

Reconsidering Visual Context Through Comics

Giancarla
Unser-Schutz
Hitotsubashi University

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While visual aids have largely become accepted as a positive tool for language learning, there has been less follow-up in evaluating what is offered by such “visual context” for text. In particular, while the principle for successful usage of visual aids in the classroom is to have a high correlation between text and image, this is not a rule necessarily followed by authentic texts. Using Japanese comics or *manga* as an example, this paper offers real data on some of the linguistic characteristics found in a *manga* corpus to reconsider what the relationship between text and image may be, arguing that the non-descriptive nature of language in comics demands highly developed interpretative skills. Educators may need to rethink what they want to achieve in order to use authentic visual-verbal mixed texts effectively, and several possible ways are suggested.

近年では、視覚教材が語学教育における有効な道具と見なされるようになってきたが、視覚的教材が語学教育にいかなる効果をもたらすのかを具体的に検討する研究はさほどなされていない。特に、視覚的教材を語学教育で効果的に活用するには、絵とテキストが直接的な関係にある必要があるとされているが、教育のために制作されなっていない。いわゆる authentic materials はそういった原則に応じないことが多い。本論文では、authentic materials における絵とテキストの関係を考察するために、漫画のコーパスに見られる言語的特徴を紹介し、漫画における言葉の非描写的な性格が、高い解釈力を強いると論じる。authentic マルチメディアの材料を活用するのに、どういった効果が求められているのかをより具体的に考える必要があるかも知れないが、これに関して、有効だと考えられる活用法をいくつか挙げる。

IN RECENT years, the foreign language teaching community has commonly come to consider visual tools positive for learning (Kramsch & Andersen, 1999). Authentic materials from popular culture, particularly comics, are seen as useful for holding student interest while offering explanatory visual context (Kaneko, 2008). Yet it is not always clear how visual tools function. While there is something intuitively different between the controlled visuals of textbooks and authentic materials, what relationship images and text have and how that relationship should be understood is far from obvious.

This paper seeks to fill these gaps by reviewing the arguments for visual tools in the language classroom and considering the differences between textbook visuals and authentic materials. Picking up on recent attention to the potential of *manga* (Japanese comics) as a learning material, the discussion will be complemented by introducing relevant data from my manga corpus project. In particular, I will look at the potential impact of the types of text found in manga on reading and visuals and the frequency of words in the conversational lines of one



series. While my primary goal is to offer a starting point for rethinking these issues, I hope that the issues brought up here might offer insight to others using authentic visual materials.

Project Background

Before continuing, it might be worthwhile to touch upon what happens when teachers put too much confidence in the role of visual materials, to which one particular unsuccessful task of mine may be of interest. For the past five years, I have been working on a linguistic analysis of manga, and it seemed a natural extension to use my research to explore the potential of comics in the classroom—and actually utilize them in lessons for ESL students. I introduced students to a one-page, six-frame *Li'l Jinx* comic (Archie Comics, 2007) after having reviewed some difficulties of English spelling in a previous class. The comic was short with little new linguistic material. The problem discussed by the characters was one encountered by many students, and the visual materials seemed potentially fun for them. Instead of being met with laughter, however, I found the room filled with silence. In analyzing this experience, I had to reconsider what I expected students to get out of the comic. I had assumed that visuals would help clarify the differences in humor and make the comic interesting and fun for the students, but it became obvious upon reflection that the visuals were almost entirely unrelated to the dialog.

Review of Literature on Visual Tools and Language Learning

In reevaluating what would be useful for students, it is important to consider why teachers use visual tools in the first place. One common argument is that tools tap into the different learning paths of the visual and the verbal. Avgerinou & Ericson (1997) wrote that imagery should be helpful to learners because

it is related to visual and verbal learning. Similarly, visual communicative tools may be easier to understand at first because “non-verbal communication is more easily comprehensible and has greater emotional appeal than verbal communication” (Forceville, 2007, p. 27). Visual materials may also develop students’ critical thinking skills. Hall (2008) noted that storybooks encourage children to use prior knowledge with the pictures to guess the content and understand the story. More specifically, Liu (2004), going over previous work in the field, listed five functions of visuals in reading: representation (images overlap with content of the text); organization (images enhance the coherence of text); interpretation (images provide more concrete information); transformation (images *recode* information in text in memorable form; and decoration (the aesthetic properties of visuals are manipulated to spark interest) (p. 226).

Experimental research on the use of visual or multi-media materials seems to suggest that incorporating visual elements into teaching has positive effects on learning. Looking at annotational glosses, Yanguas (2009) showed that in-text glosses using both text and images were more effective than picture or text glosses alone. In testing students’ production levels with tasks of similar contents, using either only images, only pictures, or both, Leeming, Prayer & Atkins (2010) demonstrated that picture-only tasks showed higher levels of productive negotiation amongst students, with production going down with more text and fewer pictures. Jones & Plass (2002) found that, when testing students’ understanding of listening tasks with or without visual materials, those tasks that incorporated pictorial annotations were more effective than listening alone or listening with text. Students also seem to have a positive attitude towards using visual tools in the classroom (Akbulut, 2007; Wagner, 2010).

There are, however, real questions about how visual tools work in the classroom. There has been little research on how

students deal with visual tasks (Leeming, et al., 2010), and while the results have been positive, they are not necessarily uniformly so. In a study on how comics help advanced and beginner English students understand high- and low-level texts, Liu (2004) found that they seemed to help low-proficiency readers with harder texts, but appeared to be ineffective for advanced readers reading similar texts, and that they also had comparatively little positive effect on reading low-level texts even amongst low-proficiency students. Considering the use of visual tools more generally, Baltova (1994) offered doubts as to the role of videos in helping students understand language patterns *per se*, noting that while they may help with overall comprehension, it is not clear how much linguistic knowledge students acquire.

The Limitation of Visuals and Their Roles in Textbooks and Comics

While it is not always entirely clear what visual aids offer students, one problematic issue appears to be the relationship between text and image. Liu (2004) suggested that comics may be less useful for high-level learners who understand the text, because looking for additional cohesive connections between text and images can be burdensome. More generally, Romney (2006) noted that while teachers often use images in worksheets, images which are not directly related to the (linguistic) content of handouts can be distracting. This is not exclusive to pictures alone; Garza (1996) also suggested that videos used in the classroom must have a high audio-visual correlation to be useful. While images can be more accessible than text, they are often less explicit and require more interpretation on the part of learners. Visuals are limited in their usefulness *in so far as they reflect the text*—with low-correlating texts requiring more effort from students and therefore have a higher probability of being unsuccessful.

Textbooks generally appear to follow the text-correlation principle closely. Romney (2011) found in his review of ESL textbooks that images are almost always directly connected to the text in some way. This is not exclusive to English-language textbooks. In examining the first volume of the beginner-level *Minna no Nihongo* (3A Network, 1998)—a popular black-and-white Japanese language textbook—I found that its many images appeared to be used systematically. Each chapter contained the following sections that were all accompanied by illustrations: a main conversation page, a practice page with conversations, a grammar practice page, and a listening page. The illustrations found on these pages could generally be described in one of three ways:

- (a) *Direct/clarifying*: Images showing scenes or characters that directly correlate with the model conversations, sentences, or paragraphs being studied;
- (b) *Direct/prompting*: Images showing objects, relationships, or scenes prompting certain linguistic forms; and
- (c) *Direct/confirming*: Images confirming students' understanding of text or listening tasks consisting of selecting the correct image for the text or the correct order of images.

The relationship between text and images in planned educational materials appears to be relatively direct with a clear goal of confirming students' comprehension of linguistic points. Yet this does not appear to be the case for comics. Nevertheless, manga and other comics are often selected for teaching because of their popularity with students and because of the visual contextual information they supply. Drawings are thought to make relationships between characters clearer and situations more concrete (Kaneko, 2008), and may make grammatical structures easier to understand (Murakami, 2008). However, in authentic comic texts, text and image are not *directly* related. This is most obvious in gag comics, where juxtaposition between word and image *is* the humor. This happens by creating a unique interde-

pendency between image and text to create meaning (Harvey, 2007), and sometimes through creating a dissonance between image and text such as with visually depicted verbal puns (Cioffi, 2007).

This juxtaposition is equally relevant to longer, story-based comics like manga. As Takeuchi (2005) argued, one of the key characteristics of modern story manga comics is a lack of redundancy. Although text in manga was originally largely redundant, with lines repeating the visual content, post-war story-manga's shift away from this redundancy led to the development of sophisticated plots. Nonredundancy requires manga-literate readers to bridge the gap between image and text to create a full narrative. These necessary skills are essential for teachers to consider when selecting visuals to help learners understand text.

Methodology and Overview of the Corpus

Considering the above, manga might be an ideal resource for reconsidering how images and text in authentic materials could affect language learning, and a manga corpus such as the one I compiled may be a good place to start. Originally compiled to analyze the characteristics of manga language, the corpus includes all of the linguistic text found in 10 series (Appendix A)—five each from *shoujo*-manga (manga for girls or female readers), and *shounen*-manga (manga for boys or male readers)—categorized into 8 types: *Lines*, *Thoughts*, *Narration*, *Onomatopoeia*, *Background Text*, *Background Lines/Thoughts*, *Comments*, and *Titles* (details in Table 1 and Unser-Schutz, 2011b). To offer perspective on the role of text and image, after reviewing the overall corpus data here, I will introduce the actual vocabulary found in one psychologically-oriented series in the following section. As the corpus was compiled with Japanese sources, the data described here will be Japanese, but the patterns seen are likely relevant to other languages as well.

Describing text in manga in broad terms, one finds that the series are surprisingly verbal, averaging 129 characters per page, with *Lines* forming the majority of text (72.83%). As can be seen from Table 1 and Appendix B, some of the categories can be assumed to give direct or clarifying input. *Onomatopoeia* (4.59% overall), for example, indicates the atmosphere or movements of the drawings, and *Background Text* (3.32% overall) provides information about characters' environments. Other types of text, however, are more abstract. *Thoughts* (13.40%) form the second most important type of text, but as Takeuchi (2005) argued, such interior, nonvocalized texts result from the non-redundant use of language, meaning that a significant portion of the text has a low correlation to the visuals.

Among these text categories, *Lines* were selected for analysis, given their central role in manga. As they form the majority of text, the relationship between image and text for *Lines* is likely to have the greatest overall impact. Examining vocabulary seen in *Lines* may be useful in measuring this relationship, and I used a morpheme analyzer to break down the *Lines* in the manga series, *Bokura ga ita* ("Bokura" below). *Bokura* is a popular shoujo-manga which ran in Betsucomi Magazine until March, 2012. It is a fairly typical example of the genre in terms of plot and visuals, with a strong emphasis on romance and the "psychological" aspects described as characteristic of shoujo-manga (Schodt, 1996; Natsume, 1997). I chose *Bokura* because its psychological emphasis may mean less direct correlation between image and text. In fact, with 19.11% of text from *Thoughts*, it placed on the higher end of the spectrum, indicating it might be a good example of a series with low image-text correlation.

The data was procured using UniDic and Chamame, a dictionary and program for morphological analysis made by the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, followed by manual checks. As manga feature particular orthographic conventions (Unser-Schutz, 2011a), text was standard-

ized to remove unnecessary punctuation and to convert unusual spellings to accommodate analysis. I broadly organized the data by parts of speech, and in the next section I will review the most commonly seen nouns, adjectives/adjectival nouns, and verbs, followed by a discussion of some other points of interest.

Table 1. Definitions of Text Categories

Category	Definition
Lines	Data in unbroken speech bubbles representing audible information, usually conversational lines between characters
Thoughts	Linguistic data representing characters' inner voices, generally in type, in dotted speech, squares or whited-out background space
Narration	Information on plot development, location, etc., directed towards readers, generally in square captions
Onomatopoeia	Text written directly on the background to onomatopoeically describe scenes
Background text	Text forming a part of the scene which is not actually vocalized, such as advertisements written on billboards, building names, etc.
Background lines/ thoughts	Lines or thoughts written by hand directly on the background
Comments	Notes or jokes written by hand directly on the background about the characters or the items appearing in the scene
Titles	The title, subtitle, author's name, etc., of the series

Results: The Vocabulary Found in the Lines of *Bokura ga ita*

Nouns (See Appendix C)

A total of 982 different nouns were found in the data. Although there were 3,779 instances of nouns, the majority appeared only a few times. Non-pronominal nouns made up the majority of usages (1,592), but also had the lowest repeat rate (2.77/word). Of the 64 nouns appearing more than 10 times, personal pronouns and names were most common (15), respectively 17.62% and 11.25% of all nouns overall. This suggests that characters are concerned with talking about themselves and others. Object nouns (i.e., words potentially overlapping with the drawings) were the least common. Of those nouns repeating over 10 times, only five could be considered concrete objects or places (*kane/money* / 13, *te/hand* / 12, *yukata/summer kimono* / 11, *purezento/present* / 11, *kyoushitsu/classroom* / 10). This is unsurprising, as objects or places will not repeat the same way that characters do.

Adjectives and Adjectival Nouns (Appendix D)

Overall, 139 forms of adjectives/adjectival nouns appeared 886 times. The most common were the negation *nai* (172) and *ii/yoi* (good/132), which are both exceptional in that *nai* has a unique grammatical status, and *ii/yoi* has many idiomatic usages. Of those 46 adjectives that appeared more than three times, only five described physical appearances (*kawaii/cute* / 18, *kirei/pretty* / 8, *ookii/big* / 5, *nagai/long* / 3, *kakkou-ii/good looking* / 3), while 12 described emotions or personalities (*suki/like* / 40, *iya/unpleasant* / 23, *daijoubu/OK* / 15, *hidoi/terrible* / 10, *itai/painful* / 7, *yasashii/nice* / 4, *tsurai/tough* / 4, *munashii/empty* / 4, *tanoshii/fun* / 4, *kowai/scary* / 4, *ureshii/happy* / 4, *kuuru/cool* / 3). While the first group (physical appearance) would likely be in tune with their drawings, the latter group (emotions) would

likely only be visualized by characters' expressions. Most other adjectives described qualities unrelated to physical looks (*amai* / sweet, spoiled / 11, *osoi* / late / 3).

Verbs (Appendix E)

In total, 313 verbs appeared 1,900 times. This low number implies that many utterances are non-sentence fragments because only 54.85% of 3,464 speech bubbles included verbs. A large number of these verbs were potentially-bound verbs such as *miru*, which alone means *to see*, but combined with other verbs means *to try*. With 40 such forms making up 43.37% of usages, this suggests that sentence structures are fairly complex. More complexity likely entails more abstraction, and correspondingly more distance from drawings. Of those 55 verbs appearing seven or more times, the most common were potentially-bound verbs (19). Verbs related to communicating or thinking and expressing opinions were also common (*iu* / say / 111, *omou* / think / 60, *wakaru* / understand / 31), which again suggests grammatical complexity. Otherwise, everyday action verbs (*kiku* / listen, ask / 26, *motsu* / have / 24, *tsukiau* / go out, date / 20) formed the core.

Other Aspects

Another point showing the complexity of text is the use of direct and indirect quoted text. As noted above, verbs related to communication were common, and direct quotes using Japanese quotation marks (「, 」) were seen 44 times. Reported speech using the sentence-final expression *datte* and the reported speech particle *tte* were also seen 25 and 125 times respectively. In these cases, what is being said may be direct or indirect quotes of other characters; however, as they are not the words of the characters themselves, they are inherently one step away from the drawings. Particularly, while these are sometimes used with

overlapping, flash-back drawings, they are usually nondescriptive of the accompanying images. It should be noted, however, that these quotes may be more than simply reported speech: *tte* can also be a topic marker, adding an emotive quality that is reported to be common in manga (Maynard, 2002).

Discussion: The Viability of Comics in the L2 Classroom

While the review here may be inconclusive in determining the degree to which image and text are related in manga, I would argue that it shows that there is good reason to believe that they—and by correlation, other authentic material—fail to follow the image-text cohesion rule found in L2 materials. The visual context that authentic materials like manga offer may not, then, be as helpful in understanding language materials as has been hoped. The question remaining is whether this means that comics and other authentic materials are not viable in the classroom; the answer to which is of course no. It does, however, suggest that educators need to be realistic in their expectations, to understand how close the text/image relationship is in a given work, and to plan specifically what they mean to achieve.

One viable point might be the use of emotive language. As Maynard (2002) noted, manga can be useful in research on linguistic modality and emotivity. While text in manga may not describe scenes, the tone of the text is likely congruent with the greater emotional settings. If the goal is to understand why modal expressions are used, then low correlations with other aspects of the text may be less important. Modal forms appeared to be very common in the *Bokura* data. There were 1,135 usages of sentence final particles, with 135 of the forms appearing 571 times (average 4.22 times/word). While modal forms like sentence final particles can be very difficult aspects of language learning, even pre-literate children show a high level of compre-

hension of the emotions expressed by the use of different text styles in comics (Yannicopoulou, 2004).

Another option is to use manga for nonlinguistic purposes. While images may be unhelpful in understanding the meaning of particular vocabulary words, they offer a glimpse of what Japan may look like, which is one argued use for manga (e.g., Wasabi Brothers, 1998; Murakami, 2008). It may be worthwhile to move the focus away from learning particular expressions to getting students to taste the cultural background of the L2. Future research on using manga in the classroom would be well served to consider this as one potential application.

Conclusions

To conclude, it might be pertinent to suggest some basic rules for L2 educators to follow if introducing manga in a classroom. It is necessary to become familiar with the material and consider which parts may be difficult. It may be worthwhile to consider using mid-length texts, such as one-shot (20-50 page) stories. While less dependent upon juxtaposition than short humorous comics, they do not require an understanding of the relationship between characters that motivates the linguistic patterns in longer series. Educators should expect that students might not entirely comprehend, even if they really are interested in manga. They should also consider what knowledge students can obtain from the drawings and review scenes explicitly, and they can consider using manga for more limited aspects like teaching emotive expressions. I hope to add further insight to these pedagogical issues by continuing with a morpheme analysis of the rest of the corpus. As with the distribution of text types themselves, issues such as genre are likely to influence the vocabulary and hence their relationship with images.

A more important issue not addressed here is the question of the encoding of images themselves. As a medium, comics tend

to use a variety of visual expressions that have been encoded to express emotions. Expressions of anger, crying and laughter have become independent from “realistic” expressions to ones that *only work* in the world of comics, but these are not universal expressions (McCloud, 1994; Takeuchi, 2005). Using authentic foreign-language materials requires students to study those points as well, and the usefulness of authentic multimedia materials is dependent upon cultural knowledge. While the recent trend has been to emphasize the role of cultural knowledge, this begs the question of how far the scope of language education should be. In order to offer the knowledge necessary for understanding authentic materials, educators may need to reconsider how they present information, which will require a new balance in the materials covered.

Bio Data

Giancarla Unser-Schutz is a lecturer at Rissho University, and she is working on her PhD at Hitotsubashi University. She is currently working on a sociolinguistic analysis of the language of manga. <giancarlaunserchutz@ris.ac.jp>

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Appendix A. Manga Series in Corpus

Genre	Title	Author	Magazine	Publisher
Shoujo-manga	<i>Bokura ga Ita</i>	Obata, Yuki	BetsuKomi	Shougakukan
	<i>Kimi ni Todoke</i>	Shiina, Karuho	Bessatsu Margaret	Shuueisha
	<i>Nana</i>	Yazawa, Ai	Cookie	Shuueisha
	<i>Nodame Cantabile</i>	Ninomiya, Tomoko	Kiss	Kodansha
	<i>RabuKon</i>	Nakahara, Aya	Bessatsu Margaret	Shuueisha
Shounen-manga	<i>Death Note</i>	Ohba, Tsugumi; Obata, Takeshi	Shounen Jump	Shuueisha
	<i>GinTama</i>	Sorachi, Hideaki	Shounen Jump	Shuueisha
	<i>Meitantei Konan</i>	Aoyama, Goushou	Shounen Sunday	Shougakukan
	<i>Naruto</i>	Kishimoto, Masashi	Shounen Jump	Shuueisha
	<i>One Piece</i>	Oda, Eiichirou	Shounen Jump	Shuueisha

Appendix B. Distribution of Text in Corpus by Category

Genre	Title	Category								
		L	Th	N	O	BG-T	BG-L/Th	C	Ti	Total
Shoujo-manga	<i>Bokura ga Ita</i>	33,524	9,324	536	1,708	1,176	2,134	270	110	48,782
	<i>Kimi ni Todoke</i>	45,390	15,534	870	5,422	948	9,394	725	157	78,440
	<i>Nana</i>	49,321	8,213	2,978	1,443	2,861	4,503	140	149	69,608
	<i>Nodame Cantabile</i>	40,126	9,535	2,016	3,692	3,109	3,070	1,072	156	62,776
	<i>RabuKon</i>	47,752	9,341	1,183	3,527	1,951	2,118	160	110	66,142
	Total	216,113	51,947	7,583	15,792	10,045	21,219	2,367	682	325,748

Genre	Title	Category								
		L	Th	N	O	BG-T	BG-L/Th	C	Ti	Total
Shounen-manga	DeathNote	64,567	15,320	656	1,497	8,126	5	0	285	90,456
	GinTama	52,601	1,486	797	2,350	1,415	247	0	621	59,517
	Meitantei Konan	64,067	10,449	1,308	2,257	1,416	4	0	384	79,885
	Naruto	39,418	10,282	1,188	3,629	1,052	804	162	354	56,889
	One Piece	60,255	1,944	869	5,804	588	149	0	378	69,987
	Total	280,908	39,481	4,818	15,537	12,597	1,209	162	2,022	356,734
Total		497,021	91,428	12,401	31,329	22,642	22,428	2,529	2,704	682,482

L = Lines, Th = Thoughts, N = Narration, O = Onomatopoeia, BG-T = Background text, BG-L/Th = Background/Lines-Thoughts, C = Comments, Ti = Titles

Appendix C. Distribution of Nouns in *Bokura ga ita*

Order	Noun		Meaning	Type	Times	Order	Noun		Meaning	Type	Times
1	ヤノ	Yano	(name)	PN	161	33	先	saki	point/end		19
2	何	nani	what		107	34	絶対	zettai	definite		19
3	私	watashi	I	PN	106	35	嘘	uso	lie		19
4	俺	ore	I		96	36	所	tokoro	place		18
5	事	koto	thing		91	37	子	ko	child		17
6	御前	omae	you	PN	71	38	彼女	kanojo	her/girlfriend	PN	16
7	タカハシ	Takahashi	(name)	PN	68	39	阿呆	aho	idiot		16
8	人	hito	person		57	40	委員会	iinkai	committee		16
9	ヤマモト	Yamamoto	(name)	PN	53	41	誰	dare	who		15
10	ナナ	Nana	(name)	PN	46	42	姉	ane	older sister		15
11	此れ	kore	this		44	43	家	ie	house		15
12	彼奴	aitsu	him	PN	42	44	皆	mina	all		15
13	其れ	sore	that		42	45	癖	kuse	habit		13
14	タケウチ	Takeuchi	(name)	PN	37	46	前	mae	before		13
15	物	mono	thing		34	47	金	kane	money		13

Order	Noun		Meaning	Type	Times	Order	Noun		Meaning	Type	Times
16	今日	kyou	today		31	48	他	hoka	other		12
17	馬鹿	baka	idiot		30	49	手	te	hand		12
18	本当	hontou	real		29	50	元晴	Motoharu	(name)	PN	12
19	貴方	anata	you	PN	27	51	所為	sei	reason		12
20	時	toki	time		26	52	中学	chugaku	junior high		11
21	奴	yatsu	him	PN	25	53	浴衣	yukata	summer kimono		11
22	今	ima	now		25	54	人間	ningen	human		11
23	クラス	kurasu	class		24	55	プレゼント	purezento	present		11
24	一緒	issho	together		24	56	間	aida	period		11
25	方	hou	way		23	57	為	tame	reason		11
26	気	ki	feeling		23	58	何処	doko	where		11
27	別	betsu	different		22	59	変	hen	strange		10
28	男	otoko	man		22	60	母	haha/kaa	mother		10
29	女	onna	woman		22	61	此処	koko	here		10
30	駄目	dame	bad		21	62	教室	kyoushitsu	classroom		10
31	彼れ	kare	him/boyfriend	PN	20	63	日	hi	day		10
32	訳	wake	reason		19	64	うち	uchi	I	PN	10

PN = Personal pronouns/names

Appendix D. Distribution of Adjectives/Adjectival Nouns in *Bokura ga ita*

Order	Adjective		Meaning	Times	Order	Adjective		Meaning	Times
1	無い	nai	not	172	24	大きい	ookii	big	5
2	良い	ii/yoii	good	132	25	珍しい	mezurashii	unusual	5
3	好き	suki	like/love	40	26	優しい	yasashii	nice	4
4	悪い	warui	bad	35	27	辛い	tsurai	tough	4
5	凄い	sugoi	terrible/great	34	28	空しい	munashii	empty	4
6	嫌	iya	unpleasant	23	29	楽しい	tanoshii	fun	4
7	みたい	mitai	like/look	22	30	怖い	kowai	scary	4

Order	Adjective		Meaning	Times	Order	Adjective		Meaning	Times
8	可愛い	<i>kawaii</i>	cute	18	31	嬉しい	<i>ureshii</i>	happy	4
9	まじ	<i>maji</i>	serious	15	32	親しい	<i>shitashii</i>	close	4
10	大丈夫	<i>daijoubu</i>	OK	15	33	確か	<i>tashika</i>	certain	4
11	様	<i>you</i>	like/look	12	34	面倒臭い	<i>mendou-kusai</i>	bothersome	3
12	甘い	<i>amai</i>	sweet/spoiled	11	35	恥ずかしい	<i>hazukashii</i>	embarrassing	3
13	同じ	<i>onaji</i>	same	11	36	長い	<i>nagai</i>	long	3
14	酷い	<i>hidoi</i>	terrible	10	37	格好良い	<i>kakkou-ii/yoi</i>	cool	3
15	早い	<i>hayai</i>	early/fast	9	38	クール	<i>kuuru</i>	cool	3
16	綺麗	<i>kirei</i>	pretty	8	39	楽ちん	<i>rakuchin</i>	easy	3
17	欲しい	<i>hoshii</i>	want	8	40	遅い	<i>osoi</i>	late	3
18	大変	<i>taihen</i>	terrible/tough	7	41	余計	<i>yokei</i>	too much	3
19	痛い	<i>itai</i>	painful	7	42	久しい	<i>hisashii</i>	long time	3
20	煩い	<i>urusai</i>	loud/annoying	6	43	強い	<i>tsuyoi</i>	strong	3
21	寒い	<i>samui</i>	cold	6	44	臭い	<i>kusai</i>	smelly	3
22	やばい	<i>yabai</i>	terrible/dangerous	6	45	仕方無い	<i>shikatanai</i>	helpless	3
23	多い	<i>ooi</i>	many	6	46	狡い	<i>zurui</i>	unfair	3

Appendix E. Distribution of Verbs in *Bokura ga ita*

Order	Verb		Meaning	Times	Type	Order	Verb		Meaning	Times	Type
1	為る	<i>suru</i>	do	210	B	29	待つ	<i>matsu</i>	wait	14	F
2	言う	<i>iu</i>	say	111	F	30	食う	<i>kuu</i>	eat	13	F
3	来る	<i>kuru</i>	come	71	B	31	上げる	<i>ageru</i>	give	12	B
4	遣る	<i>yaru</i>	give	65	B	32	止める	<i>tomeru</i>	stop	11	F
5	行く	<i>iku</i>	go	65	B	33	出る	<i>deru</i>	go out	11	F
6	思う	<i>omou</i>	think	60	F	34	似合う	<i>niau</i>	look good	11	F
7	見る	<i>miru</i>	see	58	B	35	買う	<i>kau</i>	buy	10	F
8	有る	<i>aru</i>	be/have	56	B	36	付く	<i>tsuku</i>	be put on	9	B
9	成る	<i>naruru</i>	become	51	B	37	送る	<i>okuru</i>	ssend	9	F
10	居る	<i>iru</i>	be	45	B	38	似る	<i>niru</i>	be similar	9	F
11	分かる	<i>wakaru</i>	understand	31	F	39	会う	<i>au</i>	meet	9	F

Order	Verb	Meaning	Times	Type	Order	Verb	Meaning	Times	Type		
12	呉れる	kureru	give	29	B	40	過ぎる	suguru	be too much	8	B
13	聞く	kiku	listen/ask	26	F	41	置く	oku	place	8	B
14	持つ	motsu	have	24	F	42	為さる	nasaru	do	8	B
15	出来る	dekiru	be able	21	B	43	出す	dasu	put out	8	B
16	知る	shiru	know	21	F	44	頑張る	ganbaru	do your best	8	F
17	付き合う	tsukiau	go out	20	F	45	選ぶ	erabu	choose	8	F
18	違う	chigau	differ	18	F	46	返す	kaesu	give back	8	F
19	死ぬ	shinu	die	18	F	47	見える	mieru	able to see	8	F
20	取る	toru	take	18	F	48	座る	suwaru	sit	8	F
21	貰う	morau	receive	16	B	49	もてる	moteru	be popular	8	F
22	見せる	miseru	show	16	B	50	むかつく	mukatsuku	be annoyed	8	F
23	帰る	kaeru	go home	16	F	51	要る	iru	need	7	F
24	寝る	neru	sleep	15	F	52	考える	kangaeru	think	7	F
25	入る	hairu	enter	15	F	53	空く	aku	empty	7	F
26	忘れる	wasureru	forget	14	B	54	済む	sumu	finish	7	F
27	食べる	taberu	eat	14	F	55	休む	yasumu	rest	7	F
28	泣く	naku	cry	14	F						

F = Free (non-bound) verb; B = Potentially bound verb