Social Movie Quoting: What, Why and How?

CITAR LOS RENGLONES CINEMATOGRÁFICOS EN LA CONVERSACIÓN: ¿QUÉ, POR QUÉ, Y CÓMO?

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Resumen: Aunque los medios tienen un impacto significativo sobre las emociones, las actitudes, el comportamiento, y las medidas fisiológicas, ninguna investigación ha examinado un hecho muy usual como lo es el citar renglones cinematográficos en conversaciones cotidianas. La meta principal de la investigación actual fue medir las emociones, razones, y el comportamiento asociado a la citación de los renglones cinematográficos, y para comparar la exactitud predicha con la verdadera exactitud. Se administraron 478 cuestionarios a una muestra de estudiantes universitarios adultos jóvenes. Los resultados mostraron que el100% de los mismos citaron renglones cinematográficos, principalmente provenientes de comedias (70%) tanto para divertirse como para divertir a otros. Refirieron que recordar los renglones les requería poco o ningún esfuerzo y citaron a los mismos textualmente o casi textualmente en aproximadamente 90% de los casos. Quienes recepcionaban los mensajes habían visto la película y quienes los citaban no se mostraron sorprendidos por la respuesta de los receptores. Los resultados fueron interpretados a la luz de la Teoría de Bandura (2002) sobre el Aprendizaje Observacional y sus cuatro componentes.

Palabras claves: Renglones Cinemáticos, Memoria; Conversación; Los medios.

Abstract: Although media are known to impact affect, attitudes, behavior, and physiological indicators, no research has examined the very common but long-ignored behavior of quoting lines from movies in conversation. The primary goal of the present exploratory studies was to observe the emotions, reasons, and behaviors associated with movie quoting, and compare predicted accuracy with actual accuracy. Questionnaires were administered to two samples of 478 young adult university students. Results showed that 100% quoted movies, primarily comedies (about 70%), in conversation. They did so primarily in order to amuse themselves and others and reported little to no effort necessary to remember the lines. Lines were quoted completely or almost completely accurately around 90% of the time, and the intended hearers were usually others who had seen the film, with quoters seldom surprised at others' reactions. Results were interpreted in light of Bandura's (2002) theory of observational learning and its four components.

Key words: Movie line quoting; Memory; Conversation; Media

SOCIAL MOVIE QUOTING: WHAT. WHY AND HOW?

Movies occupy a central place in people's lives, particularly those of young adults and adolescents, who are the largest target audience of the film studios. People use movies in their daily lives in many ways, including as organizing schemas (Fuguet, 2003) and as "equipment for living" (Young, 2000). One particularly common use is affect regulation and repair (Knobloch-Westerwick, 2006; Zillmann, 2000), as in watching a movie to cheer up or forget the troubles of the day. People choose different films to achieve particular uses and gratifications (Rubin, 2002): a silly comedy to escape the daily problems or a swashbuckling adventure movie to indulge in a fantasy. Watching movies is very often a social activity, enjoyed with friends or family or sometimes as a couple developing a relationship — "date movies" (Harris, et al., 2000, 2004). Movies are also sources of knowledge, about diverse topics such as sexuality (Brown, Steele, & Walsh-Childers, 2002; Gunter, 2002), romance (Galician & Merskin, 2007), adolescence (Kaveney, 2006), religion (Leonard, 2006), different kinds of people (Shaheen, 2008), or mental illnesses (Wedding, Boyd, & Niemiec, 2005). Considering the importance of this medium, there is relatively little research on the social uses of films. Most of the abundant research on media effects has examined violence or other antisocial influences like pornography or stereotyping of social groups (Harris, 2004; Perse, 2001; Preiss, et al, 2007). There has been particularly little research on cognitive aspects of media, although see Harris, Cady, and Barlett (2007) and Harris, Cady, and Tran (2006) for reviews.

The social context of watching movies is tremendously important, seeing as how films are often viewed in social settings, and those settings greatly affect the experience of viewing and its subsequent effects. Bandura's (2002) social cognitive theory would predict that those who watch movies are more likely to imitate behaviors of particular characters, due to observational learning, which has four subfunctions: attention, retention, production, and motivation. One common behavior performed subsequent to viewing movies is quoting lines from movies in social contexts, a behavior that draws on all four of Bandura's components of observational learning. The viewer must attend to the movie

well enough to *retain* a line of dialogue, which they must be sufficiently *motivated* to *produce* later in a conversation.

The only previous study found on movie quoting (Fischoff, Cardenas, Hernandez, Wyatt, Young, & Gordon, 2000) asked a large diverse sample of respondents to "list up to 15 of your favorite film quotes." Results from this survey produced many famous quotes from "classic" films such as *Casablanca, The Wizard of Oz*, and *The Godfather*, with the average release date being 1980 (1967 for the over-50 sample). This study, however, did not ask people to cite quotes which they themselves quoted; the fact that people can remember famous quotes from classic movies is no assurance they ever use those quotes in conversation or, indeed, have ever even seen the film.

The present studies began to explore this phenomenon more systematically by asking respondents for movie quotes that they actually used in conversation. They reported associated feelings evoked, reactions experienced, and reasons for quoting. Questions also assessed frequency of movie viewing, type of film, and accuracy of memory for the quotes. Given the lack of previous research on movie quoting, several preliminary research questions, rather than more specific hypotheses, were identified for the present exploratory studies.

RQ 1: What sorts of movies are lines quoted from?

RQ 2: Why are lines quoted? What are the motivations, and uses and gratifications (Rubin, 2002) for quoting movies lines, both for the quoter and for listeners?

RQ 3: What are the effects of quoting lines? This includes changes in state affect in the quoter and in others, as well as possible behavioral effects.

RQ 4: Are the acts of encoding and retrieving quotable lines effortful processes? Do people sense that they had to work and expend cognitive effort to memorize or retrieve lines, or do they appear to come effortlessly?

RQ5: Are movie lines quoted accurately? Are quoters confident of their accuracy?

The last two research questions address Bandura's retention function.

PILOT STUDY

A preliminary study was conducted to test the methodology and ensure that the desired

behavior of social movie quoting actually occurred and that participants could report on it. The sample, tested in September 2004, consisted of 64 university students (30 men, 32 women, 2 unknown gender) with a mean age of 19.6 years. They were asked to think of 3 movies from which they liked to quote lines. For each quote, they were asked to note its meaning and context in the movie and in which they like to quote it. In addition, they were asked if they were ever surprised at the hearers' reaction and whether or not the quote had come effortlessly or whether they had taken intentional effort to learn or retrieve it.

Although three quoted lines were requested, not all participants gave three. A few gave only one or two but many more gave more than three, sometimes as many as eight, for a total of 227 quoted lines obtained by the entire sample. Thus it was clear the social quoting of movie lines is a very frequent and easily remembered activity, at least among university students.

Of the movies quoted, 78% were comedies, with 14% drama. By far the most common emotion the quoter reported was feeling happy (87%). Also, 93% reported the line had been retrieved effortlessly and 87% were not surprised at others' reactions. Given these preliminary results, a more extensive study was conducted. Responses to open-ended questions on this pilot study were used to construct response categories for Studies 1 and 2.

Study 1

With the pilot study successfully demonstrating the widespread presence of social movie quoting and providing appropriate response categories for important questions, Study 1 was conducted using a large sample and, most importantly, more objective and quantifiable response scales.

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

Participants of this study were 125 students, 51% men and 49% women, from a large Midwestern U.S. university during February 2006. The age range was 18 to 27 years of age (mean = 19.4 years), and approximately 85% were European-American. The students were from introductory psychology classes and community volunteers. The psychology students received course credit for their participation.

MATERIALS

Participants were asked to think of a movie from which they like to quote a line and quote the movie line, giving the title and genre of the film. Next, they were asked to explain the meaning of the quote and whether there was some verbal or situational cue that triggered the use of the quote. Also, they checked off on a list all the feelings they experienced when quoting the line (happy, sad, excited, angry, etc.). This list was generated from the ten basic emotions of Izard (1977), as well as from responses given in the pilot study. They then indicated which was the strongest emotion they felt. Next they checked, from a list of nine reasons, any or all reasons why they repeated the guote. They reported who was around when the quote was said and ranked how surprised they were by others' reactions (7-point scale). If they were surprised by others' responses, they were asked to write the reason for their surprise. Next, they rated on a 7-point scale how much conscious effort they made to learn and remember the lines. Finally, they were asked if they quoted other lines from the same movie and if so, what those were. After answering all the questions about the first quote, they were asked to give a second movie quote and answer the same questions about the use of that quote.

PROCEDURE

Participants were brought into a group testing room where they completed the survey anonymously at their own speed. They were told that the survey was asking them to write down some movie quotes they commonly quoted. Then they were going to be asked some questions about the quotes. This survey was given in a testing session with an unrelated survey from a different study.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results will be discussed in light of the 5 research questions (RQs) presented earlier. Where appropriate, results were analyzed with one-way analyses of variance (for continuous scale data) or chi-square tests (for frequency data), both with an alpha level of p = .05. No one failed to offer a movie quote they had used, thus confirming the very high frequency of such behavior. The information contained in Table 1 breaks down the type of movies quoted by the gender of the participant. Men and women both quoted far more lines from comedies than from

Table 1

Frequency of Movie	Genres Qu	oted (%) (RQ1)				
Genre	Percentage of Those Reporting					
	St	tudy 1	Stu	udy 2		
	Men	Women	Men	Women		
Comedy	68%	72%	68%	72%		
Drama	8%	12%	21%	17%		
Action-Adventure	12%	7%	9%	5%		
Other	11%	14%	3%	7%		

Table 2

Percentages and Mean Rankings of Feelings (RQ3)							
Fee	Feeling Evoked Percent Reported			Mean Ranking (Study 2)			
	Study 1	Study 1	Study 2	Study 2			
	All	Strongest	All	Comedies	Comedies All		
Нарру	77	53	72	84	1.36 1.49		
Excited	39	13	50	58	2.00 2.09		
Stupid/Silly	37	8	35	39	2.98 3.06		
Empowered	34	8	21	16	3.22 2.58		
Smart	25	2	17	14	3.73 3.44		
Nostalgic	27	5	16	16	2.97 2.84		
Brave	18	2	15	11	4.08 3.52		
Angry	10	2	6	4	7.67 5.55		
Sad	9	2	6	5	5.91 5.40		
Afraid	2	0	4	3	9.43 7.31		

any other movie genre (70% overall), with drama and action-adventure films a distant second and third (RQ1). There were no significant gender differences in movie genre quoted (chisquare tests). Table 2 presents data based on all emotions felt, with participants checking from a list all the feelings they remembered experiencing when quoting the movie line. By far the most common emotion felt by both men and women was happy (checked by 77%), followed by stupid/silly, excited, and empowered (checked by 34-39% each) (RQ3).

When asked to indicate their single strongest emotion, over half (53%) checked "happy." These data also appear in Table 2. Thus about two-thirds of the sample felt happy quoting the line and about a half identified

"happy" as their primary emotion. Table 3 breaks down the strongest emotion checked by movie genre. Not surprisingly, "happy" was checked significantly (chi-square tests at p<. 05) more often by those quoting from comedies (64%) than those quoting from drama and action adventure films, which did not differ from each other (33 and 41%). Participants were also somewhat more likely to check "excited," "empowered," "smart," or "brave" after the more serious films.

Although the contextual information offered by participants did not consistently offer enough information to reliably classify the full linguistic-pragmatic context in which the quoter used the quote, they did indicate the reasons they quoted the line. Table 4 presents results for the most

Table 3

The Strongest Emotion Felt by the Type of Movie (Study 1) (RQ3)

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	Comed	Drama	Action-Adventure
Нарру	64%	33%	41%
Excited	11%	22%	18%
Stupid	10%	4%	0%
Empowered	5%	13%	24%
Nostalgic	5%	4%	0%
Angry	2%	4%	0%
Afraid	1%	0%	0%
Confused	1%	0%	0%
Sad	1%	4%	0%
Smart	1%	9%	0%
Brave	0%	7%	8%

Table 4

Most Checked Reason for Quoting the Movie by the Type of Movie (Study 1) (RQ2)

	Comedy	Drama	Action-Adventure	Overall
Amuse Self	22%	18%	[′] 6 16%	21%
Amuse Others	21%	17%	6 15%	20%
Something to Say in Conversati	ion 12%	11%	6 11%	12%
Feel Closer to Those				
Who Have Seen Movie	11%	11%	12%	11%
Diffuse a Tense Situation	10%	8%	8%	9%
Remember the Movie	7%	9%	11%	8%
Impress Someone	7%	8%	9%	7%
Have People Notice Me	5%	8%	9%	6%
Give Advice	5%	10%	9%	6%

commonly checked reason for quoting the movie. Twenty-two percent quoted the movie in order "to amuse oneself", followed closely by 21% "to amuse others" (RQ2). Participants were also allowed to rank the reasons for quoting the lines (see Table 5). The rankings were based

on a scale from 1 to 9, 1 being the most important and 9 being the least important. Although some participants chose not to rank the reasons for quoting the movie, those who ranked reasons ranked "to amuse self" as the most important reason for quoting the movie, followed closely

Table 5

Reasons for Quoting Line (RQ2)							
Reasons Percenta	Percentage Reported (Study 2)		Mean Ranking* (Studies 1 and 2)			dies 1 and 2)	
N	/len	Women	Total	All-1	All-2	Men-2	Women-2
Amuse Self	47	53	80	1.68	1.68	1.72	1.65
Amuse Others	48	52	77	1.91	1.61	1.60	1.62
Feel Closer to Others	47	53	39	4.17	3.40	3.81*	2.97*
Use in Conversation	47	53	32	3.94	3.66	3.87	3.43
Defuse Tension	55	45	28	3.96	3.47	3.83*	3.07*
Help Remember	59	41	24	4.26	3.93	4.02	3.79
Be Noticed by Others	67	33	16	6.28	5.13	4.81	5.78
Give Advice	57	43	16	5.51	4.79	4.90	4.39
Impress Others	57	43	15	5.35	4.69	4.45	4.95
Multiple Reasons	57	43	6	NA	3.57	3.83	3.22
* p < .05 by t-test	* p < .05 by t-test						

Table 6

Mean Ratings of Perceived Surprise and Effort (Study 1) (RQ4)					
Comedy Drama Action-Adventure					
How Surprised by Others' Responses	1.93	2.44	2.35		
How Much Effort to Learn Lines	1.81	1.67	2.41		
How Much Effort to Remember Lines 1.66 1.90 2.12					
*based on a scale from 1 to 7, 1 being low and 7 from high					

by "to amuse others". All other reasons were rated as less important.

Table 6 contains data about how surprised they were by others' reactions, how much effort was made to learn the lines and how much effort was used to remember the lines. No matter what genre of movie, participants were not usually surprised by others' reactions. In the cases where they were surprised, it was usually due to the fact the hearer had, contrary to their expectations, not seen the movie. Also, very little effort was reportedly made to learn the lines of the movie or to remember the lines (RQ4). The persons to whom the quote was spoken were most often friends and those who had also seen the movie (70%) (See Table 7). Who the hearers of the quote were did not differ significantly as a function of movie genre (chisquare tests).

The lines quoted from the three most commonly quoted movies were further analyzed for accuracy of recall (see Table 8). Anchorman, Dumb and Dumber, and Napoleon Dynamite alone accounted for 24% of the all the lines quoted. The reported quotes were scored in one of three categories based on the correctness of the quote. "Verbatim correct" (strict scoring) means that the quote was said exactly the same as in the movie. For "almost correct" (gist scoring), the movie was quoted almost completely correctly, but there were minor errors, such as a missing adjective or slight alteration in word order. "Other errors" included (1)

Table 7

Percent of the Recipient of the Quote By the Type of Movie (Study 1)

		, ,,	, ,	
	Comedy	Drama	Action-Adventure	Overall
To Friends/Those Who've				
Seen Movie	71%	64%	70%	70%
To Family/Significant Others	16%	19%	15%	17%
Other	12%	17%	15%	13%

Table 8

Accuracy of Quotes from Four Most Popular Movies (Studies 1 and 2) (RQ5)						
Anchorman Dumb/Dumber Napoleon Dynamite Talladega Nights						
Number of Quotes	54	21	20	32		
Completely Correct (%)	49	43	50	69		
Almost All Correct (%)	48	43	45	22		
Other Error (%)	3	14	5	9		

Note: *Talladega Nights* appeared in study 2 only; the data above from the other three films came from Study 1.

intrusions of quotes not occurring in the movie and (2) speaker errors, when the quoter combined the lines of two different characters, cut one of the characters out of the quote, or rearranged the quote. Overall, accuracy of memory was impressive, with between 86 and 97% of the quotes across the three movies correct by gist scoring (RQ5). Both the verbatim and gist scoring categories reflect accurate encoding and retrieval of the semantic content of the quotes. The fact that approximately half of the quotes were remembered verbatim correctly suggests an unusually high level of accurate surface encoding, perhaps stemming from the fact that the quotes are often used in some attempt to imitate the character from the film. The small number of cases where the content of the quotes were misremembered were considered to be failures to remember and use the quotes in the sense of the film.

Study 2

This study was similar to Study 1 but with a much larger sample and somewhat refined questionnaire, based on the results from Study 1. Some additional questions were added, most notably the addition of a question about the confidence in the accuracy of the recall of the line. The replication was important, given that studies such as these will necessarily heavily reflect current films, and it is important to establish generality beyond the films remembered in one particular study at one particular time. Finally, for this study, each participant was only asked for one movie quote.

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

The participants for this study were 353 students (53% women, 47% men) enrolled in psychology courses at a large Midwestern U.S. university in January 2007. Age ranged from age

17 to 45 (mean = 19.3 years, standard deviation = 2.40). The sample included 86% of Euro-American ethnicity, 5% Latino, 4% African-American, 3% Asian, and 3% not reporting ethnicity.

MATERIALS AND PROCEDURE

The materials used included a very similar, though not identical, questionnaire as used in Study 1, completed as part of a psychology department mass testing in January 2007. The participants were first asked to write a particular movie quote that they had quoted in conversation and list the title and genre of the movie. They were then asked to report their confidence of the accuracy of their memory of the quote, based on a four-point scale ranging from "not at all certain" to "absolutely certain". They then reported the movie type, and number of times they had viewed the movie. Other questions replicated those asked in Study 1, including ranking a list of emotions reflecting how the movie made them feel, as well as checking off reasons for quoting the movie. These questions gave several alternatives and asked participants to rank order by importance all choices that applied. Finally, participants rated the amount of conscious effort required to recall the particular quote (seven-point scale), and whether or not they imitated other behaviors besides line quoting.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As in Study 1, 100% of participants reported an instance of movie-line quoting, and results were analyzed by chi-square tests (frequencies) and one-way analyses of variance (continuous scale data). The recent release "Talladega Nights" was quoted the most (11%) followed by "Dumb and Dumber" (5%), "Anchorman" (4%), "Wedding Crashers" (3%), "Napoleon Dynamite" (3%), and "Super Troopers" (3%). While 38 other movies were quoted multiple times (each less than 3% of the total), 115 other different movies were each quoted by only one person. Thus, as in Study 1, the quotes came from a wide variety of films.

Accuracy of recall was impressive, both for actual memory for the lines and the metacognitive task of estimating the accuracy of their memory for the quote. Percentages showed that the majority (62%) reported being "absolutely certain" of their accuracy in quoting and over 90% either "absolutely" or "reasonably"

certain, with only 8% "somewhat certain" and 2% "not at all certain" (RQ5). The actual accuracy of the recalled lines was checked against their estimated accuracy for "Talladega Nights," the most frequently quoted movie. On this movie, the percentage of those who were "absolutely certain" of their accuracy was higher (75%) than when all movies are considered (62%), perhaps due to the recent release of this film and thus a shorter time having elapsed since seeing the movie. The percentage of completely correct quotes (strict verbatim scoring) from "Talladega Nights" was 69%, with another 22% almost correct, misquoting or omitting three words or less (gist scoring). This is all the more impressive because many participants chose to quote multiple sentences. Only slightly lower, the actual accuracy of quotes was remarkably near the predicted accuracy. This combined correct recall of 91% is comparable to results obtained for the top three movies in Study 1 (see Table 8).

The genres of movies quoted replicated Study 1, with chi-square tests indicating no significant gender differences (see Table 1). As in Study 1, comedies were by far the most common type quoted (70% of total) (RQ1). Examination of the number of times each participant reported watching the quoted movie revealed that 86% of the participants reported viewing the quoted movie at least three times. This suggests that repeated viewing may be a prerequisite in most cases for accurate quoting.

The predominant gratification of feeling happy was also replicated in this study. The feeling "happy" was checked by 72% of participants and also had the highest mean importance ranking with 1.49. When reanalyzed only for lines quoted from comedies, 84% of those who reported quoting from comedies reported feeling "happy." Similar trends occurred for the feelings of "excited" and "stupid/silly". Table 2 shows that participants who quoted from comedies ranked "happy," "excited," and "stupid/silly" as more important than the ranking with all movie genres considered, but not enough more to be significant (RQ3).

On the next measure participants were (1) asked for what reason or use they quoted the line and then (2) ranked the reasons by importance. Mean rankings and percentages appear in Table 5. Participants reported the reason "to amuse myself" the most often at 80% with a mean ranking of 1.68, and "to amuse

others" at 77% with a mean ranking of 1.61 (RQ2). Some significant gender differences were found, using one-way analyses of variance. Men ranked "to defuse a tense situation" significantly less important than did women F (1, 95) = 3.96, p < .05. There was also a difference in the reason "to feel closer to others who have seen the movie," where men again ranked it less important than did women, F (1, 134) = 10.76, p < .05.

The amount of effort reported to be required to recall the quote showed that 41% reported requiring the least amount of effort to recall the quote while only 3.6% required the greatest effort to recall (RQ4). The overall mean perceived effort required to recall the quote was 2.42 with a standard deviation of 1.63. Because participants rated on a scale from 1-7, with 1 being the least effort required, this shows that a substantial number of participants reported very little difficulty recalling the quote. When effort to recall was further broken down to examine differences in movie type, certainty of accuracy, emotions evoked, and reasons for quoting, few significant differences were found based on these variables.

When asked if they also imitated any behaviors from the movie, 74% said they did not imitate any other behaviors from the movie they had quoted. However, due to the size of the sample, an informal content analysis was done on the responses from the 26% who reported imitating some behavior. Of the behaviors listed, the most commonly reported was "quoting other lines from the movie" (12%). The most common other behaviors cited also dealt with communication issues like imitation of tone of voice, gestures, facial expressions, singing, or dancing.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Results from these two exploratory studies have provided a clear and coherent picture of the phenomenon of social movie quoting and go a long way toward answering the research questions posed in the introduction. These questions will be addressed in turn.

RQ 1: What sorts of movies and lines are quoted? The answer to this is very strong and consistent across the studies. The large majority of movies (about 70% for both men and women) from which lines are quoted were comedies, followed distantly by drama and action adventure films. Drawing on Bandura's components of observational learning, this may be due to

greater attention to comedies, greater motivation to remember them, and/or greater ease of encoding the lines from such films and reproducing them later. The fact that 100% of the sample was able to think of at least one line they quoted from a movie shows the high frequency of this behavior which surely deserves further study.

RQ 2: Why are lines quoted? This involves the motivational component of Bandura's observational learning, and once again, the answer is clear. Although movie lines are quoted for many reasons, by far the most common are to amuse oneself and to amuse others. This did not differ by gender and, somewhat surprisingly, differed very little across movie genres. Comedies were only slightly and nonsignificantly more likely to be quoted in order to amuse than were lines from serious films. This result shows an interesting consistency with the real-world autobiographical memory study of Marsh and Tversky (2004), who had participants keep track of stories they retold of events in their lives over four weeks. The overwhelming majority (88%) of such stories were told to friends and family, with seven per cent to authority figures and five per cent to mixed or other audiences. The most frequent purpose of these retellings was to inform but the second most frequent was to entertain. This is consistent with the present study, whereby participants use movie lines to entertain themselves and others, as Marsh and Tversky's informing purpose is presumably not relevant to quoting movie lines.

The predominance of intending to amuse oneself and others as reasons for movie line quoting suggests some possible future connections to different research literatures. For example, it may be that quoting a movie like is very much like telling a joke, in terms of the uses and gratifications of amusing oneself and others. Another possibility is a parallel with gossip, in the sense of gratifications for the teller.

RQ 3: What are the effects of quoting lines? Consistent with the reasons for quoting, the effects on the mood state of the quoter were most often "happy," followed by "excited" and "stupid/silly." Only "excited" was more common with comedies than other genres. Some less common feelings (empowered, smart, nostalgic, and brave) were somewhat more common responses to dramas and action —adventure movies than to comedies though not very common overall.

RQ 4: Is effort required to retrieve quotable lines? Do people sense that they had to work and expend cognitive effort to memorize or retrieve lines, or do they have the sense that they come effortlessly? Here again the results are very clear. Quoters sense very little effort expended to learn or remember the quoted lines.

RQ5: Are movie lines quoted accurately? Are quoters confident of their accuracy? When the accuracy of quotes from the most commonly quoted movies (all comedies) was checked, the accuracy was 86-95% correct by gist scoring for each movie. Even by strict (verbatim) scoring, quotes varied from 43-69% correct. Confidence in the accuracy of one's quoting was very parallel to the actual overall accuracy. Apparently the construction of a memory representation of these movies lines is very efficient, accurate, and automatic.

These results answered some basic questions but raise a number of other interesting questions to pursue in future research. Although the present samples were composed of university students, this group is among the most avid movie watchers and thus a very appropriate primary sample. Future research should examine a broader age, ethnic, and cultural mix. At this point it is not even known if older adults quote movies in conversation the way that young adults do. Interest in comedies does decline throughout adulthood (88% ages 15-20 to 53% for age 55 and older, as does interest in thrillers and action movies—Canada film survey, 2005). If older adults do quote films, they may more often quote genres other than comedies, and perhaps also more classic and older films. Consequently, future studies should possibly try to examine different age groups.

Although overall there were relatively few gender differences, there were some in the mean rankings of reasons for quoting (Table 5). Men felt that quoting the particular line to "feel closer to others" or "defuse a tense situation" were less important reasons than women thought them to be (one-way analyses of variance), suggesting possible gender socialization differences. Additional non-significant differences were found, with men ranking "amuse others," "impress others," and "have people notice me" as more important reasons than women, whereas women ranked "amuse self," "help remember the movie," "something to say in conversation," and "give advice to others" as more important reasons for quoting. These trends seem to suggest that maybe men are more extrinsically motivated to quote lines in order to gain attention or recognition, while women tend to be more intrinsically motivated to quote lines for more pragmatic and personal reasons.

Future studies may also contemplate investigating a single movie. By doing so, the confidence of accuracy, effort required to recall, and number of viewings of a film can be more closely examined because there would be a more consistent time frame with which all participants would be placed. This would allow for more concentration on movie quoting and its relation to memory. Such concentration on a single movie would also allow a better investigation of certain aspects of the movie (genre, plot, characters) and how each affects specific genders, ages, feelings, or reasons for quoting. However, one should be cautious to not over-generalize the results if only one movie is examined.

Finally, although this was not operationally defined or thoroughly evaluated, Study 2 found that approximately 10% of the sample reported quotes with sexually explicit, offensive, derogatory, or inappropriate language. Future studies may find it beneficial to examine more thoroughly this motivation to quote socially "taboo" lines.

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