripts were coded, a series of Computerized Language Analysis (CLAN) programs were employed to analyze them, such as frequencies of different parental speech patterns and the ratio of utterances over turns.

Results

First, frequencies, which represent the impact that great talkativeness might have on children's narration (e.g., McCabe & Peterson, 1991; Reese, Haden, & Fivush, 1992), were analyzed. In addition, proportions were used because they correct for differences in length and allows us to see differing relative emphasis on components of narration. To test for the effect of group and gender, multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) were conducted for the major coding categories: maternal requests for the child's descriptions, actions, and evaluations, maternal evaluations, statements showing attention, and initiation (see Table 1).

Insert Table 1 about here.

With regard to frequencies, there was a multivariate effect of group, Wilks' Lambda = .18, approximate F (12, 30) = 3.39, $p < .01$. Univariate ANOVAs were run for each of the dependent variables. This effect was largely attributable to a significant univariate effect on maternal statements showing attention, F (2, 20) = 4.29, $p < .05$, and a marginal univariate effect on evaluations by mother herself, F (2, 20) = 2.98, $p < .08$. The results were further analyzed in Bonferroni Post Hoc tests, which revealed that mothers of both Japanese groups gave more verbal acknowledgment (i.e., statements showing attention) than did English-speaking mothers (see Figure 2)

Insert Figure 2 about here.

In terms of proportions, there was a significant multivariate effect of group, Wilks' lambda = .24, approximate F (10, 32) = 3.36, $p < .01$. Univariate ANOVAs were run for each of the dependent variables. The effect of group was largely attributable to significant effects on maternal requests for descriptions, F (2, 20) = 3.82, $p < .05$,

maternal evaluations, $F(2, 20) = 9.13$, $p < .01$, and statements showing attention, $F(2, 20) = 6.32$, $p < .01$. The results were further analyzed in Bonferroni Post Hoc tests, which revealed the following: (1) In comparison to English-speaking mothers, mothers of both Japanese groups gave proportionately less evaluation (see Figure 3). (2) Mothers of both Japanese groups gave proportionately more verbal acknowledgment (i.e., statements showing attention) than did English-speaking mothers (see Figure 4). (3) However, Japanese mothers living in the United States requested proportionately more description from their children than did Japanese mothers living in Japan. Moreover, there was no statistically significant difference observed between Japanese mothers living in the United States and English-speaking mothers (see Figure 5).

Insert Figure 3 about here.

Insert Figure 4 about here.

Insert Figure 5 about here.

Child's length of turns

Utterances over turns (UOT) can be defined as the number of utterances produced by a speaker per turn. In addition to the frequencies of the coded behaviors, the "child's utterances over turns" was examined. In order to resolve issues of equivalence between the two languages (Japanese and English), the propositional unit was used for transcribing the data. For example, arui te arui te ("(I) walked and walked") is simple repetition/emphasis of one particular action and thus one proposition, while te de torte ake-ta ("(I) grabbed (it) by hand and opened (it)") consists of two separate actions and is

thus considered two propositions. In other words, the definition of "utterance" in this study is based on the information unit. By doing so, the same phenomena observed in two different language groups were equated.

As Tables 2a, 2b, and 2c and Figure 6 illustrate, around the age of 5 years, although males' utterances (2.33) are slightly longer than females' (1.90), English-speaking children roughly produced 2.11 utterances per turn on the average. On the other hand, Japanese children living in Japan and the United States produced 1.19 and 1.24 utterances, respectively. Thus, Japanese-speaking children, whether living in Japan or the United States, produced about 1.22 utterances on the average.

A 3 x 2 (group x gender) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed on the variable, UOT (i.e. utterances over turns). This ANOVA yielded a significant main effect of group, $F(2, 20) = 7.76$, $p < .01$. The ANOVA results were further analyzed in Bonferroni Post Hoc tests, which revealed that Japanese children, whether living in Japan or the United States, produced fewer utterances per turn than did English-speaking children.

Insert Tables 2a, 2b, and 2c about here.

Insert Figure 6 about here.

Discussion

This study demonstrates that parental narrative elicitation styles reflect culture-specific expectations about social interaction. While English-speaking mothers allow their children to take long monologic turns, and even encourage this by asking their children many descriptive questions, Japanese mothers, whether living in Japan or the

United States, simultaneously pay considerable attention to their children's narratives and facilitate frequent turn exchanges.

It has been emphasized that parents in Western societies, particularly in North America, encourage their child's independence and individual expression of choice. It seems, then, that North American parents emphasize mastery of verbal skills in order to emphasize these aspects. In contrast, the fewer evaluative comments of Japanese mothers reflect Japanese socialization practices, which de-emphasize verbal praise in favor of a more implicit valuation (Doi, 1971; Lebra, 1986). Whether living in Japan or the United States, Japanese mothers use frequent brief vocalization of acknowledgment. From early childhood on, therefore, children are accustomed to these culturally valued narrative discourse skills through interactions with their mothers.

However, this study has also presented a more complicated picture than was originally expected. Recall that Japanese mothers living in the United States requested proportionately more description from their children than did Japanese mothers in Japan. Also, recall that Japanese mothers use huun ("well") as a global linguistic/discursive device. In reality, compared to Japanese mothers living in Japan, Japanese mothers in the United States, right after uttering huun, were more likely to give their children descriptive prompts, such as:

huun. ano sensei nan te name daro?: Well. What is that teacher's name? (Satoshi's mother)

huun. nihon ni na i yatu ka na?: Well. Are they the things that we cannot find in Japan? (Teru's mother)

It is certainly true that, after uttering huun ("well"), Japanese mothers living in the United States provided their children with other prompts as well, such as maternal request for evaluative comments and action statement. Thus, huun followed by a descriptive

prompt is not a sole factor contributing to the differentiation between the two groups of Japanese mothers. However, it now seems clear that huun indicates a certain mental transition; while uttering huun, the mother decides whether to continue the current topic or terminate it and introduce a new one. It seems, therefore, that the more the mother utters huun as prefacing of topic-extension, the further the child develops the topic.[1]

Japanese mothers, while slightly influenced by Western culture, induct their children into a communicative style that is reflective of their native culture. This finding is critical, particularly as educational settings in the United States become increasingly multicultural and teachers often have difficulty understanding children from different cultural backgrounds. I hope that this study will provide the basis to break through cultural stereotypes and improve cross-cultural understanding.

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1. A MANOVA with three dependent variables, (1) active topic-extension, (2) simple verbal acknowledgment, and (3) topic-ending and then topic-switch, revealed a main effect for group with Wilks' Lambda = .47, approximate $F(3, 12) = 4.467$, $p < .05$. Univariate ANOVAs, which were run for each of the dependent variables, revealed that this effect was largely attributable to a significant univariate effect on active topic-extension, $F(1, 14) = 5.26$, $p < .05$.

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Table 1. Mean frequencies and percentages of mothers' prompts to children about past events

	Japanese Mothers in Japan M	Japanese Mothers in U.S. M	English-speaking Mothers M	F[a] values for main effect of GROUP
Requests for descriptions				
Frequencies	15.00	14.00	17.63	0.25
Percentages	14.72%	20.81%	18.90%	3.82*
Requests for actions				
Frequencies	23.50	15.50	17.88	0.95
Percentages	24.30%	22.68%	19.84%	0.37
Requests for evaluations				
Frequencies	16.50	8.75	21.38	2.04
Percentages	17.18%	14.24%	21.44%	1.40
Evaluations by mother herself				
Frequencies	15.40	7.75	28.25	2.98
Percentages	14.69%	8.85%	28.01%	9.13**
Statements showing attention				
Frequencies	27.10	17.50	7.50	4.29*
Percentages	26.18%	28.31%	8.46%	6.32**
Initiation				
Frequencies	2.80	2.75	2.38	0.65
Percentages	2.93%	5.11%	3.35%	2.71

*p < 0.05
**p < 0.01

[a] Degrees of freedom = 2, 20

Table 2a. Child's Ratio of Utterances Over Turns: English-speaking Group

English-speaking Male				English-speaking Female			
Child's Name Gender		UOT		Child's Name Gender		UOT	
Carl		3.857		Cara		1.581	
Gary		1.929		Harriet		1.274	
Ned		1.550		Kelly		1.619	
Paul		1.968		Leah		3.136	
	M	2.326	(SD 1.038)		M	1.903	(SD .837)

Table 2b. Child's Ratio of Utterances Over Turns: Japanese children in Japan

Japanese Male				Japanese Female			
Child's Name Gender		UOT		Child's Name Gender		UOT	
Akio		1.203		Ayaka		1.019	
Taka		1.102		Miki		1.197	
Takato		1.027		Minori		1.786	
Tomo		1.219		Sachi		1.157	
Waka		1.078		Yuka		1.135	
	M	1.126	(SD .083)		M	1.259	(SD .302)

Table 2c. Child's Ratio of Utterances Over Turns: Japanese children in U.S.

Boston Japanese Male				Boston Japanese Female			
Child's Name Gender		UOT		Child's Name Gender		UOT	
Kotaro		1.433		Aya		1.192	
Satoshi		1.294		Mari		1.176	
Shintaro		1.147		Nori		1.283	
Teru		1.162		Yukari		1.258	
	M	1.259	(SD .133)		M	1.227	(SD .051)

Figure Captions

Figure 1. Coding System.

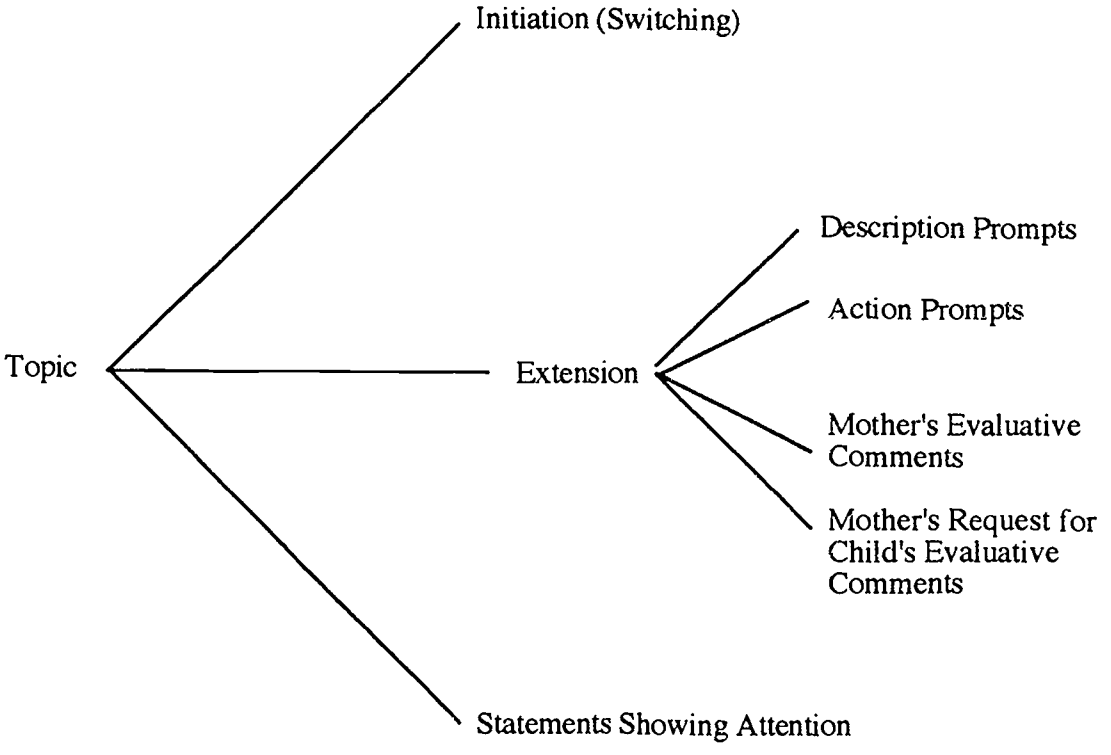

Initiation (Switching)
Topic
Extension
Description Prompts
Action Prompts
Mother's Evaluative Comments
Mother's Request for Child's Evaluative Comments
Statements Showing Attention

Figure 2. Maternal Statements Showing Attention (Frequency)

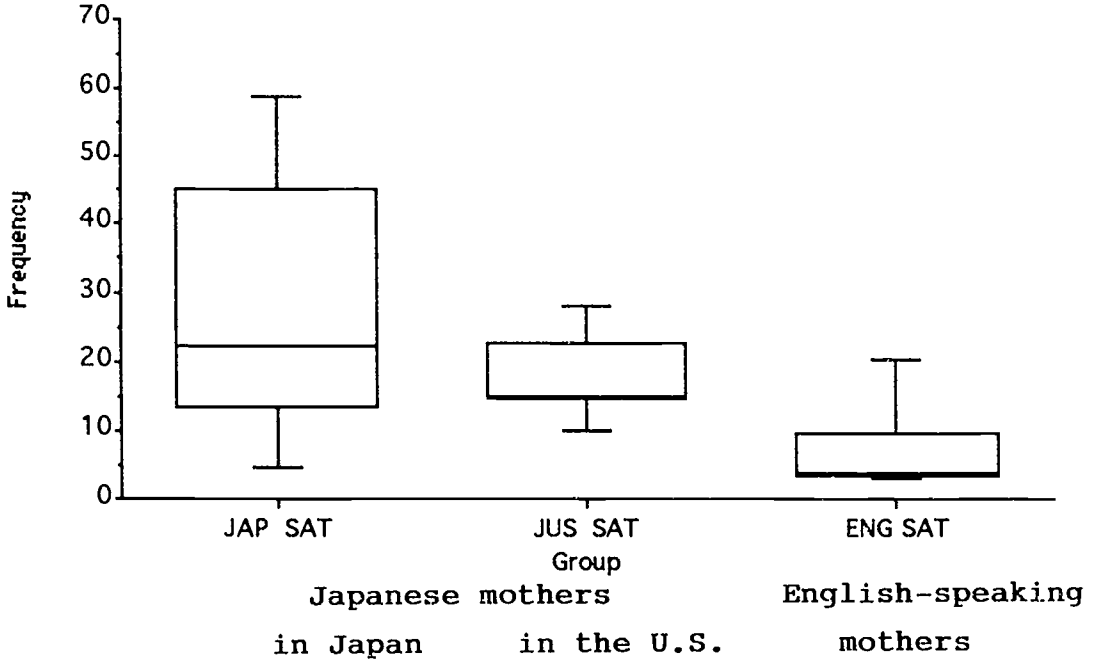

70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Frequency
JAP SAT
JUS SAT
ENG SAT
Group
Japanese mothers in Japan
mothers in the U.S.
English-speaking mothers

Figure 3. Mother's Evaluative Comments (Percentage)

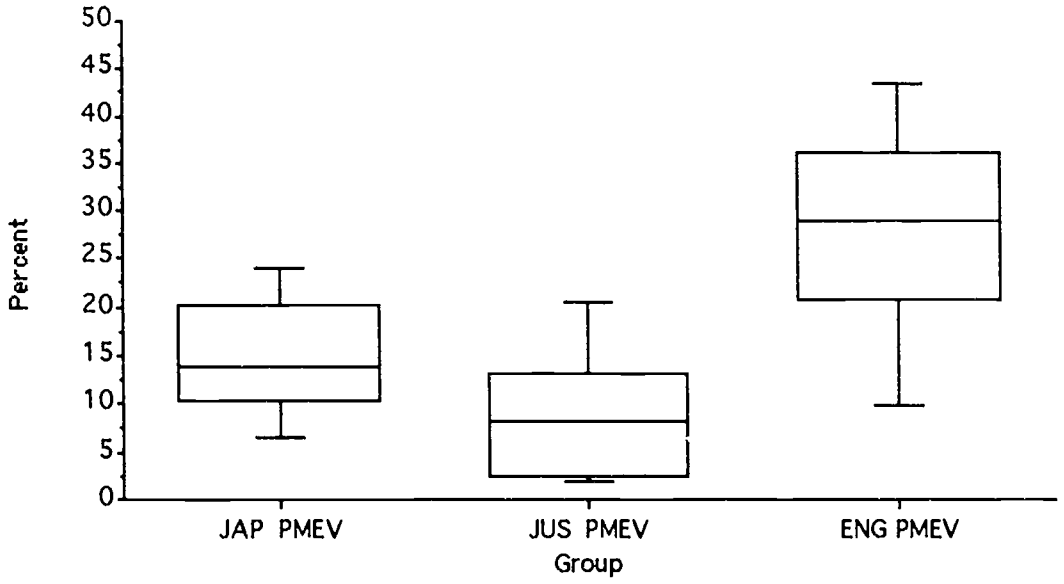

50
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
0
Percent
JAP PMEV
JUS PMEV
ENG PMEV
Group
Japanese mothers in Japan
Japanese mothers in the U.S.
English-speaking mothers

Figure 4. Maternal Statements Showing Attention (Percentage)

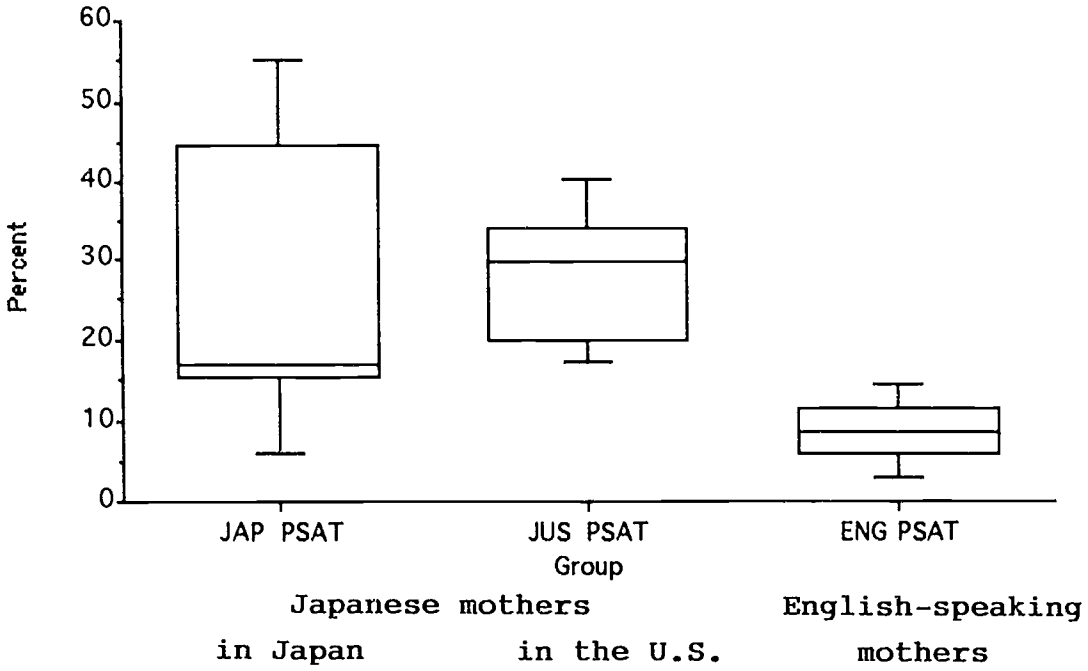

60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Percent
JAP PSAT
JUS PSAT
ENG PSAT
Group
Japanese mothers in Japan
Japanese mothers in the U.S.
English-speaking mothers

Figure 5. Maternal Requests for Descriptions (Percentage)

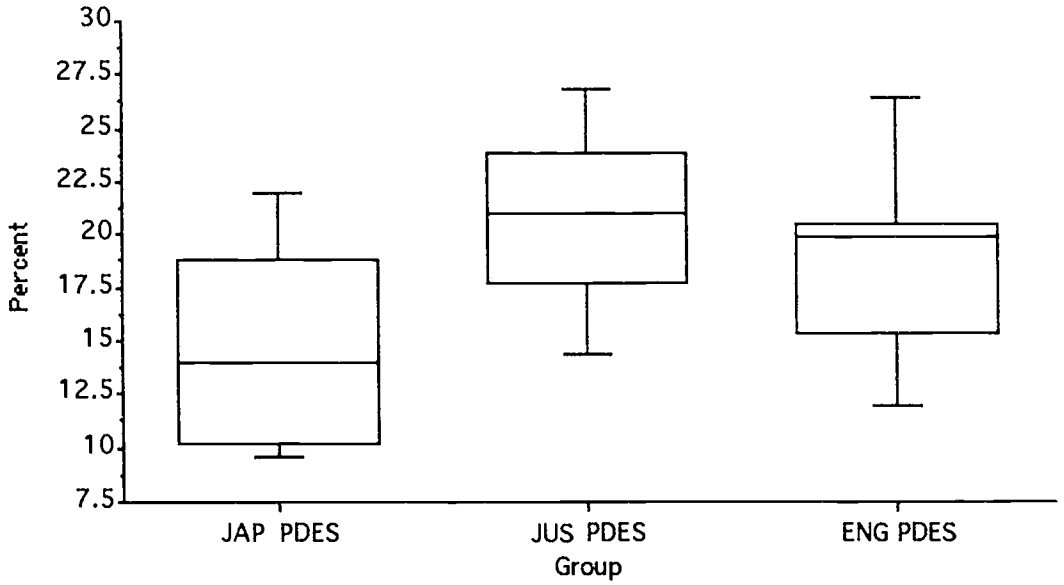
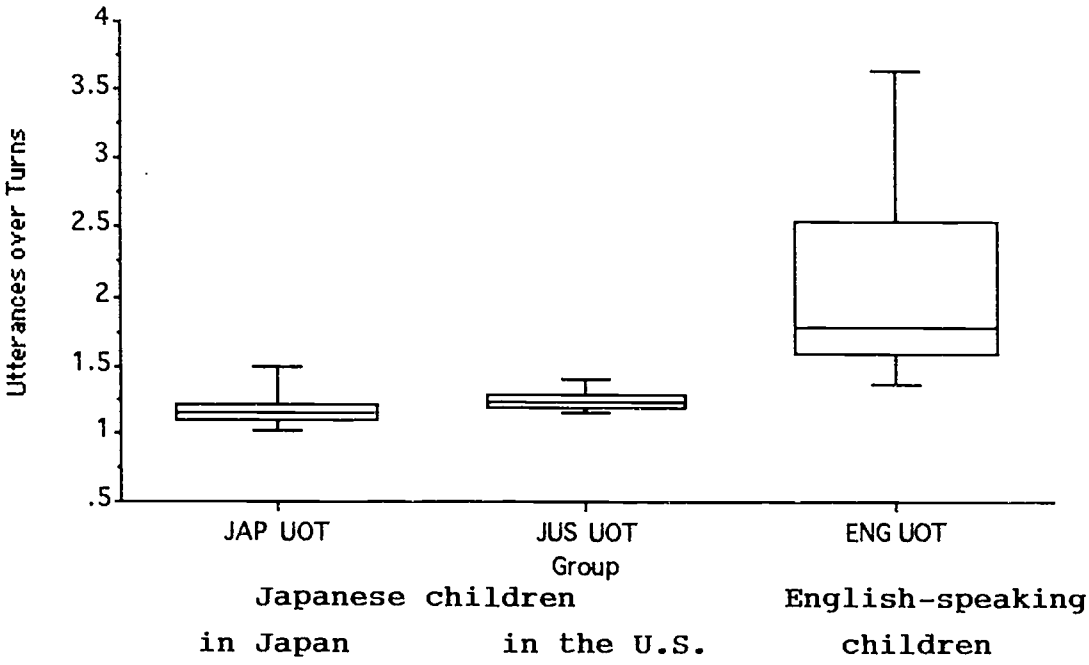

30
27.5
25
22.5
20
17.5
15
12.5
10
7.5
Percent
JAP PDES
JUS PDES
ENG PDES
Group
Japanese mothers in Japan
Japanese mothers in the U.S.
English-speaking mothers

Figure 6. Child's Ratio of Utterances over Turns


Utterances over Turns
4
3.5
3
2.5
2
1.5
1
.5
JAP UOT
JUS UOT
ENG UOT
Group
Japanese children in Japan
Japanese children in the U.S.
English-speaking children