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# Narrative and Gender:

Similarities and differences in written narratives  
produced from same- and opposite-gender  
perspective in Modern Greek

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# Abstract

Narrative and gender are both notions closely connected to culture and society. Narrative, on the one hand, is not just the art of telling stories, it carries deeper meanings, evokes feelings, and even affects our actions and interactions with one another. Gender, on the other hand, and specifically social gender, is defined as the gender identity that a person has shaped through his or her interaction with society. In other words, the society and culture we grow up into forms our identity, our beliefs, and the way we see others and the world in general. The thesis focuses on how Greek society and culture influence the discourse of narrative texts produced by male and female participants (L1: Modern Greek), especially in terms of gender roles and the genders' representation in the narratives. In order to research how one's gender influences the way they narrate the exact same picture-story, attribute features and characteristics to the protagonists and structure their narratives, a two-task experiment was conducted. The participants (N=48) performed two tasks (one from the perspective of the protagonist with the same gender as theirs and one from the perspective of the protagonist of the opposite gender to theirs) based on the plot given by a picture-story. The analysis revealed that narrators' own gender does not necessarily affect their narrative texts, but the stereotypical representations of genders in Greek society influenced the construction of the male and female protagonists in the narratives. However, similarities and differences between male and female participants' narratives were detected in terms of content, structure, length, time spent on the tasks and quality of the final texts. Finally, the results showed that the majority of the participants changed their discourse according to the gender perspective they were assigned, revealing that the female participants' texts in the opposite-gender task were similar in terms of discourse to those produced in the same-gender task by the male participants and vice versa. The influence of previous knowledge and experiences, the culture and the society are certainly visible in the way men and women produce and construct their narratives.

**Key words:** discourse analysis, gender representation, males, females, Greek language, Greek society, narrative text, picture-story, stereotypes, story-grammars, storytelling.

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## Abbreviations and codes

EN English

GR Greek

N Number

RQ Research question

SD Standard deviation

P. 1NN Male participants Group A (e.g., 101, 102, 103 etc.)

P. 2NN Female participants Group B (e.g., 201, 202 203 etc.)

P. 3NN Male participants Group C (e.g., 301, 302 303 etc.)

P. 4NN Female participants Group D (e.g., 401, 402, 403 etc.)

# Chapter 1 Introduction

It is an undoubtable fact that stories are part of people's life from a very early stage. We listen to stories, we create them, we share them with others, and "we know how to tailor our stories quite effortless to further our own ends [...] and know when others are doing the same" (Brunner 2002: 3). But how are those stories influenced by who we are? How will a person's culture, religion and gender influence the content and language of his or her narrative? And how easily can one adjust to the perspective of the opposite gender protagonist in a story? How are those protagonists described?

As children, we hear bed-time stories and we get to imagine different worlds based on what we have heard. Soon enough, with the help of our imagination we make our own stories, we become story-tellers, and the content of those stories can be whatever we choose it to be; "our lives with stories start early and go on ceaselessly" (Brunner 2002: 3). However, as we grow older, our stories and their content start to change, it is not just our imagination that motivates them, we rely more on reality and facts. As Brunner (2010: 46) expresses it: "[e]ven when a story is intended only as a fable, it is always located in a cultural setting, however 'imagined' it may be". Therefore, it is more where we live, how the environment – natural and cultural – looks like around us, who we are and what we feel that influences our stories.

In other words, it is one's identity – as it has been formed throughout the years inside the society – that is depicted in their narratives. The view one has of the world around them and themselves, their ideas and beliefs, their gender and race are all elements that make the stories theirs (Lawler 2015: 23). Although identity can be viewed with different lenses by different disciplines, most scholars (see Ahmed 1998, Butler 1993) will agree that one of the main components of a person's identity is his or her gender – i.e., if the person identifies themselves as male or female. And it is exactly this distinction between *his* and *her* story that is of interest in this study. Narratives are well-explored in the literature (see Abbott 2002, Bal 1997, Barthes 1975, Bronwen 2016, Bruner 2004, Labov & Waletzky 1967 etc.), but there is to my knowledge no research that describes how a person's own gender influences his/her stories in terms of content and language.



## 1.1 Aim of the study

This study aims to investigate whether and how one's gender<sup>1</sup> influences the way they narrate the exact same picture-story, attribute features and characteristics to the protagonists and structure their narrative. More specifically, the main purpose of this study is to investigate the connection between narratives' production and the narrator's own gender by identifying similarities and/or differences in written narratives produced by male and female participants in Modern Greek language. The narrative texts along with the participants' writing processes are investigated, in an attempt to shed light on this connection, with the opportunity to pave the way to future studies in the field of language and gender regarding Greek language and society.

## 1.2 Research questions

There are two central terms in this study: *narrative* and *gender*; therefore, before presenting the three main research questions of the study it is important to explain briefly how these two terms are being used (a more detailed presentation is provided in Chapter 2).

The term *narrative* is being used extensively and in various disciplines, but it still lacks a strict definition. It is indeed a story, “a spoken or written representation of one or more than one events” and also “a technique for recapitulating experience”, but it cannot be perceived simply as that (Prince 1997: 39, Labov & Waletzky 1967: 13). During the ‘60s and ‘70s a group of writers and thinkers transformed the study of narratives and established it as a distinct discipline – one of them was Barthes, who claimed that narrative “[l]ike life itself, it is there, international, transhistorical, transcultural” (Barthes & Duisit 1975 [1966]: 237). Barthes asserted that narratives are found all around us and help us shape and define the way we see and experience the world and even affect our actions and interactions with one another (Bronwen 2016).

Furthermore, according to the constructivist view of narrative “stories do not happen in the real world but, rather, are constructed in people's heads” and these stories are available to us as they have been shaped by the particular culture of society we leave in (Bruner 2004 [1987]: 691). In other words, the choices we make regarding the content of a narrative, the way the events are presented, and our sense of the world are manipulated by previous cultural

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<sup>1</sup> The term is used with the meaning of *social gender*, i.e., the gender identity that one has shaped through their interaction with society.

narratives<sup>2</sup>, our own identity and the unwritten, ethical rules of the society. According to the constructivist view, the present study investigates narrative as a product of a writer who has been influenced by various factors and mainly the sociocultural representation of gender.

Regarding the term *gender*, a strict definition can again be difficult to be made. Despite the amount of studies on language and gender field, there is not, yet, a coherent view on what is perceived under the term *gender*. Existing theories have pointed out popular conceptions of gender as “a set of sex-determined attributes of individuals” or as “a relation of oppression of females by males”, but gender cannot be understood as simply as that (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992: 484). Traditionally it is either of the two sexes (male or female) and is used mainly when it comes to social and cultural differences rather than biological, while *sex* tends to refer to biological differences; however, *gender* sometimes encompasses a broader range of identities than the binary of male and female.

Furthermore gender is expressed linguistically in different ways, and these ways vary depending on language. Specifically, in Greek one has to distinguish between *grammatical*, *social* and *natural* gender, as the language itself encodes male and female as marked cases, and male pronouns are used as generics. In this study the term *gender* is used with the meaning of *social gender*, namely the gender identity that one had shaped through his/her interaction with society, in contrast to the *natural gender/sex* (i.e. the anatomical characteristics).

Considering what has been briefly presented so far – and will be extensively discussed in Chapter 2 of the thesis – there are three main research questions (RQ) posed in the study:

RQ1: What is the relation between the narrator's own gender and the specific choices (e.g. regarding structure, description of the protagonists, text length and text quality) he/she makes in the creation of a written narrative?

RQ2: What are the similarities and/or differences between narratives (elicited using the same wordless picture-story) produced by males and females?

RQ3: How do people change their *discourse* in the narrative if they are asked to narrate the story from a 1<sup>st</sup> person perspective as the protagonist of the opposite gender?

All three RQs are motivated by the fact that the society we grow up in influences, not only the way we see the world, but also our identity. As a result, it might as well influence the

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<sup>2</sup> A cultural narrative is the kind of story people – a specific nation, an ethnic or minority group within that nation – tell about their past, present and future, for instance the “American Dream”.

representation of the narrative's protagonists, reflecting aspects of the gender representation, in this case in Greece. The study of narrative and gender is particularly interesting in the Greek setting, as the distinctive roles the two genders play in Greek society are still visible (Pavlidou 2006). Males and females are identified with specific lifestyles, choices and actions which are shaped through family, society and even language – factors that maintain the polarization between the two genders.

The thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter 2 introduces the Theoretical background while Chapter 3 presents the Methodology for the narratives' elicitation and analysis. Chapter 4 addresses the Results of this study, followed by the Discussion of these results in Chapter 5, and a brief Conclusion that summarizes the study in Chapter 6. Lastly, important additional material (like stimulus, instructions, consent form and examples of the data) is included in the Appendices.

# Chapter 2 Theoretical Background

## 2.1 Narrative

### 2.1.1 What is narrative?

Roland Barthes claimed nearly 50 years ago in the opening of his landmark essay on narrative, that “Like life itself, it [narrative] is there, international, transhistorical, transcultural.” (1975 [1966]: 237). A claim that might have been considered a little bold at the time, as in the 1960’s a narrative would be associated more with imagination and fantasy and less with the reality or the fundamentals of human life (Bronwen 2016). But Barthes argued that narratives can be found all around us in many forms and that they are an important part both for our oral and our written culture (1975 [1966]: 237):

The narratives of the world are numberless. Narrative is first and foremost a prodigious variety of genres, themselves distributed amongst different substances – as though any material were fit to receive man’s stories. Able to be carried by articulated language, spoken or written, fixed or moving images, gestures, and the ordered mixture of all these substances; narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, tale, novella, epic, history, tragedy, drama, comedy, mime, painting (think of Carpaccio’s Saint Ursula), stained-glass windows, cinema, comics, news items, conversation. Moreover, under this almost infinite diversity of forms, narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society; it begins with the very history of mankind and there nowhere is nor has been a people without narrative. All classes, all human groups, have their narratives, enjoyment of which is very often shared by men with different, even opposing, cultural backgrounds. Caring nothing for the division between good and bad literature.

One cannot claim that narrative theory begins or ends with Barthes, as many studies of narrative open with Aristotle’s *Poetics* (384–322 BC) and his concept of plot “as something that is unified and provides a clear beginning, middle and end” (Bronwen 2016: 2). However, Barthes was one of the most important theorists who along with other writers and thinkers transformed the study of narrative and established it as a distinct discipline. Barthes (1975) pointed out not only the different genres of narrative, but also its universality among humans. Narrative according to Barthes is not a neutral activity, it is a political one which helps as to shape and define the way we respond to the world and interacts with our view and experience of the world. In his

opening – although the term narrative lacks definition – Barthes (1975) asserts “a new kind of concept of narrative and a new conceptual programme: a genuine narrative turn<sup>3</sup>”; an influence of narrative theory not only in humanities but also in social sciences (Hyvärinen 2010: 73).

In 1987 Bruner, from the scope of cognitive psychology, publishes his article *Life as Narrative* (2004 [1987]) regarding autobiography and personal narratives and he draws the connection between life and narrative (Bruner 2004 [1987]:692):

My second thesis is that the mimesis between life so-called and narrative is a two-way affair: that is to say, just as art imitates life in Aristotle's sense, so, in Oscar Wilde's, life imitates art. Narrative imitates life, life imitates narrative. "Life" in this sense is the same kind of construction of the human imagination as "a narrative" is. It is constructed by human beings through active ratiocination, by the same kind of ratiocination through which we construct narratives. When somebody tells you his life—and that is principally what we shall be talking about—it is always a cognitive achievement rather than a through-the-clear-crystal recital of something univocally given. In the end, it is a narrative achievement.

Bruner's (1987) constructivist view of narrative perceives narratives as fundamental regarding who we are as human beings in seek of our identity, regarding the processing of time-passed and how our memory works. He claims that “narrative imitates life, [and] life imitates narrative” and in that sense, stories do not just happen, they are constructed and shaped by the narrativizing process under the influence of our environment – the particular culture or society we live in (Bruner 2004 [1987]: 692).

Since then, many narratologists have made attempts to formulate definitions regarding the nature of the object of their discipline, focusing on **events** as one of the main essential properties of a narrative. Genette (1982: 127) defines narrative “as the representation of an event or of a sequence of events”, and Prince (2003: 58) as the representation “of one or more real or fictive events communicated by one, two or several [...] narrators [...] to one, two or several narratees”, while Abbott (2002: 16) makes a distinction between *story* (i.e. “an event or sequence of events (the *action*)”) and *narrative discourse* (i.e. those events as represented).

Furthermore, looking deeper than events, some narratologists define narrative in terms of what makes sequence and change possible, pointing out that **sequence** and **causality** are also essential properties of a narrative. Ricoeur (1980: 169) states: “I take temporality to be that

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<sup>3</sup> Narrative turn is the influence of narrative not just in humanities, but also in sciences in general: politics, science studies, law, medicine, and last, but not least, cognitive science. According to Hyvärinen (2010) narrative turn may be understood as having proceeded in three successive phases: “as an interest in narrative theory and research; as recognition of narrative inquiry as a field; and as an explicit identity concept” (Hyvärinen 2010: 69).

structure of existence that reaches language in narrativity, and narrativity to be the language structure that has temporality as its ultimate reference”, while Brooks (1984: ix) writes that “plot is the principal ordering force of those meanings that we try to wrest from human temporality”.

However, many authors took a step further regarding the definition of narrative as they felt that so far it was just a “thumbnail characterization” and there was a need to add something to “representation of a sequence of events” (Ryan 2007: 23, Genette 1982: 127). Prince, already in 1982, invokes a certain type of logical relation: “Narrative is the representation of at least two real or fictive events in a time sequence, neither of which presupposes or entails the other” (Prince 1982: 4). Later on, Onega and García Landa identify causality as the cement that turns sequences of events into stories: “The semiotic representation of a sequence of events, meaningfully connected in a temporal and causal way” (Onega & García Landa 1996: 3). While Bal (1997: 182) introduces change and causality, an experiencing subject: “The transition from one state to another state, caused or experienced by actors”.

As one can see so far, by reading the definitions provided above, narrative has not yet reached a complete and self-sufficient definition, since all definitions that have been formulated “depend too much on implicit elements” (Ryan 2007: 24). Ryan (2007) worked towards a definition of narrative by seeing it as “an open series of concentric circles which spell increasingly narrow conditions and which presuppose previously stated items” and ended up with three semantic (i.e. a spatial, a temporal and a mental dimension) and one formal and pragmatic dimension, regarding the conditions of narrativity. However, she states herself that she only points out conditions or better representations that appear in a narrative text but “they cannot, all by themselves, support its narrativity” (Ryan 2007: 29).

Even if the non-existence of one complete, coherent, and widely accepted among the scholars, definition of narrative does not affect people’s ability to distinguish between narrative and no-narrative, their understanding of the term might still be originated from different views regarding *narrative*. A recent working distinction, posed by De Fina & Georgakopoulou (2012), is between views of narrative as a type of text and views of narrative as a mode. The following sections present how approaches – already mentioned and new ones – can fall under this categorization and give a better understanding about the theories and related terminology in narrative studies.

### 2.1.2 Narrative as text-type

Narratology is one of the most important approaches to narrative as text-type and although it is partly devoted to the study of literary texts, its influence on linguistic studies is undeniable. A typical definition of narratology is the one by Fludemik (2009: 8):

Narrative theory – or to use the internationally accepted term narratology (Fr. *narratologie*; Ger. *Erzähltheorie*) – is the study of narrative as a genre. Its objective is to describe the constants, variables and combinations typical of narrative and to clarify how these characteristics of narrative texts connect within the framework of theoretical models (typologies).

As was already discussed (see 2.1.1), classical narratologists conceive the *story* as their object of study, defining it as a series of temporally and causally ordered events, and, although definitions vary, most researchers in the field (see Prince 1982, Genette 1982, Bal 1997) share the idea that events are what a story is made of.

Russian formalists, like Propp (1968), called the events presented in the story *fabula*, and *syuzhet* the story as it is put together and narrated by the author, making a distinction between what is told in a story (basic events) and the way it is told (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2011). That distinction was later revised by narratologists and based on Genette (1980) a distinction was proposed between *narration*, *discourse* and *story*, where *narration* stands for the act of narrating, while *discourse* is the narrative text and *story* the basic sequence of events. The events presented in the *story* constitute its plot, that does not change even if the circumstances change, but *discourse* encloses the ways in which the plot is told and vary depending on authors, media and contexts of performance<sup>4</sup> (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2011).

This distinction between *discourse* and *story* reflects a conception that is also present in structuralist narratology. Structuralists, influenced by Propp (1968) – who made a distinction between *basic roles* and *action functions* regarding the fundamental structure of Russian folk tales – propose the existence of two levels in a narrative text: a surface level, which is the level of the text as it is accessed by a reader, and a deep structure level which is the most basic level of actions and roles from which the narrative is derived. Their focus was mostly on the latter, as they tried to describe the deep structure of fictional works in attempt to find a minimal set of

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<sup>4</sup> If we take for example the story of Alice in Wonderland by Lewis Carroll, it could be said that it has a basic set of elements that make it look like the same story no matter whether it is written or told in the form of a movie or a play. These elements constitute its plot, but the ways in which the plot is told will vary according to authors, media and contexts of performance – i.e., L. Carroll's book back in 1865 vs. Linda Woolverton's screenplay for the movie of 2010.

universal elements that would be applicable in the surface level of any language. However, the ambiguity of the categories used in the analysis of stories and the lack of unanimity between the researchers, led to the conclusion that “any classification proposed by structuralist narratology gives rise to borderline cases and problems that have yet to be – and probably never will be – solved” (Herman & Venaecq 2005: 100).

Another approach – or set of approaches to be more specific – to narrative as text-type is that of the story grammars, which underlines the connection between narrative and cognition. Researchers in the field focus less on the production of a narrative and more on the comprehension and processing of narratives – i.e. how people understand and remember stories and what makes them identify something as a story. According to Robert de Beaugrande (1982) the different trends on the field led to two similar, yet identifiable approaches: the story-schema approach and the story-grammar approach.

The story-schema approach was defined by Mandler & Johnson (1977:112) as “a set of expectations about the internal structure of stories, which serves to facilitate both encoding and retrieval”. More specifically, based on cognitive models of text processing – that view text comprehension as “a process of decoding new information based on previous knowledge” – story- schema theories support the idea of knowledge being stored in memory through schemas, frames and scripts, which “allow people to make inferences about what they are reading or hearing” (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2011: 5).

In that sense, people judge something as a story or non-story in regard to some “prototypes” (see Rosch & Mervis 1975) – i.e. general models with some stereotypical characteristics – as those have been formulated by their previous experience and are now representations of meaning relations (schemas and frames) and stereotypical situations (scripts). Every culture has its own stock of prototype narratives, i.e., “characteristic pentads with characteristic troubles” as Bruner (2010: 48) puts it. It is, for example, how we would expect a person’s “success story” to look like – even before we read or hear the whole story, we have a prototype in our minds on how the story will be unfold – and anything that deviates from that would cause us frustration and doubt on if that is really a “success story”.

Story-grammars, though, focus more on the internal structure of a story and “describe the types of information that listeners expect to encounter in a story and the organization they tend to impose on that information” (Johnson and Mandler 1980: 51). In other words, according to story-grammar models, stories are formed by sets of basic components and present a type of syntax of story organization; based on those components and the relationships among them grammar rules for simple stories have been formulated (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2011: 5).



For instance, according to Thorndyke's grammar rules a story consists of a combination of elements such as SETTING + THEME + PLOT + RESOLUTION, which are presented in sequential order and consist of sub-elements giving stories their internal structure and ordering (Thorndyke 1977: 79).

However, as de Beaugrande (1982: 410) points out, the two approaches are interconnected and can be viewed as compatible because "story grammar can be viewed as *a rule-set that relates the ordering of surface-text categories to the underlying schema*". Thus, there is no difference between the perception of a story as a mental schema and its perception as "a grammatically well-formed string"; as the latter is a concrete realization of the former, leading to the construction of abstract models of narrative by story grammarians (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2011: 5).

As it happens with such abstract models, the rules the story grammarians came up with are not clear and cause problems in the identification of essential features of stories, leading to the claim that story-like qualities are not exclusively dependable in structural properties rather than are attributed to them by the audience. Therefore, a story cannot be defined or understood in abstraction from users, nor without considering the relation between the narrator and the audience, as the story-grammar approach does (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2011: 7).

### **2.1.3 Narrative as a mode**

Alongside the tradition that studies narrative as text-type, there is an equally long-standing cross-disciplinary tradition that views narrative as a mode. Ricoeur ([1983] 1990), for example, connects narrative mode to time and memory and their role in human life from a philosophical point of view. He makes a distinction between narrative time (which according to him has the fundamental role), phenomenological inner time of individual consciousness and cosmic time of the universe. The memory of human's experiences and history is maintained by story-telling – where narrative, not only serves the cause of memory maintenance, but also provides the means to construct stories (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2011: 17). Narrative, under that lens, is the mean through which the world makes sense.

Furthermore, the view of narrative as a mode of thought, communication and apprehension of reality has motivated many scholars in the field of social sciences to "explore the role of narrative in social and psychological formations, particularly in structures of value and cognition" (Mitchell 1980:vii, as quoted in Bruner 2010:47). Bruner himself sees narrative as a primary communication mean and a way of understanding reality. More specifically, according to Bruner (1986), there are two modes of cognitive functioning, two "modes of

thought” as he puts it: the narrative mode and the “logico-scientific” or “paradigmatic” mode (Bruner 1986: 12).

Physics must eventuate in predicting something that is testably [sic.] right, [...] Stories have no such need of testability. Believability in a story is of a different order than the believability of even the speculative parts of physical theory. (Bruner 1986: 14)

He argues that, although the two modes are interrelated, they have their own objects, methods, validation criteria, and basis. On the one hand, the paradigmatic mode is based on verifying or rejecting hypotheses through empirical data testing, while, on the other hand, narrative is based on verisimilitude – i.e., truth-likeness, not truth.

## 2.2 Narrative texts

### 2.2.1 Internal structure of narrative texts

A text can be described as an autonomous unit, with discrete limits (beginning and end) that constitutes a whole, “a single unified construction” (Fowler 1981: 14). A text, thus, is composed of sub-units which may coincide with sentences and clauses but requires structure that will organize its content and form and will give it cohesion (Georgakopoulou & Goutsos 2004). Cohesion can be achieved through semantic relations or “cohesive ties”, as Halliday & Hasan (1976) calls them in their study *Cohesion in English*. Those cohesive ties<sup>5</sup> do not just tie sentences together, but can be found throughout the whole text “forming some sort of backbone for the text” (Georgakopoulou & Goutsos 2004). This shows that a text is not just a string of unrelated sentences, but a whole, with interrelated parts and internal structure.

One of the most influential schemes of internal narrative structure is that of Stein & Glenn (1979; Stein 1982) that identifies the following constituents: *setting*, *initiating event*, *response* or *reaction* to the event, *attempt*, *consequence(s)* of the attempt and *reaction* to the consequences. The *setting* introduces the audience to the scene – i.e., it gives the audience the *where* and *when* of the story – to the protagonist(s) and the social and physical environment, while the *initiating event* is something, usually unexpected, that changes the protagonist’s environment. That event causes a *response* or *reaction* by the protagonist(s), and leads to an *attempt* to deal with the situation and proceed to actions that serve the protagonist’s goal. The *consequence(s)* of the attempt can either be the successful achievement of the goal or failure to

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<sup>5</sup> More information about the types of cohesive ties, as well as examples, can be found in Halliday & Hasan (1976) and in Georgakopoulou & Goutsos (2004: 11-14).

attain the goal; something that again causes the protagonist's *reaction* and marks the ending of the story (Stein & Glenn 1979, Stein 1982, Georgakopoulou & Goutsos 2004).

These categories can be applied not only at a sentence level – i.e., sentences can be parsed into statements that correspond to any of the categories – but also at a higher level where “categories can be embedded in one another: for instance, a sequence of events can itself form an event” (Georgakopoulou & Goutsos 2004: 57). Categories, alternatively, can be organised under *episodes*, meaning that there is a setting which is followed by one or more episodes that each encloses events, reactions, and attempts. An episode can be complete or abbreviated, and may be complex depending on the amount of information it encloses, and the amount of categories it embeds (Georgakopoulou & Goutsos 2004).

### **2.2.2 Writing and written text production**

Composing a written text, whether it is short or long, requires more than language production. Although a distinction can be made between written language as “structurally elaborated, complex and formal” in opposition to spoken language which is “concrete, context-dependent, and structurally simple”, composing a text is not only a question of correctness of the language one uses (Biber 1988: 5). Writing encompasses cognitive resources, like accessing and organizing of ideas, translating ideas in linguistic form, spelling and graphic transcription, as well as grapho-motor gestures (Maggio et al. 2012). In addition, writing as “a complex social participatory performance” requires that the writer asserts meaning, sets goals and affiliations, and creates identities by relying on his/her knowledge of the social world he/she shares with the readers (Bazerman 2015: 18).

In order to accomplice all that successfully one has to be familiar and have an understanding of various genres – i.e., which literary category the text is classified under – something that will help in making judgements and identifying a text effectively, not only in accordance to the genre's criteria, but also to the readers' expectations (Bazerman 2015: 18). However, being able to accomplice fluency in the different processes involved in writing, and reach a proficient writing level, requires much development and learning. Studies have shown that the writing processes of young, developing writers are simpler than those of mature writers as their primary focus is on generating ideas and put them on paper and not on conforming to a genre or fulfilling the expectations of the readers (MacArthur & Graham 2015). Although it is through reading and writing that one develops skills and gains knowledge about written genres and the characteristics of a good text, development in general varies among individuals. However, with the help of well-designed instructions, strategies, teaching of the genres'

characteristics and motivation, the production of a written text is possible for everyone (MacArthur & Graham 2015).

Around 1980 a shift occurred regarding writing research, and the emphasis was shifted from the written product to the cognitive processes involved in the production of the written product. This not only gave an insight on how our brains work in the production of a written text, but also what type of strategies writers employ while composing a text (Latif 2008). One of the first, and still influential, cognitive models of writing is that of Hayes and Flower (1980), which was developed by applying the methods of cognitive psychology to the study of expertise in writing. Hayes and Flower's (1980) model included three basic components with the first being the *task environment*, which involved everything that can affect the writing process except from the writer. The second component is *cognitive processes* which describes the mental operations that take place during text production and, last but not least, *writer's long-term memory* (i.e., the writer's knowledge about the topic, the intended audience and plans, or schemas regarding the writing task).

According to Hayes and Flower's (1980) model, the main cognitive processes taking place during text production are *planning*, *translating*, and *reviewing*. *Planning* involves mental operations such as goal setting, and the generating and organizing of ideas into a writing plan, while *translating* involves putting those ideas into words and creating a text with acceptable written sentences. Lastly, *reviewing* involves reading and editing the text produced in the translating process in order to fulfill the goal of writer. All those cognitive processes are interrelated, and the writer may interrupt a process, or incorporate one, while writing his/her text in order to accomplish the best outcome in regard to his/her goals for the written product.

As has already been mentioned, writing is a complex and demanding task, which requires "a set of hierarchical and recursive thinking processes", writing skills acquired through education and knowledge provided by reading, and own experience of the world (Flower & Hayes, 1981: 366). Anyone who is involved in a writing process has indeed control over the content and the strategies he/she will follow to produce the final text (if not asked to do otherwise by instructions), but always has to conform to genre characteristics and the readers' expectations.

## 2.3 Gender

### 2.3.1 What is gender?

In 1949, Simone de Beauvoir with her book *Le deuxième sexe*, sets the beginning of feminism and contributes to the formation of the meaning of *gender*. The famous quote “One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman” states that neither biology nor psychology or economic status define females in society; it is society in its whole that shapes what is called female gender – and consequently gender in general (De Beauvoir 1949).

From the moment a person is born they are surrounded by a “gender lore”, as gender is present in language, conversations, styles and even serves the purpose behind explaining actions, beliefs or desires (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013: 1). Gender is central to the understanding of self from a very early stage in development and gendered performances, such as “dressing like mommy” or “be strong like daddy” during childhood, and contain marked female and male behavior, respectively. A boy mimicking his dad’s behavior, and a girl her mom’s, is something natural and everybody see it as an expected and cute behavior. However, if the boy starts dressing like his mom, adults will not find it natural, and neither cute – something that shows that the female and male behavioural traits are specific in society. It is, in a way, society’s attempt to pair behaviour with biologically based characteristics, something that makes gender synonym to sex (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013).

Indeed, sometimes gender and sex are being used interchangeably as synonyms, but when it comes to the field of language and gender studies, theorists seem to agree with the distinction proposed by Shapiro (1981: 449):

Were I to be scrupulous in my use of terms, I would use the term “sex” only when I was speaking about biological differences between males and females, and use “gender” whenever I was referring to the social, cultural and psychological constructs that are imposed upon these biological differences.

According to this distinction sex is biologically founded and gender is, by contrast, socially constructed or “learned behaviour”, and, although the distinction exists from the early seventies, it does not exist in all languages; it is absent, for instance, from French, Norwegian and Danish (Talbot 2010: 7). Based mainly on reproductive potentials, sex is a biological categorization while gender is the social elaboration of biological sex, and that is why gender tends to be seen as the result of nurture, whereas sex is the result of nature. Biology may offer the differentiation between male and female based in anatomical, endocrinal and chromosomal features, but how

male and female is defined, and what set of characteristics is attributed to each of them, is social (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013).

Labelling someone a man or a woman is a social decision. We may use scientific knowledge to help us make the decision, but only our beliefs about gender – not science – can define our sex. Furthermore, our beliefs about gender affect what kinds of knowledge scientists produce about sex in the first place (Fausto-Sterling 2000: 3).

Moreover, despite the existence of male and female prototypes, biology offers a variety of individuals who do not conform to those prototypes for different reasons. Studies have shown, for example, that 1 in 100 babies are born with bodies that deviate from the two prototypes in terms of chromosomal, hormonal or anatomical characteristics (Blackless et al. 2000). Babies as such are handled as “anomalous” and nearly always surgical and/or endocrinological manipulations take place in order to bring them closer to the male or the female prototype; hermaphroditic or intersexed individuals fall under the category of anomalous (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013). Of course, characterizations as such although existing cannot be taken as justified and correct, because even if sex assignment seems straight forward at birth, nature has proven that every one of us is unique and normality is something that is socially constructed.

As Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2013: 3) point out many scholars argue that the “biological differences between males and females determine gender by causing enduring differences in capabilities and dispositions”. In other words, it is testosterone that makes men more aggressive as it can be found in higher levels in males than in females, or it is the “relative lack of brain lateralization” that makes women more emotional (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (2013:3). However, that relation between physiological characteristics and behavior appears simpler than it is, only to urge the gender dichotomies.

Gender is the very process of creating a dichotomy by effacing similarity and elaborating on difference, and where there are biological differences, these differences are exaggerated and extended in the service of constructing gender (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013: 5).

Various studies have shown that there are structural differences between male and female brains (i.e., males have smaller corpus callosum, larger amygdala and pre-mammillary nucleus), but it is questionable if those differences can be accounted for causing gender differences (see Fausto-Sterling 2000, Cosgrove et al. 2007, Xin et al. 2019).

It is, indeed, possible to detect actual differences between males and females, but those differences are rather scalar than dichotomous. Males, for example, have longer vocal tracts and a lower voice pitch, while females have a higher voice pitch, and those differences are present from a very early age (Lieberman 1967). Physical stature can also be seen as a difference, because statistically, among heterosexual couples, women are shorter than men – although there are no biological reasons behind that. Studies exhibit not only that people's choice of a partner maintains that height relation, but also, that people tend to see the male taller than the female even if he is not (see Biernat et al. 1991).

As one can conclude, gender is a social construction, and although biology imposes specific physiological constraints on males and females, the manifestation of one's gender and the magnification of differences when it comes to gender are completely social. This, of course, does not mean that individuals have no power against the external social forces that shape their identity, nor that someone can choose their gender identity freely, “everyone is constrained both by their initial biological endowment and by the social environment in which they mature” (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013: 6).

### **2.3.2 Gender and gender systems in Greek**

In most Indo-European, Northwest Caucasian, and African languages the categorization of nouns and nominals is made according to gender, as “the grammatical category of gender is a type of classifier system” (Alvanoudi 2016: 57). The number of genders, the assignment of gender and the principles behind that assignment can, thus, vary from language to language.

When it comes to the number of genders, for example, Modern Greek have three genders (masculine, feminine and neuter) while Spanish and French have only two (masculine and feminine). Also, regarding noun's classification a word can have the grammatical gender of feminine in one language and masculine in another, e.g. “sun” is grammatically masculine in Modern Greek, but feminine in German (see Hellinger & Bussmann 2001). Regarding the principles behind the assignment of gender, systems nearly always display a correlation to certain semantic characteristics, such as animacy, sex, size, or shape. So, gender assignment in nouns with human reference is sex-based while in nouns with inanimate reference assignment tends to be arbitrary (Alvanoudi 2016).

In that sense, there is an agreement between grammatical gender and referent's sex and, subsequently, grammatical gender is present, not only in nouns, but also in articles, pronouns, adjectives, and participles. Nouns, thus, can also be assigned a specific gender according to morphological or phonological principles. Based on that, most nouns with endings like *-as*, *-is*,

or *-os*, are masculine in Greek, while nouns ending in *-a*, *-i*, or *-u*, are considered feminine. It is this categorization that creates noun classes which follow specific grammatical patterns and paradigms, and in a sense “forces” the speakers of the language to perceive notions, that has no biological gender, as gendered.

In addition, the grammatical gender is marked in first names and last names in Greek, and while men’s last name (or the family name in that sense) follows the morphological paradigm of masculine nouns, women’s last name is formulated with the use of the masculine in genitive case (e.g. Papadopoul-**os** for men , Papadopoul-**ou** for women). That form comprises with the possessive form of the noun, indicating that “a woman’s identity is always morphologically connected to the identity of her father or, until lately, to her husband’s” (Pavlidou 2006: 37) <sup>6</sup>. The use of masculine generics to refer to a group of people with different genders or the gender specific job titles that might not even have a form for females are really common in Greek, and children are still taught that the masculine form is the dominant one (Pavlidou 2006: 41).

In conclusion, the correspondence between grammatical gender and social gender, in the Greek language, seems to be symmetrical regarding the available forms for all genders. However, that symmetry is affected by the way the masculine and the feminine are used in discourse, showing that, from a semantic or pragmatic level, symmetry – and even equality – between the genders in Greek language is easily disrupted (Pavlidou 2006: 41).

### 2.3.3 Gender stereotypes

As gender is usually treated in terms of bipolar categories (see section 2.3.1), people are assigned to the categories according to characteristics, that are imposed upon gender and form norms. This creates expectations about one’s verbal behavior, for example, or behavior in general and allows gender stereotyping to set in.

To stereotype someone is to interpret their behavior, personality and so on in terms of a set of common-sense attributions which are applied to whole groups (e.g. 'Italians are excitable'; 'Black people are good at sport'). One crucial point about this is that the attributions are overgeneralized; [...]. Individual differences are at best overlooked and at worst denied - which is both simplistic and insulting to those concerned. (Coates & Cameron 2014: 8)

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<sup>6</sup> The quote is given in an English translation from the Greek original text.



Gender stereotyping differs from the more general process of “social typing” – i.e., to type people according to “the complexes of classificatory schemes in our culture” – because social typing involves an accumulation of details, like someone’s status, membership in a group or personality traits in order to understand who that person is, while stereotyping “reduces and simplifies” (Talbot 2003: 470, 471). In stereotyping there is a so called “imagined community” which is identified as the normal, and there are “Them” who are abnormal or unacceptable, and must be excluded and send into a “symbolic exile” (Hall 1997: 258). But who is it that decides what is normal and acceptable? As Dyer (1977: 30) presents it, it is “the habit of ruling groups [...] to attempt to fashion the whole of society according to their own world view, value system, sensibility and ideology”. Stereotypes, in that sense, are created, (re)produced and directed to subordinate groups by the hegemony, through a wide range of “practices of representation”; such as literature, social media, television and arts (Talbot 2003: 472).

In the field of language and gender, though, the term stereotype is rarely used to refer specifically to representational practices, but rather to “prescriptions or unstated expectations of behavior” and it is unavoidably connected to gender ideologies (Talbot 2003: 472). In other words, men and women are expected to respond to the stereotypical roles – the role of male and female respectively – that are expected of them, and by doing so they maintain the gender ideology that calls for hegemonic male dominance and female subordination.

As studies among students have shown (e.g. Stanworth 1983, Bergvall 1996, Archakis 2006), women in a university environment need to behave in stereotypically “feminine” ways: be supportive, exhibit cooperative behaviour, and present their views tentatively when they are in a heterosexual social environment; and at the same time, if they want to succeed they have to behave more in a masculine way: be assertive, competitive and forceful (see Bergvall 1996). Also, as early as in school boys are often encouraged to be assertive in class-interaction, and such boys are admired by girls but the same does not stand for girls in a classroom (see Stanworth 1983). Boys interrupt their teachers and other students easier and more often than girls, who tend to have nearly no resistance to the power of the teacher and conform easier to the role of a silent and subordinate female (see Archakis 2006).

Those and numerous others studies draw the picture of how gender stereotypes are imposed on individuals, how they reproduce presenting women as individuals who must stay in their gender role, and are assumed to be apologetic and hesitant, but supportive; silent and subordinate, but sentimental and intuitive. On the other hand, men are assumed to be dominant, strong, and aggressive; sensible, but ambitious and unemotional, furthermore, logical and independent (Talbot 2003: 480).

## 2.4 Men, women, and Greek society

In order to better understand why this thesis is focused on narratives produced by native speakers of Greek language and the representation of the male and female protagonists in their narratives, it is important to provide an overview on how genders and their role are treated and represented in Greek society – starting from the recent past and moving forward to the situation today.

To make a long story short, Greece, in its modern history, has undergone an Independence War (1821), the Balcan Wars (1912–1913) World War I (1917–1918), a Greco-Turkish War (1919–1922), Metaxa's Dictatorship (1936–1940), World War II (1940–1944), a Civil War (1946–1949), a Military Dictatorship (1967–1974) and a recent Economic Crisis (2009–2019). All those factors have affected not only the country's developments on a political and economic level, but also the overall structure of the Greek society itself.

Men and women have occupied different roles because they had to. The male population had to participate in war, and provide for and protect the family, while women were mostly caregivers for the children and the elder in the family<sup>7</sup>. Especially in suburban areas, home was where the women were expected to be found, and they would usually drop out of school – if they ever actually started it – to get married and start their own family (Papataxiarchis & Papadellis 1998: 67-69). Until the 1980s, women were connected to the private, domestic life, while men, on the other hand, were related to labor and public life (Athanasiadou 2002: 96). With Greece being an orthodox country, religion, too, influenced the way men and women should be treated or behave, by stressing the value of 'τιμή' (honor) in oppositions to 'ντροπή' (shame) and, hence, the attitudes attributed to them (Papataxiarchis & Papadellis 1998: 44-45).

However, since women entered the labor market, the balance changed and, subsequently led to changes in economy and family structure (Athanasiadou 2002: 96). It was no longer men who were providing financially for the household, and it was not solely women who had to take care of the children and the household. In other words, paid labor changed the dynamic between men and women, and women's place in society in general, paving the way to a more equal future.

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<sup>7</sup> In Greece, the most common type of family is that of the nuclear. However, Greeks are really close to the extended family, and more than two generations may live together in one household. This usually happens when the grandparents get older and need to be taken care of by their children.

### 2.4.1 Gender equality in Greece

According to the Greek Constitution<sup>8</sup> (that was first statuted in 1975), Greece is a democratic, orthodox country, where all powers derive from and exist for the people of the Greek nation. All people are equal before the law, and men and women have equal rights and obligations. Therefore, discrimination in regard to gender is illegal and men and women are treated equally both in private and in public life.

Already in 1952, a law for the first time gives women the right to vote and be elected in national elections, but it is not until 1975 that this is included in the Constitution. In 1982, civil marriage becomes legal in Greece, and a year later the patriarchal family type is disestablished by Family Law, along with the obligation for ‘προίκα’ (dowry), and the mandatory change of a woman’s family name to that of her husband’s (Athanasiadou 2002: 97).

At the same period, it is stated that children’s primary education is based on talents and tendencies, and not their gender, and in secondary education, in order to promote gender equality, attempts are made to exclude stereotypical representations of social and professional roles from course books (Athanasiadou 2002: 98). Women have, for the first time, the right to enter and study in higher education institutions, but, even though the percentage of women is higher than that of men by 1995, the fields they choose are still connected to society’s “gendered” professional and hierarchical roles (Athanasiadou 2002: 103-104).

As women enter the labor market, a set of new laws ensure their right to be treated as equal with men in the working place, with equal payment, same potential in career development, health benefits, and the right to maternal leave (Athanasiadou 2002: 98-99). According to Athanasiadou (2002: 105-106), already in the mid-1990s, women constitute 34% of the working population, but the unemployment percentage, especially among young women, is still high (around 52% of the population), indicating that, despite of the increased involvement in the labor market, there are still factors that restrained them.

One of the main factors is that of family, and the specific roles men and women employ in the structure of the Greek nuclear family. Despite their job, women have the additional responsibility of the household and the raising of their children, and, as studies indicate, in comparison to men, they spend six times more on household chores and three times more on children’s care (Maratou-Alipranti 1995). The “women’s mothering”, as Chodorow (1978) calls that uneven parental engagement with the nurture of the children, is something that is

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<sup>8</sup> The Greek Constitution can be viewed and downloaded in Greek, English, French and German through the official website of the Greek Government: <https://www.hellenicparliament.gr/en/Vouli-ton-Ellinon/To-Politevma/Syntagma/>

strong in Greece, and it is handed down from one generation to the next, becoming a significant part of women's identity (Athanasiadou 2002: 108).

Until the 20<sup>th</sup> century (and in some suburban areas until the early 21<sup>st</sup> century), men and women adapt to the specific roles society has imposed on them. It is only after changes in the Constitution and laws that the two genders started to be treated as equal and could protect their rights. The patriarchal family model, the dominance of men in labor market, and the specific role women were – and are – expected to employ in Greek society, are all factors that undermine equality, and, despite the changes, it took more than expected for the Greek society to actually abandon them.

#### **2.4.2 Gender roles in Greece today**

During the last two decades, due to the socioeconomical and political situation in Greece, men and women are taking over multiple roles as professionals, breadwinners, and caregivers, both on a public and on a private level. A balanced and equal distribution of the responsibilities is challenging and there are not few cases where the roles of the two genders collide, resulting in tension in the family, and claims that women's career comes at the expense of their family (Athanasiadou 2002: 111).

Men, on the one hand, as professionals, gain more compared to women, and constitutes 70% of the working population in Greece (Eurostat 2018). They also spend additionally 3 hours of their free time in work related issues, which limits the time they actually spend helping in the household or with the children (Karamesini & Simeonaki 2016). In their role as fathers, they do not deviate from the traditional model (that views them as rational, hard-working, and in charge) as they prefer to take care of outdoor responsibilities, like paying bills or driving the children to and from school, and only a small percentage helps with household chores, like cooking or cleaning (Koroneou 2007). Being a father is intertwined with the concept of being the breadwinner, the one that provides financial security and support to the family, while having a secondary, complementary role in the nurture of children (Koroneou 2007).

Women, on the other hand, are those responsible of maintaining a balance between their career and their personal life. Women's employment in Greece constitutes 49% of the working population, one of the lowest in Europe (Eurostat 2018). That percentage, however, does not include women working in family business or at part-time jobs, indicating that the education or the positions they have is not in the same fields or occupations as men's (Germotsi et al. 2016). Women spend around 4.5 hours a day in taking care of the house and other family members, and, they have the responsibility over children's nurture (Karamesini & Simeonaki 2016).

In general, despite the progress Greek society has achieved over the years regarding gender equality, the traditional view of gender roles stays unchanged. Women are expected to prioritize having children, being good (house)wives, and then professionals, while men are expected to be the foundation of the family, the breadwinners and decision-makers (Yiota 2009). Although the majority of the Greek population (regardless their gender) agrees on the importance of an even distribution of responsibilities in a household, their actions do not promote the same (Germotsi et al. 2016).

## 2.5 Previous studies on the field

### 2.5.1 Language and gender studies in Greece

The connection of gender to linguistic analysis was first noted in the early 20th century when an interest arose regarding the differences between male and female vocabularies and patterns of speaking. The first study, paving the way to the creation of language and gender as a field of study in the US, was Robin Lakoff's *Language and Woman's Place* (1975).<sup>9</sup>

In the early 1970's the dominant perspective of the social science was that of structuralism, which viewed society as consisted of interrelated social categories where change of any kind would compromise the entire system. Under that lens, male and female were seen as two defined and opposite categories, and it was that clear polarization that kept society balanced (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013). In that sense, the ideas that feminist movement was promoting seemed harmful and disruptive when it comes to society's balance and indeed feminists were looking for a social change. The second-wave feminists<sup>10</sup> strongly believed that disruption was necessary in an attempt to acquire equal legal and social rights for women.

In Greece, the research connected to the field of Greek language and gender, started as soon as the end of the 1980's, first due to the delayed arrival of the feminist movement in Greece, and secondly, due to the fact that the engagement with linguistic studies was not synchronous to that of other countries in Europe or the US (Pavlidou 2006: 36–37). The first studies, mainly from female researchers, discussed issues regarding sexism (see Makri-

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<sup>9</sup> The book came out only two years after her article, with the same title that created “a huge fuss” and divided people in those who saw it as a “ridiculous manifestation of feminist paranoia” and others – in their majority women – who got engaged with the issues that Lakoff pointed out (Eckert & McConnel-Ginet 2013: 37).

<sup>10</sup> The history of feminism – i.e., the movement that aimed to establish equal rights and legal protections for women – is divided in three waves. The first wave, which was associated with the suffragette movement, was mainly concerned with women's rights to vote, and covers the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The second-wave feminism, between 1960s and 1970s, was more focused on “political resistance against sex discrimination” and “the promotion of equal opportunities as well as the emancipation of women”, while the third wave came in the 1990s, and is a continuation of and a reaction to the second-wave feminism, focusing on embracing sexual and gender diversity, fluidity and change (Litosseliti 2006: 23).

Tsilipakou 1984, Pavlidou 1984) or misogyny (see Tsokalidou 1989) in Greek language – and therefore the society. The studies were focused more on characteristics of the language and it was not until the last 2 decades that issues of language use, linguistic behavior and natural discourse came into the picture (see Papazachariou 1998, Pavlidou 1999b).

Nowadays, studies related to the language and gender field, are still limited regarding Greek language, and are mostly related to conversational analysis (see Makri-Tsilipakou 2006, 2010) or autobiographical/spoken narratives (see Georgakopoulou 2006). However, the focus shifted, from topics regarding sexism in the Greek language, to differences in linguistic behavior between men and women, and the consequences of those behaviors on particular issues, cultures, or practices in Greece (Pavlidou 2006: 56–57).

The study of language and gender serves – and probably will continue to serve – the purpose of an umbrella under which various topics in different disciplines can arise and find theoretical support, especially in Greek linguistics where there are still plenty of areas to be explored.

### **2.5.2 The Pilot study**

Given the lack of previous studies in written, non-autobiographical narratives – or with a similar design – in Greek literature, the conduction of a pilot study was a necessary step before the actual thesis. During Spring semester 2018 a small-scale study (Kokkali 2018) was conducted with the aim to investigate if people's narratives can be influenced by their own gender and/or the gender role they were asked to take. The pilot allowed the testing, not only of the stimulus, but also of the overall design of the project, and provided an insight regarding potential results. As the project was not based on a previous study, detecting flaws on the design before the actual experiment, would prevent the exclusion of data or participants for reasons irrelevant to the inclusion criteria (i.e. age, education, and Greek as native language).

According to the design, the participants were asked to narrate a story, first from the perspective of the protagonist with the same gender as themselves and then from the perspective of the opposite gender of themselves. In an attempt to obtain comparable stories – regarding length and plot – the stimulus that was provided to the participants was a wordless picture-story (see Appendix A). The picture-story was selected due to the presence of two protagonists, a male and a female, so that the participants could narrate the story from both perspectives. As the main variables of the project were gender and Greek language, the participants had to be native speakers of Greek and the sample had to be balanced regarding their gender. In order to collect the data in the best possible way, that would make the data both easily accessible and

useful for future analysis, it was decided to use the keystroke logging program ScriptLog (version b162)<sup>11</sup>.

The recordings took place in Greece, and 6 participants (3 males and 3 females) participated voluntarily in the study consisting of the two tasks, and were given 15–20 minutes to complete each task. The participants had an age range between 21 and 29 years (mean: 22.7 for females, 27.7 for males), and were all native speakers of Greek. All participants were secondary/ higher education graduates, with normal or corrected-to-normal vision, and no history of neurological disease. After the completion of the recordings they were also asked to give some feedback regarding the design of the experiment and on how they experienced the procedure. The post-interview revealed, not only strengths and weaknesses of the design, but also insight to some of their thoughts during the production of the narrative.

The overall analysis revealed that differences between the genders regarding the construction of narratives do exist, not only in the level of stylistic choices or discourse, where the main focus was, but also in the linguistic behavior, mainly regarding revisions. More specifically, female participants used specific time and place indicators and paid more attention to details in their descriptions, while male participants were more general (e.g. *one day/morning*) and brief with their descriptions in both tasks. The length of the text and the time that each group spent in the writing process, showed that women wrote longer texts, but at the same time they took more time before submitting their texts, as they spent time revising them.

Another difference in the description of the protagonists was that in male participants' narratives the male protagonist was in charge of the decision making (he was the one who notices the female protagonist and starts an interaction, and he was the one who suggests calling for help), a representation that even female participants adapted to when they narrated the story from the male protagonist's perspective in Task 2, abandoning the idea of an instant both parties' interaction they all presented in Task 1. It was also interesting, in the second task, that male participants did not adapt fully to the role of the female protagonist, and they did not describe anything regarding her thoughts or mood, but female participants got in the male protagonist's shoes, and even presented a causality (i.e., life crisis, socioeconomical factors) behind his mood. That can be partly explained by the fact that females have a tendency to be able to adapt easier than males to settings and situations from a very young age (see Pavlidou 2006).

Furthermore, regardless of the protagonist's perspective, both groups connected the male protagonist to a working environment and the female protagonist to the household – the male

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<sup>11</sup> For more information regarding ScriptLog see 3.5.1.

protagonist was on his way to work while the female protagonist was just taking a walk for some shopping for themselves or the house. Such representations trigger stereotypical representations of the two genders in Greek society: "The man brings the food to the table; the woman's place is in the house". An interpretation made of this tendency was that, even after all those years that women work and are active in many fields, when asked to construct a female character from scratch – or a male character respectively – both genders choose the gender representation that society and culture have promoted for years.

## 2.6 The present study

In light of the background and due to the exploratory nature of this project, it is important to clarify how the present study treats the different notions and what changes were made to the design tested in the pilot study (Kokkali 2018).

To begin with, as is already mentioned in Introduction (see section 1.2), the study investigates *narrative* as a product of a writer who has been influenced by various sociocultural factors, and mainly the representation of gender in Greek society. The focus is on *discourse*, as the plot is provided to the participants by the picture-story (see section 2.1.2), and the differences or similarities both between genders and between tasks. The term *gender* is used with the meaning of social gender, i.e. the gender identity that a person has shaped through his/her interaction with society, in contrast to the natural gender/sex – i.e. the anatomical characteristics. If during the analysis a point needs to be made regarding linguistic items that codify a referent's sex grammatically in the texts, the term *grammatical gender* will be used.

The pilot study revealed strengths and weaknesses of the overall design which led to changes regarding the design of the present study. Firstly, the pilot study revealed the need to reformulate the initial research questions in order to make them more specific and targeted in their final version (see section 1.2). Secondly, it revealed that the stimulus would need to be transformed to a version that would influence the participants' narratives as little as possible. Thirdly, in order to control the potential influence of task order on the narratives produced by the participants, it would be important to achieve a balance between the tasks and the groups. All changes, major or minor, are described in detail in the sections to follow (see Chapter 3).

Last but not least, as the study is data-driven and aims to explore and point out differences and similarities as those can be seen in the data, no assumptions will be made regarding the results and no hypothesis will be formulated, in order to avoid a creation of a bias towards gender and the narrative itself.



# Chapter 3 Method

## 3.1 Project design

### 3.1.1 Pilot study

The first step, as described in section 2.5.2, was to conduct a small-scale study that served the purpose of testing the stimulus and the overall design. The pilot study (Kokkali 2018), along with the participants post-interviews, made it easier to detect aspects in the design that needed to be changed, and provided an insight on what type of results were to be expected in a bigger scale study, as this thesis.

### 3.1.2 Stimulus

For the needs of the study, a wordless picture-story (Appendix B) with a male and a female protagonist was used as a stimulus in the experiment. The material was chosen, not only because the picture-story task is one of the main tasks of eliciting narratives in many studies (e.g. Berman & Slobin 1987, Strömquist 1996, Strömquist & Verhoeven 2004), but also because it makes it possible to elicit narratives that are comparable in content, but may differ in form between or within genders. Moreover, providing a plot in the nature of pictures helped in diminishing the time of the recording, as the participants did not have to make up a story between two people from scratch.

The picture-story was a custom-made alteration of the 1<sup>st</sup> picture-story which was used in the pilot study (see section 2.5.2) for eliciting the narratives during the two tasks of the experiment. The reason behind keeping a slightly different version of the first picture-story is that the results of the pilot study indicated that specific choices were made, and interesting patterns arose in the narratives. As both groups were asked to take both roles, the alteration was important to make the story tellable from both perspectives.

It can be said that the stimulus worked quite well, and without causing any confusion to the participants, and many of them expressed their opinions on how interesting it is to have the freedom to choose how to present the event and construct the relationship between the protagonists in the story. Some expressed an opinion regarding the fact that the picture-story was in black and white, indicating that a picture-story in color would seem more real. Although, that was something that was taken into consideration already after the post-interview of the pilot study, it was decided to stick to the black and white picture-story to avoid the production of texts focusing on describing the pictures in the story instead of narrating the story.

### 3.1.3 Data collection

All the recordings were made with an Asus PC 14” equipped with Windows 10 software and Greek keyboard. The PC was also equipped with the keystroke logging program ScriptLog<sup>12</sup>, version b162. ScriptLog creates a controlled writing environment setup with a text editor and an optional frame in which pictures or texts can be shown for elicitation purposes.

The optional frame was not used in the study for the presentation of the stimulus, as the picture-story was given to the participants printed in an A4 page. That decision was made in order to secure that the participants would not click by accident on any other button on the screen after the RECORD button was pressed. When the RECORD button is pressed, the program keeps track of all events on the keyboard, the position of these events, and their temporal distribution. ScriptLog also allows the replay of a recorded session – or a given time frame of the session – in real time based on the log file.

ScriptLog was chosen as an unobtrusive research technique that hardly interferes with the natural writing process and gives access not only to the final edited version of a text, but also the online version with its temporal patterning, self-corrections, and revisions (Strömqvist et al. 2006, Leijten & Van Waes 2013, MacArthur et al. 2016). In addition, the interface is simple enough to not cause questions about different features, that could take the focus from the task and confuse the participants.

The data were stored directly under the participants code (anonymously) on an external hard drive, and not on the PC. The collection of data lasted for two months, and all the recordings took place in a controlled environment (silent room) either at the study rooms of the Kapodestrian University Club in Athens, Greece, or in the participants own place, with me being present.

## 3.2 Procedure

Due to the nature of the topic, the participants were provided with the necessary information regarding the aim of the study and were also informed thoroughly after the completion of the experiment. The recruitment of the participants was made by announcements during lectures,

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<sup>12</sup> ScriptLog was originally developed as a Macintosh program at University of Gothenburg (Strömqvist & Malmsten, 1997) designed to study writing processes and a Windows version with more advanced analysis functions was later developed at the University of Lund by Åsa Wengelin, Victoria Johansson and Roger Johansson (Andersson et al., 2006; Wengelin et al., 2009).

or by brochures on noticeboards around the different departments of National and Kapodestrian University of Athens; announcements were also posted on social media.

All the participants read and signed the Consent Form (see Appendix C) in its Greek version, and agreed to participate voluntarily, under a code to maintain anonymity. After giving their consent, the participants were asked to fill in a digital questionnaire (see Appendix D) with background questions (i.e. gender, age, education etc.) and a small conversation occurred to make the participants feel comfortable with the settings and familiarize themselves with the software and the keyboard. They were all asked if they would like to write something random to test the Greek keyboard of the laptop, but all denied by saying that it was the same as the one they own. Regarding the software, the keystroke logging program ScriptLog, they were informed briefly on what it is and what kind of information it collects.

The participants were given written instructions before each task – corresponding to the group they belonged (see Table 1) – explaining the procedure (Appendix E), and also time to ask questions in case something about the procedure and the individual tasks of the study was still unclear. All participants performed both tasks by reading the instructions just before the specific task (they knew that it was a two-task experiment, but not the nature of the texts they were writing) and they were allowed to ask the researcher for specifications during the recording time, although this may lead to pauses in the text production. Pausing during the production of the narrative was not considered as important as clarifying a question regarding the content or the stimulus – at least for the present study. The picture-story was also printed and available for the participants during the writing of the narrative, and the participants were given 20 minutes to complete each task with a 5-minute break between the tasks.

Table 1: Procedure

Participant		Task 1		Task 2
Male participants	Group A	Narrate the story in 1 <sup>st</sup> person as he was the male protagonist of the picture-story.	B R E A K	Narrate the story as he was the female protagonist of the picture-story.
	Group C	Narrate the story in 1 <sup>st</sup> person as he was the female protagonist of the picture-story.		Narrate the story as he was the male protagonist of the picture-story.
Female Participants	Group B	Narrate the story in 1 <sup>st</sup> person as she was the female protagonist of the picture-story.		Narrate the story as she was the male protagonist of the picture-story.
	Group D	Narrate the story in 1 <sup>st</sup> person as she was the male protagonist of the picture-story.		Narrate the story as she was the female protagonist of the picture-story.

The participants were distributed in four groups in order to control potential effect from the 1<sup>st</sup> task to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and vice versa. For example, in the 1<sup>st</sup> task participants from group A and B were asked to narrate the story from the perspective of the protagonist with the same gender as them, while in the 2<sup>nd</sup> task from the perspective of the protagonist of the opposite gender – the distribution of the participants and the order of the tasks can be seen clearer in Table 1. A design as such allows a within- and between-subjects analysis to take place, revealing similarities and/or differences, not only between males and females, but also among the subjects of the same gender group.

The participants were provided with refreshments during the recording and a snack during the break. After the completion of the tasks, the participants were fully informed about the aim of the project, and they received a gift card from a popular department store as a reward for participating voluntarily in the study. Given that the participants were not aware of the reward it came as a big surprise to them and left them with a positive attitude towards empirical studies.

### 3.3 Participants

A total of 54 individuals (27 males & 27 females) participated voluntarily in the 2 tasks of the experiment. Participants had an age range between 20 and 26 years (mean: 22.6 for females, 23.3 for males) and were all native speakers of Greek language. Due to technical difficulties (i.e., one of their texts was not saved by the program) data collected from 3 males and 3 females were excluded from the analysis. Thus, the study includes and analyzes the narratives produced by 48 participants, 24 males and 24 females.

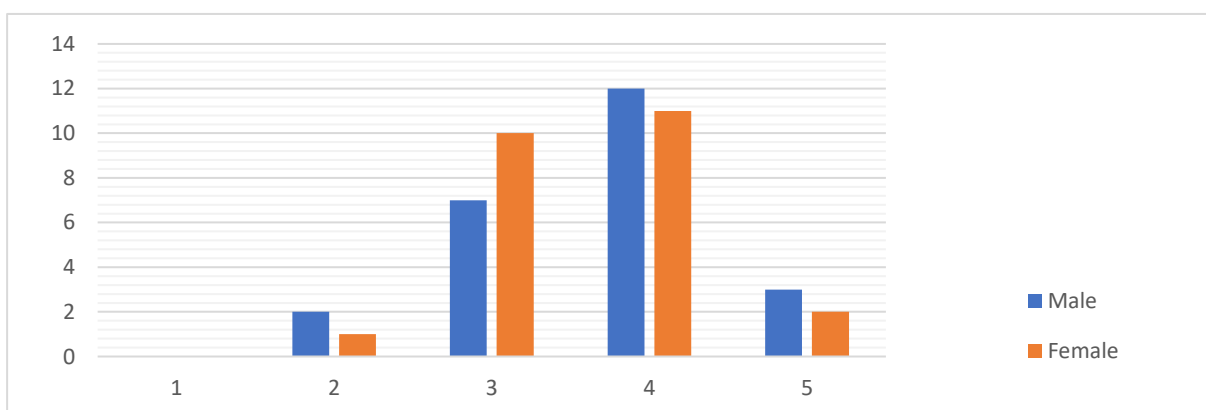


Figure 1: Self-evaluation scale of participants' typing skills.

All participants were higher education graduates from various education fields, with normal or corrected-to-normal vision, and no history of neurological disease. As the experiment was

conducted using the keystroke logging program ScriptLog, their typing skills were taken into consideration by a self-report (see Figure 1), but no subject was excluded from the study due to poor typing skills. As the self-evaluation question regarding typing in the background questionnaire showed, in a scale from 1 to 5 (with 5 meaning fully automatized typist) the majority of the participants evaluated themselves around 3 or 4.

Participants were planned to come from a homogenous sample regarding their education field – i.e. from the Humanities Orientation Group<sup>13</sup> – but due to limited number of male students in that group, and the unwillingness on behalf of the students to voluntarily participate in the study (mainly because of the duration of the experiment), the sample consists of participants with same educational background, but in different orientation groups (see Figure 2). This change can ultimately only be seen as a positive outcome, as it leads to conclusions that are not exclusively concerning a specific group of people, but rather Greek students in general.

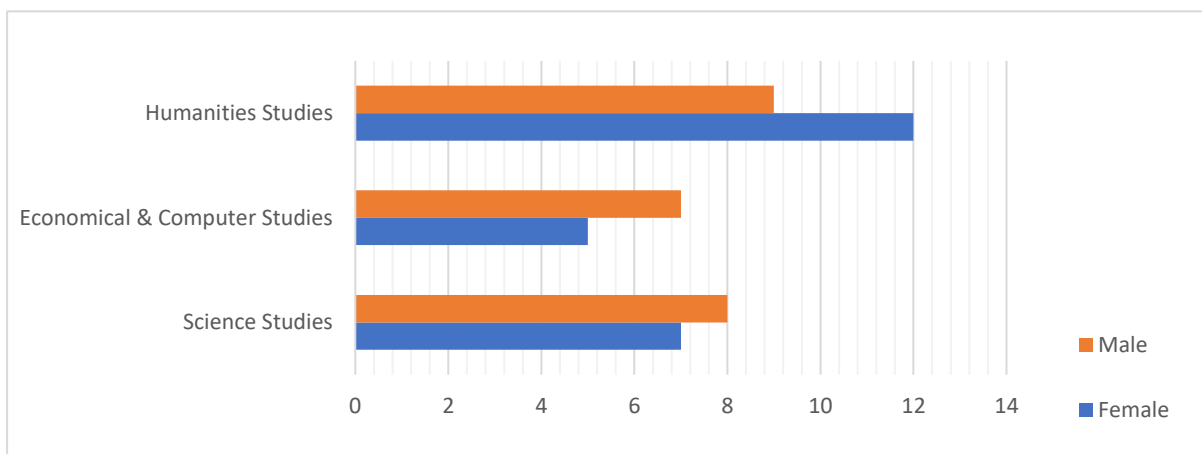


Figure 2: Number of participants per orientation group.

### 3.4 Ethics

As is already mentioned in section 3.3, all participants were adults and were asked to sign a Consent form (Appendix C), with which they were informed regarding their voluntary participation in the study, as well as the storage of the data under a code to maintain anonymity. They were also informed about their right to withdraw their participation at any time for any reason, and that they are welcome to contact me through the contact information – provided in the copy of the consent form they received – regarding the data or the study.

<sup>13</sup> According to the Greek Educational System, the Universities, Technological Universities and Academies are divided in three orientation groups: *Humanities Studies*, *Economical and Computer Studies*, and *Science Studies*.

In regard to the data, participants were asked to give their permission to the researcher to use the data for the particular study and in future studies or seminars for research reasons only. They were also informed that the data will always be processed anonymously and that it will be stored on an external hard disk. Given that research material at Swedish Universities is public act, they were also informed that their data may be requested for review. After the completion of the experiment, participants were debriefed about the true nature of the experiment and were given the opportunity to express any concerns or questions.

As the project was conducted with the use of scholarship funds the participants were offered refreshments in the break between the tasks and a 5€ gift-card afterwards as reimbursement for their participation – something that was avoided to be mentioned in advance, so as not to influence their willingness to participate. Overall, the general rules of informed consent for participants were followed as they are described in CODEX<sup>14</sup> and in Lund University's website regarding Research ethics (<https://www.researchethics.lu.se/research-ethics-information/informed-consent>).

### 3.5 Analysis of the data

In order to investigate the research questions posed in this study (see section 1.2), and to be able to point out similarities and differences in the *discourse* between males and females, the constituents of the narrative structure had to be identified. For this reason, Stein's (1982) influential scheme of a story's prototypical structure was followed (see section 2.2.1).

According to Stein (1982), the internal narrative structure consists of the following constituents: *setting*, *initiating event*, *response* or *reaction* to the event, *attempt*, *consequence(s)* and *reaction* to the consequences. *Setting* includes “the internal or external states and habitual actions that introduce characters and their social and physical environment”; which based on the study's picture-story is the introduction to the scene (i.e. the where and when) and the protagonists (i.e. social and physical characteristics) (Georgakopoulou & Goutsos 2004).

The *initiating event*, (i.e. some type of change in the protagonist's environment) that follows the description of the *setting*, is an integral part of the narrative and the starting point for the story to unfold. Here, it is the accident that the male protagonist experiences that leads to the female protagonist's *response/reaction* when she notices the male protagonist's situation. An *attempt* comes after that initial *reaction*, which can be described as any action that takes

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<sup>14</sup> CODEX is a website that give access to and information on the guidelines, ethics codes and laws that regulate and place ethical demands on the research process. The guidelines and rules regarding Human subjects research can be found here: <http://www.codex.vr.se/en/forskningmanniska.shtml>.

place to serve the protagonist's goal, i.e., the female protagonist's actions that aim to help the injured male protagonist in the story. Thus, the *consequence(s)* of the *attempt* mark the protagonist's success or failure to attain the goal, and here it is the ambulance that reaches the scene. The *reaction* that follows after the *consequence(s)* is what happens to the protagonist, or between the protagonists, after the situation is resolved.

In the study's picture-story, this final *reaction* constituent is partly combined with the "*What happened next?*" question that is there at the end of the picture-story, asking the participants to use their imagination and give their own ending to the narrative text independently, in this part, from a given plot. Stein's scheme was chosen among other schemes because the constituents of the story are simple and self-explanatory, and they were easily detectable in the picture-story.

### 3.5.1 Data analysis tools

In order to analyze the data in the best and most efficient way, it was decided to use both the keystroke logging program ScriptLog (v. b162) and the program CLAN (Computerized Language Analysis) for the functions they provide (MacWhinney 2000).

On the one hand, ScriptLog – except from being chosen for the collection of data – allows the replay of participants text production, provides the final texts in a printable form (i.e. in simple text form \*.txt) and gives insight regarding basic statistics on the text (e.g. number of tokens, final length of the text, time spend on the text etc.). As the focus here is on how the participants narrate the story, aspects like the different descriptions of the protagonists regarding characteristics of appearance and attitude are central. Furthermore, the length of the text in accordance with the time spent on the text is also something that will reveal similarities or differences in the overall construction of the narrative.

On the other hand, CLAN can provide a variety of results regarding the content of the text with the use of different commands. Although the program is originally designed for spoken data, written narrative texts can easily take the adequate format, and it enables a methodical treatment of the data. Regarding this study, it allows the division of the narrative texts in the different constituents of the story with the use of "gems"<sup>15</sup>, making it easier to conduct an analysis on each constituent separately, either for all the narratives or the narratives of a specific group. The gems that were used here, in respect to Stein's (1982) model are the

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<sup>15</sup> Gems are tagged selections within larger transcripts that allow further analyses. The gems are created by adding the symbol @ followed by Bg (for begin gem) or Eg (for end gem), a column, a tab and the gem name. For more information see chapter 3.3.5 in the CLAN Manual (MacWhinney 2000).

following: *setting, event, response, attempt, consequence, reaction* and *ending*. The last gem is not part of Stein's model, but it is an area of interest regarding the aim of this study.

In addition, CLAN can make measurements regarding the lexical diversity in a text, as well as the lexical density – i.e., the percentage of content words of all words in a text. While for the first measure the procedure is quite forward with the use of the command **vocd**, lexical density requires a creation of an inclusion file that will allow the calculation. As content words are unlimited, it is easier to create a file that includes all the function words, which can then be used to sort out all words that are not function words – i.e., the percentage of content words. Thus, for the purpose of this study a file was created from scratch by the researcher that includes the articles (definite and indefinite, in all genders, cases and numbers), all the pronouns (in all cases and numbers), all the prepositions, conjunctions, subjunctions, the most common count words and interjections in Greek language, as those are found in a grammar book. The list<sup>16</sup> of the function words in Greek can be found in the Appendix (Appendix F).

In order to create a common place of working with ScriptLog's and CLAN's measurements, the creation of a spreadsheet was inevitable. Most of the commands in CLAN can have an Excel file as output as long as the command includes a "switch"<sup>17</sup>, while on ScriptLog all the data come as a text file (\*.txt format) that can be inserted into an Excel sheet. Overall, both programs provide or enable a substantial amount of statistical analysis that with the help of pivot tables in Microsoft Excel (2004), and the software R (version 4.0.0 for Windows 32 bit) can be presented in different forms.

Lastly, in order to show the frequency of the different words used to describe the two protagonists and present them in the best possible way, word clouds created via the add-on Pro Word Cloud (edition 1.0.0.3) in Microsoft Word (2005) were used. The lists of words (mainly adjectives) that were used in the narrative texts to describe the two protagonists were transformed into word clouds that depict the frequency of the words in the participants texts – the more frequent the word is in the participants texts the bigger the word appears in the word cloud – allowing an easier comparison between the groups.

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<sup>16</sup> As syntax in Greek can change in a sentence without following specific rules many of these function words could be found in the beginning of the sentence with the first letter capital. This caused a problem with CLAN not "identifying" for example the function word 'Και' as 'και' ("and" in Greek) leading to skewed results. For that reason, all function words were listed twice in the file, both in all small letters and with the first capital. The actual \*.cut file can be sent on demand.

<sup>17</sup> For more information regarding the different components of a command in CLAN, see the manual: <https://talkbank.org/manuals/CLAN.pdf>



### 3.5.2 Qualitative and Quantitative analysis

Due to the nature of the study and the explorative character of the research questions it is important to specify which aspects of the data are taken into consideration in the processing of the data and the extraction of the results. The written production of the participants, their final text, as well as their demographics provided by the questionnaire all allow a variety of variables and aspects to focus on.

However, as this study is a thesis project, it was decided to proceed with a between subjects' comparison, to investigate the first two research questions:

RQ1: What is the relation between the narrator's own gender and the specific choices (e.g. regarding structure, description of the protagonists, text length and text quality) he/she makes in the creation of a written narrative?

RQ2: What are the similarities and/or differences between narratives (elicited using the same wordless picture-story) produced by males and females?

As well as a within subjects' comparison, in order to investigate the third research question:

RQ3: How do people change their *discourse* in the narrative if they are asked to narrate the same story from a 1<sup>st</sup> person perspective as the protagonist of the opposite gender?

More specifically, in order to treat the data in the best possible way in both comparisons, the analysis focuses in the following five aspects of the narrative texts produced by the participants: the content, the structure of the narrative, the text-length, the time spent on the tasks, and the quality of the texts.

Regarding the content, the focus is, firstly, on context in which the participants build their story (i.e. the *where* and *when* of the story), secondly the characteristics and attitudes the participants attribute to the protagonists, and lastly the ending they give to their narrative. The context can be seen as synonymous to the *setting*, while the elements constructing the two protagonists' identities can be found in the entire text – either explicitly by statements the protagonists make for each other or implicitly by the attitudes the protagonists display in the story. The ending can be evaluated in terms of positive versus negative regarding the content but is also important in the structure of the narrative. The structure of the narrative allows a comparison between the male and female participants, as well as between the same participant's two texts, in terms of whether the narratives follow Stein's (1982) or maybe lack one or more constituents.

In regard to text-length, it is measured in number of words and can indicate differences in effort (on an average) between texts produced by the different groups and between the tasks in the same groups. As the participants had no word limitation, they were able to write as long or as short narratives they wanted, given that they would follow the plot and the instructions to produce a complete narrative. Similarly, the actual time spent on an average in each task enable a comparison regarding how long time the participants needed to produce their texts, despite the maximum of 20 minutes they were given in the instructions.

Last but not least, the text's quality is evaluated through the two measurements of lexical density and language variation. Considering that texts with lower percentages of function words, and also with more and different words are richer in content, those measurements allow an insight in the quality of the narrative texts produced by the participants.

Naturally, those aspects are not the only ones possible to investigate regarding the data, and there are indeed other interesting aspects, like spelling or the revisions made in the texts. However, it was not possible to include everything in the present study, and the choices were made to cover both aspects of quantity – e.g. text length and lexical measures – and aspects of quality – e.g. text content, such as lexicon and structure of story.

# Chapter 4 Results

## 4.1 Introduction to the results

In order to present the results in the best possible way sections 4.2, 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5 provide an insight in the content and structure of the narrative texts, by presenting the results of the discourse analysis (accompanied by examples) and covering the qualitative analysis part. The results of the qualitative analysis of the data are presented based on the nature of the task (i.e. same-gender task and opposite-gender task) regardless the order in which the participants performed it – the different order was only used as a way to control that there was no difference regarding the order task performance.

The rest of the chapter (sections 4.6, 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9) covers the results of the quantitative analysis of the data providing a comparison between the gender groups on the one hand, and the two tasks on the other. Tables and figures are used to give a complete view regarding the different comparisons. Participants' final texts can be sent upon request, and representative texts from each group can be found in Appendix H.

## 4.2 The *where* and *when* of the narratives

### 4.2.1 Same-gender task

The analysis of the task where participants were asked to narrate the story from the perspective of the protagonist of the same gender showed that all the participants managed to deliver a complete, comprehensive text within the time limit they were given.

Starting from the first part of the narratives, the *setting*, given that is the place and the time of the story, there is a variety of different versions regarding the *where* and *when* the story takes place. More specifically, with the focus on the male protagonist as presented by the male participants, he appears to be in the city he lives in, most of the times in a central street or avenue, except for three narratives that take place in the streets of Czech Republic (P. 101)<sup>18</sup>, England (P. 103) and Rome, Italy (P. 308). The rest of the narratives do not refer to any specific city or country, although a few mention specific central roads in Athens:

- (1) P.105: *Μια μέρα καθώς πήγαινα στο σπίτι ενός φίλου, δίπλα από τα Pizza Fan στην οδό Κηφισίας στο ύψος της Αγίας Τριάδας, το βλέμμα μου έπεσε σε μια γυναίκα που...*

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<sup>18</sup> “P.” stands for participant and the number is the unique code assigned to individual participants.

‘One day, while I was on my way to a friend’s house, next to the [restaurant] Pizza Fan, in Kifissia’s street [near] Agia Triade, my eyes fell on a woman who...’

The male protagonist is also mostly on his way to or from work, and rarely on his way to a gathering with friends or just out for a walk (only one out of the 24 participants mention that they just went out for a walk and one that they went out to meet a friend), and there are instances that the participants do not mention the reason they are out walking at all (P. 103 and P. 109).

When it comes to *when* the story happens, only two male participants (P. 101 and P. 105), leave the timeframe completely unspecified, by just narrating the story in past tense. The majority places the events during morning hours, or even earlier that day, while the rest narrate something that happened a few weeks (P. 112 and P. 106) or months back (P. 302 and P. 313) and only two of them go as far as mentioning a specific date:

(2) P. 108: *Ήταν πρωινό 15ης Σεπτεμβρίου, είχα αργήσει όπως συνήθως για την δουλειά.*  
‘It was the morning of 15<sup>th</sup> September, I was late for work as usual.’

(3) P. 313: *Ήταν Σάββατο 15 Μαρτίου, σαν χθες το θυμάμαι κι ας έχουν περάσει ήδη δύο μήνες.*  
‘It was Saturday, 15<sup>th</sup> March, I remember it like it was yesterday even though it’s been two months.’

However, although most of them seem to find the specific day or time irrelevant, when one reads the narrative through the end it appears that “one day” or “one Sunday” became the most important day of their lives, or marked their future as the ending of the story comes up later on in this chapter.

Shifting the focus to the female protagonist, from the female participants’ perspective, the story generally takes place on a central avenue of the city she lives in, which is specified as Athens for three of them (P. 213, P. 403 and P. 412) and England only for one of the participants (P. 211). What changes here, in contrast to the male participants’ narratives, is that the female protagonist most of the times is outside to go shopping or to meet friends for a coffee, and there are only five instances where the female protagonist is on her way back from work (P. 201, P. 209, P. 403 and P. 407) or the university (P. 204). One of the participants even mentions that she was on her way back from the hair salon, implying that this is what she does every morning:

- (4) P. 414: *Ήταν ένα απλό πρωί όπως όλα τα άλλα. Είχα πάει κομμωτήριο και γυρνούσα σπίτι.*  
'It was a regular morning, like all mornings. I had been to the hair salon and I was on my way home.'

When it comes to *when* the story happens, only three female narratives (P. 204, P. 211 and P. 401), have a completely unspecified timeframe and the story just unfolds in the past. The majority of the female narratives takes place during morning hours or even earlier that day – like in male participants' narratives – while the rest refer to something that happened a few days ago (P. 213, P. 410 and P. 412), on a Saturday or Sunday (P. 202, P. 207, P. 208 and P. 404) and even though there are no specific dates, there is a specific time in one of the narratives:

- (5) P. 414: *Ήταν περίπου 8. Η μέρα μου, από τις πιο κουραστικές στη δουλειά. Άργησα να γυρίσω σπίτι.*  
'It was around 8. My day, one of the most tiring ones at work. I was late on getting back home.'

#### 4.2.2 Opposite-gender task

In this task the participants were asked to narrate the story as the protagonist of the opposite gender to theirs – i.e., the female participants narrated the story from the male protagonist's perspective and the male participants from the female protagonist's perspective respectively.

In regard to the *where* of the narrative, as the focus shifts from the male to the female protagonist in the narratives produced by males, there is not a big difference from the same-gender task. The female protagonist, as presented by the male participants, appears to be at the city she lives in, most of the times in a central street or avenue, except for three narratives that take place in the streets of Czech Republic (P. 101), England (P. 103) and Rome, Italy (P. 308). This indicates that the participants used the same *setting* for the two narratives they produced, regardless the perspective they were assigned by the task.

However, the female protagonist, in the narratives produced by male participants, is not on her way to or from work (except from 5 out of the 24 narratives). She is on her way to either meet friends, do some shopping, or just enjoy the day, showing a variation regarding the reasons behind female protagonist's presence outside:

- (6) P. 106: *Τις προάλλες, μία συνηθισμένη μέρα κατευθυνόμουν προς το κέντρο της πόλης για να συναντήσω τις φίλες μου για τον καθιερωμένο καφέ της εβδομάδας.*

‘The other day, a typical day I was on my way to the city center to meet my friends for the usual weekly coffee.’

- (7) P. 302: *Ήταν μια συνηθισμένη Τρίτη που θα πήγαινα κλασσικά στο supermarket [.]*

‘It was a typical Tuesday that I was on my way to the supermarket as usual.’

- (8) P. 109: *Βγήκα λοιπόν για έναν περίπατο - όπως συνηθίζω στον κενό μου χρόνο.*

‘So, I went out for a walk – as I usually do on my spare time.’

Regarding *when* the story takes place, only one of the male participants leaves the time frame completely unspecified again (P. 101), while the rest – even though nobody gives a specific date, like some did in the same-gender task – they refer to specific days of the week (P. 102, P. 108, P. 113, P. 302, P. 303, P. 311 and P. 313). This puts the story in the recent past, without the vagueness that the narratives produced by males had in the same-gender task, while two of the participants give even a specific time of the day (P. 305 and P. 308).

Moving on to narratives produced by the female participants, from the male protagonist’s perspective, most of the stories take place at the city the male protagonist lives and works. Only four narratives (P. 206, P. 208, P. 213 and P. 403) specify Athens as the city where the event takes place, and only two narratives take place abroad, both in England (P. 211 and P. 410). The male protagonist is again on his way to work or on his way back from his last day at work. In six narratives (P. 201, P. 205, P. 206, P. 213, P. 406 and P. 413) the male protagonist has just lost his job and now wonders in the streets worried for his future:

- (9) P. 201: *Η σημερινή μέρα ήταν από τις χειρότερες της ζωής μου [...] Σήμερα λοιπόν ήταν η μέρα που με απέλυσαν. [...] Άνοιξα αμέσως την πόρτα και ξεχύθηκα στους δρόμους να περπατάω άσκοπα χωρίς προορισμό, δεν είχα κανέναν να με περιμένει σπίτι, δεν είχα λόγο να γυρίσω εκεί.*

‘Today was the worst day of my life [...] Today, was the day they fired me. [...] I opened the door and sprung out in the streets without a reason and destination, I had no one waiting for me at home, I had no reason to return there.’

Five of the female participants (P. 203, P. 207, P. 211, P. 401 and P. 404) just write that the male protagonist was there, without any reason behind his presence on the street and only one participant (P. 403) specifies the exact street in Athens where the event takes place.

The story takes place mainly during the morning hours or earlier in the day, but there are instances where the time frame is totally unspecified, and the female participants just place it in the past (P. 203, P. 204, P. 213 and P. 406). In the narratives where the male protagonist is fired, the event happens in the afternoon, but, except from two narratives (P. 401 and P. 404), there are no indications of how far in the past, or when exactly, the story took place; something that resembles the male narratives in the same-gender task.

(10) P. 404: *Ημέρα τρίτη 3 Αυγούστου ξεκίνησα ένα ταξίδι σε μια νέα και άγνωστη πόλη για έρευνα εργασίας.*

‘It was Tuesday 3<sup>rd</sup> August, I started a journey in a new and foreign city to find job.’

Furthermore, the female participants, even though they mainly narrate the exact same story, tend to change the time of the day – from ‘μεσημέρι’ (noon) in the same-gender task to ‘μια μέρα’ (one day) in the opposite-gender task (P. 407) – or the day the event happened – from ‘Σάββατο’ (Saturday) in the same-gender task to ‘Τρίτη’ (Tuesday) in the opposite-gender task (P. 404). The male participants, on the other hand tend to keep the exact same time frame in both stories; only in two cases (P. 105 and P. 303), they change a general ‘μια μέρα’ (one day) to a more specific ‘χθες’ (yesterday) as the *when* of the story.

### 4.3 The male and female protagonists

Even though the picture-story is a black-and-white sketch, it gives some aspects of the protagonists’ appearance or even their mood. The body posture of the male protagonist, the outfit of the female protagonist or the glasses he wears, his face expressions and him being the one suffering the accident might have indeed influenced his presentation in the participants’ narratives. However, his or her thoughts, his background, and the way the female protagonist thinks of him is something that the participants construct themselves from what they imagine, making it easier to argue that, even if the picture-story provides some elements, the representation of the male and the female protagonists is solely the participants’ choice.

The different adjectives and characterizations that the participants use to describe the two protagonists are presented in the eight word clouds (Figure 3 to Figure 10) that are included in sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 and they depict the frequency of the words in the participants texts. The bigger the word appears in the word cloud the more frequent the word is in the participants texts, something that makes the comparison of the descriptions of the protagonists between male and female participants more visible.

#### 4.3.1 Same-gender task

To begin with *setting* again as a starting point, where the information – in their biggest part – regarding the characteristics and identity of the two protagonists are presented, analyses showed that both male and female participants used a variety of characterization in the form of adjectives, that appear in the narratives repeatedly. More specifically when it comes to the narratives that male participants produced by narrating the story as the male protagonist, he appears to be a bit under the weather, troubled or anxious, mostly lost in his own thoughts when, out of the blue, his mood changes in the presence of the women down the street.

Adjectives like ‘προβληματισμένος’ (troubled), ‘αφηρημένος’ (absent-minded), ‘απορροφημένος’ (lost in thought), ‘μόνος’ (alone), ‘σκεπτικός’ (skeptical), ‘κακόκεφος’ (moody) or ‘απογοητευμένος/απελπισμένος’ (disappointed) are only a few of the adjectives that the male participants use, when describing how the male protagonist feels (Figure 3). However, everything changes when the ‘όμορφη’ (beautiful), ‘μαγική’ (magical) and ‘εντυπωσιακή’ (impressive) woman appears on the other side of the street. The male protagonist then, ends up ‘θαμπωμένος’ (dazzled) and ‘μαγνητισμένος’ (magnetized) by her aura that causes his accident; an accident that leaves him ‘ντροπιασμένο’ (ashamed) at first, but ‘χαρούμενο’ (happy) and in some cases ‘ερωτευμένο’ (in love) when she takes care of him (Figure 3).



Figure 3: Male protagonist's description in male participants' narratives

Regarding the female protagonist through the male protagonist's eyes (Figure 4), she is the most beautiful woman he has ever seen, she is 'εκθαμβωτική' (stunning) and she has 'εκφραστικά μάτια' (expressive eyes). Starting from her appearance she is described mostly as tall, blond, with light skin and blue or green eyes, a beautiful smile and stylish:

- (11) P. 108: *Στέκεται απέναντι στον δρόμο και την παρατηρώ με την άκρη του ματιού μου. [...] Καθώς είμασταν σε απόσταση αναπνοής μαγεύομαι από την ομορφιά της.] Ξανθά σγουρά*



μαλλιά, εκλεπτυσμένο ντύσιμο, εξαιρετικά γαλαζοπράσινα μάτια. Τα έχω χάσει κι έχω μείνει άναυδος.

‘She stands on the other side of the road and I am observing her with the corner of my eye. [...] As we were in breathing distance I am amazed by her beauty[.] Blond curly hair, sophisticated look, amazing blue-green eyes. I am lost and speechless.’

The description above is a representative example of how the female protagonist is described in narratives produced by male participants. Later on, when she tries to make him feel better or recover his senses she is described as ‘συμπονετική’ (compassionate), ‘αγγελική’ (angelic) and ‘ευγενική’ (kind).



Figure 4: Female protagonist's description in male participants' narratives

Nine of the participants add another element in her identity and mention her name: it is Maria (P. 103, P. 108 and P. 114), Eleni (P. 312 and P. 313), Anna (P. 305), Suzi (P. 105), Sofia (P. 109) or Christiana (P. 301). Two of the participants even mention the male participants name, when he introduces himself to the female protagonist; with that being Yiorgos (P. 301) or Alexis (P. 109). Maria, Eleni and Yiorgos are the most common names in Greece<sup>19</sup>, but the names Sofia and Alexis (P. 109) can be identified – due to the dialogue the protagonists have – with the names of protagonists in a Greek Movie<sup>20</sup> from the 1980's.

Furthermore, when it comes to the initiating event even though the majority addresses it as a careless accident, there are three participants (P. 105, P. 106 and P. 108) that present it as something the male protagonist planned and acted out in order to get the female protagonist's attention. This shows that on those instances the male protagonist can be characterized as crafty or sneaky, as he intentionally caused the accident and pretended he was not feeling good.

<sup>19</sup> According to the Greek Statistic Agency (ELSTAT) with data from the last population census in 2011.

<sup>20</sup> It is the movie “Καμικάζι αγάπη μου” (1983), directed by Yiannis Dalianidis.

(12) P. 105: *Το θέατρο είχε επιτυχία. Καλός ηθοποιός να είσαι και γίνονται θαύματα.*

‘My acting was successful. Being a good actor, works wonders.’

Moving on to the narratives produced by the female participants when they were asked to take the perspective of the female protagonist, the representation and characterization of the protagonists is similar in some aspects to those of the male participants, but implemented.



Figure 5: Male protagonist's description in female participants' narratives

The male protagonist (Figure 5) is again characterized as ‘απορροφημένος’ (lost in thought), ‘προβληματισμένος’ (troubled) or ‘σκεπτικός’ (skeptical), ‘απρόσεκτος’ (clumsy) but the female protagonist sees him also, as ‘όμορφο’ (handsome), ‘γλυκό’ (cute), ‘γοητευτικό’ (charming) and even ‘χαμογελαστό’ (smiling). This shows that maybe the female participants interpret his figure in the picture-story, not as somebody who is sad or disappointed, but instead as introvert or shy.

They focus a lot on his gaze, and it is characterized as ‘έπιμονο’ (persistent), ‘τρομακτικό’ (scary) or ‘περίεργο’ (weird) when he looks at the female protagonist. The male protagonist stares and in some cases leads to the female protagonist feeling uncomfortable (P. 405). Two of the participants mention that he is middle-aged (P. 205 and P. 412) and only one of the participants (P. 406) describes his appearance:

(13) P. 406: *Να[.]ας πούμε αυτός ο άνδρας, ενώ είναι πολύ ωραίος, φαίνεται σαν να τον απασχολούν πολλά πρά[γ]ματα... αλλά είναι πολύ ωραίος. Ψηλός, αρρενωπός, με επίσημο στυλ, αφού φοράει κουστούμι και καπαρντίνα καλή, φαίνεται να μπορεί να στηριχτεί στα πόδια του.*

‘Here, this man for example, even though he is very handsome, he seems like he has a lot of stuff on his mind... but he is really handsome. Tall, masculine, with formal style, as he is wearing a suit and a nice trench coat, he seems like he is financially independent.’

That is a difference from the male participants’ narratives, where the description of how the female protagonist looks like was mainly on her external characteristics, while when they get to know each other the female participants’ narratives include characterization like ‘καλλιεργημένος’ (sophisticated), ‘ενδιαφέρων’ (intriguing) or ‘με χιούμορ’ (humorous) presenting information in regards to who he is as a person (Figure 5).



Figure 6: Female protagonist’s description in female participants’ narratives

In addition, when it comes to the female protagonist in the narratives produced by the female participants (Figure 6), she is not interested in the male protagonist at first, she is most of the times ‘αδιάφορη’ (indifferent) or ‘σαστισμένη’ (dazed), she might have noticed his gaze on her, but she feels mostly awkward and only rushes to help him because she is ‘τρομοκρατημένη’ (terrified) and πανικόβλητη (in panic), even feeling guilty that she is the reason behind his accident. In six of the female participants’ narratives, when she spends a few minutes helping him, she asks for his name and it is: Dimitris (P. 201), Yiorgos (P. 207), Manos (P.208), Steven (P. 211), Andreas (P. 212) or Michalis (P. 402).

#### 4.3.2 Opposite-gender task

Now, in regard to the two protagonists and their representation in the opposite-gender task, the analysis revealed a variety of characterizations for both protagonists in the narratives the participants produced.



[illegible]

The female protagonist (Figure 8) has a positive aura that captivates him, and he looks at her ‘αποσβολωμένος’ (stunned). She is ‘όμορφη’ (beautiful), ‘χαμογελαστή’ (smiling), ‘γλυκιά’ (sweet), and ‘χαριτωμένη’ (charming).



Her beautiful smile and her sophisticated appearance, her blond hair and her bright eyes are only a few of the characterizations regarding the female protagonist's appearance that reoccur in the narratives produced by the female participants. It is how she looks that takes the most

part of the description, something that is quite similar to the narrative produced by male participants in the same-gender task – but not to the female participants’ narratives.

When the female protagonist comes to rescue him after his accident (in the *attempt* part of the narrative), she becomes *the one*, his guardian angel on earth. Furthermore, in the female participants’ narratives, after the two protagonists have a first interaction, they continue their narrative by describing her character. She is ‘ενδιαφέρουσα’ (interesting), ‘ζεστή’ (warm/heartwarming) and ‘καλή’ (kind). Ten of the participants give her a name: Maria (P. 207, P. 208, P. 402 and P. 403), Dora (P. 211), Aggeliki (P. 401), Persa (P. 404) or Cassandra (P. 410).

(14) P. 202: Παρόλο που δεν την γνώριζα ούτε πέντε λεπτά ένιωθα τόσο οικεία μέσα στην αγκαλιά της, με το υπέροχο χαμόγελό της, ήταν ο φύλακας άγγελός μου!

‘Despite the fact that I didn’t know her more than five minutes, I felt so cozily in her arms, with that gorgeous smile of hers, she was my guardian angel!’

An aspect that was not described in the female participants’ narratives at all, in the same-gender task, but it is present in five of the narratives here in the opposite-gender task, is that of the whole *initiating event* being a trick on behalf of the male protagonist. He either plans the whole thing to catch her attention (P. 402 and P. 414) or just takes advantage of the situation to get to know her pretending to be hurt, while they wait for the ambulance (P. 206, P. 208 and P. 401). This aspect is present, though, in the male participants’ narratives in the same-gender task, indicating that when the female participants are asked to narrate from the male protagonist’s perspective their narratives resemble the narratives produced by male participants from the male protagonist’s perspective.

Moving on to the narratives produced by male participants in the opposite-gender task, where they were asked to take the female protagonist’s perspective, they describe the male protagonist as a stranger that caught the female protagonist’s attention, but his gaze, even though persistent, is not received as threatening from the female protagonist. He is ‘γοητευτικός’ (charming) and ‘ελκυστικός’ (attractive), but he seems ‘προβληματισμένος’ (troubled) or ‘σκεπτικός’ (pensive) at the same time (Figure 9). He also seems ‘μοναχικός’ (lonely), but a smile appears on his face as soon as he sees the female protagonist across the street.



Figure 9: Description of the male protagonist in male participants' narratives

There are not many narratives describing his appearance – only four, in fact – but when they do, he is well-dressed and has brown hair, he wears glasses, and he is tall.

- (15) P. 304: Όταν πέρασα απέναντι, είδα έναν άντρα με μακριά μαλλιά, μεγάλη μύτη και ένα κλασικό ζευγάρι γυαλιά ο οποίος με κοιτούσε επίμονα.

‘When I crossed the street, I saw a man with long hair, big nose and a classic pair of glasses, who was staring at me.’

- (16) P.312: Ήταν ο ψηλός με το γλυκό πρόσωπο και τα γυαλάκια, που με κάρφωσε με το βλέμμα.

‘He was the tall one with the sweet face and the glasses, who stared me down.’

Regarding the female protagonist (Figure 10), the male participants' narratives include very little information about her appearance or how she was feeling before the *initiating event*. She is in a hurry to meet friends, run some errands, or go home after a tiring day, when, on her way there, the weirdest thing happens, and she has to “rescue” the male protagonist.



Figure 10: Description of the female protagonist in male participants' narratives

However, there is much information on how she was feeling after the male protagonist's accident. The moment she realizes that he had an accident, she gets anxious and scared and she is 'ανήσυχη' (worried) and 'έντρομη' (terrified) of what might happen to him if the help is not there soon enough. She tries the best she can to be 'βοηθητική' (helpful) and 'χαμογελαστή' (smiling), but she feels 'ανακουφισμένη' (relieved) only when she makes sure that he is better. The female protagonist feels also 'κολακευμένη' (flattered), when the male protagonist shows an interest in her and proposes a dinner or a coffee the same day or the next.

## 4.4 The ending

As the ending in the picture-story of the pilot study was not neutral, but influenced for a happy ending between the two protagonists, the thesis picture-story left the story with an open ending, and the question *What happened next?* – giving the participants the freedom to end the story however they wanted.

### 4.4.1 Same-gender task

Firstly, the ending in male participants' narratives was in general a positive one. The two protagonists ended up falling in love or married with kids in half of the narratives, while in the rest they ended up being good friends. There were only three narratives (P. 111, P. 303 and P. 312) where the protagonists remained strangers, thus the male protagonist had the intention to meet her again, but not the means:

(17) P. 111: *Η ρουτίνα μου έχει επιστρέψει [...] και ανά διαστήματα σκέφτομαι αυτή την ωραία κυρία και πετάγομαι να πάρω τσιγάρα μήπως την ξαναπετύχω.*

'I am back in my routine [...] and every now and then I think of that beautiful lady and I go out to buy some cigarettes just in case I meet her again.'

Secondly, the ending in female participants' narratives was either positive or neutral. Even though narratives end with the two protagonists getting to know each other better, in their majority they end up being friends or married, and in five of them (P. 203, P. 212, P. 405, P. 410 and P. 412) the ending is neutral. In these narratives the female protagonist, after helping the male protagonist, receives his gratitude and goes on with her day and her life without meeting him again or feeling the need to do so.

- (18) P. 203: *[Κ]αι αφού βεβαιώθηκα ότι εν τέλει ο κυριούλης δεν είχε υποστεί κάποιο σοβαρό τραυματισμό του ευχήθηκα περαστικά και συνέχισα τον δρόμο μου για το στέκι μας έχοντας βέβαια μια περιπέτεια να διηγηθώ στην παρέα μου.*

‘And after I was assured that ultimately the man hadn’t suffered a severe trauma, I wished him well and continued on my way to the place I hung out with my friends, with a new adventure to narrate to them.’

The ending, both in the male and the female participants narratives, is not a big part of their texts, but they use one or two sentences that bring a closure to the storyline, and to the two protagonists relation at that point in time or to this day – i.e., the day they did the narration.

#### 4.4.2 Opposite-gender task

As the participants had the freedom to give their own ending in the story and there was no limitation in keeping the same ending in both the narratives they produced, many of the participants end their two narratives differently.

To begin with the male participants’ narratives, when they were asked to narrate the story from the female protagonist’s perspective, the ending remained positive, and in most of the cases the exact same. The two protagonists end up friends, in love, or people that just met each other once. There are, however, three narratives (P. 114, P. 307 P. 308) where the two protagonists ended up married, but in one of them there is a twist. In one of the narratives (P. 307) they ended up being married with kids, but she is now a widow and moved on with someone else:

- (19) P. 307: *Τελικά επειδή δεν ήμουν εγώ ο λόγος που χτύπησε στο στύλο αλλά η στραβομάρα του, μια μέρα καθώς οδηγούσε δεν είδε καλά, έχασε τον έλεγχο του αυτοκινήτου και έφυγε από μια στροφή. Τώρα είμαι 2 χρόνια χήρα και έχω ξαναφτιάξει την ζωή μου.*

‘Ultimately, as I wasn’t the reason why he barked his head on the pole, but his poor sight, one day while he was driving he didn’t see well, he lost control of the car and went off the road on a curve. I am a widow for 2 years now and I have moved on with my life.’

The ending in the female participants’ narratives, is, again, mostly positive or neutral, as in the same-gender task, but there are also two narratives where the ending is somehow negative (P. 410 and P. 412).



- (20) P. 410: Όταν ξύπνησα, κατά τις 12 το μεσημέρι, το μόνο που υπήρχε δίπλα μου ήταν ένα σημείωμα που έγραφε «Δυστυχώς πρέπει να φύγω. Εύχομαι να είσαι καλά και κάποια στιγμή ίσως ξανασυναντηθούμε. να χαμογελάς. Κασσάνδρα». Από τότε δεν την ξαναείδα.  
 ‘When I woke up, around 12 at noon, the only [thing] I found next to me was the following note: “Unfortunately I must leave. I wish you are well and maybe we will meet again sometime. [Remember] to smile. Cassandra”. Since then, I have never seen her again.’

Seven of the female participants change the ending of their narrative from a specific relationship status between the two protagonists to a more open one – i.e., from ‘παντρεμένοι’ (married) to a neutral ‘γνώστοί’ (acquaintance). However, there are no fundamental differences in the endings of the two texts of the female participants in content or length. The male participants’ narrative ending in this opposite-gender task, though, is quite longer than the same-gender task, and in some cases it is even half of the text (P. 105 and P. 310).

## 4.5 The structure of the narrative text

According to Stein’s (1982) influential scheme of a story’s prototypical structure, all narratives consist of six constituents: *setting*, *initiating event*, *response* or *reaction* to the event, *attempt*, *consequence(s)*, and *reaction* to the consequences (see section 3.5). However, that does not necessarily mean that all the narratives constructed by the participants followed this structure.

Table 2: Constituents in male participants’ narratives

Participant	Setting		Initiating event		Response		Attempt		Consequence		Reaction		Ending	
	Task 1	Task 2	Task 1	Task 2	Task 1	Task 2	Task 1	Task 2	Task 1	Task 2	Task 1	Task 2	Task 1	Task 2
101	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
102	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
103	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
104	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
105	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
106	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
108	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
109	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
111	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
112	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
113	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
114	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
301	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
302	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
303	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
304	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
305	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
307	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
308	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
309	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
310	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
311	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
312	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
313	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Firstly, in narratives produced by male participants (see Table 2), the constituents *setting*, and *initiating event* are always parts of the structure, and only one narrative is missing the *response* to the event (P. 310) in the same-gender perspective. Regarding the *attempt*, it is missing from three narratives, two of which in the opposite-gender perspective (P. 102 and P. 305), and one in the same-gender perspective (P. 103). Only one participant (P. 307) left *consequence* out of both his narratives, while the *reaction* to the consequence(s) is the constituent that was omitted in half the narratives produced by the male participants; both in the same-gender perspective (P. 106, P. 108, P. 113, P. 307, P. 308 and P. 311) and in the opposite-gender perspective (P. 102, P. 103, P. 106, P. 113, P. 301, P. 302 and P. 307).

Table 3: Constituents in female participants' narratives

Participant	Setting		Initiating event		Response		Attempt		Consequence		Reaction		Ending	
	Task 1	Task 2	Task 1	Task 2	Task 1	Task 2	Task 1	Task 2	Task 1	Task 2	Task 1	Task 2	Task 1	Task 2
201	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
202	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
203	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
204	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
205	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
206	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
207	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
208	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
209	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
211	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
212	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
213	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
401	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
402	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
403	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
404	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
405	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
406	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
407	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
410	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
411	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
412	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
413	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
414	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+

Secondly, in narratives produced by female participants (see Table 3), the constituents *setting* and *initiating event* are, again, always integral parts of the narratives' structure, but there are three narratives that are missing the *response* to the event in the opposite-gender perspective (P. 202, P. 207 and P. 405). Regarding *attempt*, there are six narratives where the constituent is omitted in the same-gender perspective (P. 203, P. 204, P. 205, P. 206, P. 211 and P. 410), and in two narratives in the opposite-gender perspective (P. 406 and P. 410).

Moreover, two participants (P. 202 and P. 403) left *consequence* out of both their narratives, and two of their opposite-gender perspective narratives (P. 205 and P. 211). The *reaction* to the consequence(s) is missing in more than half of the narratives produced by the

female participants, either in both perspectives (P. 205, P. 209, P. 213, P. 403, P. 404, P. 405, P. 412 and P. 414) or only in the same-gender perspective (P. 202, P. 203, P. 406 and P. 410).

Last but not least, even though *ending* is not a constituent according to Stein's model, it was an important part of the narratives the participants were asked to produce, and it was included in all narrative texts produced by male and female participants, regardless the gender perspective. In general, both male and female participants seem to keep the same constituents independently of the gender perspective.

## 4.6 Text length

To begin with, as the participants were not limited regarding the number of words they were supposed to produce, but only had a time limit of 20 minutes for each of their texts, the number of words they produced varies. The male participants produced texts with a text length between 141 and 538 words (mean: 289; median: 271), while the female participants' texts have a range between 113 and 597 words (mean: 243; median: 222).

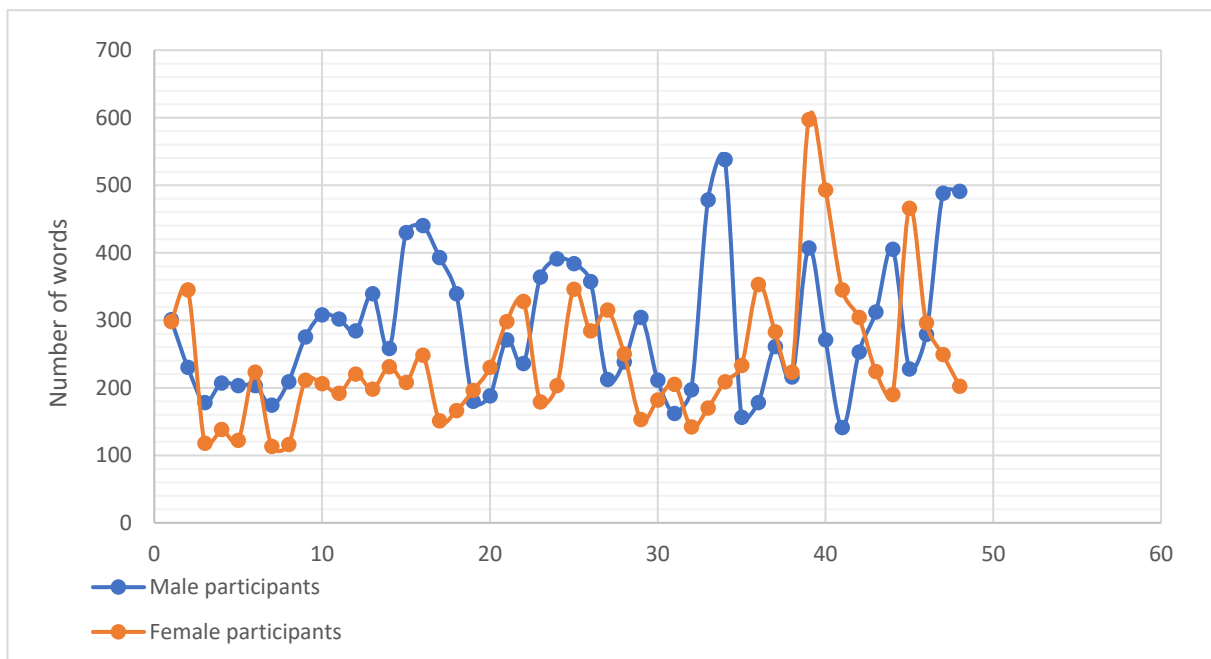


Figure 11: Mean words per participant distribution graph

The distribution graph (Figure 11) shows how the 48 participants are distributed regarding the length of their texts and, even though there are some texts that are significantly longer than others, the mean is 289 words (SD: 100.1) for the narrative texts produced by male participants and 243 words (SD: 96.9) for the narrative texts produced by female participants (for the exact number of words per participants, see Appendix G).

Table 4: Mean words per task and gender

Task	Task 1		Task 2	
	Male Participants	Female Participants	Male Participants	Female Participants
Same gender	284	190	303	261
Opposite gender	294	299	274	221
Total average	289	245	289	241

The average amount of words per task and gender can be seen in Table 4, which shows that on an average both male and female participants produced longer texts when they were asked to narrate the story from the perspective of the opposite gender protagonist as Task 1. Regarding the number of words the participants used per constituent, Table 5 shows that on an average *setting* and *initiating event* constitute the largest part of the text.

Table 5: Mean words per narrative text's constituent, group and task

	Male Participants				Female participants			
	Group A		Group C		Group B		Group D	
Constituent	Same-gender task	Opposite-gender task	Opposite-gender task	Same-gender task	Same-gender task	Opposite-gender task	Opposite-gender task	Same-gender task
Setting	100.75	82.25	95.25	103.33	60.08	80.92	106.75	99.50
Initiating event	29.83	25.58	29.08	33.08	20.67	24.25	38.00	22.50
Response	18.00	18.25	20.67	14.67	26.17	13.67	16.67	20.17
Attempt	22.08	36.42	37.25	34.25	17.25	30.92	32.17	33.25
Consequence	22.25	19.42	11.67	16.25	13.83	10.58	12.67	15.33
Reaction	12.17	9.00	11.17	15.17	7.75	12.83	6.00	6.83
Ending	76.75	79.58	89.33	87.67	44.58	47.00	89.83	63.08

In addition, as the design allows a within-subjects comparison, the following graphs (Figure 12 and Figure 13) demonstrate the difference between participants narrative in Task 1 and participants narrative in Task 2 according to gender perspective.

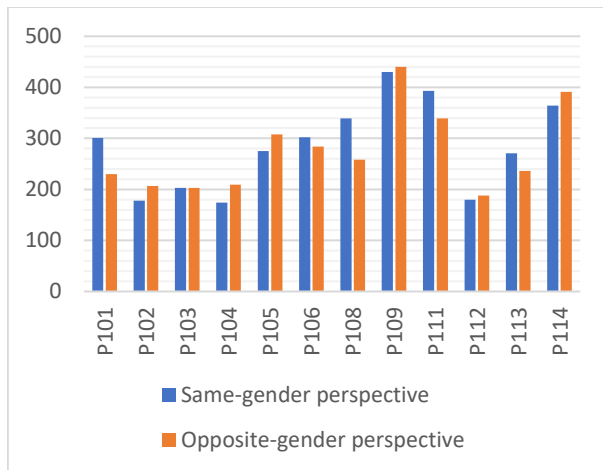


Figure 12: Male participants' text length starting with the same-gender task

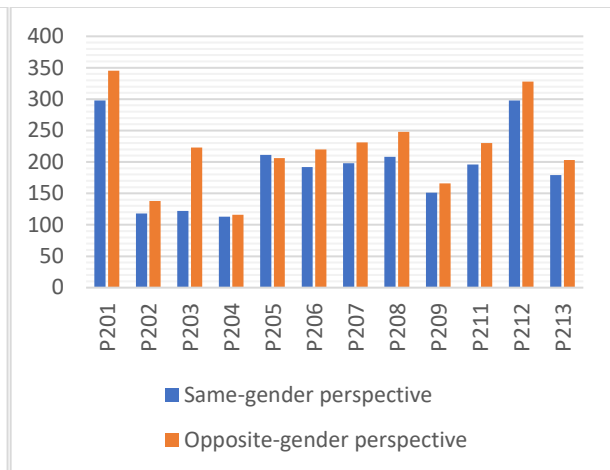


Figure 13: Female participants' text length starting with the same-gender task

Moving on to the groups starting with the opposite-gender perspective as Task 1 and same-gender perspective as Task 2, the analysis revealed that the male participants, starting from the perspective of the female protagonist, produced shorter texts in Task 1 than in Task 2. The female participants, on the other hand, starting from the male protagonist's perspective produced longer texts in Task 1 and shorter texts in Task 2.

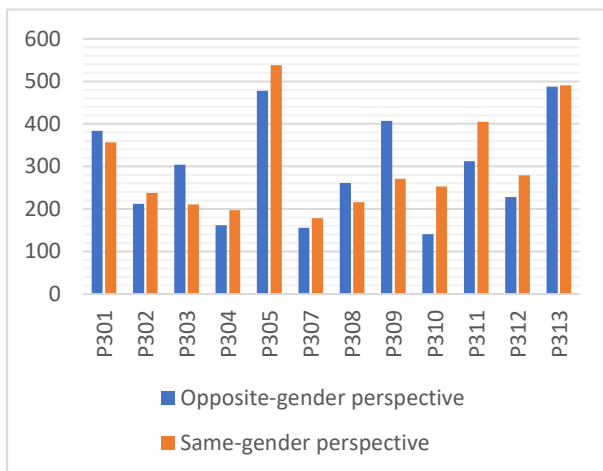


Figure 14: Male participants' text length starting with the opposite-gender task

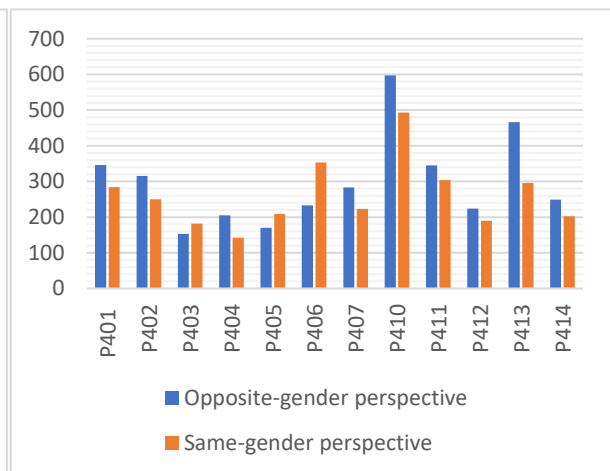


Figure 15: Female participants' text length starting with the opposite-gender task

The analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed that the difference between male and female participants in numbers of words was nonsignificant ( $F(1,46) = 2.793, p = 0.101$ ). The boxplot (Figure 16) shows a comparison between the genders (male or female) and the tasks (different or same gender perspective).

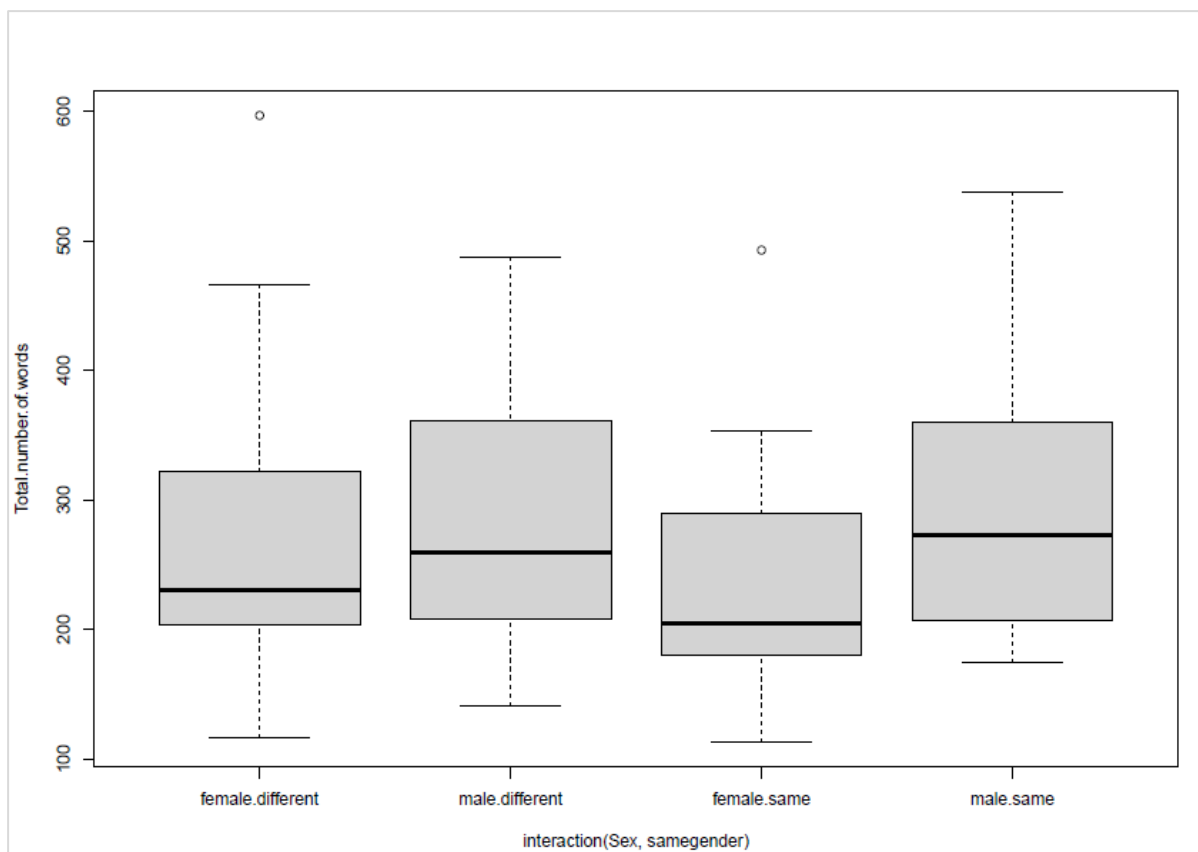


Figure 16: Number of words boxplot

## 4.7 Lexical density

Regarding the lexical density of the narratives, the percentage of content words in the texts produced by female participants varied between 40.23% and 61.02% (mean: 48.61%; median: 48.57%) and in the texts produced by male participants between 39.51% and 60.34% (mean: 49.46%; median: 49.31%).

Table 6: Mean content words (%) per task and gender

	Task 1		Task 2	
Task	Male Participants	Female Participants	Male Participants	Female Participants
Same gender	50.45%	50.77%	48.05%	48.86%
Opposite gender	49.68%	47.12%	49.65%	47.65%
Total average	50.06%	48.95%	48.85%	48.26%

The Table 6 above also shows that both male and female participants produced texts with more content words – i.e., texts with higher information packaging – in Task 1, when they were asked to narrate the story from the perspective of the same-gender protagonist. Overall, the content words occupied nearly 50% of each narrative, regardless the participants perspective.

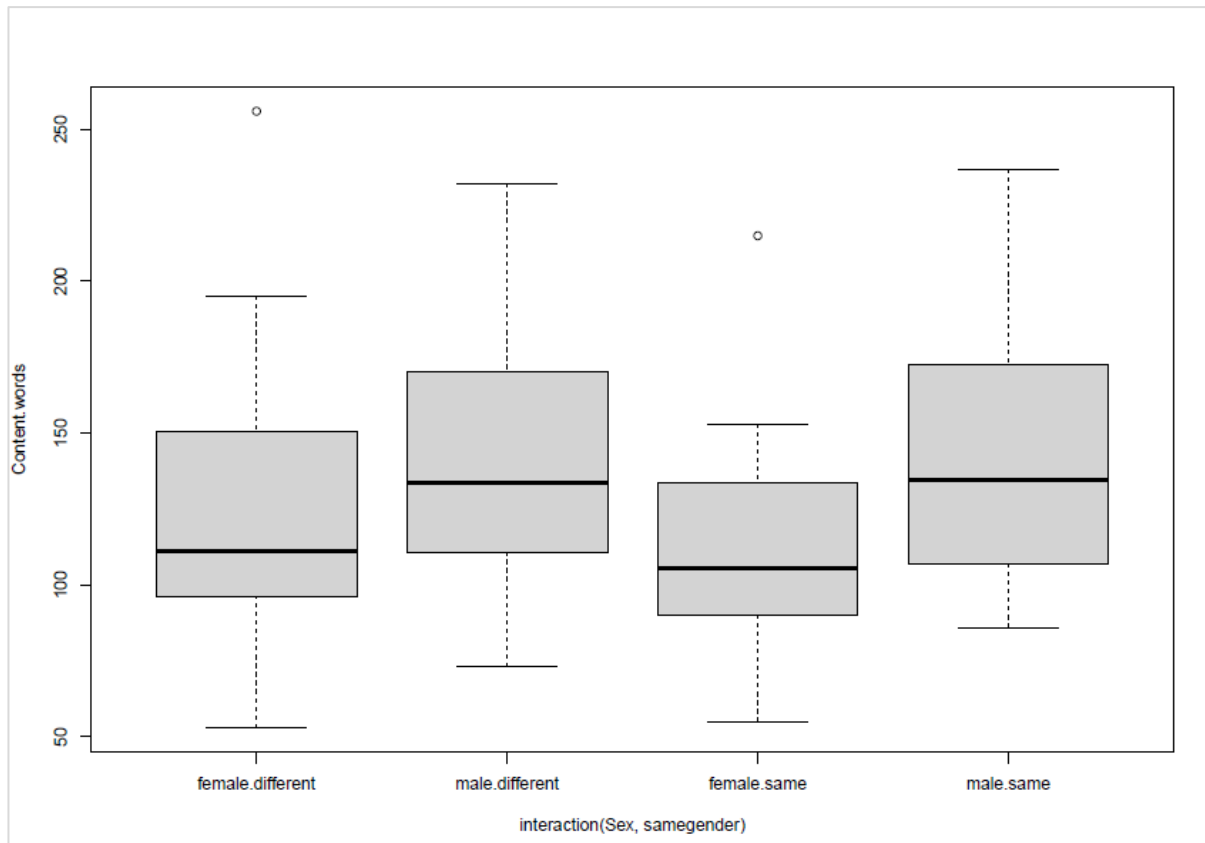


Figure 17: Number of content words boxplot

The amount of content words in narratives produced by male participants (mean: 210) was significantly higher than that in narratives produced by female participants (mean: 176), as can be seen in Figure 17, which shows a comparison between the genders (male or female) and the tasks (different or same gender perspective). The analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed that the difference between male and female participants in numbers of content words was significant ( $F(1,46) = 4.916, p = 0.031$ ).

## 4.8 Lexical diversity

In addition, regarding lexical diversity, the analysis revealed that the lexical variation in female participants' texts was slightly lower than the lexical variation in male participants' texts (Figure 18), as the D value (the measure for diversity) was on average 119.63 for females and 123.78 for males. The analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed that the difference between male and female participants regarding the D value was nonsignificant ( $F(1,46) = 0.457, p = 0.502$ ).

The amount of different words (Figure 19) in narratives produced by male participants (mean:181) was significantly higher than that in narratives produced by female participants (mean: 155). Thus, the difference between male and female participants in number of different words was marginally significant ( $F(1,46) = 3.619, p = 0.063$ ).

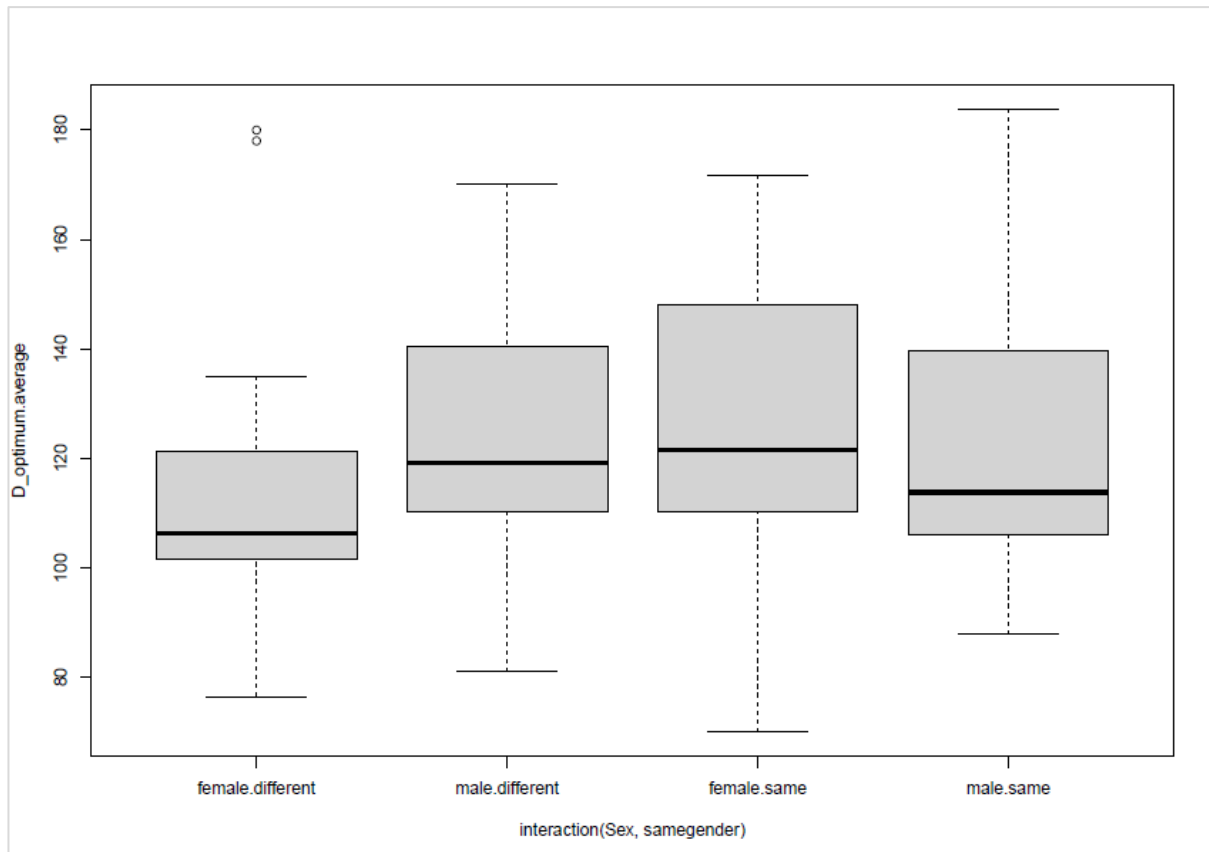


Figure 18: Lexical diversity boxplot

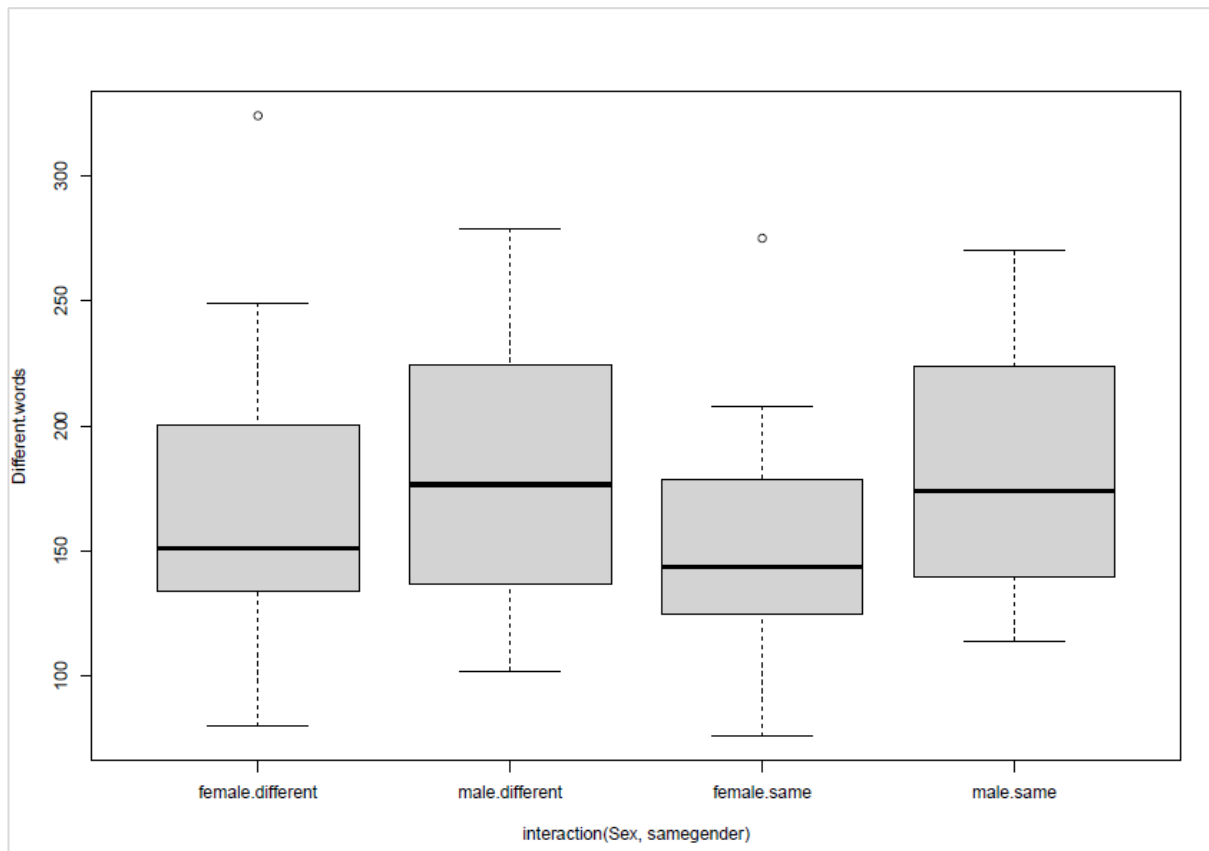


Figure 19: Number of word types boxplot



Since the data were not thoroughly edited for spelling mistakes and the correct place of the Greek intonation mark (´) the program might have misread some words as different (as it is not able to detect the morphology of Greek language). Thus, the number of different Greek words is likely lower than the numbers show, but this is probably equally distributed between the participants.

## 4.9 Time spent on tasks

Regarding the time participants spent on the two tasks, female participants spent on an average 18:36 min (SD: 04:08 min) and male participants 18:50 min (SD: 04:32 min) on each task.

Table 7: Time spent (min) on tasks per task and gender

	Task 1		Task 2	
Task	Male Participants	Female Participants	Male Participants	Female Participants
Same gender	19:42	18:00	18:09	17:53
Opposite gender	20:35	21:33	16:54	16:57
Total average	20:09	19:46	17:32	17:25

More specifically, as Table 7 shows, on an average both male and female participants spent more time on constructing their first narrative in Task 1 than in Task 2 – regardless, the gender perspective they were asked to take.

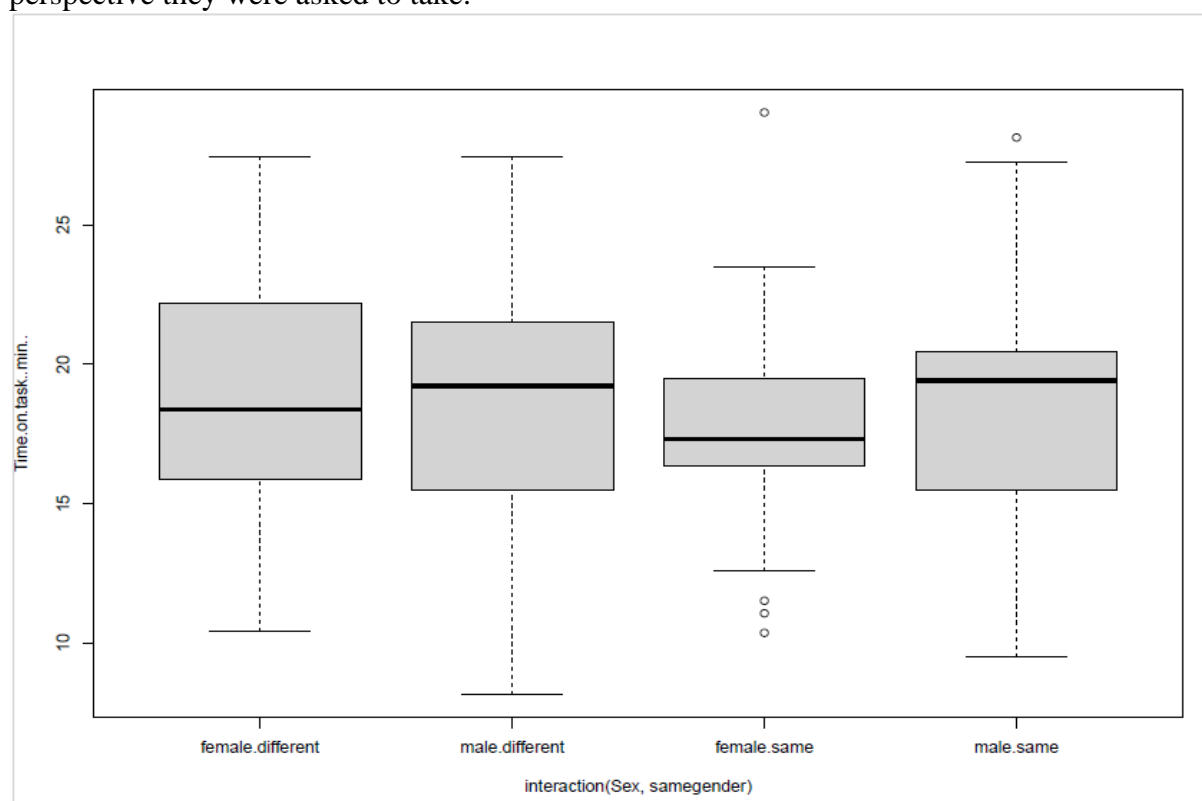


Figure 20: Time spent on tasks boxplot

However, the analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed that the difference between male and female participants in time spent on the task was nonsignificant ( $F(1,46) = 0.681, p = 0.414$ ).

## Chapter 5 Discussion

The aim of this study was to investigate if and how one's gender influences the way they narrate the exact same picture-story (see Appendix B), attribute features and characteristics to the protagonists and structure their narrative with a two-task project design (a same-gender perspective task and an opposite-gender perspective task). More specifically, the objective of this study was to answer three research questions:

RQ1: What is the relation between the narrator's own gender and the specific choices (e.g. regarding structure, description of the protagonists, text length and text quality) he/she makes in the creation of a written narrative?

RQ2: What are the similarities and/or differences between narratives (elicited using the same wordless picture-story) produced by males and females?

RQ3: How do people change their *discourse* in the narrative if they are asked to narrate the same story from a 1<sup>st</sup> person perspective as the protagonist of the opposite gender?

Regarding **RQ1**, the analysis revealed that the narrators' own gender does not necessarily affect their narrative texts. Despite the fact that the plot was provided by the picture-story (see Appendix B), the participants were able to freely construct their narratives and attribute characteristics to the protagonists – regardless of the gender perspective they had. In the Results (Chapter 4) this was shown both through the similar structure the participants applied in both their texts (see section 4.5), and through their ability to tell the story effectively from both protagonists' perspective without facing any difficulties. It was mainly the stereotypical representations of genders in Greek society that influenced the creation and description of the male and female protagonists in the narratives, and not narrators' own gender. This was illustrated by attributing the role of the breadwinner to the male protagonist and the role of the housewife to the female protagonist (see section 4.3). In that sense, the participants overall seemed to have followed a specific schema, or script, regarding the story's structure and the protagonists' identities, which is strongly related to the story-schema theories, the storage and use of previous experiences, and topic-related knowledge in people's brains (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2011).

There are, however, similarities and differences between the narratives in terms of content, structure, length, time spent on tasks and quality, that lead to the answer of **RQ2**. To begin with, the narratives' *where* was exactly what was given by the picture-story – a street in

a city – but the exact city or country was introduced by the participants as well as the cause behind the protagonists’ presence there. Taking into consideration that nearly all of the recordings took place in Athens (where the participants reside), the use of their own city as the city of the story seemed logical, however there were some male participants that placed it in a country abroad (see section 4.2). The *when* of the story, although vague or even unspecified in the male participants’ narratives, was placed in the past – recent or distant – while in the female participants’ narratives specific days of the week were often used. However, for both males and females, the story in most cases took place in the daylight, even though the picture-story is in black and white with no indications regarding the time of the day. These similarities confirm previous research that people tend to use the same (stereo)typical scripts, schemas and frames in order to fulfill the expectations they have about the internal structure of stories – something that is again connected to previous knowledge and the inferences people make to past experiences according to the story-schema approach (Mandler & Johnson 1977).

The fact that the participants introduced the *setting* together with the reasons behind the protagonist’s presence on that street, initiated the creation of the protagonists’ identities. The male protagonist was usually related to a working environment, as he was mostly on his way to or from work and hardly ever on his way to a social gathering. The female protagonist, on the other hand, was rarely related to a working environment, and she was often on her way to run some errands or meet friends. This did not come as a surprise, as the pilot study’s results (see section 2.5.2) also revealed the same pattern: the male protagonist was associated with a professional identity, while the female protagonist was not (Kokkali 2018). This pattern can be associated to Rosch and Mervis (1975) “prototypes” and in this case the general model of how a man’s life should look like versus how a woman’s life should look like. Thus, even though the participants had no information on who the protagonists were or where they were going, both groups had a similar prototype in their minds on how the story would be unfold – a set of stereotypical characteristics of a man’s and a woman’s narrative.

In general, the descriptions of the protagonists in the narratives presented the male protagonist as a seemingly lonely, disappointed, and kind of sad person in his regular route to/from work. When suddenly his day – in some cases even his whole life – changed because of the female protagonist’s appearance and the accident he suffered, but survived, thanks to the female protagonist’s caring character and attempts. She, on the other hand, was a desirable, social person, that takes care of herself and the house, and cares even for the safety of strangers – the male protagonist’s safety in this case. The female protagonist’s appearance was perfect – and in some cases somehow familiar – and made the male protagonist lose his breath, or even

pretend that he was hurt in order to get to know her. The representation of the two protagonists – and ultimately the representation of the two genders – by the participants seems to agree with what Karamesini & Simeonaki's (2016) study discusses concerning Greek society: men are expected to be hard-working and rarely involved to household related issues, for which women are responsible regardless of having to work or not (Karamesini & Simeonaki 2016).

Although, according to Yiota (2009) women's priority is expected to be to create a family and have children, the ending in the female participants' narratives was not towards that direction. Interestingly, in narratives produced by male participants it seemed as if the male participants to a greater extent strived to fulfill that expectation in their narratives by giving a "happily ever after" ending for the two protagonists. The idea of the "happy ending" and the overall stereotypical representation of the two genders agrees to a great extent to what literature, social media, and television promotes by creating specific expectations and maintaining a gender ideology (see Talbot 2003).

Something that was always a part of the protagonists' interaction in the pilot study (Kokkali 2018), but is totally absent from this study's narratives, was the eye contact that initiated their interaction. In the pilot it was a clear description of the male protagonist's gaze towards the female protagonist (i.e. he had initiated the interaction) for male participants, and a simultaneous stare at each other's eyes for female participants, but those descriptions cannot be found in this study's results. That difference can potentially be justified by the different age gap in the two studies<sup>21</sup> between male and female participants. The fact that the two groups were close in age in this study entails that the participants' views regarding male-female interactions were similar – and in a way more modern – indicating that the male dominance and female subordination model that Talbot (2003) blames gender stereotypes for starts to fade. Thus, in the view of the participants of the study it is not men that make the first move, or take the initiative, but it is more of a two-way interaction.

Moving on to similarities and differences in the structure of the narrative texts, both male and female participants' texts followed Stein's (1982) influential scheme, and the constituent *reaction* was the one that was sometimes omitted in their narratives. The difference between male and female participants was that females quite frequently omitted *attempt* in the same-gender task (see Table 3), which is surprising considering that it was the female protagonist (i.e. them) that took action to call for an ambulance and help the male protagonist to regain his senses. However, the absence of *attempt* – and in most cases *reaction* – did not affect the

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<sup>21</sup> In the pilot study (Kokkali 2018) the age range was between 21 and 29 years (mean: 22.7 for females, 27.7 for males) while here it was between 20 and 26 years (mean: 22.6 for females, 23.3 for males).

cohesion of their texts, as they maintained the basic elements of the story-grammar rules (see Thorndyke 1977) by presenting in sequential order a setting, a theme, a plot and a resolution.

In terms of text length, there was not a significant difference between males and females' texts, as they used on an average the same amount of words. In addition, regarding the tasks, both male and female participants produced longer texts in Task 1, when they started with the opposite-gender perspective (see Table 4). However, female participants produced on an average longer texts when they narrated the story from the male protagonist's perspective (regardless the order of the tasks), something that can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, as women, according to Pavlidou (2006), have the ability to adapt easier than males to settings and situations from a very young age, it would explain why it was easier for them to produce longer texts, but not why their texts in the same-gender perspective were shorter. Another explanation would be that, despite the fact that the picture-story was arranged in a way so as for the two protagonists to have equal presence, a big part of the plot was still built upon the male protagonist and his accident. That could potentially influence the text length and lead to longer narratives from the male protagonist's perspective, regardless of the narrators' own gender.

In regard to the quality of the texts, the measures of lexical density and lexical diversity revealed that there was a significant difference between male and female participants in terms of content words and different words, respectively. Male participants produced on an average texts with both higher percentages of content words and different words. However, both male and female participants produced texts with higher information packaging (see section 4.7) when they narrated the story from the perspective of the protagonist of the same gender as theirs. Even though the results based on the statistical analysis can be characterized as significant (see sections 4.7 and 4.8), it is important to note that CLAN cannot detect Greek language's morphology, therefore words with no intonation mark or misspelled words were detected as different – or as content words instead of function words. Of course, the editing of the data for any kind of error would have solved this problem, but it was decided to not interfere with the actual data. As a result, the outcome of those measurements cannot be considered as verified.

Last but not least, regarding the time the participants spent on the tasks, the results indicate that there was no significant difference in time required for the participants to complete their narrative. Given that the participants had a time limit of 20 minutes in order to produce a complete narrative in each task, all participants required on an average more time while producing their first text than their second. That can be justified due to the use of the same

picture-story, which was already familiar to the participants and possibly make it easier for them to construct the second narrative as they already knew the plot.

Regarding **RQ3**, and therefore the task where the participants were asked to narrate the story from the perspective of the protagonist of the opposite gender of theirs, the results indicate that the participants in their majority change their discourse according to the gender perspective they are assigned. As a result, there were differences between the two texts each participant produced, as well as some similarities. Given that there were no indications that the order the participants performed the tasks influenced their discourse, the analysis was focused on the opposite-gender task as a whole. The male participants changed their discourse regarding the reasons behind the female protagonist's presence on the street, and stated that she was on her way to meet friends or do some shopping. In addition, the male participants changed the *when* of the story from a vague past on their same-gender task to a more specific one, by mentioning an exact day of the week, but kept the same city the event took place in both their texts. The female participants, on the other hand, when they took the male protagonist's perspective, became more specific regarding the city they were at, but vaguer in the timeframe of the story in comparison to their first narrative. They also associated the male protagonist to a working place, and even included some aspects of the economic crisis in Greece, by mentioning that that was the day he lost his job and became unemployed.

Those changes, and the representation of the two protagonists on behalf of the participants, revealed that the female participants' texts in the opposite-gender task were similar in terms of discourse to those produced in the same-gender task by the male participants and vice versa. It was mainly the content, and not the structure, that differed between the perspectives the participants were asked to take. Thus, the Stein (1982) scheme served the purpose of controlling for where the differences lay. One last thing that can be said regarding differences and similarities between male and females regarding the order of the tasks and the time spent on the tasks, is that males produced on an average longer texts than females regardless of the task, while females' shortest texts were those they produced in the same-gender task as Task 1. However, the opposite-gender task was the one that required the most time (exceeding even the 20 minutes limit) for both males and females when they performed it as Task 1.

As with any study where the results are drawn from a specific population and a specific age group, it is difficult to make generalizations regarding the whole population. However, the study's explorative nature in connection to the results give rise to interesting questions regarding how males and females produce narrative texts with specific characteristics and,

consequently, identify genders and their roles in Greek society by the protagonists' representations in them.

## 5.1 Methodological discussion

Given that methodology is in the core of any project, a pilot study, and eventually the results, could lead to ideas regarding potential methodological alterations. To begin with, a wider age range in the present study would give a more representative account of the population and form a better ground for analysis and generalization. Moreover, an additional different version of the picture-story, would allow possibly an easier focus shifting in the narrative. More specifically, a version of the picture-story showing the female protagonist suffering the accident would potentially be used for the elicitation of the female participants' narratives – and in the opposite-gender task for male participants – and would have been a control condition that would be interesting to test for. Even though that was initially a thought regarding the thesis design, it was decided to not be carried out, for two reasons. Firstly, because it would have required recruiting even more participants, to receive big enough groups for every condition – something that was not possible within the scope of this thesis, and secondly, because it had not been tested in the pilot in order to detect potential problems. Lastly, the results would have benefited from a post-interview driven from the participants actual texts, which would have allowed an insight in the reasons behind the specific choices the participants made in the descriptions of the two protagonists.

## 5.2 Future studies

Apart from the methodological alternations that are pointed out above, the results of the current study point at other possible future studies. Questions related to the cognitive processes of the participants like *translating* and *reviewing* (see sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3) were left out of this project, because a thesis project always apply some space and time limitations. Who revises more, men or women? Which gender is better in spelling and Greek grammar? A focus on those aspects would reveal further similarities and differences between the participants, not only regarding gender, but also regarding education.

In addition, a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural study would allow comparison between the data collected in Greece and a country like Sweden, where gender equality practically applies in many aspects of life (see Eurostat 2018). The conclusions drawn by comparing different linguistic and cultural aspects that emerge in narrative texts, using the same setting



and stimulus, would challenge existing hypothesis and stereotypes about the two languages and their speakers. How similar or different would the Greek and the Swedish narratives be? Would it be obvious in which society and culture the protagonists belong based on the representation of genders in the narrative texts?

Finally, as it becomes more visible that there are no longer established gender dichotomies but rather sexual and gender diversity, fluidity, and change, it would be interesting to take into account different perspectives within the emergent field of queer theory (see Butler 1993). How would participants' narratives have changed if the protagonists in the picture-story were not gendered? If they were simple sketches with no implied sex or even animals, what kind of stories, and what content and structure would the participants have produced?

The project design and the topic itself give rise to new questions in the field that could potentially inspire other studies, not only in the field of discourse analysis, but also in the field of cognitive linguistics, sociolinguistics and queer theory.

## Chapter 6 Conclusion

The study discussed the connection of one's own gender to the choices he or she makes in the production of a written narrative. The data (96 narrative texts produced by male and female participants) were collected with the use of the keystroke-logging program ScriptLog, and analyzed under the spectrum of the three RQs of the study (see section 1.2). The results of the study indicated that there are similarities and differences between the narrative texts produced by men and women, and provided sufficient answers to the RQs.

More specifically, there was no strong evidence that narrators' own gender affected their narrative text (RQ1), but the creation and description of the male and female protagonists in the narratives are heavily influenced by the stereotypical representation of gender in Greek society. In addition, in terms of content, structure, text-length, time spent on task, and quality of the narrative texts (RQ2), there were some obvious similarities and differences between the two gender groups. Similarities, on the one hand, were detected regarding the *where* and *when* of the story, as both groups placed the protagonists in their city (mainly Athens, Greece), and mostly in daytime. The male protagonist was connected to a working environment (and the stereotypical image of breadwinner in Greek society), while the female protagonist was related to a carefree, social life by both gender groups. However, providing a "happy ending" for the two protagonists was something that could be found mainly in male participants narratives. Regarding the structure of the narrative texts, both gender groups produced texts with more or less the same constituents, and even though the female participants seemed to adapt easier to the male protagonist's role (by completing the task without delays), there were no significant differences in the length of the final texts or the time spent on task. Also, both gender groups produced narrative texts with higher information packaging when they performed the task from the perspective of the protagonist with the same gender as theirs. Finally, the results of the opposite-gender task (RQ3) showed that both gender groups changed their discourse, and that the discourse in female participants' narratives was similar to that of male participants' in same-gender task. In other words, the narrative texts differed in content to serve the purpose of the male or the female protagonist's perspective, but not in structure.

In conclusion, the way men and women produce and construct their narratives is inevitably connected to previous knowledge and experiences along with the culture and society that nurtured them. Those aspects together lead to a very clear and stereotypical pattern that almost everyone follows but, at the same time, the narrator's own gender or the protagonist's gender constitute variation. Thus, interesting questions arise that are yet to be explored.



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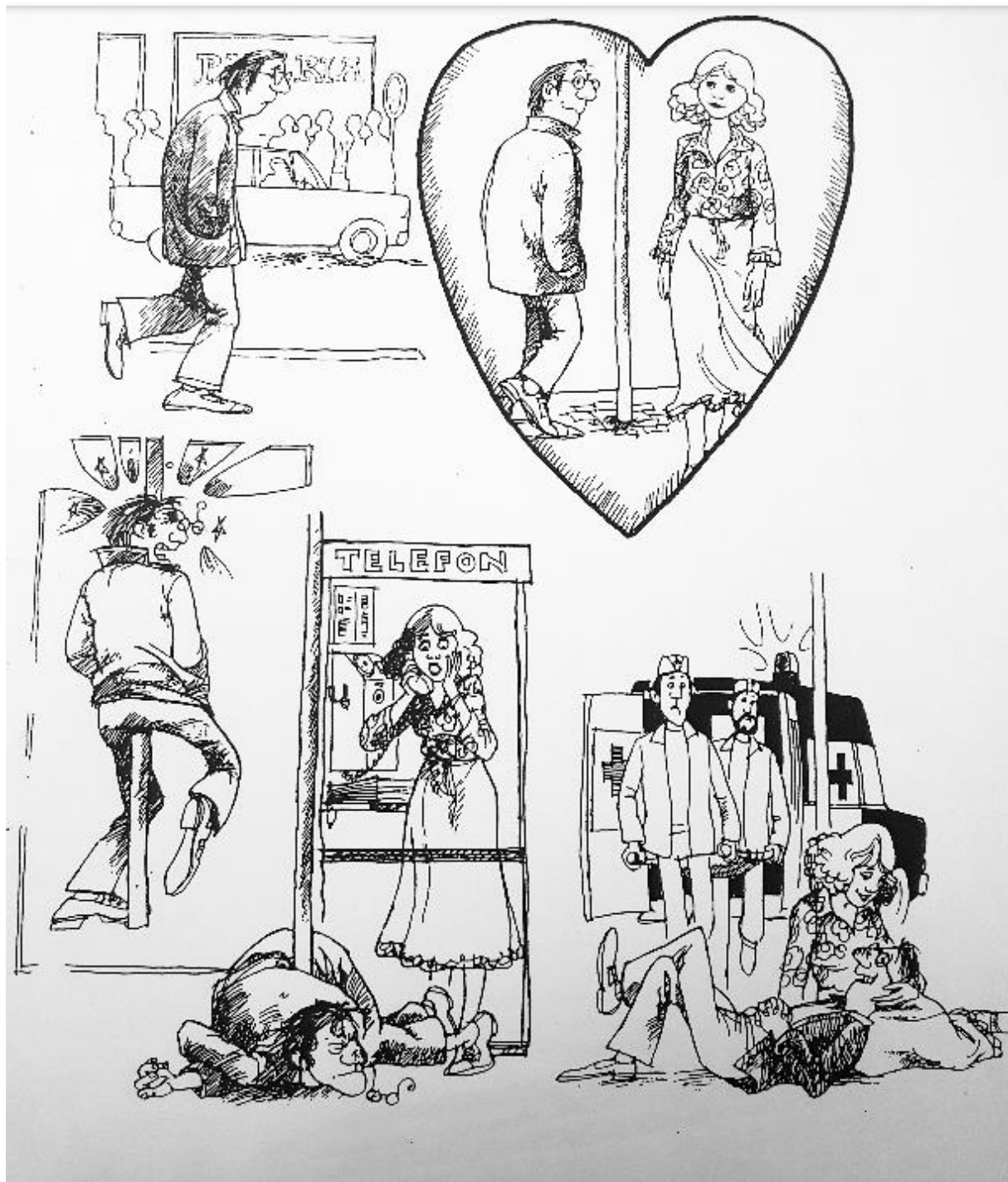
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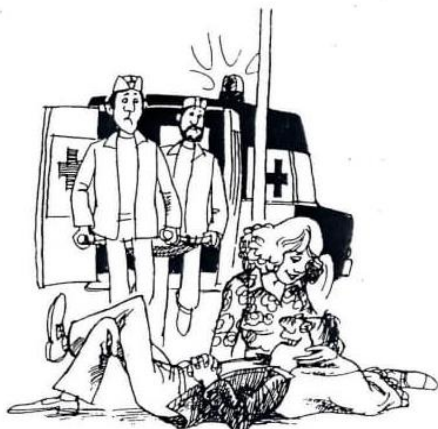
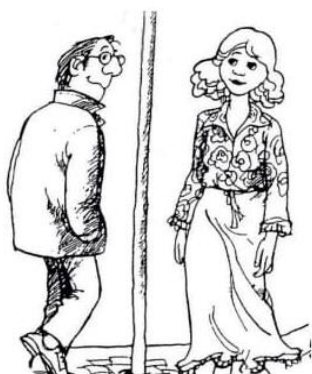
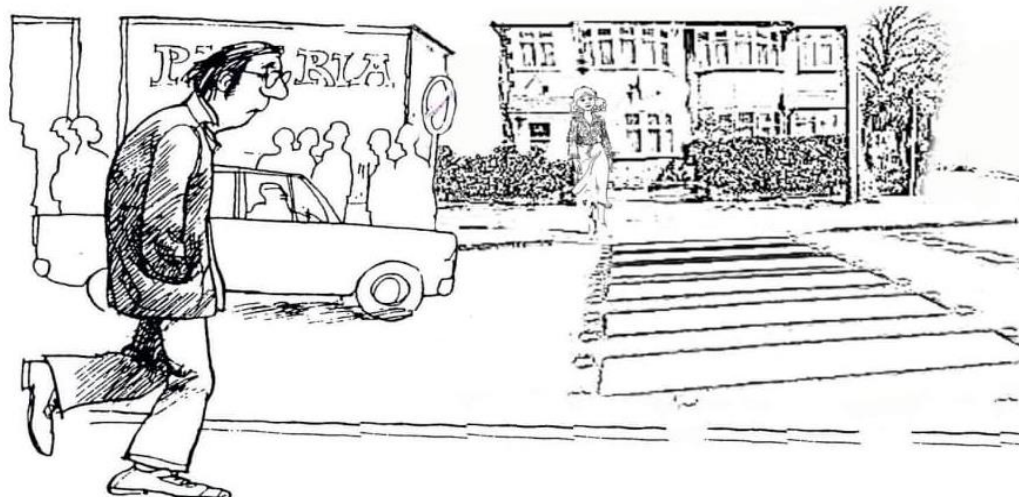
## Appendix A: Pilot study's picture-story



The picture-story, that was given as stimulus in the pilot study (Kokkali 2018), consists of material that was given as a writing task during an SFI class at Helsingborg's Vuxenutbildning in Autumn 2017. The exact source/ reference could not be retrieved.

## Appendix B: Stimulus

The picture-story bellow was used as a stimulus in order to elicit the narratives in both tasks. The text on the picture translates as: *What do you think happened next? Give your own ending to the story!*



Τι πιστεύετε ότι συνέβη  
στη συνέχεια;

Δώστε εσείς το τέλος της  
ιστορίας!

## Appendix C: Consent form (GR)



LUNDS  
UNIVERSITET

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### ΕΝΤΥΠΟ ΣΥΝΑΙΝΕΣΗΣ ΓΙΑ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗ ΣΕ ΕΡΕΥΝΗΤΙΚΗ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ

Αποδέχομαι να συμμετέχω εθελοντικά στην ερευνητική εργασία που διεξάγει η Λαμπρινή Κόκκαλη, μεταπτυχιακή φοιτήτρια του Πανεπιστημίου του Lund. Κατανοώ ότι η παρούσα μελέτη έχει σχεδιαστεί για να συγκεντρώσει δεδομένα στα πλαίσια της διπλωματικής διατριβής που εντάσσεται στον Τομέα της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσας.

Αποδέχομαι ότι τα δεδομένα που θα συλλεχθούν μέσω της παραγωγής δύο γραπτών κειμένων, το Φθινόπωρο του 2018, μπορούν να χρησιμοποιηθούν σε έρευνες σχετικά με την ελληνική γλώσσα, συμπεριλαμβανομένων διαφορετικών τύπων ποσοτικής και ποιοτικής ανάλυσης, καθώς και δημοσιεύσεων της διπλωματικής διατριβής, σε άρθρα ή ακόμη σε επιστημονικά συνέδρια και σεμινάρια.

Αποδέχομαι επίσης τη δημοσίευση της ανάλυσης και των παραδειγμάτων από το υλικό που θα συλλεχθεί διαδικτυακά.

Τέλος, συμφωνώ στην πλήρη ενημέρωσή μου σχετικά με τον στόχο της διπλωματικής διατριβής, μετά την ολοκλήρωση της συλλογής δεδομένων.

Έχω λάβει γνώση των παρακάτω:

- Η συμμετοχή μου είναι εθελοντική και μπορώ να την αποσύρω σε οποιοδήποτε χρόνο και υπό οποιεσδήποτε συνθήκες.
- Η διαχείριση των δεδομένων μου θα γίνει ανώνυμα με την χρήση κωδικού αντί ονόματος και η ερευνήτρια δεν θα με ταυτοποιήσει σε καμία μελέτη χρησιμοποιώντας πληροφορίες που έχουν συλλεχθεί στα πλαίσια του πειράματος.
- Τα συλλεχθέντα δεδομένα θα αποθηκευτούν σε ψηφιακή μορφή σε εξωτερικό σκληρό δίσκο.
- Το ερευνητικό υλικό θεωρείται δημόσια πράξη στα Σουηδικά Πανεπιστήμια και υπάρχει πιθανότητα να ζητηθεί για επανέλεγχο.
- Μπορώ να επικοινωνήσω με την Λαμπρινή Κόκκαλη ώστε να αποσύρω το συλλεχθέν υλικό ανά πάσα στιγμή.
- Μπορώ να επικοινωνήσω με την Λαμπρινή Κόκκαλη ώστε να ζητήσω να ενημερωθώ σχετικά με τα αποτελέσματα της ερευνητικής εργασίας.
- Αυτή η ερευνητική εργασία έχει επιθεωρηθεί και εγκριθεί από τους επιβλέποντες καθηγητές, Βασίλειο Σαμπτακάκη & Victoria Johansson: Center for Languages and Literature, Lund University.

Με την υπογραφή μου δηλώνω ότι συμμετέχω εθελοντικά στην παρούσα έρευνα και ότι έχω διαβάσει και κατανοώ όλα αναγράφονται παραπάνω. Θα λάβω ένα υπογεγραμμένο και χρονολογημένο αντίγραφο του εντύπου, καθώς και οποιοδήποτε άλλο έντυπο υλικό μπορεί να θεωρηθεί απαραίτητο από τους ερευνητές.

Υπογραφή

Ημερομηνία

Ονοματεπώνυμο ολογράφως

Υπογραφή Ερευνητή

Στοιχεία επικοινωνίας:

Λαμπρινή Κόκκαλη | (+30) 6981076708 | (+46) 736857466 | labrinikokkali@gmail.com

The English translation of the Consent Form is available online here:

<https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1IU1n5Zzr5PC1XvyYiawdiuNyuj86PBuY?usp=sharing>

## Appendix D: Questionnaire (GR)

26/9/2018 Γενικές πληροφορίες συμμετέχοντος

### Γενικές πληροφορίες συμμετέχοντος

Το ερωτηματολόγιο που ακολουθεί αποτελείται από 11 ερωτήσεις σχετικά με τις προσωπικές σας πληροφορίες. Τα δεδομένα που θα συλλεχθούν, θα χρησιμοποιηθούν στα πλαίσια της μεταπτυχιακής διατριβής στον Τομέα Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας και είναι μέρος του πειράματος.

1. Διεύθυνση ηλεκτρονικού ταχυδρομείου \*
2. Κωδικός συμμετέχοντα
3. Ηλικία
4. Φύλο  
Να επισημαίνεται μόνο μία έλλειψη.  
☐ Άνδρας  
☐ Γυναίκα  
☐ Άλλο: \_\_\_\_\_
5. Υψηλότερη βαθμίδα εκπαίδευσης  
Να επισημαίνεται μόνο μία έλλειψη.  
☐ Μεταπτυχιακός φοιτητής  
☐ Προπτυχιακός φοιτητής  
☐ Απόφοιτος λυκείου  
☐ Άλλο: \_\_\_\_\_
6. Αυτή τη στιγμή:  
Να επισημαίνεται μόνο μία έλλειψη.  
☐ Εργάζομαι  
☐ Σπουδάζω  
☐ Είμαι άνεργος  
☐ Άλλο: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Τίτλος σπουδών ή Σχολή φοίτησης:

<https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1zZjvmPXL1yXiVqoASMA44VVG5kxhPfmfmvc9gjPM/edit> 1/2


26/9/2018 Γενικές πληροφορίες συμμετέχοντος

8. Γλώσσες (εκτός των Ελληνικών)  
Να επισημαίνεται μόνο μία έλλειψη.  
☐ Αγγλικά  
☐ Γαλλικά  
☐ Γερμανικά  
☐ Άλλο: \_\_\_\_\_
9. Έχεις ζήσει εκτός Ελλάδος για μεγάλο χρονικό διάστημα (περισσότερο από 6 μήνες);  
Να επισημαίνεται μόνο μία έλλειψη.  
☐ Ναι  
☐ Όχι
10. Σε μια κλίμακα από το 1 έως το 5, πώς θα χαρακτήριζες τον εαυτό σου ως χρήστη πληκτρολογίου (με το 5 να δηλώνει πλήρως αυτοματοποιημένο χρήστη);  
Να επισημαίνεται μόνο μία έλλειψη.  

1	2	3	4	5	
Μη αυτοματοποιημένος	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Πλήρως αυτοματοποιημένος
11. Έχεις διαγνωστεί ποτέ με κάποια μαθησιακή δυσκολία, όπως π.χ. δυσλεξία;  
Να επισημαίνεται μόνο μία έλλειψη.  
☐ Ναι  
☐ Όχι
12. Αν ναι, με ποια; Έλαβες κάποιο είδος βοήθεια κατά την διάρκεια των σπουδών σου;
13. Πώς θα περιέγραφες την όραση σου;  
Να επισημαίνεται μόνο μία έλλειψη.  
☐ Φυσιολογική  
☐ Διορθωμένη φυσιολογική (με τη χρήση γυαλιών ή φακών επαφής)  
☐ Άλλο: \_\_\_\_\_

**Ευχαριστώ πολύ για τη συμμετοχή!**  
Με το πέρας της διαδικασίας θα λάβεις ως επιβράβευση μία δωροεπιταγή αξίας 5€ από γνωστό πολυκατάστημα.

☐ Να μου αποσταλεί ένα αντίγραφο με τις απαντήσεις μου.

Με την υποστήριξη της  
 Google Forms

<https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1zZjvmPXL1yXiVqoASMA44VVG5kxhPfmfmvc9gjPM/edit> 2/2

An English version of the Questionnaire is available online here: <https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1IU1n5Zr5PC1XvyYiawdiuNyuj86PBuY?usp=sharing>



## Appendix E: Instructions (GR)

Η έρευνα αποτελείται από 2 μέρη και διαρκεί περίπου 45 λεπτά. Θα σας ζητηθεί να γράψετε 2 κείμενα (20 λεπτά περίπου το καθένα) και θα έχετε και ένα διάλειμμα 5 λεπτών μετά το 1<sup>ο</sup> μέρος.

### Μέρος πρώτο:

Αφού κοιτάξετε με προσοχή την πλοκή της ιστορίας που παρέχετε μέσα από τις φωτογραφίες, θα σας ζητηθεί να αφηγηθείτε γραπτά την ιστορία σε **α' πρόσωπο** - σαν να είστε [**ο άνδρας πρωταγωνιστής/ η γυναίκα πρωταγωνίστρια**] - καθώς και να συνεχίσετε την ιστορία.

Όταν είστε έτοιμοι (θα ερωτηθείτε για τυχών απορίες) θα προχωρήσουμε στην έναρξη την διαδικασίας πατώντας το πλήκτρο **RECORD** στην πάνω αριστερή γωνία, για να εμφανιστεί ο κέρσορας και να ξεκινήσετε να γράφετε το κείμενο σας.

Οι εικόνες θα είναι διαθέσιμες καθ' όλη την διάρκεια παραγωγής του κειμένου σας και θα είστε σε θέση να την κοιτάξετε όποτε και αν τις χρειαστείτε.

Σε οποιοδήποτε σημείο αν σας δημιουργηθούν απορίες μπορείτε να ρωτήσετε τον ερευνητή που θα βρίσκεται παρόν στη διαδικασία.

Καλείστε να ολοκληρώσετε το κείμενο σας σε διάστημα **20 λεπτών**, ο ερευνητής θα σας ενημερώσει 5 λεπτά πριν την συμπλήρωση των 20 λεπτών, ωστόσο θα σας δοθεί χρόνος να ολοκληρώσετε το κείμενο σας ακόμη και μετά το χρονικό όριο - καθώς δεν τίθεται θέμα γρηγορότερου χρόνου ή συναγωνισμού.

Μόλις έχετε ολοκληρώσει το κείμενο σας, θα ενημερώσετε τον ερευνητή ώστε να σταματήσει η διαδικασία πατώντας το πλήκτρο **STOP** στην πάνω αριστερή γωνία.

Θα ακολουθήσουν **5 λεπτά διάλειμμα** και στη συνέχεια θα κληθείτε να προχωρήσετε στο δεύτερο και τελευταίο μέρος του πειράματος.

### Μέρος δεύτερο:

Αφού κοιτάξετε ξανά την πλοκή της ιστορίας που παρέχετε μέσα από τις φωτογραφίες, θα σας ζητηθεί να αφηγηθείτε γραπτά την ιστορία σε **α' πρόσωπο** - σαν να είστε [**η γυναίκα πρωταγωνίστρια/ ο άνδρας πρωταγωνιστής**] αυτή τη φορά.

Όταν είστε έτοιμοι πατήστε το πλήκτρο **RECORD** στην πάνω αριστερή γωνία ώστε να εμφανιστεί ο κέρσορας και να ξεκινήσετε να γράφετε το κείμενο σας.

Οι εικόνες θα είναι διαθέσιμες καθ' όλη την διάρκεια παραγωγής του κειμένου σας και θα είστε σε θέση να την κοιτάξετε όποτε και αν τις χρειαστείτε.

Σε οποιοδήποτε σημείο αν σας δημιουργηθούν απορίες μπορείτε να ρωτήσετε τον ερευνητή που θα βρίσκεται παρόν στη διαδικασία.

Καλείστε να ολοκληρώσετε το κείμενο σας σε διάστημα **20 λεπτών**, ο ερευνητής θα σας ενημερώσει 5 λεπτά πριν την συμπλήρωση των 20 λεπτών, ωστόσο θα σας δοθεί χρόνος να ολοκληρώσετε το κείμενο σας ακόμη και μετά το χρονικό όριο.

Μόλις έχετε ολοκληρώσει το κείμενο σας, πατήστε το πλήκτρο **STOP** στην πάνω αριστερή γωνία.

Θα ακολουθήσει σύντομη ενημέρωση σχετικά με το σκοπό της εργασίας.

The instructions were given every time with the necessary changes according to the Task (same or opposite gender first), and the Group (males or females). An English version can be found here: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1yrpjEde8cDAom7IO4nacheM4WLj3me/view?usp=sharing> .

## Appendix F: List of Function words in Greek language

As retrieved from: Λώλος, Α. (1999). Αναλυτική Γραμματική της Νέας Ελληνικής & Συντακτικό. Γλωσσική Βιβλιοθήκη. Θεσσαλονίκη: Εκδόσεις 2002, 58 – 124.

**1. Prepositions:** με, σε, ως, για, δίχως, χωρίς, προς, μετά, κατά, παρά, από, αντί, δια, εκ, εξ, εν, επί, περί, προ, υπέρ, υπό, συν, πλην, μείον.

**2. Con/Subjunctions & Interjections:** αλλά, παρά, όμως, αν, και, δε, δεν, όχι, ωστόσο, μα, ενώ, μόνο, μονάχα, μολονότι, εξάλλου, ναι, μεν, που, ώστε, επειδή, γιατί, αφού, τι, ή, είτε, μήπως, μην, μη, ό,τι, πως, πώς, πού, δηλαδή, ώστε, λοιπόν, άρα, επομένως, κι, μήτε, ούτε, ουδέ, μηδέ, να, για, αν, εάν, άμα, σαν, όταν, καθώς, αόφτου, αφού, μόλις, πριν, ώσπου, ωςότου, όσο, προτού, όποτε.

### 3. Particles: ας, θα, να, μα, για.

**4. Interjections:** Α, Ο, Ω, Ε, Ου, Μπα, Πωπώ, Ποπό, Αχ, Ωχ, Ουφ.

**5. Articles:** ο, του, τον, οι, των, τους, η, της, την, τις, το, τα, ένας, ενός, έναν, μία, μια, μίας, μιας, ένα.

**6. Count words:** δύο, τρία, τρεις, τέσσερα, τέσσερις, πέντε, έξι, επτά, οκτώ, οχτώ, εννέα, εννιά, δέκα, έντεκα, δώδεκα, δεκατρία, δεκατέσσερα, δεκαπέντε, δεκαέξι, δεκαεπτά, δεκαοχτώ, δεκαεννιά, είκοσι, τριάντα, σαράντα, πενήντα, εξήντα.

**7. Pronouns:** εγώ, εμένα, μου, με, εμείς, εμάς, μας, εσύ, εσένα, σου, σε, εσείς, εσάς, σας, αυτός, αυτού, αυτόν, αυτοί, αυτών, αυτούς, αυτή, αυτής, αυτήν, αυτές, αυτό, αυτά, δικός, δικού, δικό, δικοί, δικών, δικούς, δική, δικής, δικές, δικά, ίδιος, ίδιου, ίδιο, ίδιοι, ίδιων, ίδιους, ίδια, ίδιας, ίδιες, μόνος, μόνου, μόνο, μόνοι, μόνων, μόνους, μόνη, μόνης, μόνες, μόνα, ετούτος, ετούτου, ετούτο, ετούτοι, ετούτων, ετούτους, ετούτη, ετούτης, ετούτες, ετούτον, ετούτα, εκείνος, εκείνου, εκείνον, εκείνοι, εκείνων, εκείνους, εκείνη, εκείνης, εκείνες, εκείνο, εκείνα, τέτοιος, τέτοιου, τέτοιον, τέτοιοι, τέτοιων, τέτοιους, τέτοια, τέτοιας, τέτοιες, τέτοιο, τόσο, τόσο, τόσο, τόσοι, τόσο, ό,τι, όσος, όσου, όσον, όσοι, όσων, όσους, όση, όσης, όσες, όσο, όσα, ποιος, ποιου, τίνος, ποιον, ποιοι, ποιων, τίνων, ποιους, ποια, ποιας, ποιες, ποιο, κανένas, κανείς, κανένός, κανέναν, καμία, καμιά, καμίας, κανένα, πόσος, πόσου, πόσον, πόσοι, πόσων, πόσους, πόση, πόσης, πόσες, πόσο, πόσα, κάποιος, κάποιου, κάποιον, κάποιιοι, κάποιων, κάποιους, κάποια, κάποιας, κάποιες, κάποιο, μερικοί, μερικών, μερικούς, μερικές, μερικά, κάτι, τίποτα, κάμποσος, κάμποσου, κάμποσο, κάμποσοι, κάμποσων, κάμποσους, κάμποση, κάμποσης, κάμποσες, κάμποσα, κάθε, καθένas, καθενός, καθένα, καθεμία, καθεμιά, καθεμίας, καθεμιάς, καθετί, δείνα, τάδε, άλλος, άλλου, άλλον, άλλιοι, άλλων, άλλους, άλλη, άλλης, άλλες, άλλο, άλλα, εαυτός, εαυτού, εαυτόν, εαυτό, εαυτοί, εαυτών, εαυτούς.

The actual file can be found here:

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1yrpjEde8cDAom7IO4nachepM4WLjJ3me/view?usp=sharing>

## Appendix G: Summary Table

Name	Group	Sex	Role	Content words	Function words	Different words	Total number of words	Tokens in Linear Text	Tokens in Final Text	Total Recording Time (sec.)	Time on task (min.)	D optimum average
101A	A1	male	MALE	163	183	202	301	2253	2011	1250.603	20:51	145.45
101B	A2	male	FEMALE	117	127	156	230	1626	1449	815.388	13:35	148.69
102A	A1	male	MALE	95	115	114	178	1344	1057	1694.081	28:14	87.94
102B	A2	male	FEMALE	111	136	127	207	1418	1163	1246.154	20:46	80.99
103A	A1	male	MALE	108	119	143	203	1573	1186	1204.924	20:05	150.1
103B	A2	male	FEMALE	107	123	141	203	1663	1249	1160.361	19:20	121.3
104A	A1	male	MALE	105	112	133	174	1343	1076	591.272	09:51	183.77
104B	A2	male	FEMALE	115	130	154	209	1532	1299	495.69	08:16	170.12
105A	A1	male	MALE	138	157	176	275	2195	1671	955.243	15:55	123.41
105B	A2	male	FEMALE	152	175	195	308	2170	1761	890.587	14:51	109.32
106A	A1	male	MALE	139	158	191	302	2339	1869	1195.687	19:56	139.35
106B	A2	male	FEMALE	132	152	181	284	2081	1739	1179.321	19:39	118.21
108A	A1	male	MALE	182	201	231	339	2440	2051	1647.417	27:27	158.82
108B	A2	male	FEMALE	138	151	184	258	1950	1571	1229.93	20:30	163.42
109A	A1	male	MALE	206	250	257	430	2680	2456	1232.428	20:32	107.63
109B	A2	male	FEMALE	197	246	251	440	2717	2492	1095.822	18:16	108.79
111A	A1	male	MALE	191	224	249	393	2532	2369	1328.388	22:08	139.73
111B	A2	male	FEMALE	167	190	218	339	2297	2042	1373.144	22:53	154.69
112A	A1	male	MALE	87	104	119	180	1362	1071	944.698	15:45	98.39
112B	A2	male	FEMALE	92	111	129	188	1372	1148	810.041	13:30	110.98
113A	A1	male	MALE	131	159	169	271	1839	1595	973.915	16:14	112.63
113B	A2	male	FEMALE	111	126	155	236	1560	1377	785.79	13:06	104.23
114A	A1	male	MALE	150	196	208	364	2466	2109	1170.641	19:31	131.41
114B	A2	male	FEMALE	173	208	231	391	2603	2246	1090.92	18:11	130.44



201A	B1	female	FEMALE	139	164	186	298	2150	1812	1289.165	21:29	125.36
201B	B2	female	MALE	154	191	206	345	2152	1986	1113.035	18:33	120.11
202A	B1	female	FEMALE	72	78	94	118	935	773	1141.976	19:02	156.72
202B	B2	female	MALE	71	78	98	138	1031	813	1163.231	19:23	106.2
203A	B1	female	FEMALE	64	72	93	122	868	760	8374.91	19:35	135.39
203B	B2	female	MALE	102	127	139	223	1380	1255	1102.436	18:22	108.64
204A	B1	female	FEMALE	55	65	76	113	941	662	1065.701	17:46	70.06
204B	B2	female	MALE	53	66	80	116	814	673	833.085	13:53	85.12
205A	B1	female	FEMALE	106	114	144	211	1680	1234	1029.892	17:10	113.61
205B	B2	female	MALE	108	113	156	206	1786	1279	940.976	15:41	178
206A	B1	female	FEMALE	108	115	144	192	1296	1166	1027.009	17:07	152.65
206B	B2	female	MALE	117	131	159	220	1476	1263	957.585	15:58	179.97
207A	B1	female	FEMALE	99	111	133	198	1756	1217	1192.068	19:52	109.5
207B	B2	female	MALE	105	128	145	231	2014	1405	1258.027	20:58	107.16
208A	B1	female	FEMALE	95	112	136	208	1691	1226	1428.874	23:49	111.27
208B	B2	female	MALE	111	130	147	248	1645	1394	1346.724	22:27	76.49
209A	B1	female	FEMALE	77	88	104	151	1003	912	777.695	12:58	86.09
209B	B2	female	MALE	82	92	118	166	1013	951	641.297	10:41	104.19
211A	B1	female	FEMALE	95	124	127	196	1594	1188	994.245	16:34	129.51
211B	B2	female	MALE	111	127	151	230	1622	1312	899.688	15:00	100.19
212A	B1	female	FEMALE	153	171	208	298	2220	1828	801.226	13:21	163.79
212B	B2	female	MALE	149	180	213	328	2480	1932	878.108	14:38	135.01
213A	B1	female	FEMALE	85	97	122	179	1270	1087	1036.397	17:16	110.98
213B	B2	female	MALE	92	104	131	203	1332	1169	1069.438	17:49	94.37
301A	C1	male	FEMALE	185	225	235	384	2673	2337	1663.617	27:44	117.65
301B	C2	male	MALE	163	187	216	357	2383	2129	1543.152	25:43	104.67
302A	C1	male	FEMALE	110	143	132	212	1441	1187	1043.068	17:23	102.44
302B	C2	male	MALE	128	157	150	238	1490	1315	1143.138	19:03	95.95
303A	C1	male	FEMALE	148	164	197	304	2004	1838	1165.883	19:26	113.24

303B	C2	male	MALE	97	117	134	211	1376	1294	792.662	13:13	106.37
304A	C1	male	FEMALE	81	92	112	162	1036	942	702.975	11:43	104.73
304B	C2	male	MALE	106	111	136	197	1250	1174	748.548	12:29	106.29
305A	C1	male	FEMALE	232	316	262	478	2958	2724	1202.656	20:03	119.97
305B	C2	male	MALE	237	360	270	538	3177	2999	1194.449	19:54	113.6
307A	C1	male	FEMALE	77	86	109	156	1192	917	1002.946	16:43	116.61
307B	C2	male	MALE	86	98	119	178	1363	1036	981.882	16:22	104.4
308A	C1	male	FEMALE	135	148	172	261	2057	1584	1393.514	23:14	132.2
308B	C2	male	MALE	108	123	143	216	1637	1312	938.286	15:38	110.02
309A	C1	male	FEMALE	200	233	260	407	2982	2502	1522.431	25:22	156.06
309B	C2	male	MALE	129	155	172	271	1875	1621	866.128	14:26	117.16
310A	C1	male	FEMALE	73	81	102	141	1077	828	1018.609	16:59	126.17
310B	C2	male	MALE	120	144	162	253	1746	1503	1100.96	18:21	129.47
311A	C1	male	FEMALE	162	180	214	312	2323	1930	1373.11	22:53	154.68
311B	C2	male	MALE	201	231	259	405	2692	2372	1243.647	20:44	154.61
312A	C1	male	FEMALE	115	133	150	228	1762	1383	1217.375	20:17	113.85
312B	C2	male	MALE	142	158	183	279	1980	1635	1218.813	20:19	113.93
313A	C1	male	FEMALE	217	281	279	488	3199	2982	1512.24	25:12	122.11
313B	C2	male	MALE	194	278	252	491	3085	2871	1299.043	21:39	105.54
401A	D1	female	MALE	152	187	198	346	2272	2000	1329.071	22:09	101.05
401B	D2	female	FEMALE	128	152	171	284	2048	1687	1183.612	19:44	99.73
402A	D1	female	MALE	157	180	203	315	2122	1879	1664.575	27:45	126.14
402B	D2	female	FEMALE	119	137	157	250	1683	1478	1311.42	21:51	104.39
403A	D1	female	MALE	78	85	112	153	1379	902	1157.827	19:18	122.29
403B	D2	female	FEMALE	98	107	132	182	2074	1125	1744.053	29:04	153.5
404A	D1	female	MALE	116	128	145	205	1833	1224	1457.742	24:18	134.25
404B	D2	female	FEMALE	78	87	108	142	1182	858	1024.083	17:04	171.75
405A	D1	female	MALE	86	100	113	170	1342	1031	1073.612	17:54	104.31
405B	D2	female	FEMALE	105	121	143	209	1549	1187	998.121	16:38	123.54

406A	D1	female	MALE	109	121	151	233	1558	1345	981.401	16:21	103.48
406B	D2	female	FEMALE	142	182	202	353	2308	2055	1037.043	17:17	106.12
407A	D1	female	MALE	117	147	156	283	2502	1625	1253.263	20:53	103.46
407B	D2	female	FEMALE	109	127	147	223	2456	1310	1164.377	19:24	119.52
410A	D1	female	MALE	256	326	324	597	3663	3480	1506.564	25:07	107.58
410B	D2	female	FEMALE	215	273	275	493	2921	2814	1172.404	19:32	114.7
411A	D1	female	MALE	161	199	209	345	2494	2176	1457.62	24:18	109.97
411B	D2	female	FEMALE	148	171	203	304	2365	1938	1231.9	20:32	143.28
412A	D1	female	MALE	100	120	137	224	1763	1263	1084.381	18:04	102.09
412B	D2	female	FEMALE	96	109	128	190	1227	1082	636.916	10:37	118.57
413A	D1	female	MALE	195	263	249	466	2900	2698	1125.257	18:45	106.57
413B	D2	female	FEMALE	143	171	192	296	1874	1758	711.524	11:52	137.34
414A	D1	female	MALE	123	142	159	249	1809	1422	1420.087	23:40	97.24
414B	D2	female	FEMALE	110	124	145	202	1318	1200	666.907	11:07	171.17

## Appendix H: Examples of Narrative texts

Participant 108 (Male)	
Task 1 (Same-gender task)	Task 2 (Opposite-gender task)
<p>Ήταν πρωινό 15ης Σεπτεμβρίου, είχα αργήσει όπως συνήθως για την δουλειά. Πάλι το βράδυ πέρασε με τα φιλαράκια πίνοντας μπύρες και ακούγοντας το αγαπημένο μας συγκρότημα από τα φοιτητικά μας χρόνια ,τους Τραγουδοκτόνους. Περπατώ στην Σταδίου , σκυφτός και σκεπτόμενος πάλι το πώς ονειρευόμουν την ζωή μου όταν ήμουν φοιτητής και πώς έχει καταντήσει. Μια δουλειά που μισώ, πλην όμως καλοπληρωμένη, χωρίς σύντροφο , και ζώντας σε ένα μικρό διαμέρισμα στο κέντρο μιας μεγαλούπολης. Όταν περπατώ προς την δουλειά και γενικά όταν περπατώ στους δρόμους της Αθήνας σπανίως παρατηρώ τους γύρω μου, απλά βυθίζομαι στις σκέψεις μου ή απλά στο κενό . Σήμερα όμως μια παρουσία με εξέπληξε. Στέκεται απέναντι στον δρόμο και την παρατηρώ με την άκρη του ματιού μου. Αν και ο δρόμος μου δεν ήταν προς την κατεύθυνση της έστριψα για να περассουμε αντικριστά έτσι ώστε να την δω από κοντά. Κι έτσι έγινε. Καθώς είμασταν σε απόσταση αναπνοής μαγεύομαι από την ομορφιά της/ Ξανθά σγουρά μαλλιά ,εκλεπτισμένο ντύσιμο, εξαιρετικά γαλαζοπρασινά μάτια. Τα έχω χάσει κι έχω μείνει άναυδος. Συνεχίζω το περπάτημα μου ευχαριστώντας την μοίρα που απλά την είδα. Έχω και την αισθήση ότι μου έριξε ένα μικρό βλεμα. Μακάρι δηλαδή. Δευτερόλεπτα μετά και προσπαθώντας να κοιτάξω αν με κοιτάζει συγκρούομαι με μια κολώνα. Το πρώτο πράγμα που σκέφτηκα ήταν ότι έγινα ρεζίλι σε μια γυναίκα που μετά από καιρό με εξέπληξε. Για καλή μου τύχη η ομορφή γυναίκα ήρθε και με σηκωσε. Όπως καταλαβαίνετε με κοιτούσε κι αυτή! Ετρεξε αμεσως και ρώτησε αν είμαι καλά. Εγώ ζαλισμένος , δεν ξέρω αν είναι από την ομορφιά της ή από το χτυπημα ,της λεω ναί. Δεν με πιστευει και τηλεφωνει σε ένα ασθενοφορο . Αρχίζω και γίνομαι καλύτερα και έχω την ευκαιρία να της μιλήσω . Τα 25 λεπτά που έκανε το ασθενοφόρο να ερθει περσσαν σαν αστραπή . Δεν πειράζει όμως. Η Ελξη ήταν αμοιβαία και ένας έρωτας μόλις ξεκίνησε. Στο νοσοκομείο με συνόδευσε η Μαιρη. Οι γιατροι είπαν όλα καλά, όμως η Μαιρη με ακολούθησε και στο σπίτι . Με φροντισε όσο μπορούσε και μια σχέση ξεκινούσε επίσημα. Ο έρωτας μας ξεκινούσε...</p>	<p>Σάββατο πρωί. Σεπτέμβρης. Επιτέλους έχω ρεπό σαββατοκύριακο και μπορώ να απολαύσω μια βόλτα στο κέντρο που τόσο αγαπώ. Ευτυχώς παρά την ηλιόλουστη μέρα δεν κυκλοφορεί αρκετός κόσμος. Είμαι έξω από την νομική και περίμενω να περάσω την Ακαδημίας. Για κάποιο λόγο το απέναντι ρεύμα είναι εντελώς άδειο σε αντίθεση με το δικό μου. Πηγαίνοντας στο απέναντι πεζοδρόμιο παρατηρώ ένα βλέμα καρφομένο πάνω μου. Έχω συνηθίσει τέτοια πράγματα όταν βγαίνω έξω και δεν δίνω σημασία. Μετά από ελάχιστα δευτερόλεπτα ακούω έναν θόρυβο. Γυρίζω το βλέμα μου και βλέπω τον άντρα που με κοίταζε να χτυπά σε μια κολώνα. Γέλασα. Όμως ο άμδρας δείχνει να πονάει. Τον πλησιάζω και προσπαθώ να του μιλήσω και να δω αν έχει τις αισθησεις του. Μάταια. Τρομάζω και καλώ ασθενοφόρο. Καθώς περιμένουμε το ασθενοφόρο φοβάμαι πιο πολύ. Σκέφτομαι πως μπορεί να έπεσε στην κολώνα. Σκεφτομαι αν έχει οικογένεια και αν θα συνέλθει κάποτε. Ξυπνάει . Με κοιτάζει με ένα βλεμα τόσο ήρεμο και χαρούμενο. Μου λέει "είσαι πολύ όμορφη" ,ευχαριστώ του απαντώ . Του χαιδεύω το κεφάλι και μου χαμογελάει. Εκείνη την στιγμή σάστισα. Το χαμόγελό του ήταν διαφορετικό. Ήταν ερωτεύσιμο! Το ασθενοφόρο μόλις ήρθε. Τους εξήγηω τί ακριβώς έγινε. Ο Κώστας ήταν καλά αλλά πρέπει να πάει για κάποιες προληπτικές εξετάσεις. Του αφήνω ένα χαρτί με το τηλέφωνο μου στην τσέπη χωρίς να το καταλάβει. Περιμένω να μου τηλεφωνήσει και να γνωρίσω αυτό τον άνδρα με το υπεροχο χαμόγελο. Δύο μερες μετά ο πρώτος μας καφές είναι γεγονός. Υπήρξε κι άλλος, κι άλλος κι άλλος , και μια φιλία γενήθηκε μέσω ενός χτυπήματος σε μια κολώνα...</p>

Participant 201 (Female)	
Task 1 (Same-gender task)	Task 2 (Opposite-gender task)
<p>Την περασμένη άνοιξη, κι ενώ γυρνούσα από την δουλειά μου, περπατώντας σε έναν πολυσύχναστο δρόμο ,συνάντησα τυχαία έναν πολύ όμορφο κύριο,τον κοίταξα στα μάτια,ήταν πραγματικά ο πιο όμορφος άνθρωπος που είχα δει! Μάλλον το ίδιο ένιωσε κι αυτός γιατί δεν μπορούσε να πάρει τα μάτια του από πάνω μου. Αυτό είχε σαν αποτέλεσμα να χτυπήσει πάνω σε μία κολώνα,να ζαλιστεί και να λιποθυμήσει. Τρόμαξα, πανικοβλήθηκα και μην ξέροντας τι να κάνω μπήκα στον πιο κοντινό τηλεφωνικό θάλαμο και κάλεσα ασθενοφόρο. Μέχρι να έρθει το ασθενοφόρο στο σημείο, ο άγνωστος κύριος είχε ανοίξει τα μάτια του και με κοιτούσε, προσπαθούσα να τον συνεφέρω,του μιλούσα χωρίς να παίρνω την οποιαδήποτε απάντηση. Ξαφνικά μου χαμογέλασε και ένιωσα μια ζεστασιά. Εκείνη την ώρα έφτασε και το ασθενοφόρο με 2 τραυματιοφορείς, τον περιέθαλψαν και του φρόντισαν την πληγή στο κεφάλι. Αμέσως ένιωσα καλύτερα και σηκώθηκε, ευχαριστήσαμε τους τραυματιοφορείς και έφυγαν,μας είπαν πως δεν είναι κάτι σοβαρό. Το όνομά του ήταν Δημήτρης. Μου πρότεινε να με κεράσει έναν καφέ για να με ευχαριστήσει, δέχτηκα αμέσως, ένιωθα πως αυτόν τον άνθρωπο τον γνώριζα χρόνια. Πήγαμε σε ένα κοντινό καφέ. Στην αρχή μιλούσαμε για διάφορα θέματα, για μουσική, λογοτεχνία, θέατρο, ταίριαζαν πολύ οι απόψεις μας και δεν αργήσαμε να κανονίσουμε το πρώτο μας ραντεβού. Έπειτα πήγαμε και σε πιο προσωπικά θέματα, μου μίλησε για την οικογένειά του και το πόσο δύσκολα ήταν τα παιδικά του χρόνια. Στεναχωρήθηκα με όσα είχε περάσει. Κόντευε να κρυφτεί ο ήλιος ,του είπα πως έπρεπε να φύγω, τον αποχαιρέτησα και του υποσχέθηκα πως θα με βρει έξω από το συνοικιακό θέατρο την ερχόμενη Τρίτη. Μετά από εκείνη την Τρίτη ακολούθησαν πολλά ραντεβού και κάπως έτσι πέρασε ένας χρόνος. Σε λίγες μέρες ο άνθρωπος αυτός, ο Δημήτρης μου, θα γίνει σύζυγός μου. Αυτή ήταν η ιστορία μας.</p>	<p>Η σημερινή μέρα ήταν από τις χειρότερες της ζωής μου,αλλά μόνο μέχρι το μεσημέρι. Είμαι ο Δημήτρης και είμαι λογιστής. Δουλεύω σε μια εταιρεία και είμαι πολύ καλός στη δουλειά μου, ή έτσι νόμιζα! Σήμερα λοιπόν ήταν η μέρα που με απέλειςαν. Λίγο πριν τελεώσει το δωρό μου, με φώναξε ο διευθυντής στο γραφείο του και μου το ανακοίνωσε,έχασα τη γη κάτω από τα πόδια μου, ένιωσα ανίκανος. Άνοιξα αμέσως την πόρτα και ξεχύθηκα στους δρόμους να περπατάω άσκοπα χωρίς προορισμό, δεν είχα κανέναν να με περιμένει σπίτι,δεν είχα λόγο να γυρίσω εκεί. Περπατούσα, περπατούσα, κι όλο μαυρες σκέψεις περνούσαν από το μυαλό μου. Μέχρι που είδα να περνά από μπροστά μου η ωραιότερη γυναίκα του κόσμου, την είδα και ξέχασα αυτό που είχε συμβεί λίγα λεπτά νωρίτερα. Την κοίταξα και δεν μπορούσα να ξεκολλήσω μέχρι που έπεσα με τα μούτρα στο σήμα του STOP και λιποθύμησα. Εκείνη πήρε αμέσως το ΕΚΑΒ και μέχρι να έρθουν με πήρε αγκαλιά και προσπαθούσε να με συνεφέρει. Ήταν ωραία η αγκαλιά της. Με κράταγε κι εγώ δεν άνοιγα τα μάτια μου,από ντροπή. Ήταν η ομορφότερη γυναίκα κι εγώ απλά κουτούλησα στο STOP. Θέε μου,τι άλλο θα μου συμβεί σήμερα? έλεγα συνεχώς στον εαυτό μου. Μόλις έφτασαν οι τραυματιοφορείς αμέσως μου έδεσαν το κεφάλι με επίδεσμο, η ντροπή μου έγινε μεγαλύτερη! Έφυγαν κι έμεινα μόνος μου μαζί της. Το όνομά της? Ελεονώρα, τόσο όμορφο όσο κι εκείνη. Την ευχαρίστησα και της ζήτησα να την κεράσω έναν καφέ. Αρνήθηκε, αλλά μου υποσχέθηκε πως θα μου τηλεφωνήσει. Περπατήσαμε μαζί μέχρι το σπίτι της,δεν κατάλαβα πότε πέρασε η ώρα, πότε φτάσαμε εκεί. Έπρεπε να την αποχαιρετήσω, την φίλησα στο μάγουλο και της έδωσα την επαγγελματική μου κάρτα. Γυρνώντας στο σπίτι,ένιωθα ο πιο τυχερός άνθρωπος του κόσμου, άνεργος αλλά τυχερός. Αν δεν είχα απολυθεί δεν θα συνέβαιναν όλα αυτά σήμερα, αν δεν είχα απολυθεί δεν θα γνώριζα αυτή τη γυναίκα. Νιώθω πως αυτή η γυναίκα,πρέπει να γίνει γυναίκα μου. Ξαφνικά βλέπω τον κόσμο με άλλα μάτια, ίσως μπορεί τελικά ένας άνθρωπος να μας κάνει ευτυχισμένους!</p>

Participant 307 (Male)	
Task 1 (Opposite-gender task)	Task 2 (Same-gender task)
<p>Μια Κυριακή καθώς περνούσα την διάβαση έξω από το σπίτι μου για να βρω μια φίλη μου, πρόσεξα ένα τύπο με γυαλιά και κοιταχτήκαμε για κάμποση ώρα καθώς περπατούσαμε. Εκείνος δεν είδε καλά μπροστά του και χτύπησε πάνω σε ένα στήλο. Το βρήκα πολύ χαριτωμένο και σκέφτηκα ότι του άρεσα.</p> <p>Επειδή δεν είχα κινητό πήρα τηλέφωνο από ένα τηλεφωνικό θάλαμο και κάλεσα ασθενοφόρο.</p> <p>Μέχρι να έρθει το ασθενοφόρο βρήκα ευκαιρία να του πιάσω την κουβέντα, συστηθήκαμε και κανονίσαμε να πάμε για καφέ.</p> <p>Κάναμε παρέα για αρκετές μέρες,πήγαμε σινεμά αρκετές φορές, τα φτιάξαμε και είμασταν μια χαρά.</p> <p>Μετά από δέκα χρόνια σχέσης παντρευτήκαμε και τα πηγαίναμε καλά αν και με κάποια μικρά κανγαδάκια.</p> <p>Τελικά επειδή δεν ήμουν εγώ ο λόγος που χτύπησε στο στήλο αλλά η στραβομάρα του, μια μέρα καθώς οδηγούσε δεν είδε καλά, έχασε τον έλεγχο του αυτοκινήτου και έφυγε από μια στορφή.</p> <p>Τώρα είμαι 2 χρόνια χήρα και έχω ξαναφτιάξει την ζωή μου.</p>	<p>Μια Κυριακή είχα παεί σε μιά συνέντευξη για δουλειά, και επειδή δεν το περίμενα ότι θα με καλούσαν Κυριακή, δεν πήγα καλά προετοιμασμένος και τελικά δεν με πήρανε.</p> <p>Όλα μου φαίνονταν μαύρα, είχα αρκετό καιρό άνεργος και δεν είχα λεφτά ούτε να πάρω καινούργια γυαλιά.</p> <p>Σε κάποια φάση βλέπω μια ωραία κοπέλα να περνάει την διάβαση και ενώ σκεφτόμουν αν θα πρέπει να δοκιμάσω να της πω κάτι, καθώς είχα να κάνω σχέση κάτι χρόνια, χτύπησα πάνω σε έναν στήλο.</p> <p>Η κοπέλα ευτυχώς ήταν πάνω από όλα άνθρωπος και κάλεσε ασθενοφόρο.</p> <p>Μέχρι να έρθει το ασθενοφόρο βρήκα την ευκαιρία να της μιλήσω την γοήτευσα και κανονίσαμε να ξαναβρεθούμε.</p> <p>Μετά από μέρες τα φτιάξαμε, είχαμε μια πολύ ωραία σχέση που κράτησε χρόνια και τελικά παντρευτήκαμε και κάναμε 2 παιδιά.</p> <p>Τελικά δεν ήταν η ομορφιά της γυναίκας μου που με θάμπωσε εκείνη την μέρα αλλά η κακή μου όραση.</p> <p>Ένα πρωί, καθώς οδηγούσα δεν πρόσεξα μια πινακίδα απότομης στροφής και βγήκα έξω από τον δρόμο, το αυτοκίνητο ντελαπάρησε και σκοτώθηκα.</p> <p>Τώρα έρχεται και μου ανάβει το καντηλάκι που και που.</p>

Participant 414 (Female)	
Task 1 (Opposite-gender task)	Task 2 (Same-gender task)
<p>Γυρνούσα ένα απόγευμα κουρασμένος απο τη δουλειά μου. Είχα μια δύσκολη μέρα επειδή το αφεντικό μου είχε αναθέσει πολλά να κάνω και μπορώ να πω οτι είχα αγχωθεί. Καθώς περπατούσα για το σπίτι παίρνει το μάτι μου μια γυναίκα έτοιμη να διασχίσει το δρόμο.Την κοίταξα με την άκρη του ματιού μου.Ήταν ο,τι πιο όμορφο είχα δει και κάτι χαρμόσυνο στην πιεστική μέρα που είχα.</p> <p>Ασυνείδητα κάρφωσα το βλέμμα μου πάνω της. Θέε μου τι ομορφιά είναι αυτή; Τι ωραία μαλλιά, πόσο γλυκό πρόσωπο και λαμπερό βλέμμα! Ενώ Τι να πω για την επιμελημένη εμφάνιση και το τέλειο σώμα της...</p> <p>Θαυμάζοντάς τη λοιπόν κι έχοντας αφοσιωθεί πλήρως σ'αυτή-ο βλάκας-πέφτω πάνω σε μια πινακίδα.</p> <p>"ΑΑΑΑ" Φώναξα και έπεσα ακαριαία κάτω. Εκείνη χωρίς δεύτερη σκέψη έτρεξε να δει αμα είμαι καλά και κάλεσε αμέσως το ασθενοφόρο.</p> <p>Μέχρι να έρθει κάθισε μαζί μου και έχοντας χάσει ένα μέρος των αισθήσεών μου της μιλούσα για το πόσο όμορφη ήταν και της έλεγα και για τη ζωή μου.</p> <p>Όταν ήρθε το ασθενοφόρο πήγε μαζί μου στο νοσοκομείο και κάθισε εκεί μέχρι να σιγουρευτεί οτι είμαι καλά. Μου έδωσε το τηλέφωνό της και μου είπε να την πάρω για οτιδήποτε χρειαστώ. Έτσι λοιπόν κι εγώ άρπαξα αυτή την ευκαιρία και την πήρα να της προτείνω να πάμε για έναν καφέ να την ευχαριστήσω για όσα έκανε για εμένα.</p> <p>Έτσι λοιπόν τη γνώρισα! Σήμερα είμαστε παντρεμένοι με 1 γιο. Δε θα ξεχάσω ποτέ αυτη την άτυχη αλλα ταυτόχρονα απίστευτα τυχερή μέρα της ζωής μου.</p>	<p>Ήταν ένα απλό πρωι όπως όλα τα άλλα. Είχα πάει κομμωτήριο και γυρνούσα σπίτι. Βλέπω απο μακριά έναν κύριο να με κοιτάζει .Με το που περνάω το δρόμο βρίσκομαι ακριβώς δίπλα του. Συνειδητοποίησα οτι με κοιτάζει επίμονα ωστόσο δεν έδωσα σημασία. Λίγα δευτερόλεπτα μετά ακούω μια φωνή και γυρνάω αμέσως πίσω. Τον βλέπω πεσμένο κάτω.Είχε σκοντάψει στην πινακίδα (προφανώς επειδή είχε καρφώσει το βλέμμα του πάνω μου). Παίρνω αμέσως τηλέφωνο το ασθενοφόρο.Εκείνος είχε χάσει ένα μέρος των αισθησεών του και είχα ανησυχήσει λίγο,ωστόσο δεν είχε κάποια αιμορραγία. Μέχρι να έρθει μου έκανε κοπλιμέντα και μου μιλούσε για τη δύσκολη μέρα που είχε στη δουλειά του αλλά λες και ήταν μεθυσμένος. Μέχρι να μου πουν οι γιατροί οτι είχε απλώς μια μικρή απώλεια αισθήσεων λόγω του χτυπήματος και οτι δεν υπάρχει κάποια εσωτερική αιμορραγία έμεινα εκεί. Του έδωσα το τηλέφωνό μου σε περίπτωση που με χρειαστεί κάτι (εκείνος θα έμενα άλλη μια μέρα προληπτικά στο νοσοκομείο). Με πήρε την επόμενη μέρα να πάμε για καφέ για να με ευχαριστήσει για όσα έκανα. Απο τότε μιλούσαμε πολύ συχνά μέχρι που τα φτιάξαμε εν τέλει. Σήμερα είμαστε παντρεμένοι με 1 γιο και είμαι πολύ ευτυχισμένη. Δε θα ξεχάσω ποτέ αυτή την ημέρα!</p>