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"WE WENT HOME AND TOLD THE WHOLE STORY TO OUR FRIENDS": NARRATIVES BY CHILDREN IN AN ALGONQUIN COMMUNITY

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November, 1994

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Science

ISBN 0-612-05614-7

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of narratives by eighteen children 10 to 13 years old who live in an Algonquin community of Quebec. The narratives, primarily of children's personal experiences, were collected in peer groups, and were told in English, the children's second language. The specific contributions of children to each other's narratives were investigated and are described. The structural properties of a subset of the narratives were also examined using high point analysis (Peterson & McCabe, 1983). Findings resembled those reported for non-Aboriginal children with respect to the inclusion of the narrative elements of orientation, actions, and evaluation. However, the positioning of these elements and the low incidence of others resulted in differences in the structure of the narratives. Other aspects of the narratives considered include theme, narrator role, and the use of reported speech. The characteristics of the narratives are discussed as means by which the children in the study constructed and co-constructed narrative meaning.

Information on the functional dimensions of narratives in the community and on the sociocultural context in which the children live is also provided in order to facilitate the reader's appreciation of factors that influence children's narrative production.

RÉSUMÉ

Ce mémoire constitue une étude des narrations de dix-huit enfants de dix à treize ans vivant dans une communauté algonquine du Québec. Les narrations, qui portent principalement sur des expériences personnelles des enfants, ont été recueillies dans des groupes de pairs. Elles ont été racontées en anglais, la langue seconde des enfants. Les contributions de chaque enfant aux narrations des autres ont été étudiées et sont décrites. Les propriétés structurales d'un sous-ensemble de narrations ont été étudiées avec la méthode d'analyse "high point" (Peterson & McCabe, 1983). Les résultats ressemblaient à ceux qui sont rapportés pour des enfants non-aborigènes en ce qui a trait à l'inclusion des éléments narratifs suivants: orientation, actions et évaluation. Cependant, l'emplacement de ces éléments et la faible incidence des autres a entraîné des différences dans la structure des narrations.

L'utilisation de paroles dites par d'autres, le thème et le rôle du narrateur sont aussi discutés. Les caractéristiques des narrations sont étudiées en tant que moyens utilisés par les enfants pour construire et co-construire un sens dans leurs narrations. Aussi, des informations sur les dimensions fonctionnelles des narrations dans la communauté et sur le contexte socio-culturel dans lequel les enfants vivent sont données pour faciliter l'appréciation des facteurs influençant la production de narrations chez les enfants.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to thank a number of people for the ways that they have each intentionally influenced the research that is the subject of this thesis. I also want to acknowledge these individuals and a bunch of unnamed people for their unwitting contributions to what Gee (1990) has called "the social mind".

SPECIAL THANKS:

To all of the study participants and Rapid Lake school staff (whom I do not name here for reasons of confidentiality) for having shared with me their homes, time, experiences, and trust. The insightful comments and stories by the children and adults participating in the study truly kept my spirits up while I was doing the research and writing the thesis.

To my supervisor, Dr. Martha Crago, for being a wonderful and companionable mentor, for sharing her expertise in child language and in research in Aboriginal communities, for the discussions that contributed to all aspects of the thesis, and for her support of my attempts to make sense of the data in ways that made sense to me.

To Dr. Elizabeth Cole and Dr. Mary Maguire, my thesis committee members, for their careful, constructive reading of the thesis, for having stimulated me to look as issues of individual variation, and for their patience, flexibility, and open minds.

To Dr. Alyssa McCabe of Harvard University for having taken the time to review some of the narrative data with me, and for having furthered our thinking on children's narratives through her work on the subject.

To the Department of Canadian and Northern Studies at McGill University for personal financial support in the form of a Max Bell Fellowship, and to the Medical Research Council for a Summer Research Bursary that allowed me to accomplish preliminary analyses of the data. I would also like to acknowledge that the research project itself was funded from a grant from the Fondation des Rechercheurs du Québec (FCAR) to Dr. Martha Crago, Dr. Lynn McAlpine, and Dr. Donald Taylor.

To past and present members of the research team Teaching/Learning Conversations in Aboriginal Communities: Dr. Martha Crago, Marlene Desjardins, Alice Eriks-Brophy, Wendy Hough-Eyamie, Lynn Kane, Dr. Lynn McAlpine, and Phoebe Nahanni for their converging and diverging perspectives on various issues related to education and language

socialization in Aboriginal communities. An additional thanks to Alice and Wendy for their support, Marlene for her role in establishing coding reliability for some of the data, and to Colette Thomas of the University of Kansas for her coding of other aspects of the narratives.

To Jimmy Eyamie for making several charts, and to Jimmy and LoriAnn Lorch for their patient review of the audiotapes and videotapes and verification of the narrative transcripts.

To lab coordinator Karin Oram for her miscellaneous contributions to making our shared offices a pleasant and workable environment

To Shanley Allen for her computer advice and warm presence.

To Annie Delyfer for the French translation of the abstract.

To Fred Wilkes for the technical support that he volunteered to this project and to the research team.

To Janis Oram for sharing her ideas on narratives over lunches, for references, and for her enthusiasm for this work.

To Charlene Chamberlain, for her assistance in getting my references and lists organized and to Charlene and friends Diane, Dana, Lou, and Barbara for their encouragement, interest in the project, good company, and thoughts.

To André, for listening to my tales of woe as I struggled with writing the thesis, but more importantly, for his sense of humour, imaginative stories, inspiring curiosity, and companionship.

To my sister Donna for her helpful comments on parts of the thesis, my sister Janice for reassuring me that single-mindedness bears fruit, and my mother for the constancy of her commitment to my well-being, education, and writing.

Lastly, to my first two childhood companions:
My cousin Gina for the many true and imaginary stories we shared in playgrounds, on stoops, and under the covers, and

My twin Danny for telling wonderful stories, and for having, as a child, brought to our family a humorous form of narrative socialization: overtly pretending to fall sleep or snore when one among us told a story that was too long, too detailed, or just plain dull. I have tried to keep in mind the image of my siblings' nodding heads as I wrote the many pages that follow.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a study of oral narratives by children ten to thirteen years old who live in an Algonquin community of Quebec. The study involves description and interpretation of the structural and interactional features of these children's narratives. Analysis of the narratives is embedded in ethnographically derived data on the functional dimensions of narratives in the community. The purpose of the research is to deepen an understanding of narration as a socially-derived, culturally-linked, and meaning-making activity. By documenting narrative forms and practices among Algonquin children, the study also contributes to a growing body of literature on the characteristics of narratives told by children from a variety of cultures.

The first chapter begins with a definition of narrative and continues with an overview of the three approaches to narrative taken in the thesis: functional, interactional, and structural. Devoted solely to the literature review, this first chapter provides an academic framework for my study.

In oral stories, narrators usually give information on where and when the story events take place, and introduce the participants in narrative events. Peterson and McCabe (1983) note that certain clauses in narratives orient the

listener, providing "a context of who, what, where, and when. Such context aids the listener's comprehension of the events of the story" (p. 53). In a similar vein, the second chapter of the thesis, entitled 'Setting', is intended to orient the reader to the community where the data was collected and to contextualize the research.

In Chapter Two, as well as in the subsequent chapters of the thesis, I have integrated literature review, methods, and findings from interviews, observations, and narrative data. My purpose in organizing the thesis in this way was to integrate to the different parts of the thesis several voices: an academic voice, the voice of children, an Aboriginal voice, and my own personal voice.

Chapter Three focuses on data collection methods used in narrative research with children and an explanation of the methods used in the present study. Chapters four, five, and six, respectively entitled 'Narratives Heard in the Community', 'Narratives and Listener Involvement', and 'Narrative Structure', return to the three approaches to narrative study introduced in Chapter One, this time with reference to my data. Each of the three approaches has to do with a particular facet of narrative production. None tells the whole story about narratives, but each tells a part.

Chapter Seven is devoted to a discussion of the research and the questions it raises. This last chapter

also addresses educational and clinical implications of the research and suggests future directions of study.

The appendices include information on the systems used to code aspects of the narratives, as well as on the participants' age, gender, and the number of narratives that each child told.

Chapter One

APPROACHES TO NARRATIVE

Defining Narrative

The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (1992) defines the verb narrate as "to tell in speech or writing", "to give an account of", "to give a description" and "to supply a running commentary". Researchers have attempted to define the substantive narrative with more specificity and with reference to narrative structure. "Agent focus" and "temporally contingent structure" (Scott, 1988, p. 68) have been identified as features that distinguish narrative from other types of discourse. Narratives have been defined as being "about people (or animals) engaged in events which occur sequentially over time" (Scott, 1988, p. 68-69) and as "the oral sequencing of temporally successive events, real or imaginary" (McCabe, 1991, p. ix). Similar definitions have been used in other studies of narrative (Griffith, Ripich, & Dastoli, 1986; Hudson & Shapiro, 1991).

Toolan (1988) makes an interesting point about the term event used in most narrative definitions: "Event itself is really a complex term, presupposing that there is some recognized state or set of conditions, and that something happens, causing a change to that state" (p. 7). Thus, reference to sequences of events can be seen as implying causal relationships, even in those narratives and narrative

definitions that do not mention them.

In addition to temporal and causal links in narratives, words and sentences are connected through the use of grammatical devices such as reference, substitution, ellipsis, and lexical ties (Strong & Shaver, 1991). More global strategies such as theme and the inclusion and relative position of particular kinds of information also contribute to narrative cohesion.

Labov and Waletsky (1967) developed an influential and still current method of analyzing personal experience narratives. They defined narrative as "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which actually occurred" (p. 20). In more recent definitions of narrative, researchers have suggested that the order of clauses in narrative need not match the order of real events (Romaine, 1985). According to Johnstone (1990), most contemporary theorists reject an "iconic view of the relationship between stories and events" (p. 95). In a noniconic view, narrators are seen as meaning-makers who change and interpret events, rather than simply reporting them. From this perspective, the degree to which narrators adhere to the order of actual events might be seen as bearing more on issues of human creativity, memory, and varying cultural conventions regarding factuality in storytelling than on the defining properties of narrative. The definition by Labov and

Waletsky, however, should not be interpreted as entirely inconsistent with an understanding of narrative as noniconic. Rather than negating the possibility of the reordering of events, they noted that *unmarked* reordering of actual events would alter the semantic interpretation of a narrative (Labov & Waletsky, 1967).

Lastly, the definition of narrative proposed by Toolan (1988) implies a sense-making narrator. He defines narrative as a "perceived sequence of non-randomly connected events", defining 'non-random' as "a connectedness that is taken to be motivated and significant" (p. 7).

The question of what constitutes a narrative clearly does not have a single response. In the rest of the thesis, I ask and discuss the answer to three other questions that also pertain to the nature of narrative. These questions are 'What are the purposes of narrative?', 'How do listeners interact with narrators?', and 'What does narrative organization reveal about meaning?'. There are many paths to understanding narrative. The three winding and intersecting paths I will take in trying to answer these questions relate to the functional, interactional, and structural properties of narratives.

Function

Researchers of adult and child language from a number of disciplines have characterized narrative as a universal

mode of discourse and one of the primary ways that people make sense of their experience (Gee, 1989; Genishi, 1988; Polkinghorne, 1988; Wells, 1986). The functions of narrative relate to the many possible ways that not only individuals but communities of people make sense of events. Group functions of narrative include the communication of morals, the expression of collective values and beliefs, and the transmission of cultural knowledge (John-Steiner & Panofsky, 1992). Narratives are used to establish "relationships between speakers and in carrying on the daily social and cultural life of the community" (Sola & Bennett, 1985, p. 89). Others have discussed narrative as a form of self-disclosure, self-construction and self-presentation: "Through narrative we present ourselves as heros, victims, wise guys, nice guys" (McCabe, 1991, p. x).

The use of narrative in communicating and achieving individual and group identity has been discussed with regard to children and adolescents. Oral narratives have been shown to contribute to the negotiation of social organization and group belonging in multi-age peer groups (Goodwin, 1990) and among junior high school students (Shuman, 1986). Both of these ethnographic studies included analysis of narratives of peer quarrels or fights, and demonstrated how such narratives were used to forge, maintain, and break peer alliances. Shuman (1986) also found that listener rights to stories and narrator rights to

the storytelling floor were, in and of themselves, the subject of negotiation and open to dispute.

The more playful dimensions of narrative have also been documented. Spontaneous speech recordings of one bilingual preschooler showed that she told narratives in English and French when she was alone. This child seemed to use storytelling as a form of solitary play and narrative practice (Dart, 1992). In another case study, the telling of stories appeared to be a young Korean child's strategy for second language learning and preparation for future participation in play with second language (in this case, English) speakers (Heath, 1985).

Sometimes narrative is an organized form of group play, as in the case of storyknifing, a traditional storytelling game still played among some Yup'ik girls of Alaska (Bennett deMarrais, Nelson, & Baker, 1992). In this game, the players elicit and exchange stories and illustrate them by drawing in mud with handmade metal or butter knives. Traditionally, storyknifing was also played in the snow with knives of ivory and other materials. Aged nine to twelve, the girls in the study by Bennett deMarrais et. al. shared traditional tales, recounted personal experiences, and retold stories from the media. Noting the content and themes in the stories, the authors discussed the multiple functions of storyknifing. These included the transmission of kinship patterns, the delineation of traditional and

contemporary gender roles, and the continuance and practice of oral traditions. In addition, some of the stories were interpreted as the girls' way of dealing with violence in their daily lives and in the media:

> In addition to serving the purposes of transmitting the norms and values of the community....storyknifing provides a forum for discussing frightening experiences. It offers to the girls a therapeutic palette....Fantasies and fears can be expressed, shared with close friends, and then wiped away.
>
> (Bennett deMarrais et. al., 1992, p. 139)

The many functions ascribed to narrative can be summarized in more general terms with reference to three major functions of language: propositional, social, and expressive (Cazden, 1988). The linguist Jakobson proposed a more elaborate but similar view of the functions that oral and written language can perform: metalingual, emotive, referential, cognitive, poetic and phatic (Vahapassi, 1988). These different functions require that different elements of the message be emphasized, and that the message be evaluated in light of its function:

> If the message is intended primarily to convey information then it should be assessed in terms of the clarity of its formulation and the validity of the information it provided. If...[it] is to express the emotional condition of the speaker or to engender an attitude in the recipient...then it should be assessed in terms of its performance force.
>
> (Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 34)

It is unlikely that narratives are ever told or heard with respect to a *single* function. For instance, the

effectiveness of a narrative whose main function is to entertain is partly dependent on narrative clarity. Likewise, the success of a narrative whose main function is to inform depends partly on local standards for performance features and narrator/listener interaction. With this caveat in mind, reflection on primary function can be meaningful for the study of narrative from a cross-cultural perspective. An understanding of function may offer insight into choices of narrative content and themes and preferred ways of telling and listening to stories. The primary function of a narrative is rarely announced. Rather, function seems to be embedded in narratives and in social contexts, and inferred from these sources by the audience.

Interaction

Functional and interactional approaches to narrative are linked. In a functional approach the focus is on the role narratives play in social interaction. In an interactional approach the focus is on the ways that interaction shapes narrative production. Conflicting or converging conventions for narrative structure on the part of narrators and listeners may affect interaction as well. In the research literature on narrative production by children, I have identified three main areas of investigation concerning interaction. These are: (a) the role of caregivers in the development of children's narrative skills and style, (b) the role of teachers in

eliciting and shaping children's narratives, and (c) the contributions of peers to other children's narratives. Below I review research in each of these areas. Taken together, the studies cover important aspects of the interaction of narrator and audience.

While I have limited the literature review to research dealing specifically with narrative discourse, I do not mean to suggest that narrative is disconnected from other forms of communicative interaction. Rather, I see ways of telling and responding to narratives as inextricably linked to the overall communicative styles of groups and individuals, and narrative socialization as reflective of language socialization practices in general.

The emergent narrator at home

Many studies have been devoted to the development of children's narrative skills. Mothers have been shown to use prompts, questions, and elaborations to scaffold their children's early talk about the past, and children as young as two or three years old can produce scripts and narratives jointly with adults (Hicks, 1990). However, the extent of maternal prompting, the frequency of child-adult talk about the past, the kinds of events discussed, and the form of the talk have been shown to be culturally-specific (Schieffelin & Eisenberg, 1984; Scollon & Scollon, 1981). Parental styles of eliciting talk of past events and narratives from two to three year olds have also been shown to vary among

American working-class and middle-class parents (Fivush & Fromhoff, 1988; Hudson, 1993; McCabe & Peterson, 1991). Thus, it appears that the style and content of parental contributions to even young children's narratives vary across and within different groups.

In an ethnographic study on the language socialization of young Inuit children, Inuit adults were asked about traditional learning/teaching practices (Crago, 1992). Reflecting on their responses, Crago discussed adult narratives as an important source of knowledge for Inuit children while pointing out community norms for both the production of and listening to narratives by young children:

> Important verbal explanations were formulated in two genres of narrative, in the stories and in the recounts that form part of adult-to-adult conversations. In certain situations, it was tolerated that children listen to this information, as long as they remained inconspicuous and unobtrusive. Their participation and their questions, however, were neither fostered nor tolerated, nor was the production of these genres of narrative shaped or elicited by Inuit parents from their very young children.
>
> (Crago, 1992, p. 498)

Children's socialization to narrative begins early but continues throughout childhood. In the lives of some children, the interaction related to narrative shifts from the dyadic interaction of caregiver-child to interaction with other family members. The discussion which follows focuses on narratives told at family dinners. I have concentrated on one study in particular because it

successfully synthesizes the many different ways that listeners contribute to children's narratives and to their development as narrators.

Narratives of personal experience were recorded during the family dinners of white and black working-class Americans, middle-class Jewish Americans, and middle-class Israelis (Blum-Kulka & Snow, 1992)[1]. These families included school-age and/or preschool children. The authors describe how family interactions contribute to the development of children's autonomy in three areas[2].

One area is the actual telling of narratives. The independence in telling stories granted to and exhibited by children was examined by determining whether narratives were told jointly or by an individual and whether children's narratives were self or adult-initiated. These participation and initiation styles were then integrated under the category "modes of participation" (p. 194). Three modes of participation for children were identified: (a) collaboration in an adult-initiated narrative, (b) display by the child in the form of narrative initiation and holding the floor, and (c) elicitation in which an adult initiated and jointly produced the narrative with a child.

The second area of narrative independence is autonomy of the tale, explained by the authors as "the demand that the facts of the narrated events...be made clear and comprehensible to the intended audience" (p. 198). Three

dimensions were explored with respect to this area. These were (a) choice of shared or unshared events as narrative topic, (b) adult responses to unclear parts of children's stories, and (c) adult demands that children 'stick to the facts'.

The third area, autonomy of the teller, referred to the ways that listeners supported or challenged the teller. The dimensions investigated in this area were (a) the attention adults paid to children's stories, (b) the inclusion of children as protagonists in adult stories, and (c) the pointing out of the meaning of children's stories by adults.

The study indicated two points of commonality across the three groups. One was the prevalence of narratives produced jointly by family members or by a primary narrator with the input of several listeners. The other was parental concern with the clarity of their children's narratives. Differences were found on all of the other dimensions. These findings included a preference for narrating shared events in the American working-class families, a greater demand for factuality by American middle-class families, and a much higher proportion of narratives told by adults without any child participation in the Israeli families.

The framework developed by Blum-Kulka and Snow appears to be helpful in conceptualizing and specifying cross-cultural variation in narrative social practices. An additional strength of the model is the recognition that

children become competent narrators not only through listener input to their own narratives, but by being listeners themselves. Children tell narratives but are also exposed to many sources of narratives and to different genres: oral bedtime stories, radio and television programs, legends around a fire, books read aloud, the overheard accounts of adult family members, and, at times, the sharing-time stories of classmates in primary school.

Misunderstandings in school

A year long study investigating student and teacher turns during sharing-time in grade one and grade two classrooms revealed contrasts between black working-class and white middle-class children's narrative style (Michaels & Collins, 1984). The narratives of the black working-class children, characterized as topic-associating, involved "the juxtaposition of several concrete anecdotes, all thematically linked to make an implicit point" (Michaels, 1991, p. 311). Perspective, topic shifts, and cohesion were often signalled prosodically. In contrast, the white middle-class children gave "short, concise accounts about a single time and place with a marked beginning, middle, and end (Michaels, 1991, p. 309), and used prosodic patterns to distinguish these narrative sections.

The narratives of the white middle-class children seemed to correspond to the teacher's discourse style and concept of good narrative structure. As a result, the

teacher seemed better able to help these students build on their narratives. In these cases, the teacher was "highly successful at identifying the child's topic and expanding it through her questions...[This] generally stimulated more explicit, focused talk on the same topic" (Michaels & Collins, 1984, p. 225).

Despite the sophisticated structure of some of the topic-associating narratives in the sharing-time corpus (Gee, 1990), the teacher often missed the point of the black working-class children's narratives. The teacher's questions were "often mistimed and stopped the child midclause. Moreover, her questions were often thematically inappropriate and seemed to throw the child off" (Michaels & Collins, 1984, p. 225). Interviews with children revealed the frustration they felt in these interactions. Their feelings appeared to be compounded by the shortening of their turns by the teacher.

Throughout the school year, the teacher often insisted that the children maintain a single topic and avoid demonstrations with gestures and available objects. The teacher's implicit ideal of oral narrative, suggested by her instructions and input to students, has been described as "like a prose essay" (Collins, 1985, p. 61). To the teacher, the function of sharing-time seemed to be the practice of syntactically and lexically explicit language and linear topic development characteristic of some written

language. For children who shared with their teacher these conventions for narrative form, the function of communicating with peers at sharing-time was maintained. For children who had a different style, the teacher's emphasis on form interfered with their attempts to communicate their experiences to peers.

In a follow-up to the sharing-time study, versions of some of the narratives were retold and presented to five black and seven white graduate students. In the retellings, the original narrators' rhythm and intonation were maintained but some of the phonological and grammatical features of Black Vernacular English were changed to standard English. White raters uniformly evaluated a particular topic-associated narrative as disorganized and incomprehensible. Black raters found the very same narrative well-formed, and noted its emotion, detail and interest (Michaels, 1991).

As the sharing-time and rating study indicate, interaction during narration and narrative reception is heavily influenced by the degree of correspondence between (a) listener expectations and narrator style, and (b) listener and narrator perceptions of narrative function. When the narrator and listener do not have a mutual sense of function, nor share conventions for form, the possibility of misunderstandings and inappropriate listener responses is heightened.

The participation of peers

Although it is impossible to imagine that children do not influence each other's stories, peer input to other children's narratives has not often been the subject of research. None of the articles I reviewed discussed the specific contributions made by upper-elementary school children and/or second language learners to each other's oral narratives. However, three recent studies have investigated the ways that younger children participate in each other's narratives (Bokus, 1992; Meng, 1992; Preece, 1992)[3]. Two of these are discussed below.

Bokus (1992) used an experimental paradigm to investigate individual and collaborative narratives of 960 three to six year-olds in Poland. Children were asked to individually narrate a story using a picture book to a peer listener (solo narration), or to tell it with another child to a third peer listener (co-narration). Among the younger children in the study, the results of the co-narration condition showed that one child tended to dominate the narration, while the other child confirmed or repeated what their partner said. By age six, children tended to supplement the information given by a partner with "deictic pointing, verbalization of the partner's gestures, [and] textual additions" (p. 272). Across ages, the co-narrated stories were found to be more complex in terms of the overall narrative structure.

A wider range of listener input was found in a qualitative study of a group of three five-year-olds in Canada (Preece, 1992). For eighteen months Preece tape-recorded the conversations of her daughter and two other children as she drove them to and from school. The prevalence of narrative in the children's spontaneous talk prompted an analysis of the 600 stories told (Preece, 1987). The contributions of the children to each other's stories were subsequently analyzed. In a qualitative and preliminary analysis, Preece (1992) found that the children collaborated with each other by telling narratives jointly, and by adding to independent efforts by "responding to requests for forgotten details, elaborating and corroborating the information reported, assisting with sequencing, [and] confirming opinions expressed" (p. 285). The children also acted as "critics and correctors" (p. 279). This role included pointing out and correcting linguistic errors, and clarifying and challenging the content of each other's narratives. Children, then, can be not only an attentive but an effective audience, contributing to and shaping the narratives of their peers.

Structure

In this last section of the chapter, I briefly present three methods which have been used to study the structure of oral narratives by children. Structural approaches to narrative have been characterized as formal descriptions of

the "textual end product abstractable from the context" (Blum-Kulka, 1993, p. 363). Such an orientation to narrative has been challenged by current literary theory which accord readers an active role in constructing meaning from texts (Fowler, 1992). Claims of universal narrative organization, characteristic of some structuralist schools of thought, have also been contested by cross-cultural research. One of the problems with the notion of a prototypical or universal structure is that narratives that do not conform to the ideal are likely to be viewed as deficient. Structural analyses, however, have been used successfully in identifying and articulating the features of narratives by members of different cultural groups. When combined with a critical stance towards universality and a willingness to revise models to account for data, structural methods can enhance an understanding and appreciation of diversity in narrative structure.

Stanza analysis

Stanza analysis involves grouping narrative lines together based on prosody, pausing, narrative content, and linguistic features such as sentence-initial particles (often translated into English as and, and then, or later) (Scollon & Scollon, 1984). These groupings are called stanzas. Stanzas involve the expression of particular themes and mark "shifts in characters, locations, or even characters' point of view" (Scollon & Scollon, 1984, p.177).

Using stanza analysis, regularities in the patterning of narrative units (i.e. number of lines per verse, number of verses per stanzas, etc.) have been found in the narratives told by adult members of different Native American groups (Bright, 1982; Hymes, 1982). In particular, patterns of four or five have been identified in oral narratives told by Native Americans speaking a variety of languages (Hymes, 1987).

The introduction of stanza analysis into child language studies seems to have initially been prompted by a search for an analysis which would account for the meaning of narratives not wholly comprehensible to all listeners (Gee, 1985). Minami and McCabe (1991) used stanza analysis in their investigation of conversational narratives by Japanese children aged five to nine. Compared to the narratives of American children, the Japanese children's narratives were very concise. They were usually comprised of recounts of three isolated but similar events rather than one event recounted at more length, with each of the three events comprising a stanza. The authors of this study discussed how the brevity and lack of explicit evaluation of events conformed to the subtlety and ambiguity of Japanese communicative style. As McCabe (1993) explained, "the children's restraint reflects the Japanese cultural value of avoiding verbosity that would insult listeners and embarrass narrators, a value their parents remind them of frequently"

(p. 11). Minami and McCabe (1991) also noted the resemblance of children's narratives to Japanese cultural forms such as haiku and the narratives told in karuta, a storytelling game played by children.

Patterned numbers of stanzas and stanza length in narratives have been found in other groups. For example, a story retelling by an Athabaskan adolescent was characterized by a patterned number of four lines in each stanza and four stanzas in all (Scollon & Scollon, 1984). These authors also discussed the reflection of Athabaskan values in the student's style:

> There is a high degree of respect for the original, which is shown in the careful abstraction of the main themes of the story. At the same time, there is an assumption of the individual's right to make his own sense...while carefully attending to the other's sense. This student has shown a remarkable ability to bring this tradition of mutual respect and negotiation to the school tasks of oral reading and retelling
>
> (Scollon & Scollon, 1984, p. 193)

Story grammar analysis

Story grammar is another method of analyzing the macrostructure of narratives. The term story grammar itself refers to a set of elements and a set of rules for their organization into larger units referred to as sequences or structures. There are several story grammar models. Reviewing and comparing four story grammars, Page and Stewart (1985) conclude that "although the grammars use different terminology, they are all very similar in content and organization" (p. 17). Story grammars have been used

widely in the investigation of narrative processing and recall. Based on results from such studies, story grammars have been discussed by some researchers as cognitive schemas as well as linguistic structures (McNamee, 1987). The particular story grammar method I discuss here has been used by a number of researchers studying children's narrative production.

The analysis involves (a) coding each narrative utterance or unit as one of a set of proposed narrative elements, and (b) determining and qualifying the degree of narrative conformity to a proposed prototypical structure based on the presence and organization of such elements (Page & Stewart, 1985). The story-grammar prototype entails a "goal-based definition of stories in which a...protagonist is motivated to achieve a goal by engaging in some type of goal-oriented action" (Hedberg & Stoel-Gammon, 1986, p. 64). The possible structures in the story grammar model are descriptive sequence, action sequence, reactive sequence, abbreviated episode, complete episode, complex episode, and interactive episode (Peterson & McCabe, 1983). Each structure contains successively greater numbers of elements, and each structure may be considered as more sophisticated than the preceding one.

Manuel-Dupont, Strong, and Fields (1990) studied narratives by Northern Ute children 8-11 years old using story-grammar analysis. They found that these children

included many actions in their narratives, as well as events leading to and resulting from those actions (respectively, initiating events and consequences). Information about place and time were rare, as were descriptions of the characters, and information about the characters' plans, motivations, and reactions (internal responses) to the events of the narrative. To be coded as internal responses, narrative units must indicate the thoughts and emotional responses of the protagonist, but must additionally motivate action or lead to formulation of a goal (Griffith et. al., 1986). An additional and optional element, internal plan, provides the intended actions or strategies of narrative protagonists. As is the case in many schoolchildren's narratives (Hedberg & Stoel-Gammon, 1986), this element was missing in the narratives of Northern Ute children.

A pilot investigation of twelve narratives by the Algonquin children in the present study was conducted using the story grammar method. All of the narratives, told by twelve different children, included complete or complex episodes. Complex episodes, by definition, include a minimum of one complete episode in addition to other sequences. To be complete, episodes must include a minimum of three of four story-grammar elements (initiating event, attempt, consequence, and internal response). As was the case for Northern Ute children, the element internal response was rare in my data, and internal plan was absent.

The complete and complex episodes found in the data indicated that the narratives by Algonquin children were well-formed by story grammar criteria. Nonetheless, I found that the model's emphasis on goal-directed behaviour and its outcome constrained rather than broadened my understanding of narrators' intentions and meanings.

High point analysis

High point analysis is a modification of a system of analyzing personal experience narratives first reported by Labov and Waletsky (1967). Frequent and continued reference to the Labovian method by other researchers may be partly attributable to the authors' attempt to capture not only the ways that narrators sequence events but the ways that they evaluate or indicate the meaning of those events to their listeners.

The main parts of a narrative according to the Labovian model are summarized below by Goodwin (1990) in simple but accurate terms:

A:	The Abstract:	What is this story about?
B:	Orientation:	Who, When, What, Where?
C.	Complicating action:	Then what happened?
D.	Evaluation:	So what?
E.	Resolution:	What finally happened?
F.	Coda:	Signals that the narrative is complete

(p. 241)

High point analysis by Peterson and McCabe (1983) involves coding the clauses of narratives with reference to the above elements, with the modification of one main category and the addition of many subcategories. Peterson

and McCabe used high point analysis to describe the narratives of children aged four to nine years. From the organization of the narrative elements, they derived several patterns of overall structure and analyzed their data in terms of the developmental changes in the use of both elements and patterns. High point analysis was also used in the present study. The method was chosen primarily because of its apparent productivity in specifying features of children's narratives and its potential in discerning narrator's possible meanings, as well as its carefully elaborated methodology. The details of the method, the results, and the conclusions are reported in Chapter Six.

Chapter Two

SETTING

Place

> A story can rarely be completely placeless. Even a fairy tale which is set in the generic past of "once upon a time", takes place somewhere, in some land or kingdom with mountains or streams or deserts. Stories must be connected to place, while they are not required to be connected to time. Events take time, but more importantly, it seems, they take place.
>
> (Johnstone, 1990, p. 134)

The quote above effectively summarizes one of the principal themes of Johnstone's (1990) analysis of narratives. In her study, Johnstone used a combination of sociolinguistic and ethnographic methods to explore the role of 'place' in narrative. As suggested in the introduction to this thesis, information on place can contribute to listener comprehension of story events. Johnstone demonstrated that place may function in other important ways. Place, may, for instance, be the main character of a narrative, as in stories about geographical locations or communities. Community and place are also the basis of social and linguistic norms which shape narrative form and influence styles of telling. For example, in the study by Johnstone, community values were reflected in narrator emphasis on factuality. An "aura of reportage" (p. 90) was achieved through the inclusion of "extrathematic detail" (p. 90), that is, detail not crucial for the listener's

comprehension of the events being told.

Details about places and people in narratives serve another important function. They "make people, places and *times* [italics added] easy to imagine" (Johnstone, 1990, p.90). For instance, in a Rapid Lake bush camp home where I lodged while collecting data, a basket woven of birchbark and a video cassette player sit side by side. In the process of data collection, one participant told me a story about an unidentified flying object his mother had seen. Upon hearing the story, the boy's uncle and grandmother identified the object as creatures of Algonquin legend. One of them named it "the butterfly woman"; the other a kind of "turtle". Details such as these about Rapid Lake people and the worlds they inhabit are concentrated in this chapter as well as dispersed throughout the rest of the thesis. They are intended to contextualize the research and to add "local color" (Johnstone, 1990, p. 90). They are also meant to evoke a time in which traditions and modern ways clash and mesh in an Aboriginal community. As is the case in many Aboriginal communities in Canada today, transition, fusion, and sometimes, loss, are part of Rapid Lake's landscape. Rapid Lake is a place, and also a place in time.

Getting There

I travelled, sometimes accompanied, sometimes alone, to Rapid Lake in all four seasons, but never in the heart of

winter. I visited eight times in all from June of 1991 to November of 1993. The precise dates of these visits are provided in Appendix A. The 360 kilometre route from Montreal through the Laurentian mountains, and the discussion or silence in the car, served as a time of transition from an urban routine to a slower pace. I welcomed the change. It was relatively easy for me to leave my watch and my agenda behind, and there were times I would have preferred to leave my notebook and tape recorder in the trunk of the car. Some ways of being, however, seemed to always go with me. In the following excerpt, written about one of my visits to Rapid Lake, I recount an event that amused me then and still does now:

> The sun went down. Always looking for ways to slip into the routine of days in the bush, I decided to take a turn at starting the generator. I slipped outside, fixed my flashlight on the weather-worn instruction label, and followed the directions. Seconds later, the generator settled into a constant hum and a light in the house went on. I couldn't help laughing at myself, sure that anyone, had they been looking on from the window, would have seen me as I saw myself at that moment - part imposter, part fool, my habit of literacy a kind of trick up my sleeve, disguised as knowledge.

Arriving

The last stop for gas is at Le Domaine, a service area of La Verendrye Wildlife Reserve where the community of Rapid Lake is situated. Le Domaine also includes a cafeteria, small ambulance station, motel, and a few chalets. Run by the Quebec crown corporation Sépaq (La Societé des Etablissements de Plein-Air du Québec), Le

Domaine also manages several lodges for hunters and fishers in other areas of the park. There are also numerous privately-owned lodges in La Verendrye, one of them situated just a couple of minutes walk from Rapid Lake.

From Le Domaine, it's another 50 kilometres to the Rapid Lake reserve. The last few kilometres of road from the highway to the reserve are muddy in spring, sandy and gravelly in summer, icy during the long winters, and always well-travelled. Many Rapid Lake residents often access the highway from this road on their travels to the bush, or on trips to the town of Maniwaki over a hundred kilometres away for social events (visits, bowling, courses), business (grocery shopping, banking), services (hospital), or travel to other Algonquin communities or elsewhere in Québec or Ontario.

The lodge around the bend from the reserve, Le Domaine, the town of Maniwaki, and other Algonquin reserves (such as Lac Simon and Winneway), appear in the stories I heard from children in Rapid Lake. My stays in Rapid Lake gave me an awareness of these places that are very familiar to children who live there. This awareness made some stories more comprehensible and, in certain instances, more enjoyable. For example, appreciating the following excerpt from a student story relies partly on knowing where Le Domaine is:

*NAR: I remember something.
My mom was going to Maniwaki.
And I was a small kid, about seven years old.
My mom doesn't let me to go to Maniwaki with

her. So my mom was pretty mad when I went inside the car and hide someplace.

*RES: You hid in the car?

*NAR: Yeah, I hid!
Then when we got there to Domaine
I told her "Geez, I got magic!"
"Magic!"
My mom was...

*PEER: Mad.

*NAR: Mad at me.

*PEER: So what did you do?

*NAR: Nothing.
She didn't turn around to come back here!

Being able to picture a small child suddenly popping up at the gas station after managing to hide for a full fifty kilometres contributes to the humour of this story. The residents of Rapid Lake share a frame of reference which includes place, and this communal knowledge affects both the telling of and listening to stories.

On the Reserve

The Rapid Lake Reserve is referred to by some Rapid Lake residents as 'town'. Established in 1961[4] under the Quebec Land and Forest Act of 1922 (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1990), the reserve gradually evolved from an intermittent to a permanent settlement (Roarke-Calnek, 1993). The reserve land is less than twenty-nine hectares (Frere, 1990). One hundred hectares of land equal one square kilometre. One can deduce that the sixty-eight homes built on this small parcel of

land are crowded close together. Many of the homes are in disrepair. Electricity is produced through a reserve generator, and each home has running water, partially supplied by the Cabonga Reservoir on whose bank the reserve is situated.

A short walk around the reserve reveals a nursing station, the Band Council Office, and the Rapid Lake School, the sole non-residential buildings and also the locations of the three telephones that serve the whole community. Off reserve land, but easily visible from one of the reserve roads, stands a Catholic church. The church is not simply a reminder of a missionary past. Some families in Rapid Lake attend the church, and weddings, births, funerals, and holiday celebrations such as Christmas sometimes involve religious services. During my first visit one of the non-Aboriginal teachers recounted with pleasure the communion ceremony of several Rapid Lake children.

Population

Residents estimate the present population of Rapid Lake at 350, a figure which agrees with 1988 government statistics citing reserve population at 355 and total band membership at 437 (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1989)[5]. Nearly all reserve residents are members of the Rapid Lake band.

National figures indicate that 36% of Canada's Aboriginal population is under the age of fourteen, while

only 21% of Canada's total population falls into this age group. The percentage of the Aboriginal population under the age of twenty-four jumps to 57%, compared to 38% for Canada's total population (Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, 1990). In Rapid Lake the percentage of young people exceeds national averages for Aboriginal people. People between the ages of five and twenty-four numbered 242 in the late 1980s, accounting for 54% of the total Rapid Lake population (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1990). Thus, children, teens, and young adults comprise a significant portion of the Rapid Lake population.

A recent study included information on the constitution of households in Rapid Lake. Of the 68 homes surveyed, 39 (57%) housed a single couple and their children and, in 3 cases, grandchildren. Nineteen homes (28%) were made up of two or more couples (such as an older couple living with children or grandchildren, at least one of whom was either married or living with a companion) (Roarke-Calnek, 1993). Both cultural factors and a housing shortage in Rapid Lake contributes to extended family units. Given the size of the reserve, children who live in nuclear families are still likely to see relatives often. The sample of narratives discussed in the following chapters include numerous mentions by children of visits, overnight stays, and trips with extended family members.

Language

Algonquin is the first language of most people in Rapid Lake. Speakers generally call their language 'Indian'. The language belongs to the Algonquian family of languages of over twenty-eight languages (Goddard, 1992), only nine of which are still found in Canada (Cook, 1987). While linguists consider Algonquin a dialect of Ojibway, Spielmann (1993) notes that the Algonquins generally distinguish their language and culture from that of the Ojibway.

Goddard (1992) describes the Algonquian family of languages as having simple phonologies and complex morphologies. Algonquin, in particular, is an agglutinative language. This means that words are formed by sequencing units or 'morphs' which each express grammatical meanings (Crystal, 1985). From an estimated one to two thousand root words many thousands of words are formed in Algonquin (Couture, 1982).

Algonquin remains primarily an oral language. French missionaries are credited with the invention of an alphabet in the 17th century, but written materials in Algonquin are limited to books of prayers and religious songs and an estimated fifty didactic texts or books (Collis, 1992). There is at present some controversy within the community over whether the alphabet used in these books or the Navaho Sequoia system of orthography should be used for written Algonquin. A resident of Rapid Lake who recently taught a

course on the Algonquin language to community members estimated that twenty people in the community can write Algonquin. He also said that everyone except young children could read Algonquin, although written materials are rare.

Although French is the predominant first language in the Quebec regions surrounding La Verendrye, and therefore the most likely candidate for the second language in Rapid Lake, most bilingual speakers have English as their second language. Some residents are trilingual. Factors that have led to English as the second language include patterns of temporary migration to the U.S. for seasonal work on mink farms, attendance at English-language residential schools by older Rapid Lake residents, and the fact that English is the sole language of instruction in the Rapid Lake School after kindergarten. At present, a few homes in Rapid Lake have satellite dishes, and movie videos are often passed from home to home for viewing. Thus, young people in the community are schooled in English, and exposed to oral English through movies, some through television, and through country and rock music.

Despite the influences of English and French, and the high rate of loss of Aboriginal languages in North America, Algonquin was estimated to be the language of use of 90% of Rapid Lake residents as of 1986, and the percentage of residents knowing neither English nor French was estimated at 20%. (Dorais, 1992, p. 91)[6].

Economic Features

Forest and mining exploitation, hydroelectric development, governmental regulation of hunting territories, and obligatory child education have been cited as factors that promoted the sedentarisation of Algonquin bands in Quebec (Montpetit, 1993). These same factors have undermined traditional economic activities in Rapid Lake such as hunting, trapping, and fishing.

A transition from a traditional to a wage-labour economy, however, is far from evident in Rapid Lake. Commerce is restricted to the sale of soft drinks, candy, and chips from one or two homes. On-reserve jobs linked to the Band Council and the school are few, and only a small number of people are employed periodically as guides by non-Aboriginal hunters. Other Algonquin reserves[7] in the region are faced with similarly high rates of unemployment. On-reserve permanent jobs are usually associated with the Band Councils or through government programs, and, on average, they number no more than thirty (Montpetit, 1993). Unemployment insurance, social welfare benefits, and old age pensions are other important sources of income for individuals and families in the community. The percentage of adults receiving these types of benefits was reported at eighty percent in 1990 (Frere, 1990).

School

The Rapid Lake School is a small one-story building

situated on the reserve. There are seven classrooms, a small office for the principal which also houses office equipment, a small staff room with kitchen facilities, and a gymnasium. Because Rapid Lake has no community facilities designated for recreational or cultural purposes, the school gymnasium is frequently used for community social events. The school is one of two in Quebec still administered by the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). Of seven other Algonquin bands in the region, three have no school on their territory, two have provincially administered schools and two have schools operated by the Band Councils (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1990).

The Rapid Lake School offers instruction from nursery school to the seventh grade. The number of students totals less than 100. At the time of the present study the school was staffed by three Algonquin teachers; four other teachers and the principal were non-Aboriginal. Kindergarten is the only year in which Algonquin is the language of instruction. Because instruction is offered only until the seventh grade, children must leave the reserve to attend school beyond this point. Young teens may lodge with family, family friends, or others while attending secondary school, generally in Maniwaki or Val D'Or.

The Bush

Rapid Lake residents refer to the forested lands off-

reserve as "the bush". A text by Chief Jean-Maurice Matchewan (1989) of Rapid Lake included the following:

> The collective ancestral territory of the Algonquin Nation includes all the lands and waters within the Ottawa River watershed.... None of the entire territory has ever been surrendered or ceded to the Crown and our pre-existing rights in these lands were specifically recognized by the Royal Proclamation of 1763. Our memory of that agreement that was consummated at that time is recorded in what we call the Three-Figure Wampum Belt (p. 141).

Associated with traditional ways of living, the bush is connected to the past. For Rapid Lake residents, however, the bush is also strongly tied to the present through judicial land claims, the maintenance or renewal of traditional activities, and through resistance to the expansion of recreational hunting, extensive logging, and hydroelectric exploitation in La Verendrye. For instance, destruction of the forest and wildlife due to clear cutting by pulp and paper corporations (e.g. Canadian Pacific Forestry Products and Rexfor) has resulted in several blockades of logging roads by Rapid Lake residents (Frere, 1990; Matchewan, 1989).

Traditionally, the Rapid Lake or Barriere Lake band (named for a traditional meeting place) relied on hunting, trapping, and fishing as their primary food sources. Many families still hunt moose, trap beaver, snare small game, and fish in the Outaouais River and hundreds of lakes in the area. Some families stay in the bush for weeks or even

seasons at a time; others rarely spend days. As some of the narratives discussed later in the thesis will illustrate, fishing and hunting were often the topic of narratives I collected, and the bush was frequently the locus of events.

The Rapid Lake school abides by federal regulations for yearly school attendance, but does schedule breaks of consecutive days to correspond with major hunting periods. The purpose of the breaks is to allow the children to learn in the bush. While Rapid Lake families have retained traditional skills to varying degrees, there are many potential educational activities in the bush in addition to hunting and trapping, such as building construction, the medicinal and practical uses of plants, seasonal and weather changes, etc. One older woman who participated in the present study spent long periods of time living in the bush; she is introduced in the method section of the next chapter. This woman spoke of learning in the bush environment:

> We learn while we do things.
> Not only counting but counting holes for a basket.

She also seemed to see the bush as a healing place for children, and children who were having troubles at home or at school sometimes stayed at her bush camp for days or even months at a time.

A source of political struggle, survival, and knowledge, the bush provides, for some, the roots of Aboriginal identity. For children, the bush is also a source of pleasure, as the following exchange illustrates.

The participants are a boy (*STU1), me (*RES), and a second boy (*STU2) who seemed wistful for the bush.

*STU1: They caught a moose too.
Small moose, baby moose.
*STU1: It's over there at the www.
*STU1: You know where's that?
*RES: Nope.
*STU1: Lodge.
*STU2: Barriere.
*RES: Oh yeah, I heard of it but I never went there.
*STU2: It's fun over there.
*RES: Yeah.
*STU2: Mona's place.
*RES: Yeah.
*STU2: At the bush over there?
*RES: Yeah, that's where I'm staying.
*STU2: It was fun over there.
*RES: Yeah.
*STU1: How many months you staying over there?
*RES: No, not a lot of months, I'm just staying a couple of more days. But I stayed over the weekend.
*STU2: Was it fun?
*RES: Yeah.
*STU2: I like that place, me too.

To the student's last utterance I replied honestly, "Yeah, me too".

Chapter Three

METHOD

This chapter begins with an introduction to the research participants. The section on participants is followed by a brief review of data collection methods reported in narrative research with children, and a report of the methods used in the present study. The last section reports the narrative database, and the procedures for transcribing and segmenting narratives.

Participants

Children

The children involved in the study were all students in either the combined fourth and fifth grade or the sixth grade at the Rapid Lake School. The total number of students in the two classes was 21, with 11 students in the combined fourth/fifth grade and 10 in the sixth grade. While all of these students participated in data collection, the narratives of three students in the sixth grade were excluded. One student told a single narrative which was not recorded due to a technical error. Three other narratives by two other students have been excluded from analysis because these students, aged fifteen and sixteen, were quite a bit older than the other pre-adolescent and early adolescent participants. These older students had not gone beyond the sixth grade primarily because of irregular school

attendance.

Narratives from 18 students were analyzed. These participants ranged in age from 10;8 to 13;11 at the time of data collection with a mean age of 12;2. The age and sex of individual subjects are provided in Appendix B. A subset of narratives was selected for high point analysis. The criteria for narrative selection and the results of the analysis are reported in Chapter Six.

The particular age group considered in the thesis was chosen for two reasons. The narratives were collected primarily in English, the second language of most Rapid Lake School students. The more limited English proficiency of children in the earlier grades might have dramatically confounded the results of narrative analysis in English. In the interest of obtaining the longest, most complex narratives possible, I therefore chose an older group of students. In addition, many studies have concentrated on the development and production of narratives by younger children. The data in this thesis is not intended to capture the developmental nature of narratives, but rather to demonstrate some of the characteristics of oral narratives by older children using a second language.

Teachers

The teachers of the students discussed above also participated in the study. One teacher was non-Aboriginal (with Aboriginal status by marriage), a long time community

resident, and an English speaker. She had many years of teaching experience. She is referred to in the rest of the thesis as Lisa, a pseudonym. The other teacher was Algonquin, and a fluent Algonquin and English speaker. This teacher (referred to in the rest of the thesis as Joey, also a pseudonym) grew up in the community. He was relatively new at teaching.

The teachers initially participated in narrative elicitation procedures by sharing experiences of their own in the classroom. They also allowed me to observe in their classrooms, and responded to questions related to children's narratives in informal interviews (see Appendix C). The interviews were either transcribed on-line or audiotaped and subsequently transcribed in their entirety.

Mona

Mona (a pseudonym) is an Algonquin woman who resides on the Rapid Lake reserve part of the year and in a bush settlement part of the year. She has spent all of her childhood and most of her adult years in Rapid Lake and the surrounding bush. She has maintained many traditional skills, including hunting, trapping, fishing, tanning, preparation and storage of meats and fish, beadwork, and birchbark basket weaving. Algonquin is her first language and English her second.

Mona participated in the present research by providing lodging for myself and my supervisor. She also shared a

number of stories of her own, and translated some Algonquin words used in children's narratives.

The researcher

I am a graduate student in a combined clinical and research program at McGill University's School of Communication Sciences and Disorders. I grew up and have continued to reside in urban areas. Prior to my present studies, I worked in community health services, primarily counselling adolescents and young adults regarding health issues. I am second generation Italian-American. My first language is English and I neither speak nor understand Algonquin.

Procedures

Narrative collection: A review of methods used with children

An examination of the research literature on oral narratives by children and adults reveals a variety of methods of data collection. Given that narrative research is derived from education, human communication sciences, anthropology, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics, amongst others, an assortment of methods is understandable. Methods of data collection in narrative research reflect the concerns of these different disciplines and within each discipline or field, methods are tailored to answer particular questions. However, the procedures of many child-focused studies shared three important features. Each of the studies indicated (and in some cases, controlled)

(a) who elicited the narratives, (b) the audience for the narrative, and (c) the impetus or stimulus for narrative production.

Figure 1 below summarizes actual and potential methods of narrative collection. The purpose of the diagram is to illustrate these methods and to demonstrate that elements of narrative collection can be combined in different ways. It is primarily the combination of elements which varies across studies.

The uppermost bar of the diagram represents the elicitor of and the audience for narratives. The lower bar shows how elicitation is accomplished. While one might conceive of each bar as a continuum ranging from natural to contrived, these are relative concepts which depend on the experience particular children have with telling different kinds of stories. For example, a child who is accustomed to book reading routines at home is likely to find narrative elicitation using a picture book more natural than a child who is less familiar with this kind of interaction. The continua can be perhaps better understood in terms of narrative motivation, moving from internally to externally-motivated. It is important to note, however, that the emergence of narrative in social interaction means that motivation, in a broad sense, is always partially external to the individual.

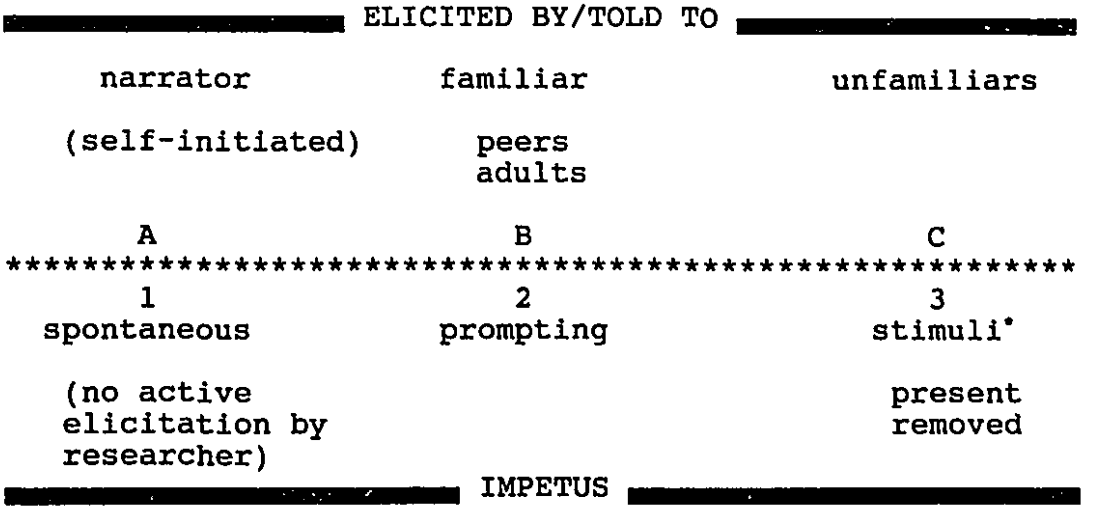


Figure 1. Data collection methods used with children.

*Stimuli may be present at the time of the telling (e.g. child makes up a story using a picture book) or presented and then removed (e.g. child retells what happened in a silent film).

Ethnographic studies of children's narratives would be positioned to the left of the diagram. These narratives are generally spontaneous and are either initiated by the narrator or naturally elicited by a child's conversational partners in the course of everyday activities. This kind of data collection was used in several of the studies previously mentioned. Other examples follow.

Heath (1983) collected children's narratives in the course of extensive fieldwork aimed at understanding a black working-class, a white working-class, and black and white middle-class communities' 'ways with words'. She analyzed these narratives with respect to narrative socialization

practices in those communities. Goodwin (1990) analyzed peer disputes recorded during the play of a multi-age group of children in a black working class neighbourhood of Philadelphia over a period of sixteen months. Likewise, Preece's study of children's narratives (1987;1992) (reviewed in Chapter One) involved spontaneous data.

In these three studies, narratives were not a predetermined focus of data collection. Rather, researchers collected data on "talk-in-interaction" (Goodwin, 1990, p. 2) and subsequently analyzed narratives. Similarly, the sharing-time data discussed in Chapter Two was derived from the recording of usual classroom activities, and involved a mix of narrator-initiated and teacher-elicited stories with a peer audience. In all of these cases, narratives were analyzed because of their frequency and salience in the data.

The far right of the continua in Figure 1 represents commonly used procedures in experimental designs in which researchers elicit narratives using stimuli that are constant across participants. The researcher is usually the narrative audience. More rarely, the researcher is accompanied by a single peer of the narrator. Picture books, films, props, and written or oral narratives have been used to elicit narratives of real or imaginary events and story retellings by children (Griffith et. al., 1986; John-Steiner & Panofsky, 1992; Strong & Shaver, 1991;

Thurber & Tager-Flusberg, 1993; Wolf, 1985). Liles (1993) points out that story retelling tasks are useful in that they allow comparison of children's narratives with a target. The use of stimuli in either a task of story generation or story retelling fulfills the same function.

In addition to characterizing data collection, elicitation is a feature of some definitions of narrative genre. Heath (1986) suggested four universal narrative genres, but pointed out that there is variance in the emphasis different cultures place on each. Two of the four genres that she proposed are defined with reference to elicitation. Accounts and recounts both involve reporting factual events but recounts differ in that they are elicited, usually by an adult. The content of recounts may extend to include events which the child has heard, seen or read about, as in the retelling of a story. Fictional narratives (what Heath calls stories) and eventcasts which involve an on-line account or replay of activity scenes, as in dramatic play, are the other two genres of narratives that Heath discussed. Genre, however, is not always discussed with reference to whether a narrative is adult or narrator-elicited. Preece (1987) identified 14 narrative "types" (p. 353) or "forms" (p. 355) in the conversational narrative data she collected. These forms were based on the function, content, and style of narratives and included such categories as "personal anecdotes", "anecdotes of vicarious

experience", "tattle-tales", and "cons" (p. 369). The nature of the different criteria for classification of narrative as genre or type is important to consider because the criteria necessarily influence discussions of and conclusions about genre/structure relationships.

The methods I used are reported below. Figure 1 also serves as an illustration of how my methods compare with some of the possible procedures for data collection.

Narrative collection: My method

During my first visit to Rapid Lake in June of 1992 my supervisor and I stayed with Mona in the bush. At this time I met an eleven-year-old girl who was also staying at Mona's house, and who later became a participant in this study. Mona was teaching three Abenaki women (visitors from Vermont) how to make birch bark baskets and how to prepare the required materials, and Sandra (a pseudonym) was also learning. I had the opportunity during this stay to be in Sandra's company. I watched her cut her finger on the curved knife used for cutting the bark and roots for the baskets, and she watched my unsuccessful attempts to split wood for the outdoor fire. That afternoon we dared a fast dip in the cold June lake, and later Sandra invited me to canoe. I got in the canoe and sat down facing her before realizing that I was, for canoeing purposes, backwards! Perhaps it was my novice behaviour in the bush combined with my small stature (under 5' tall, under 100 lbs.) that led

Sandra to estimate my age at fifteen (I was thirty-one at the time) and subsequently incited her to share with me a few stories of events in her life.

I did not see Sandra again until March of 1993 during a visit to Rapid Lake devoted to finalizing data collection plans for later on in May and June. I met Sandra momentarily in her classroom and found her shyer than I remembered her. The following day, as I was working in the Rapid Lake School library, she came into the room and told me a story about having stepped on a nail that morning. I interpreted the story as Sandra's way of reestablishing contact with me after a long lapse of time.

It was Sandra who affirmed my choice of collecting narratives of children's personal experiences, and who made me wish that I had time enough to wait for the stories that are spontaneously told by children on walks, in canoes and libraries, in homes, to families and friends, and even, sometimes, to strangers of indeterminate age like myself.

What I actually did was try to maximize children's comfort with the data collection process. During a visit in March of 1993 I visited classrooms. Prior to collecting narratives in May of 1993, I spent three days observing in classrooms and interacting with students. During the March and May 1993 visits I also consulted teachers at the Rapid Lake School for ideas on appropriate methods of eliciting narratives. Based on my own observations, teacher input,

and literature review, I chose a method of data collection that lies midway on the continua of Figure 1. The method was a modification of that used by Peterson and McCabe (1983). These researchers collected narratives from children aged four to nine years in a school setting. Data collection procedures were described by the researchers:

> "Rapport was established with each child individually in the context of his or her classroom and playground. When the children were judged to be comfortable with us ... they were taken individually to a separate room where they were given a picture to put together out of construction paper and paint."
>
> (Peterson & McCabe, 1983, p. 15)

While the child was engaged in this activity researchers prompted narratives by telling short narratives of their own on topics that children in pilot studies had been interested in. Researcher narratives were followed by such prompts as "Did anything like that ever happen to you?" (p. 16).

For the children in the present study, strangers in their small school are rare. Children rarely leave their classrooms for inexplicit reasons, and the types of activities they engage in at school are predictable. The study participants were also older than those in the above-mentioned research, and perhaps more likely to question my purposes. For these reasons I decided that story collection under the guise of an art activity was an inappropriate way of eliciting narratives for these children. I therefore

chose a more direct strategy. The week prior to the beginning of narrative collection, I informed the 4th/5th grade class and the 6th grade class that I was studying how children tell stories, and, as a visitor, wanted to know about their lives in Rapid Lake.

I began the data collection procedure (May 17, 1993) in each classroom by telling an unrehearsed narrative myself. I also asked the teachers Lisa and Joey to tell spontaneous narratives. I then collected narratives in each classroom with the teacher present. By day 2 (May 18, 1993) I began asking single children to accompany me to the library if they had a story to tell. The Rapid Lake School library is a sunny room that, at the time of the study, housed both a book collection and tables of potted potatoes, green beans, and corn. These latter were part of a school-wide project on planting.

By day 3 (May 19, 1993) I had modified the procedures to foster a more intimate atmosphere than the classroom, minimize disruption of school schedules, improve taping conditions, and encourage more student participation in the process. The following method was used for data collection on May 19, 1993 and upon my return in June 1993.

In their classrooms, I asked children if any of them had a story to tell or if they wanted to listen to stories and then invited those children to the library in groups of two to five children. In almost all cases I let the

children determine their groupings by asking questions like "Who do you want to come with you?" and by accepting their proposals. For example, after one storytelling session, a sixth grade group asked if they could return as a foursome the next day. Another time, the fifth grade children suggested single-sex groups. Two girls always chose to accompany each other. In rare cases students preferred to be alone with me. I followed these and other student preferences within the constraints of classroom schedules.

I clearly tried to encourage children as storytellers, by telling narratives myself and by prompting as did Peterson and McCabe (1983). Participation, however, remained voluntary, and children who were reticent, either at first or throughout the study, were welcomed and invaluable story listeners.

The recording apparatus were generally conspicuous. I used, at different times, a Realistic Minisette 15 Compact Cassette Recorder, a larger Sony TCM 5000 EV Cassette Corder with internal microphone or external pressure-zone microphone, and a Panasonic VHS videocamera. Children often handled the recording materials. They held the small tape recorder, manipulated the external microphone, filmed each other on occasion, and more rarely, played back portions of their own audiotaped or videotaped storytelling. Children were always given the choice to be audio or video recorded; most of the time audiorecording was the preferred method.

Narrative collection was thus uncontrolled in experimental terms, but designed to help the children feel comfortable and to spark their curiosity by allowing *them* a modicum of control over the procedures.

Narrative data base

A total of 103 narratives were collected. Ninety-three (90%) of these were narratives of personal experiences. The children's choice to tell about events in their own lives was consistent with both my explanation of the project and the kinds of topics I sometimes suggested to students. Nevertheless, students occasionally volunteered or were asked to tell narratives of other types when no personal narratives seemed forthcoming. These included four story retellings (two of books and two of films), four legend-like stories, and two stories of parents' experiences told by children. While the 93 narratives of personal experience are the focus of my analyses, I make reference to the other ten miscellaneous narratives in order to illustrate certain points in the thesis.

Narrative transcription and transcript reliability

Transcription of narratives included all of the utterances of the narrator and the related utterances of any other speaker(s) immediately preceding and/or during a narrator's turn. The conventions used followed the transcription and coding format of Codes for Human Analysis of Transcripts (CHAT), developed as part of the

international Child Language Data Exchange System (CHILDES). Data transcribed and coded in this format may be analyzed using computer programs collectively referred to as Child Language Analysis (CLAN). Data may also be shared with other researchers through submission to the CHILDES database (MacWhinney & Snow, 1990).

In addition to usual punctuation to indicate questions, exclamations, and declaratives, other conventions were used to indicate features of utterances in transcripts. A list of the features coded in the present study and the conventions used to indicate them follows: trailing off (+...), interruptions of one speaker by another (+/.), overlaps between speakers (<I went> there [>]), retracings (<I went> [//] we went), word and phrase repetitions (<I went> [/] I went), unintelligible speech (xxx), use of Algonquin (www), and reported speech (+".). Information from notes and recordings on the use of gesture, pantomime, and laughter were also noted in the transcripts.

I transcribed all narratives verbatim from audiotape or videotape. One of two transcribers, each with extensive experience transcribing the speech of Aboriginal children and teachers, verified the 93 transcriptions of narratives of personal experience. Differences were resolved through consensus with one of the two transcribers.

Data segmentation

A number of methods for segmenting narratives have been

reported in research on children's narratives. For example, one study used propositions, defined as independent clauses including a subject and a predicate (Hudson & Shapiro, 1991, p. 107). Yet in this system an utterance such as 'We went to people's houses and got candy' was coded as two propositions ('We went to people's houses'; 'and got candy'), assuming an implied subject in the second proposition. In another study, clause units were defined as any unit containing a predicate (Wolf & Hicks, 1989). Using this method, an utterance such as 'He sees the Mommy bear 'cause she was sad' was divided at the initial word of the subordinate clause ('cause). Still other studies use "idea units" (Gee, 1985, p. 14; Sulzby & Zecker, 1991, p. 187). Idea units involve the use of prosodic features to mark boundaries between utterances.

The diversity in terminology and narrative segmentation creates difficulties in comparing narrative length across studies. In order to facilitate comparisons, narratives in the present study were segmented using both clauses and T-units. T-units were defined by Strong and Shaver (1991) as independent clauses and their modifiers or fragments expressing a complete thought. Codes were developed in CHAT format to further specify each T-unit as an independent clause, independent clause plus one or more subordinate clauses, fragment, reported speech segment, or exact repetition of preceding utterance.

Appendix D provides a sample narrative transcript that illustrates transcription conventions, T-unit coding, and the listener input coding discussed in Chapter Five.

Chapter Four

NARRATIVES HEARD IN THE COMMUNITY

Before describing the stories of the children in the present study in greater detail, I will discuss some of the stories from the community that I heard and that children are likely to hear. Participant-observation in the family with whom I lodged enriched my understanding of local narrative practices.

Historical Narratives

I heard, on rare occasions, narratives which recounted past events of historical importance. One dealt with the conflict between Iroquois and Algonquin peoples, and told of a decisive moment in the struggle between the two groups. The narrative recounts how an Algonquin woman travelling by canoe sighted and escaped notice by the Iroquois. Forewarned by this woman of an imminent attack, the Algonquin people "attacked and took an Iroquois man and cut his ears off and sent him back to his people. Then the Iroquois stopped fighting us." This Algonquin narrative is similar in form and content to a Cree historical narrative described as containing a "bare minimum of setting, no characterization, and a statement of events leading straight to the goal of the narrative. There is no dating." (Ellis, 1988, p. 22).

Historical narratives may deal with undated but clearly

remote events, or they may overlap with personal narrative when historical events are witnessed or experienced by the narrator. Older people in Rapid Lake, have in fact, lived through pivotal moments in Algonquin history, including the relatively recent (1961) establishment of the reserve on which most now live, the decline of traditional economic activities, and significant changes in the organization of social life. According to Teacher 2, topics of elders' 'public' narratives, told at gatherings or powwows, "sometimes [have] to do with government, with the way our leadership should act...Parents, children's responsibilities. [Stories] cover a wide variety of subjects, different by different people". Narrators, drawing on personal and community experience, "give different examples" to make their points, but are, according to the interviewee, careful not to single out particular families or individuals.

Personal Experience Narratives

Like events experienced by the entire community, experiences of particular individuals are an important source of teaching and learning. For example, when an eleven-year-old girl cut her finger on a knife while preparing strips of bark for basket-making, two of the Algonquin adults present reacted primarily by telling about injuries they had endured in childhood or as adults. These narratives provided the child with models of how to respond

to her experience. One man recounted: "When I was nine, my grandfather gave me a curved knife. I learned so much from that knife. I learned about medicine when I cut myself. I learned how to cut many things, too."

Personal experience narratives also serve as expressions of individual and group identity. For example, Mona told a series of stories about times when she or others in her family had successfully repaired skidoos, cars, and other items through creative problem-solving. The theme of these anecdotes was the resourcefulness and self-reliance of the individuals involved and of Aboriginal people in general. This theme recurred in some of the traditional tales discussed below in which the main characters manage trying circumstances by being clever and imaginative.

Traditional Stories

The traditional stories we heard often included activities such as hunting, trapping, fishing, and related information about the local physical environment. In some cases, the verbal content of narratives is combined with physical displays (e.g. fish bones or animal furs). Through these stories and presentations children learn about the spiritual importance and distinguishing physical characteristics of animals and fish common to the region. Given a traditional and continued reliance on animals and fish as food sources, such information is important from a practical point of view.

Traditional stories also function to communicate cultural values and themes. Mona distinguished the theme from the topic of a story. Linking one story to another she had told, she said "See, that story is like the pike and the sturgeon [story]. It's about thinking ahead, seeing ahead. Everything has a purpose."

Sometimes we heard the same story told by different people for different purposes. For example, we heard the story of "The Pike, The Mink, and The Walleye" on three separate occasions. One teller was an adolescent who gave a particularly detailed and careful rendition of the story, demonstrating his pride in maintaining traditional ways and his emerging competence in a primarily adult domain. I quote his entire story because it is characterized by features common to many of the narratives I heard. These features include animals and 'local' fish as main characters, dialogue and indirect reported speech, humour, trickery, surprise endings, and a moral. In this particular example, the narrator briefly introduces the topic, begins each narrative section with a leitmotif of the mink running back and forth between the two fish, and completes the story with "that's it", a formulaic ending used by many of the children.

It's the story about the pike, the mink, and the walleye.

A long time ago there was this mink who was hungry.
He had nothing to eat so he was walking around,
thinking of what to kill to find something to eat.

So an idea comes up to him
'cause he saw a pike in the water.

And he goes, he goes to the pike
and tells him that the walleye says "You have big eyes".
And the mink ran back
and the pike told him that he has a big mouth.
And the pike told that to the mink.

And the mink runs back to the walleye
and tells the walleye that the pike said to him that
he has a big mouth.
And the walleye didn't mind, didn't mind,
didn't say anything.
But he said to the mink that the pike has a big head.

The mink ran back and told the pike.
And the pike got angry.
The pike told the mink that
the walleye is fat and round.

And the mink ran back, ran back to the walleye
and told the walleye that the pike said that
you're fat and round.
So the walleye got angry him too.
So the walleye told him
"I'll meet you by the rock over there."
"There we'll get things straightened out here",
the walleye said.

So the mink ran back to the pike
and told him what the walleye had said.
And the pike it was okay,
he said "It's okay".

When sunset came both of them were at the rock.
And "So, you've been calling me names, eh?",
the pike says.
"So was you, that's why I've been calling you names",
the walleye says.
So they started fighting.

The mink's there, watching, laughing.
Soon both the fish got tired,
got tired and killed each other.
And both of the fish floated up the surface.

The mink was all happy.
He got the two fishes.
Brought 'em to shore.

Just about when he was about to eat,
two men came,

two men came and look around
and he saw two fish on the ground laying.

They didn't know it was the mink's fishes.
Then the man told to his friend
"Here's some fresh fish,
At least we can have something to eat instead of
going to the woods and hunt".

They got their knives,
made fire,
and ate the fish.

Later on the mink didn't have anything to eat again.
So he tried another plan
but it seemed it didn't work.

That's it.

Certain traditional narratives feature the reappearance of the same characters in different situations. One such character is the "Wihtigo". In an anthology of works by non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal people about the Windigo (a nominal variant of Wihtigo), Colombo (1982) called it "a creature of the Algonkian imagination and experience ....[T]he personification of both physical and spiritual famine" (p. 1).

Darnell (1989), describing Wihtigo as "a man who becomes a cannibal", points out that "most native people do not like to talk about wihtigo spirits because they know they are disbelieved [by outsiders]" (p. 319-320), whereas many Aboriginal people consider them to be real. Darnell also claims that Wihtigo stories are sometimes used by adults to threaten children. If one accepts Darnell's claim

that Wihtigo is, indeed, considered to be real by adults, then stories about it might be more appropriately seen as a way that adults protect rather than threaten children.

The characterization of Wihtigo as a cannibal and the potential role of Wihtigo stories in controlling the behaviour of children is suggested in the following excerpt from a narrative by one of the children in the community:

> My grandmother told me this story.
> A guy same age like me keepin' a little kid.
> When that guy, the boy, says "Hey be quiet".
> "I hear somebody outside."
> The kid says "Ah, you're crazy!"
>
> Then, then after,
> "Hurry up, be quiet."
> "I hear somebody".
> That guy goes...
> [Peer offers vocabulary: "Ah, you make me mad"]
> So he says "Ah you make me..."
>
> That guy Whitigo, the big monster, comes inside.
> Then that guy [the boy] runs out.
> And he runs to the boat.
> And he run as fast as he can.
>
> Then he went to his father's house.
> "Dad, Dad, they ate all my brothers and sisters."
> "They were foolin' around."
> "I'm tryin' to stop them,
> and they kept on playin' them."
>
> Next day the father went over there.
> And the next day that guy was, that kid was dead.
> All bloods.
> And that guy, that monster, made a fire outside.
> And then he went home.

Another story that also centered on the consequences of children not listening to a warning was told by three tellers on different occasions. The first telling was by an

adult. The second and third were by children, one of whom had forgotten part of it. One child's story follows:

> My grandfather told me that um there was a mother.
> There was a parents.
> They went for camping.
>
> And that kid there he was bad.
> He was bad.
> He didn't want to listen to his mum.
>
> He watched the moon when he went to go pick water.
> His mother told him to go get water 'cause <his> [/]
> his mother there she's always gettin' the water.
>
> Then her there, the moon there, came closer and closer.
> <And> [/] and they took him.
> And <the mom the mom> [//] the mother and the father
> got scared.
> They don't know where they had tooken him.
>
> RES: The moon took the boy?
> NAR: [nods yes].

The character of this story was introduced in English simply as "a kid" or "a boy". Another legend by another teller involved "a boy and his sister". In the two instances, however, the characters and the stories themselves are strongly reminiscent of Cree tales of a "cultural figure" called "Chahkabesh" (Ellis, 1988, p. 12). While much more extensive research would be necessary to investigate the similarities and differences between Cree and Algonquin traditional and historical narratives, the resemblance of the stories we heard with those documented among the Cree suggests possible links in narrative traditions among the two Aboriginal groups. Ellis (1988) points out that the tales of "the adventures of Chahkabesh

belong to cycles well-known even beyond the Cree-speaking world" (p. 13). By cycles, Ellis refers to different stories that involve well-known cultural figures engaged in different events.

Bedtime Stories

Bedtime stories in North American middle-class homes are often in the form of bookreading by parents to children. In this Algonquin community, oral bedtime stories were a traditional practice. Some children in the community still have the pleasure of hearing them, primarily from grandparents. One girl recounted "I went to sleep by my grandfather and he told a story about a long time ago, what Indians there used to make". Another girl began her retelling of a narrative this way: "I told my mom, 'Can I go sleep over at my grandfather's?' and she said yes. Then we went to bed...He told us the story 12:00." The narrator continued the story primarily in Algonquin, and told how she laughed when her grandfather demonstrated the way the characters in the story danced.

I also had the opportunity of hearing a story at bedtime. It was told by a woman to us and her adult children as we went to sleep in a large, common bedroom. I did not understand the story as it was told in Algonquin, but recall the narrator's quiet voice, and her steady, soothing tone. One of the adult listeners told us the next day he'd been unable to sleep much of the night because of

fears roused by the story. Bedtime stories, then, are intended to entertain, but apparently may frighten as well as amuse the listeners.

Chapter Five

NARRATIVES AND LISTENER INVOLVEMENT

Introduction

The excerpts below are from three stories told by two participants in the present study. I have entitled the narratives from which the excerpts have been taken in order to give the reader a clearer sense of the narrative topic. The first two excerpts comprise the final lines of the narratives, and the last excerpt comprises the final lines of an episode within a narrative.

Running over a snake on a bicycle
And then she said "What happened?"
"Tell me what happened."
I said "I ran over a snake 'cause I was leading ahead."
So we went at the lodge.
Then uh we went around.
We went at my house.
Then I told about [it to] my mom.
She laughed a little bit.

The fourwheeler accident
We went all the way up to the bushes.
Wait for a minute.
Went down.
"I don't see nothing", I said.
And I check the four wheeler.
Start it up vroom [=! sound effect].
And Jenny says "Oh scary cats", she says to Billy.
"Thought it was gonna blow up" [=! laughs].
After that we went home, told the whole story to our friends.

Hunting for partridge
And Jimmy had a sling shot with him.
Then he went like that there to one of them.
He was teasing the partridge.
And then we went back.
And then we told that to my grandmother.

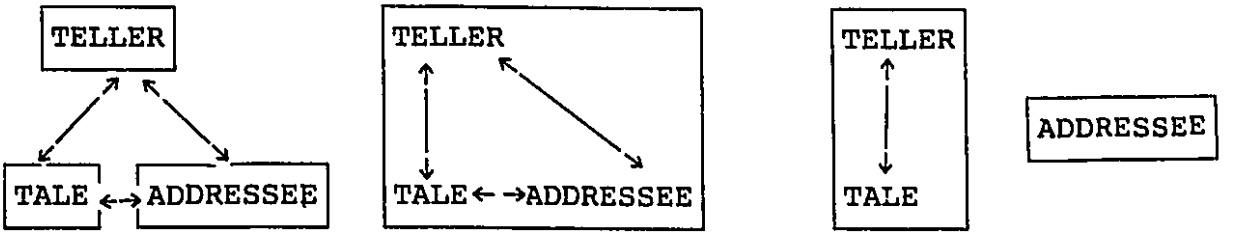
In each of these excerpts the narrator refers to an earlier telling of some of the narrative events, to peers in one case, and a parent and grandparent in the other two. These and other narrative excerpts in my data suggest that narratives do play a role in children's conversations with peers and adults in Rapid Lake. By alluding to the addressees and their reactions to narratives (e.g. the mother who "laughed a little bit" in Running over a snake), these narrators acknowledge the importance of the listener. In the context of data collection, the same girl who told Running over a snake and Hunting for partridge spontaneously commented that a group conversation punctuated with bits of students' past experiences, but devoid of any entire story tellings, was "not a story" and described the conversation as "just fooling around".

The importance of listener response implied by the narrators is discussed by Toolan (1988):

> Perceiving non-random connectedness in a sequence of events is the prerogative of the addressee: it is idle for anyone else (e.g. a teller) to insist that here is a narrative if the addressee just doesn't see it as one. In this respect at least, the ultimate authority for ratifying a text as a narrative rests not with the teller but with the perceiver/addressee (p. 8).

Despite this explicit recognition of the importance of the addressee's role, Toolan introduces his discussion of narrative with a diagrammatic representation of "narrative's *dual* foci, teller and tale" [italics added] (p. 1).

According to Toolan, the diagram (reproduced in Figure 2) captures distinct ways of telling narratives as reflected in different relationships of the teller and the tale.



Item 2a Item 2b Item 2c

Figure 2. Teller-tale relationships.
Note. From Narrative: A Critical Linguistic Introduction (p.2) by M. Toolan, 1988, New York: Routledge. Copyright 1988 by Michael J. Toolan.

In Item 2a, the teller is distanced from the past events of the narrative. The next two items illustrate the merging of the teller with the tale, moving from involvement which includes the addressee to absorption which excludes the addressee in Item 2c. The diagram appears to be based on the assumption that it is the teller's relationship to the tale that determines the degree of inclusion of the addressee. The premise of this chapter is that the addressee is an active partner in narration whose participation is determined partly by the teller but also by her/his approach to listening. Following the presentation of data, Figure 2 is reconsidered with reference to the findings in the present study.

Method

As indicated in Chapter Two, there are a number of ways that listeners interact with narrators. The methodology of data collection used in the present study (elicitation of narratives in a conversational context versus spontaneously produced narratives) constrained interaction in some ways. Nevertheless, the data showed a variety of types of listener input and variation among listeners that are worth noting.

Listener input to student narrators by teachers, peers, and myself during, and at times, immediately following narrators' turns, were coded using a set of categories. The categories were derived from the data itself as well as from (a) modified definitions of prompt types used in narrative data collection by Peterson and McCabe (1983); (b) modelling and prompting cues to narrators used in narrative assessment (Gutierrez-Clellen & Quinn, 1993); and (c) coding of classroom discourse (Eriks-Brophy, 1992). Over half of the 93 narratives told by individual students were coded once using an initial set of categories. The coding categories were then slightly modified to include instances or features of the data which were not well captured by the existing codes. All of the narrative transcripts were then coded to reflect these modifications. Definitions of the final coding categories with several examples for each taken from the data are given in Appendix E.

Reliability was established by randomly selecting 25%

of the narratives for coding by an independent judge. The second coder had prior experience in coding discourse and was trained by the researcher. Reliability, calculated as the total number of agreements divided by the total number of coded utterances, was established at 81%.

Frequencies of the coding categories were calculated using Child Language Analysis (CLAN) programs (MacWhinney & Snow, 1990). While frequency counts are a means of discovering patterns of listener input, the qualitative features of listener utterances are best captured through an examination of the narrative data itself. Thus, here, as throughout the thesis, I rely heavily on narrative excerpts for purposes of illustration.

Results

Researcher

My decision to include high point analysis in my study strongly influenced my input as I attempted to structure my input to narrators in ways similar to other researchers using this analysis. Peterson and McCabe (1983) prompted narrators by (a) narrating a story, (b) asking children a yes/no question regarding whether or not they had had a similar experience, (c) using questions and imperatives (e.g. "what happened" and "tell me about it") in eliciting and prompting narratives, (d) using back channel signalling (e.g. "yeah" "mmhmm"), and (e) by repeating narrator utterances verbatim during storytelling or repeating with modification of the subject and object of utterances to

accurately reflect listener perspective. Lastly, they avoided giving overt evaluations of narrative events, such as "That was really scary" (p. 21).

Frequency counts of my coding utterances indicated that 60% of all of my utterances were similar to those used by Peterson and McCabe. On average, my rate of input was 7 utterances per narrative, including topic prompts. As Figure 3 indicates, I did use other types of input. These other types of input were not preplanned, but my attempts to maintain a conversational tone without heavily influencing narrative content and meaning necessarily influenced my input. Nevertheless, I have documented this input in order to compare it with that of teachers and students. Although teachers and students were aware of the purpose of the study, they were not given instructions as to how or when to interact with students. Explanations of the categories are given in the discussion section of this chapter.

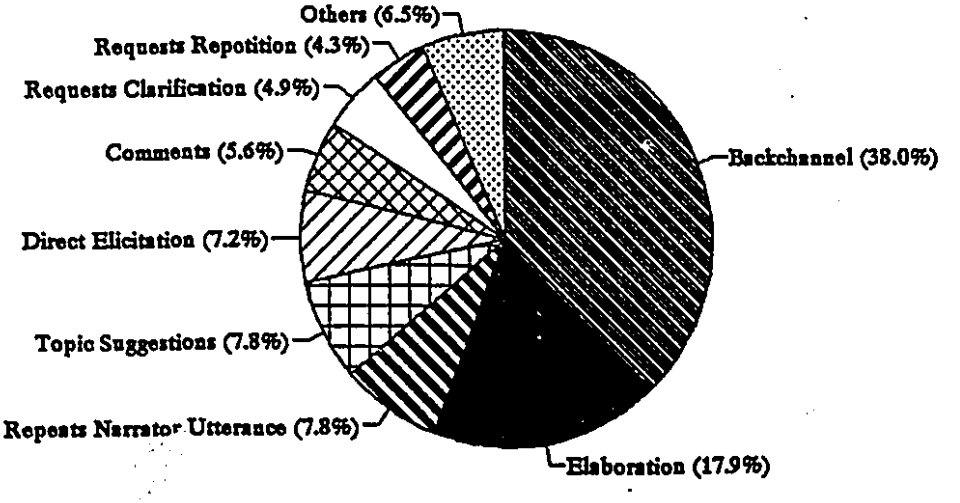


Figure 3. Type and incidence of input by researcher.

Teacher 1: Lisa

Lisa was present for 12 of the narratives under discussion. These narratives were told in her classroom, some of them while students were seated at their desks, some while a smaller group of students were seated with her around a small table. Her mean rate of input was 5 utterances per narrative. The results for Lisa are presented in Figure 4 and discussed later in this chapter.

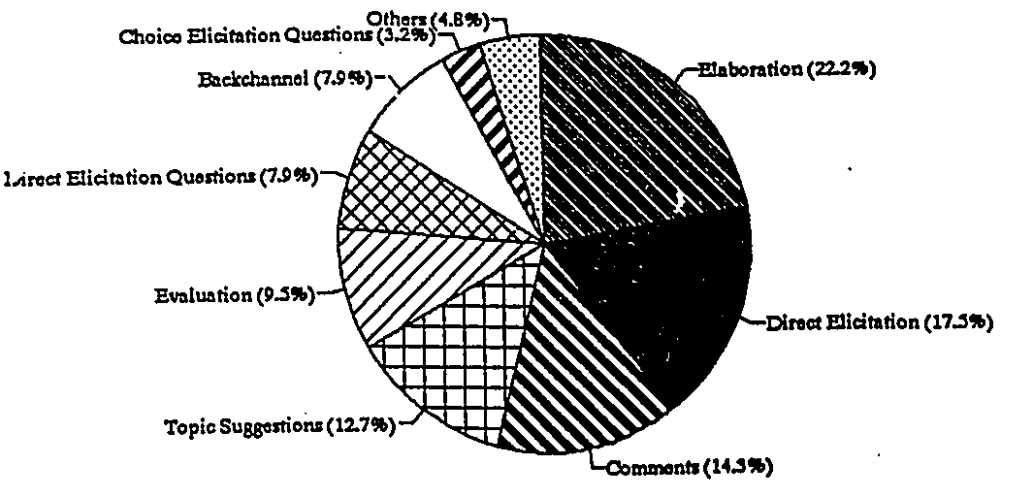


Figure 4. Type and incidence of input by Teacher 1 (Lisa).

Teacher 2: Joey

Joey was present for only six of the narratives, all told in the classroom. While he appeared attentive and laughed along with students several times during the narratives by his students, he spoke only once. In this single instance he helped a student out with English wording

when the narrator asked him in Algonquin how to say something in English.

Students

Different students were present for different narratives. Although there were often two or more students present for a peer's narrative, the average number of utterances for students was less than 3 utterances per narrative. Students, then, were relative to myself and Lisa, the non-Aboriginal teacher, quiet listeners. It is important to note, however, that the telling of stories in a group was in and of itself a form of constant interaction, and narrators sometimes carried over topics or themes from the stories of their peers. Figure 5 charts the input of all students combined. The most common categories are explained in the discussion section of this chapter.

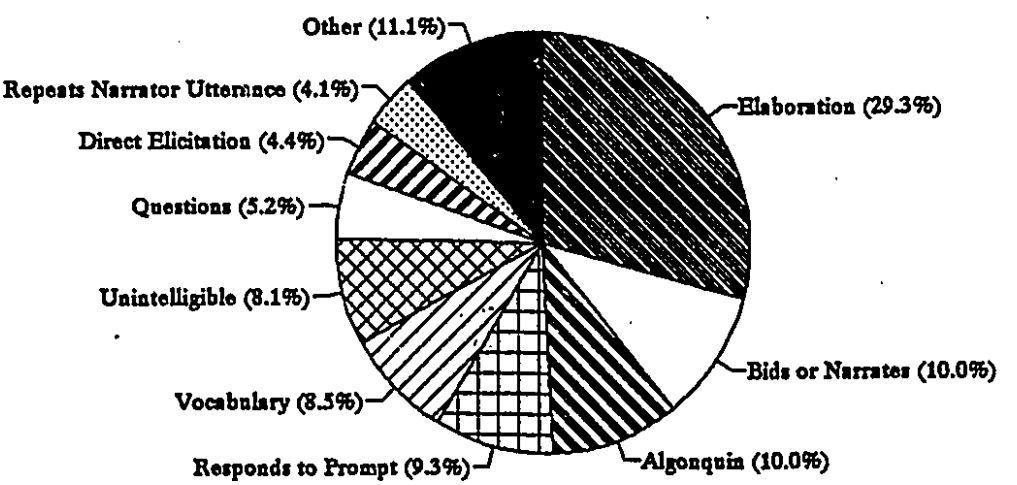


Figure 5. Type and incidence of input by students.

Discussion

The following discussion focusses on the types of input used most by the different listeners. In addition to the examples given here, Appendix E provides definitions of each category and examples taken from the data.

Back channel signalling

Compared to students and teachers my feedback or back channel signalling was incessant. Students and Teacher 1 (Lisa) almost never used yeah and mmhmm to demonstrate that they were listening. The rare instances of back channel signalling by students and Teacher 1 are included in the 'other' category in Figures 4 and 5. In a study of first and sixth grade classroom interaction in an Aboriginal community of the U.S., Philips (1983) noted that students rarely used back channel signalling:

> Some of the behaviour that teachers consider to be evidence of inattention can be attributed to cultural differences in the ways that Warm Springs Indians convey attention...Warm Springs Indians generally look at one another less when engaged in conversation, and generally provide less back channel signalling.
>
> (p. 101).

Comments

Peterson and McCabe (1983) avoided statements that overtly expressed reactions to narrative events in order to minimize their influence. Other than Joey (the Aboriginal teacher), all of the listeners in the present study, including myself, commented on narrative events. Comments were defined as "reactions to the content of narrative" (as

included in Appendix E). Comments were used most frequently by Lisa, who responded to student's narratives with comments 14% of the time. An example of a comment is given at the end of the following excerpt. What is particularly interesting about this example is the way that the student (*NAR/Narrator) responds to the comment. Rather than taking the opportunity to flaunt his hunting skills explicitly, he seems to downplay them. Labov and Waletsky (1967) note that "many narratives are designed to place the narrator in the most favorable possible light: a function which we may call self-aggrandizement" (p. 34). However, a value of modesty regarding one's skills may also affect one's self-presentation.

*NAR:	When we went out for hunting for geese we seen two moose with their babies running in the bush. And we seen a geese and ducks.
%act:	Holds up two fingers.
*TEA:	Did you shoot any?
*NAR:	Yeah, I shot one. We got two geese.
*TEA	[is distracted by something and doesn't hear NAR, hence the repetition below]
*NAR:	We had two geese. And I shot one. And I broke the wing. Here.
%act:	Indicates wing joint.
*NAR:	Went like that, like that.
%act:	Pantomimes flying and falling motions.
*NAR:	Got him in the wing.
*TEA:	That's a good shot, eh?
*NAR:	There were lots. I shot one.

Elaboration

As elaboration was the most common type of listener input for students (30%), Teacher 1 (22%) and, after back channel signalling, for myself (18%), I did an ad-hoc

analysis of all of the utterances initially coded under the broad definition of elaboration. The purpose of this analysis was to determine more specifically what elaborations contributed to narratives.

About half of my elaborations consisted of expansions or restatements of student utterances and summaries of portions of the narratives. These elaborations were generally intended to demonstrate that I was listening, and, at times, to elicit assurance from the narrator that I had understood parts of the narrative which I found unclear.

Other elaborations by myself and Teacher 1 involved the provision of details and the suggestions of narrative elements such as resolutions of narrative events and codas (narrative clauses which bring the narrative up to the present). These elaborations were often in question form, as indicated below in the final lines of a student's narrative in which a peer, myself, and the teacher intervene. As this particular example involves ample input by listeners, I have included the different codes in abbreviated and unabbreviated form in order to illustrate their use. This narrative was one of the first few collected and was told in the classroom context. The narrator was less hesitant in subsequent storytellings.

A fight

*NAR:	Then um my cousin Gina she jumped on me.
*RES:	Yeah.
%pmt:	$BKC [back channel]
*NAR:	Then I kicked her here after.
*STU:	On her hip.

%pmt: $VOC [vocabulary]
*NAR: <She she she> [/] she didn't +...
I think she got jealous.
*RES: You think she got jealous.
%pmt: $REP:par [partial repetition of utterance]
*NAR: Yeah, she didn't want to be my friend.
%com: pause 11 seconds.
*TEA: Did you become friends again?
%pmt: $ELB:ceq [elaboration in question form suggests resolution]
*NAR: Yeah, she did.
*TEA: How did you do it?
%pmt: $DEQ:how [directly elicits using how question]
*NAR: My cousin Sam helped me.
%com: pause few seconds.
*RES: So now everything's okay?
%pmt: $ELB:ceq [elaboration in question form suggests coda]

Occasionally elaborations by myself and Teacher 1 made explicit something that the student had said. Such statements may have been intended to encourage students to keep talking. However, in a school context, this kind of elaboration risks making students feel they are being corrected, even when their meaning is easily inferable. In the following example the student incorporates my elaboration to her narrative ending. By doing so she perhaps strengthens her English vocabulary, but also takes into her narrative an explicit, even redundant manner of speaking that it is not necessarily valued in her culture.

<u>The big pike</u>
*NAR: And that night Carole and Henry and me went to the lake <to ta> [//] to pull out the net. And they had pike and only <wa> [//] pikes # only pikes.
*TEA: Mmhmm.
*NAR: <And> [/] and [=! laughs] the last one I thought it was a big one because a rock it was in there.

*RES: 0 [=! laughs].
So it made it heavy.
*NAR: Yeah. And Carole and me almost cried.
We were so scared.
*TEA: How come?
Because of the big pike?
*NAR: Yeah.
It was a little pike only.
It was # it was only the rock which make it heavy.

Students' elaborations, almost always statements rather than questions, were primarily based on students' own knowledge of the events being recounted by the narrator. The frequent choice of narrators to tell stories about events that were shared or known by at least some of their listeners can be interpreted in two ways. One interpretation would be that narrators considered me their primary listener and thus perceived themselves as narrating an unshared event. An alternative interpretation is that narrators perceived themselves as telling shared or known events to peers. Both codeswitching to Algonquin and narrators' inclusion of peers who were present during storytelling as story protagonists makes the latter interpretation tenable in at least some cases.

Additions to narratives by peers included giving details about the people, place and times of those events, as in the following examples:

At the powwow
*NAR: Then I met this girl.
*STU: Her name was Sarah.

Fishing for suckers
*NAR: The way I done with a big net, you catch a lot of them. There was me and my father that time.
*STU: <They caught> [>] a lot of suckers.
*NAR: <We caught> [<] seventy-six suckers.
*STU: Where the beaver dam was.

Students also sometimes challenged the narrator's rendition or interpretation of events. In the following example, the narrator denies the challenge and goes on to strengthen her own interpretation of events.

Noises in the night
*NAR: And then she heard lots of noise in the bushes, sticks breaking. She was so scared. She was so scared she done something.
*STU: A moose.
*NAR: Uhuh.
*NAR: <Then she heard> [/] then she heard something on the side there knocking.

Explanations and evaluations of narrative events were also added by students. The following excerpt demonstrates a peer's explanation of narrative events as well as questions to elicit details. In the last line of the excerpt the narrator ends by incorporating and elaborating his peer's comments.

A boy kills a dog
*NAR: He had to bury that dog.
*STU: Whose dog?
*NAR: I don't know.
*STU: Who told him to kill it?
*NAR: Marge told him to kill the puppy. And he did.
*STU: Because there's too may dogs around now. Puppies. There's puppies now.
*NAR: And all the puppies are growing.

A similar incorporation of peer input is apparent in the following narrative in which a peer provides both events

and phrasing to the narrator:

A man drowns
*NAR: Ah, <when he took> [/] when he +...
*STU: When he got out the water +...
*NAR: When he got xxx.
*STU: He went to sit down.
*NAR: He went to sit <on the shore> [//] uh on the grass.
*STU: And he fall back.
*NAR: He fell back.
*STU: Fell back I mean.

The last three lines of the preceding excerpt are interesting in that the peer provides an utterance which the narrator uses but corrects, thereby prompting the peer to modify her utterance. A second example of such bidirectional prompting between peer and narrator is illustrated in the following example. Having already announced the narrative as complete, the narrator corrects but includes his brother's input:

"We twirled a van, too"
*NAR: And Eva was crying, Wally, Mike. That's all.
*STU1: [appears to be question in Algonquin]
*STU2: 'Cause he got hit with the tire bar.
*NAR: The tire rim.
*STU2: Tire rim.
*NAR: It came on my head [=! crashing sound effect].
*STU1: 0 [=! laughs].
*NAR: It got loose the tire rim. It hit my head.

Bidding and narrating

In addition to elaborating, students occasionally bid for the speaking floor or took the floor over several turns to narrate either their part in a shared experience or to recount a similar experience. Each of these categories was

approximately equally represented in the data (bids 5.2%; narrates 4.8%).

In the following edited excerpt *NAR was the primary narrator; *STU1 also narrated a part, and *STU2 elaborated on the narrative by offering an eloquent description of seeing an unnamed but frightening creature in which the students obviously believe.

*NAR: It was me, my sister, my little baby sister there, Nina there, we were sleeping in the big tent in the tent there.
Then in the middle of the night we were fooling around.
Then all of us went to sleep.
Then he came.
He was walkin' all around the tent.
I didn't want to look out the blanket.
***STU1: My brother saw it.**
He couldn't do nothing.
He just staring at it.
But not me, I was still sleeping.
*NAR: All my sisters were sleeping except me and Kristen.
*RES: How did you know it was there?
*NAR: Because we saw it.
*NAR: Kristen saw it.
***STU2: You know what happens when you see something very huge.**
***STU2: Seems like you have been there forever lookin' at that thing.**
***NAR: You're stunned.**

Responses to prompts

Students, in addition to spontaneously elaborating on each other's narratives, added information to each other's narratives by responding to questions or prompts by me. For example, when I requested clarification of a student's mention of a "nine point nine", his friend responded "yeah, motor boat".

Vocabulary

Another common form of input by students was the provision of English vocabulary. Vocabulary often consisted of single words given in response to either narrator hesitations or explicit requests for a word or phrase. By providing vocabulary and phrasing to each other, students contributed to each other's second language skills.

Group Tellings

There were four instances in data collection in which two or more tellers began to participate in telling a story together. Although rare in comparison with tellings dominated by one narrator, I will discuss two of these segments briefly because they capture the emergence of narrative in a peer conversational context, an area which has rarely received attention in the research literature on children's narratives.

Three of the group tellings were short conversations involving several students. The following example is the conversation of a group of fifth graders. It illustrates how narrators not only recount events but personalize their recounts with different foci and implied or explicit, and sometimes competing, reactions to events.

Pierced ears

*STU1: I laughed at Chris yesterday.
*STU2: My brother.
*STU1: His brother.
*STU1: He put a +...
*STU3: A pin.
*STU1: Buttons xxx buttons.
*STU1: On the dog's ears.

*RES: On the dog's ears?
*STU4: <He made a ears pierce on the dog's ear> [>].
*STU1: <He said "S. style"> [<].
*RES: What?
*STU4: He made a ears pierce on the dog's ear.
*RES: Oh yeah.
*STU1: He said "S. style" [laughs].
*STU4: No, they did that to Bingo, the small one.
*STU1: www. [Algonquin]
%eng: They took it off.
*STU3: www. [Algonquin]
%eng: But they *still* did it.
*STU2: Who did it?
*STU3: Your brother.
*STU2: My brother.
*STU3: Uhhuh.
*STU4: It's a female.
*STU4: How'd they do it?
*STU4: That dog didn't really xxx.
*STU3: www. [Algonquin]
%eng: The dog screamed.
*STU2: My brother is a bad boy now.
*STU1: www.
%eng: 'Bout time you admit it.

A collaborative narrative by two girls in the sixth grade was longer, and more complete. These two girls, who chose to tell stories in each others presence on three occasions, took turns at telling a shared experience in which each had 'had a turn' at getting her shoes taken away by the other. An edited segment of this long narrative follows:

My turn, Your turn
*STU1: On Sunday there <we went> [//] we took off our shoes and went down the lake. Um <we put> we throw her [indicates peer] shoes in the <shit> [//] horseshit.
*STU2: [laughs] I went to go get it # with my bare socks. Sophie threwed <my> [/] my shoes on top of Janet's house. And I went to go get them.
*STU1: Then we went to tell Janet.
*STU2: Then I climbed on top of his [her] house.
*STU1: She said "Who's on top of the house?"

It was Lisette [STU2]. We went to the band office.
*RES: And there at the band office?
*STU1: We gave her shoes back. It was my turn.
*STU2: [laughs].
*STU1: Lisette and Emily took my shoes away.
*STU2: And she almost got mad [laughs].
*STU1: My feet was gettin' red there # on the rock.
*STU2: And Lenore, we take off, no, take her shoes away. And she cried.
*STU1: Not me but Rosie. [refers to who took away Lenore's shoes]
*STU2: Rosie.

Collaboration seemed to help the two girls to feel at ease as narrators, and they continued, in subsequent story tellings on other days, to contribute often to each other's narratives. As for their reasons for telling this particular narrative jointly, it seems possible that the collaboration gave them the opportunity to reconcile the fun yet conflictual narrative events that had left some of the participants close to anger and others in tears.

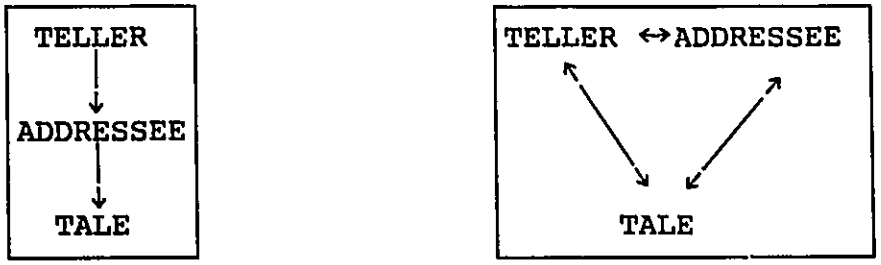
Conclusion

In conclusion, all of the listeners in the present study can be seen as mediating the narratives at times by asking questions of the narrator, by eliciting particular details, and by prompting for the inclusion of particular narrative elements. Lisa (Teacher 1) and I were more likely to choose this listening strategy, while Joey (Teacher 2) was a quiet listener.

Students, in particular, aligned themselves with the narrator through different forms and varying degrees of collaboration in storytelling. They used their knowledge of

the narrative events, of their community, and of Algonquin and English in doing so.

The configurations of teller-addressee-tale relationships found in the present study are represented in Figure 6; mediation is depicted on the left, and alignment on the right.



Item 6a Item 6b

Figure 6. Addressee-Teller-Tale Relationships.

In this chapter the narrative excerpts chosen were those that illustrated listener input. The subset of narratives discussed in the next chapter are comprised of the longest narrative by each student in the study. There was frequently little verbal interaction during these storytellings, although conversation usually preceded and followed the narratives. The length of the narratives analyzed in the next chapter suggests that most of the students, while open to the input of others, did not rely on the audience to hold the floor nor to tell some of their most elaborate narratives.

Chapter Six

HIGH POINT ANALYSIS

Introduction

High point analysis, the system for analyzing narrative structure introduced in Chapter One, draws heavily on a method developed and elaborated by Labov (Labov & Waletsky, 1967; Labov, 1972). The Labovian model is based on the premise that personal experience narratives involve the expression of two principal functions, reference and evaluation. These are discussed in turn below.

Reference involves the reporting of events, actions, and background information. It is accomplished through the use of restricted and free clauses, two clause types distinguished on the basis of the duration of the events that they encode. According to Peterson and McCabe (1983), "restricted clauses recapitulate a single event which occurred at some discrete or restricted point in time, such as 'he hit me'" (p. 31). Polanyi (1985) terms restricted clauses event clauses, and describes them as "semantically punctual, non-iterative, and completive" (p. 10). In contrast with restricted clauses are "free clauses" (Peterson & McCabe, 1983, p. 31). Labelling such clauses "durative-descriptive", Polanyi (1989) notes that they involve "descriptions of characters, setting, motivations...[and] habitual, iterative, or non-instantaneous actions and events" (p. 12). In high point

analysis, restricted or event clauses generally correspond to the categories of complicating actions or resolutions, while free or durative-descriptive clauses correspond to the orientation category.

Descriptions of restricted clauses imply that the simple past tense or the historic present characterize this type of clause. Hatch (1992) has also suggested that clauses comprising the main story line of a narrative frequently involve verbs with strong transitivity, while statives, and continuous, progressive, or perfective verb aspect are characteristic of narrative clauses that provide background information and action parallel to the main story line (p. 167). There are, then, tendencies in the linguistic form of clauses carrying out the referential function of a narrative. Clauses expressing an evaluative function, however, take a wider variety of forms.

Evaluation is "the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative, its' raison d'être: why it was told and what the narrator is getting at" (Labov, 1972, p. 366). Polanyi (1985) captures the essence of how evaluation is accomplished, describing it as "a process of assigning prominence...by encoding the information to be accorded increased weight in a way which departs from the local norm of the text" (p. 14). Thus, the positioning of a single clause or of a series of clauses, as well as syntactic, semantic, and prosodic features, contribute to

the identification of clauses as evaluative (Labov, 1972; Polanyi, 1989). The wide range of options for evaluation of events is reflected in the list of subtypes provided in Table 1.

In high point analysis, the coding of each clause according to the narrative elements of appendages, orientation, complicating action, resolution, and evaluation allows one to determine the overall structure of a narrative based on the inclusion and position of the elements. For example, a series of clauses recounting events (complicating actions) may be followed by evaluative clauses that suspend the action and, in doing so, indicate the point where the action reaches a climax; hence, the term high point. In a classic pattern, considered prototypical of adult narratives by Labov and Waletsky (1967), the high point helps the listener to distinguish between the complicating action and the resolution that follows (Peterson & McCabe, 1983). Using data from four to nine year olds, Peterson and McCabe (1983) derived several other narrative patterns in addition to the classic one. Definitions of these are provided in the following method section.

Method

Transcript selection

One narrative from each of the 18 participants in the present study was selected for high point analysis. Following Peterson and McCabe (1983), the longest narrative

(measured in number of T-units in the present study) by each narrator was selected for 17 of the 18 participants. For one student, the sole narrative she told was analyzed.

Coding narrative clauses

Narratives were coded according to the procedures and definitions of clause types and subtypes proposed by Peterson and McCabe (1983), with some modifications as described in the next section. A list of orientation and evaluation subtypes are included in Table 1. In addition, the evaluation types are defined in Appendix F.

TABLE 1. Types of clauses in high point analysis.

COMPLICATING ACTIONS: Specific events which occur before the evaluative high point of the narrative

RESOLUTIONS: Specific events which occur after the high point, and resolve the high point action or crisis

APPENDAGES:

Abstracts:	Summaries of the narrative that occur at the beginning
Attention-getters:	Explicit bids for listener attention
Prologues:	Statements of the ending or lasting significance of a narrative, occurring at the beginning
Codas:	Formalized ending of a narrative

ORIENTATION: Statements that provide the setting or context of a narrative, including:

Participants	Objects or features of the environment
Location	Tangential information
Time	General Conditions
Ongoing Events	General Cases
Imminent events	

EVALUATION: Statements or words that tell the listener what to think about a person, place, thing, event, or the entire experience, including:

Onomatopoeia
Exclamation
Repetition
Compulsion words
Similes and metaphors
Gratuitous terms
Attention-getters
Words per se
Exaggeration and fantasy
Negatives
Intentions, purposes, desires, or hopes
Hypotheses, guesses, inferences, and predictions
Results of high point action
Causal explanations
Tangential information
Facts per se

From Developmental psycholinguistics: Three ways of looking at a child's narrative (p. 32) by C. Peterson and A. McCabe, 1983. Copyright 1983 by Plenum Press.

Modifications of coding procedures

Elimination and integration of categories. Of the twenty-one evaluation subtypes proposed by Peterson and McCabe, four were not used. Two of the subtypes, stress and elongation, were not included in the narrative transcriptions. Neither feature, however, was noted as characteristic of the narratives in the process of transcription by the author. The categories of internal emotional states and subjective judgments were collapsed into the category words-per-se. This modification was made because of overlap in the category definitions and in the examples provided by Peterson and McCabe (1983).

Coding reported speech. In addition to these modifications, two additions were made to the coding procedures in order to capture features of the narratives that were not fully accounted for using the existing set of categories and subtypes. The first additional procedure was the coding of direct reported speech on a separate tier. My initial motivation for isolating reported speech was its salience in much of the narrative discourse that I observed in the community, the identification of verbal exchanges as a particular feature of Native American oral narratives (Hymes, 1982), and the suggestion that children in cultures with strong oral traditions may use reported speech more frequently than children in highly literate societies (Ely & McCabe, 1993, p. 674). Reported speech has also been identified as an important evaluative device. Tannen (1989), who calls reported speech "constructed dialogue" (p. 25) for the creative rewording and even invention that it often entails, discusses dialogue as a strategy by speakers to involve their listeners. Reported speech adds vividness to narratives and allows narrators to evoke the voices and perspectives of others (Küntay, 1993).

While she notes the potential of reported speech to serve as an evaluative device, Polanyi (1985) points out that both direct and indirect reported speech "only function evaluatively where not normative" (p. 15). Preliminary analysis of the total corpus of 93 personal experience

narratives in the present study indicated that reported speech was never the textual norm; that is, none of the narratives were wholly of a he-said, she-said variety. Rather, reported speech appeared to be used primarily to highlight certain events.

Preliminary analysis of the total corpus of narratives also revealed that 89% of the narrators used either direct or indirect reported speech in at least one narrative. Seventy-one percent of the narrators used direct reported speech and an equal (but not necessarily overlapping) percentage used indirect reported speech. This compares to 88% of the nine year olds reported to have used any kind of reported speech (direct, indirect, and summaries of speech events) in Ely and McCabe's (1993) reexamination of a subset of the narratives from Peterson and McCabe's corpus. Their data, discussed in this chapter with respect to the findings of high point elements and structure, consisted of over one-thousand personal experience narratives by White, American, primarily working-class children four to nine years old.

While direct reported speech occurred in a total of one third of the 93 narratives across the 18 children in the present study, there was considerable variation in the frequency with which individual narrators used reported speech. For example, individual data showed that one narrator used direct reported speech in seven of her nine (78%) narratives, while another boy used it in all three

(100%) of his. Other children used reported speech more rarely or not at all.

For the 18 narratives selected for high point analysis, clauses (or fragments expressing a complete thought) of direct reported speech were coded. In instances where the reported speech expressed either the narrator's or a narrative character's point of view, the category of evaluation was maintained. At times reported speech fulfilled a referential rather than evaluative function, communicating narrative events or requesting an action (including a verbal response) by another narrative character. In these cases, the verb of saying and the reported speech itself were scored with a code developed for this purpose (furthering the action). These instances are incorporated to the high point category complicating action in the results section. Thus, not all instances of reported speech were considered evaluative; judgments were made based on semantic content and on the function of the speech in the narrative.

Coding performance features. Performance features, of which reported speech is often considered one, have been cited as essential characteristics of the oral narratives of Canadian Aboriginal groups (Petrone, 1990). Other features that are sometimes discussed in terms of the performed quality they give to a narrative are prosody, gesture, pantomime, and facial expression.

The importance of the use of the body as an involvement strategy is reflected in the following comments by the Aboriginal teacher in the present study:

> Some people who are good at telling the story, good at acting, they'll pick up the story and tell it to someone else ... The posture you take while you're telling the story will help listeners to see. Rather than just listening to the story they become part of the story.

Lisa, the other teacher, in responding to my question, "What makes a good storyteller?" included: "The way you're telling a story. Your enthusiasm", and noted on other occasions that children's interest in books read aloud was highly dependent on the way that teachers told the story.

In recognition of the fact that narrators may transmit information and engage listeners not only through speech but through other means, I coded (a) facial expressions used specifically to demonstrate narrators' or narrative characters' attitudes toward events (b) laughter by the narrator about particular narrative events or the entire narrative (c) gesture and pantomime that either supplemented or repeated verbal information. Gesture and pantomime were coded in terms of their contribution to the narrative (that is, subtyped as orientation or evaluation), while facial expressions and laughter were always considered to be evaluation.

Intercoder agreement coding high point elements

Intercoder agreement was established between the researcher and a recently graduated speech-language

pathologist with research experience in the elicitation and coding of children's language samples. She was trained by the researcher and independently coded five of the eighteen (27.7%) narratives for high point elements. Agreement was calculated using kappa coefficients which correct for chance agreement between coders (Bakeman & Gottmann, 1986, p. 78). The kappa coefficient was .63. This degree of agreement using kappa coefficient calculation for categorical data has been qualified as "good" (Fleiss, 1981) and as "substantial" strength of agreement on a 6-point scale where "substantial" is the next to highest rating (Landis & Koch, 1977, p. 165).

Classification of overall narrative structure

Once each narrative clause was coded the overall structure of each narrative was determined according to the definitions in Table 2.

TABLE 2. Narrative patterns in high point analysis.

Classic pattern - The narrative builds up to a high point, evaluatively dwells on it, and then resolves it.
Ending-at-the-high-point - The narrative builds up to a high point and then ends; there is no resolution.
Leap-frogging pattern - The narrative jumps from one event to another within an integrated experience, leaving out major events that must be inferred by the listener.
Chronological pattern - The narrative is a simple description of successive events.
Two-event - The narrative consists of too few sentences for any high point pattern to be recognized, or the narrative extensively reiterates and evaluates only two events.

Disoriented pattern - The narrative is too confused or disoriented for the listener to understand.

Miscellaneous patterns - Any narrative that does not fit into one of the above categories is classified as miscellaneous.

From Assessment of preschool narrative skills: Prerequisite for literacy by A. McCabe and P. Rollins. Miniseminar presented at annual meeting of ASHA, November 21, 1991, Atlanta.

Results and Discussion

Length

The narratives ranged in length from 10 to 55 independent clauses, and averaged 28. Average length exceeded a mean of 12 reported for 9 year olds (Peterson & McCabe, 1983), and means of 11 and 18 clauses reported for personal experience narratives told by 10-11 and 13-14 year olds (Kernan, 1977). Results from a study comparing story generation (with a story stem as stimuli) and story retelling by children 9-11 years old were more comparable to the present data: Length averaged 21 clauses for the generation condition and 28 for the retelling condition (Merritt & Liles, 1989). In another study, story retellings of a normal language control group 8-10 years old ranged from 24-28 T-units across three different measurement times (Strong & Shaver, 1991). This latter study was rare in that it investigated and reported the stability of narrative length and use of cohesive devices. I found no reports comparing length across narratives within the same genre for

individual narrators. However, the narratives by children in this study varied in length from narrative to narrative. The present study did not investigate the relationship of narrative length and complexity. Length is reported here as an indicator of how talkative the narrators were in comparison with non-Aboriginal children and native speakers of English of similar ages.

Narrative elements and subtypes

Individual data and group means on the number and percentage of clauses coded as each narrative element are provided in Table 3. In addition, the means reported for nine year-olds in Peterson and McCabe (1983) are provided for the purpose of immediate comparison. The results demonstrate that children varied considerably in the length of their narratives. Ranges for the proportion of narrative comments coded as each element were as follows: appendages 0-10%; orientation 6-42%; complicating actions 29-82%; resolution 0-18%; evaluation 4-40%. The proportion of each narrative element is not in itself a determinant of pattern of narrative structure in high point analysis. The weight of each element does, however, affect the overall quality of the narratives and provides a way of verifying general impressions of narratives as being, for instance, primarily action-filled, descriptive, or expressive in character.

TABLE 3. Percent of independent clauses by narrative element for individual narrators (listed in order of chronological age)

Child	%APP[a]	%ORI	%COA	%RES	%EVA	Total # of clauses
01	3.1	25.0	31.3	15.6	25.0	32
02	0	16.4	72.7	0	10.9	55
03	3.2	15.6	34.3	18.8	28.1	32
04	0	5.9	82.4	0	11.7	17
05	2.0	39.2	39.2	2.0	17.6	51
06	9.5	38.1	28.6	0	23.8	21
07	3.3	30.0	56.7	0	10.0	30
08	2.6	28.2	46.1	0	23.1	39
09	4.8	4.8	61.9	0	28.5	21
10	8.0	24.0	56.0	8.0	4.0	25
11	0	0	60.0	0	40.0	10
12	0	25.8	45.2	6.4	22.6	31
13	7.0	33.3	57.2	0	9.5	21
14	0	30.8	38.4	0	30.8	13
15	4.2	41.7	33.3	0	20.8	24
16	2.4	19.0	40.5	4.8	33.3	42
17	0	26.7	53.3	0	20.0	15
18	6.4	25.8	51.6	0	16.1	31
Means	2.6	25.1	48.8	3.5	19.8	28
Means[b]	3.9	24.5	43.7	13.9	14.0	12

[a] Abbreviated category designations are as follows: Appendages (APP); Orientation (ORI); Complicating actions (COA); Resolution (RES); Evaluation (EVA).

[b] Means reported for 9 year olds (Peterson & McCabe,1983, p.52.

Appendages. As the subtype definitions in Table 1 indicate, the appendage category is a composite of narrative elements. Appendages have been called "the superfluous

niceties of narration" (Peterson & McCabe, 1983, p. 33). Romaine (1985), discussing the appendage subtype abstracts, refers to them as "stylistic frills" (p. 192). These optional elements of narratives were rare in the present data. Given that appendages are likely to consist of a single or small number of clauses, the proportion of total narrative comments that they comprise is not very telling. The number of children using them is more pertinent. Prologues and attention-getters were never used by the narrators in the present study. Abstracts were used in one-third of the narratives. Given that each narrative represents one narrator, this means that 33% of the narrators used an abstract compared to 20% in the 6-9 age group studied by Peterson and McCabe (1983). Kernan (1977), in his study of personal experience narratives by black working-class girls, found an increase in the incidence of abstracts when he compared 7-8 year olds with 10-11 and 13-14 year olds.

Romaine's (1985) suggestion that the exclusion of abstracts may be an artefact of elicitation procedures might be extended to attention-getters. The research context reduces to some extent the need for a speaker to obtain the floor through announcing a narrative topic (abstract) and hold it by bids for listener attention (attention getters). The presence of several children during the telling of many of the narratives discussed here might have decreased these

potential effects by creating a conversational context. Nevertheless, the children's knowledge of the study's intentions and my presence might have secured the speaking floor in ways dissimilar to those found in spontaneous conversation.

Lastly, in the appendage category, codas were used in one-third (33.3%) of the narratives, compared to one-sixth (16.7%) in the narratives of younger children studied by Peterson and McCabe (1983). Peterson and McCabe (1983) noted developmental changes in the complexity and subtlety of codas. Younger children tended to use "simple, explicit endings (e.g. "the end" or "that's all")" , while older children used "more sophisticated endings (such as tying the entire narrative together or bringing the narrative up to the present)" (p. 53). The codas in the present data consisted of concise codas (i.e. "that's it" "that's all") 2/3 of the time, and slightly longer, more elaborate ones the other one-third.

Orientation. The percentage of independent clauses devoted exclusively to orientation are represented in Table 3. These percentages, however, underestimate somewhat the incidence of this narrative element. An independent clause coded under a main category (for instance, complicating action) might also embed orientation, either semantically (that is, via lexical choices in the same independent clause) or syntactically (that is, in a dependent clause

attached to the main clause). Such is also the case for the category of evaluation. For the purposes of comparison with Peterson and McCabe's findings, these instances of orientation and evaluation were not included in Table 3. They were coded on a separate tier as the primary function of a dependent clause or the secondary function of a main clause and have been incorporated to the results in Tables 4 and 5 below. The possibility of coding some clauses as having a primary and secondary function (that is, as belonging to more than one category of narrative elements at a time) is a characteristic of the high point system that diminishes the ease with which intercoder agreement is established and the certainty with which results across studies might be compared.

TABLE 4. Percent of each type of orientation by narrative comment (Total incidence each type/total # independent clauses across 18 narratives)

TYPE	PERCENT
Time	7.84
Participants	7.25
Ongoing Events	7.05
Objects or features of the environment	6.47
Location	4.90
General Cases	.80
Tangential Information	.80
Imminent Events	.60
General Conditions	.00
TOTAL	35.71

As Table 4 indicates, 35.7% of all independent clauses

contained orientative information. This corresponds closely to the 35.1% found by Peterson and McCabe (1983, p. 55) in the narratives of 9 year-old children. This correspondence is consistent with the lack of significant age effects in overall incidence of orientation found by Peterson and McCabe for the group they studied. Correlations of type of orientation and age revealed a significant effect only for ongoing event, an orientation subtype defined by use of the past progressive. In the present data, the most common forms of orientation were (1) time, (2) introductions to and descriptions of participants, (3) ongoing events, (4) features of the scene of action, and (5) location of events. Peterson and McCabe found the same order of frequency for four of these five subtypes (2-5). The exception was time, which was the most common type of orientation in the present study but only the fifth most common in their findings. While in both Peterson and McCabe's and the present study ongoing events were the third most common form of orientation, children in Rapid Lake devoted a smaller proportion of their narrative comments to providing this kind of information (7.05% vs. 9.6% in Peterson & McCabe).

High point analysis does not involve assessment of the sufficiency of the orientation provided by narrators. Kernan (1977) noted that the detail of orientation to participants increased with the age of his subjects. Of the 7-8, 10-11, and 13-14 year old girls he studied, each of the two older

groups identified narrative characters with identifying characteristics or status twice as often as the younger group, who had a greater tendency to provide name alone. In the present study, narrators sometimes knew that their peer audience were familiar enough with the narrative characters to recognize them by name alone, but would address me directly to further identify them. An assumption of shared knowledge was generally more predominant with respect to place. Children appeared to presume that I, like their peers, knew the places they referred to in their stories by virtue of my presence in Rapid Lake. In most, but not all cases, their assumptions were well-founded.

There were also qualitative differences in how narrators used orientation. Some narrators concentrated orientation at the beginning of their narratives, while others embedded it throughout. One narrator (the sole student in the study who spoke English as a first language) exemplified the different types and potential contribution of orientation to the meaning of a narrative. She opened her narrative with the general location of events, the people present, and the ongoing events, and then focussed on a dramatic event experienced by her cousin. Following that, she gave the description that appears below. Although the narrative appeared at first to follow a classic pattern, the shift in focus represented by the following excerpt and the subsequent repetition of events led to a categorization as

miscellaneous.

> Like I was on a little couch in the bedroom.
> Not even this big, about here [demonstrates size].
> Anyways, that big.
>
> I was laying there in the bedroom.
> Here's Iris' bed [demonstrates location].
> And the couch was right here [demonstrates location].
> And it was wall there.
> But the door was right here in Sue's room [demonstrates location].
> And I was sleeping there.
> And Iris was sleeping in there with Andrea.
>
> And all of a sudden it came out of the closet right here.
> And it grabbed Iris.
> It started shaking her.
> I got on my knees.
> Tried to open the light.
> But he saw me.
> And he threw Iris back on the bed and ran into the closet.
>
> (Child 05)

While the initial lines of the entire narrative set the stage for the listener, the set of details excerpted above appeared to have a different purpose. By providing a detailed description supported by demonstration and gesture, the narrator stressed her own perspective (quite literally) on the events and asserted her reliability as a witness and reporter of them. Thus, it appears that orientation can serve not only a referential function but an evaluative one, and, as in the preceding example, can contribute to the broad purpose of self-presentation.

Evaluation. Evaluation varied across narrators in amount, type, and position. Table 5 provides details on the types of evaluation favoured by narrators.

TABLE 5. Percent of each type of evaluation per narrative comment (Total incidence each type/total # independent clauses)

TYPE	PERCENT
Words per se	4.51
Reported speech	4.31
Facts per se	4.11
Negatives	3.92
Repetition	3.14
Exclamation & laughter (respectively .20, 2.74)	2.94
Causal explanations	2.94
Hypotheses, guesses, inferences, and predictions	1.37
Tangential information	1.37
Compulsion words	.90
Results of high point action	.60
Gratuitous terms	.60
Onomatopoeia	.60
Similes and metaphors	.40
Exaggeration and fantasy	.20
Intentions, purposes, desires, or hopes	.20
TOTAL	32.11

When compared to Peterson and McCabe (1983), results in the evaluation category revealed some striking differences. First, narratives were more heavily evaluated in their data than in mine. The proportion of evaluation to total narrative comments averaged 48% for children of all ages; no developmental effects in overall incidence was found (Peterson & McCabe, 1983, p. 59). In contrast, the overall incidence in the present study was 32%. Second, two of the three most commons form of evaluation at all ages were gratuitous terms and stressors (younger children, however, used stressors significantly more often than the 9 year olds), two forms very rarely used by children in Rapid Lake. Comparison of the eight most common forms of evaluation

(accounting for 85% of the overall incidence in my data) further demonstrate that facts-per-se were among the most frequently used forms of evaluation among children in Rapid Lake, while it was far less popular among the children studied by Peterson and McCabe.

As Labov (1972) explained, "evaluative devices say to us: this was terrifying, dangerous, weird, crazy; or amusing, hilarious, wonderful; more generally, that it was strange, uncommon, or unusual - that is, worth reporting" (p. 371). When considering narratives from a cross-cultural perspective, how clearly one 'hears' a narrator's evaluations depends partly on the degree of explicitness of the device used. The category of words-per-se is perhaps the most explicit of all evaluative forms. Comments belonging to this category entail direct statements of the narrator's attitudes and feeling towards events. Another explicit means of evaluation is laughter. Narrators in the present study used both of these devices often. The category of facts-per-se relies on shared frame of reference for interpretation. Peterson and McCabe (1983) explain that "[i]n some cases, a fact per se is evaluative because of widely held cultural assumptions" (p. 224). Their examples included 'I caught the biggest fish' and 'My brother told a lie'. In my data, many of the facts-per-se were actions that clearly revealed the narrator's emotions, as in "I cried" or "we laughed". The extent to which the meaning of

such actions are assumed made these facts-per-se quite explicit means of evaluation.

While explicit ways of evaluating events were used with the greatest frequency, less explicit means actually comprised a slightly greater proportion of the total evaluation. Reported speech is a form of inexplicit or embedded evaluation (Kernan, 1977; Labov, 1972), as are negatives, tangential information, and most of the remaining subtypes listed in Table 5. Together, these more subtle means of evaluation accounted for over half of the 32% of narrative comments that were fully or partially evaluative.

Following is an example from my data of a heavily evaluated narrative that fit the classic pattern. The narrative began with orientation and was followed by a series of events including a high point in which the girl's ill grandmother falls to the floor. This event was emphasized via the evaluative comments provided below, and resolved with a brief statement of the grandmother's recovery. The narrator evaluated the events primarily through statements of her emotional response to the situation (words-per-se) and through facts-per-se, gratuitous terms, and negatives (that is, reports of what she did ("I was running fast"; "I just ran over there") and didn't do ("I didn't say nothin'").

But I got scared.
I just, I got scared.
And my grandmother was breathin' yet.

And I went back out.
I went to my aunt's where my dad was.
And my dad was coming back.

and I saw Cindy and all those kids there outside.
I was running fast.
and Cindy said, "What's wrong?"
I didn't say nothin'.
I just ran over there.

And I got to Eva's, my aunt's over there.
And I stood there.
And I got real scared.
I stood there keeping my cousins.
And they called the ambulance my father over there.
I got scared she was gonna die.

She stayed there for a week.
She came back.
She was alright.

(Child 16)

This narrator's repetition and build-up (from "I got scared" to "I got real scared" to "I got scared she was gonna die") leaves little doubt in the mind of the listener as to the narrator's point in telling the story. In other cases, evaluation was less explicit. For example, in the following excerpt by another narrator, the child reacts to seeing a particular spirit and evaluates the events with reflection on the reasons why it might have appeared (the evaluation subtype <u>hypotheses</u>).

Mamazagameshish.
When you walk around late you see it.
He's dressed green, white.
I saw that.

When Kathy's baby died it was on my sister's birthday.
Then somebody busted the window at my sister
the first time.

Then I just run out of the house.
And I saw somebody at the generator.
It had long coat.
He was green, though.

I told my father.
And we look for it.
We couldn't find it.

Kathy's baby was dead that day.
It was my sister's birthday.
My parents were out drinking.

Maybe because they drink and somebody died.
Maybe that's why it happened.
Somebody was dead and drinking.

(Child 06)

The narrative above fit the pattern ending-at-the-high-point. The narrator recounts a series of events or complicating actions (the appearance and disappearance of the spirit and a search for it) and ends with deliberation on the meaning of the events. Just prior to doing so, she reintroduces and repeats details that served as orientation earlier in the narrative ("Kathy's baby was dead that day"...). Repositioned in the narrative, the remarks do not add new information. Rather, they suspend the action and thus serve as a form of evaluation.

Complicating Actions. On average, complicating actions represented nearly half (48.8%) of all of the independent clauses. The result is unsurprising, given that statements belonging to this category comprise the main storyline of narratives. As Peterson and McCabe explain "the complicating action...is the backbone, the information

component of narratives" (p. 31). Complicating actions, nevertheless, ranged from a small (28.6) percentage of all narrative comments to a large percentage (82.4%). Even in the most action-filled narratives, evaluation may be embedded in the reported events, through, for example, the use of lexical items, exclamation, or gratuitous terms. In addition, as pointed out earlier, evaluative dependent clauses may be attached to the main clause.

Resolution. In high point analysis, resolution does not necessarily imply a resolution to the actual events of the narrative. Rather, resolution is a structural feature. Actions which follow the high point or climax of a narrative and serve in "clearing the stage or capping off the [narrated] experience" (Peterson & McCabe, 1983, p. 31) are coded as resolution. This element was rare in the present data, representing only 3.5% of the total narrative comments. In comparison, 9 year olds in Peterson and McCabe's study devoted 13.9% of their comments to resolution, and resolution was the narrative element that contributed the most to significant age effects. The low incidence of this narrative element in the present data becomes more meaningful when considered in terms of its influence in determining the overall patterns or structures of the narratives. This issue is addressed in the following section.

Patterns of narrative structure

The identification of narrative structure (in accord with the definitions in Table 2) is based primarily on the absence or presence of particular clause types and on their position in a narrative. Of the 18 narratives, the patterns of overall structure were distributed as in Table 6.

TABLE 6. Distribution of patterns of narrative structure (incidence of pattern/total number of narratives)

TYPE	PERCENT
Ending-at-the-high-point	50%
Miscellaneous patterns	22%
Classic pattern	22%
Chronological pattern	6%
TOTAL	100%

The patterns leap-frogging, disoriented, and two-event were entirely absent in the narratives I analyzed. In narratives by 9 year-olds (Peterson & McCabe, 1983, p. 49), two-event narratives comprised only 6% of the total; leap-frogging and disoriented narratives were also absent among 9 year-olds, but were much more common among younger children. Given the absence of these patterns, discussion below is limited to the four patterns found in my data and elaborates the remarks already made in the context of the discussion and examples of narrative evaluation.

Ending-at-the-high-point. In Peterson and McCabe's data the ending-at-the-high-point pattern was most common

among five and six year olds and comprised 26% of their narratives. By age 9, only 17% of the narratives ended at the high point. In comparison, 50% of the narratives ended at the high point in the present data. Given the developmental changes they found, Peterson and McCabe (1983) considered narratives that ended at the high point "a developmental approximation to the classic pattern" (p. 42). However, they also pointed out that "it is possible for such a pattern...to be deliberately used by a sophisticated narrator. Ghost stories or stories with surprise endings often have this form" (p. 42).

The prevalence of the pattern in the present data invites reconsideration of its qualification as a developmental precursor to the classic pattern in describing the narratives of children from Rapid Lake. In using such a pattern, narrators fulfill the evaluative function, thereby demonstrating and even highlighting their recognition that narratives "contrast the expected and the extraordinary" (Linde, 1992, p. 25). Narratives that end at the high point emphasize the extraordinary by leaving the listener in the storyworld. Additionally, although resolution does not necessarily provide the ultimate outcome of the narrated events, in many cases it does. In my data, outcomes of events were, at times, easily inferrable. For example, in one child's narrative of a dramatic car accident, he provided resolution only with my prompting. The audience,

however, did not require a resolution. We could clearly see that the narrator had escaped unharmed and 'lived to tell the tale'.

Several narrators appeared to end their narratives at the high point intentionally. The following narrative exemplifies this. While the narrator provides some resolution clauses (i.e. waking up from the dream), she draws herself and the audience back into the narrative by returning to an evaluation of the dreamt events:

I was dreaming.
I went to bed around one o'clock this morning.
Then # after I dreamt about um [laughs] Chris.

I was dreaming about # Chris, Isaac's brother there.
Then Chris, Isaac's brother <got his> [//] <he got>
[Throws head back and sticks out tongue] [//]
He died of something here.

And <then when I go> [//] then when I woke up after .
"It can't be true",
"It can't be true",
I said to myself this morning.

In my dream there I was keeping Madeleine.
Keeping the old woman # across the street there.
I lived with her.
I lived with her in my dream.

Jenny came and told me, "Did you heard about Chris?"
"What?"
"He died of something here."
"Holy shit."

'Cause it was um Anna's boyfriend, she cried .
"Holy shit!",
"Holy shit!", she said.
Then she went home, Anna.
Then she cried.

Then I went to see her .
"Don't cry", I told her.
She stopped crying.
"I'm gonna miss him alot", she said [laughs].

My dream was over.
After I woke up.
The dream was <good> [?].
I woke up uh like this [stares wide-eyed].
I said, "He didn't die".

(Child 01)

Miscellaneous structures. I have demonstrated in this chapter how evaluative devices provide clues to the meaning of narratives. Evaluation, however, is not the sole way that narrators reveal and express the point of their stories. Lukens (cited in Au, 1992, p. 106) has indicated another way:

> In storytelling, 'What happened next?' is a question about chronology and narrative order. 'Why did it happen?' is a question about conflict and plot. *But when we ask 'What does it all mean?', we begin to discover theme* [italics added].

The inclusion of and sequencing of events with the same theme was a significant feature of some of the narratives in the present data, and typified two of the narratives classified as miscellaneous. One narrator, for example, recounted with humour how he and his friend were fooled three times while fishing:

Me and Walter were going fishing
over there in Patsy's boat.
And uh Walter thought he caught a fish.
And it was a chub, a big chub there, big.
And he said, "I caught a big bite", he said.
He thought it was a big bite.
And it was a small chub.

And [laughs] after when he caught that
there came a big pike.
And he dropped his fishing line.
Dropped his fishing rod.
And uh when we got over there we fell in the water.
And we got out of the water and went back up.

This time we used my fishing rod and uh
caught uh two walleyes.
Walter caught two.
I didn't catch any.
And then Walter caught a pike and brought it up.
Brought it up and caught it.
And uh big splash like that.

And we brought it in the boat.

And when we left there, when we went home,
the pike was gone.
It wasn't there.
He got off.

That's it.

(Child 09)

A narrative similar in form and tone (but classified as ending-at-the-high-point) was told by another child. In this girl's story of a stay in the bush, the girl and her family discovered upon their arrival a porcupine in their home. The porcupine had eaten a hole in the door and had broken a leg of the narrator's bed. The second part of the story provided below recounted how the girl's grandmother's friend saw a damaged tree near the outdoor toilet and discovered the culprit. In this second part, the narrator echoed and elaborated the theme of unexpected encounters with animals and the humorous consequences of them.

She says "Holy cow, who do this?"
And after she went in the back because there was noise.
She saw the bear.
The bear was sleeping.
And after the bear was coming close to her.
And after she says "A bear!", she says.
She came running.
Her pants was up to here [indicates knees].

(Child 12)

Of the other two narratives coded as miscellaneous, one has already been discussed (see Child 05 above under Orientation). The last miscellaneous narrative was coded as such because of the narrator's inclusion of several subtopics, the inclusion but dispersion of evaluative comments, and the positioning of other narrative elements. The structure of the narrative seemed to result in part from the narrator's choice of topic: while she initially responded to the topic prompt "Did you ever meet anybody special # special friend? Boy, girl # old lady? with "One day I met some old lady. When I was in Ottawa", she then told a 39 clause narrative in which she devoted only three of her comments to the meeting. The narrative focused instead on a particular summer in this child's life. The narrator recounted a car accident that precipitated her family's stay in a city far from home, told how her family was "kicked out" of an apartment by a social worker, and identified pleasures of the stay such as eating pizza for breakfast.

Chronology. When a narrative is restricted to reporting events and apparently does not contain any evaluative comments, it may seem pointless or as lacking spark to some listeners. In the Peterson and McCabe study, narratives of this pattern were told by children at all ages, generally decreased with age, and comprised 13% of the narratives by nine year olds. Among the narratives under

discussion here, there was one chronology. The meaning of the events to the child remained unclear in his telling, and his responses to the teacher's prompting suggest that he was indeed unaware of the significance of practices related to showing "respect" for animals in his culture. His role in the events (e.g. as participant or spectator) is never specified. It is possible that the lack of evaluation may have resulted from these being events told to him rather than experienced by him (i.e. a vicarious vs. personal experience).

Uh, my mother, my father and my mother went beaver hunting.
They saw a pregnant beaver.
And my father shot it.

And uh they came back home at night.
Then my mother skinned the beaver.
There was three baby beavers.
And they took it [= fetuses] to the bush to hang it.

*TEA: Do you know why they did that?
*NAR: No.
*TEA: Why do you think?
*NAR: The mother was shot.
They could not breathe.
They can not have foods.
[appears to interpret question as why baby beavers died]
*TEA: Mmhmm.
*TEA: So they died too.
*TEA: Do you know why they took them to the bush to hang them up?
*NAR: No.
*TEA: Why? [addresses another STU]
*STU: So they don't, they won't eat the baby beavers.
*TEA: Okay, to keep it away from the other animals.

(Child 11)

While chronologies appear to be a preferred form by some groups of children (Gutierrez-Clellen & Quinn, 1993), it is pertinent to note that in this case the child's teacher remarked upon his apparent difficulties with comprehension and production of both oral and written language in English. The teacher also reported that the child, by virtue of his family having a satellite dish, heard English in his home more than many of her other students. The child's level of linguistic skills in Algonquin remain unclear.

Classic Pattern. Classic narratives, where a narrator orients the listener, builds up to a high point, concentrates on the climax, and then resolves events, were told by 58% of the 9 year olds in Peterson and McCabe's study. Along with decreases in leap-frog and ending-at-the-high-point narratives, an increase in classic narratives among the 4 to 9 years olds they studied contributed to a significant age effect (Peterson & McCabe, 1983, p. 50). In the present study, only four (22%) of the children told narratives of this type. An example of a classic pattern was illustrated by Child 16 (see Evaluation above).

While classic narratives may conform to many teacher's implicit model of a good narrative and correspond to certain aesthetics (McCabe, in press), such a pattern does not characterize the narratives of all children. The compact stanzas of Japanese children are not of this form (Minami &

McCabe, 1991). Jimenez Silva and McCabe (in press) have discussed how Latino children depart from a classic pattern in their focus on descriptions and family relations in their narratives. "The thematic linkage of events that occurred at different places and times and often involving different participants" has been noted as a distinctive feature of narratives by African American children (Craddock-Willis & McCabe, in press, p. 192). Narratives by young Canadian Aboriginal children have been described as lacking a clear beginning, middle, and end (Lindsay, 1992). Petrone (1990), in her study of contemporary Canadian Aboriginal literature, concluded that "plot structure as non-natives know it, based on some form of conflict in a rising and falling linear structure, is not compatible to native thought" (p. 183).

A number of researchers, then, have begun to challenge the notion of a classic narrative as 'good' form, and to articulate the dimensions other than plot structure that contribute to the coherence of narratives by children from different cultural groups.

Use of reported speech and non-speech material. In the particular narratives selected for high point analysis, the percent of narrators using reported speech was smaller than in the corpus of 93 narratives (67% in the 18 narratives vs. 89% in the total corpus). Together, the eleven narrators used direct reported speech a total of 42 times, and indirect reported speech only twice.

Using a picture book, Küntay (1993) elicited stories from Japanese and Turkish adults and from children four to nine years old. The stories the adults and children told were analyzed using a modified Labovian approach. Küntay included "character speech" as a subtype in the evaluative category. Character speech was found to be more common among Japanese adults and children than among the Turkish speakers. In both the Japanese and Turkish groups it was also the most common form of evaluation used by the youngest children, but decreased with age. Conversely, reported speech showed an increase with age in Ely and McCabe's (1993) analysis of four to nine year old English-speaking narrators; this study, however, included indirect reported speech and summaries of speech events as well as direct reported speech.

Goodell and Sachs (1992) found that the use of reported speech as an evaluative device was characteristic of adult story retellings, while young children (aged four to eight years) tended to use series of quotations to report entire sequences of events. A particular example of direct reported speech by a young child was described by the authors as lacking "appropriate markers to show the listener which point of view [was] being taken. There [was] no processing of illocutionary force...The subject simply mimic[ed] the original discourse" (p. 415). In contrast, direct reported speech by adults "add[ed] life to the

discourse and [made] the retelling more exciting" (p. 415). Adults also showed a tendency to use indirect rather than direct reported speech to communicate factual events.

In sum, these findings regarding the use of reported speech among children suggest decreases with age in its use as an evaluative device among some groups of speakers (i.e. Turkish and Japanese), and increases among others (i.e. English speaking children compared to adults). The increases in reported speech among English speaking four to nine year-olds (Ely & McCabe, 1993) are difficult to compare directly to the other studies mentioned because they did not examine only direct reported speech. If increases in reported speech reported in that study were attributable to increases in the use of *indirect* speech, then these findings would confirm other demonstrations of developmental effects (Goodell & Sachs, 1992; Hickmann, 1993).

Narrators in the present study used reported speech in a variety of ways, some of them quite sophisticated. For example, in the following narrative, the teller used dialogue skillfully to involve the listener, report and evaluate actions, characterize the participants, and shift perspective from one character to another. After the conclusion of his narrative the narrator repeated with laughter his favourite narrative line "Run for your life!". The boy might well have been borrowing the line from a story read in the fifth grade class, suggesting that good lines

are well appreciated. The very last lines of this narrative are themselves, a summary of a speech event. They also serve as a reminder of what children in Rapid Lake demonstrated: that peers are, in this community, an intended and favourite narrative audience.

Me and Jenny were riding around with the four wheeler.
and Jennie, Jennie say
"Richard, you wanna get on with Bobby?"
"Yeah", I says.

We went riding.
That there generator over there.
First road.
There's down.
We went down.
After it turns.

And Bobby, Bobby says "Jennie, go fast here!"
"It's fun here!"
Jennie goes fast.
Ooh!
After we went slow up that big hill.
Tipped over.

And Jennie says "Run for your life!"
And Jennie says "Holy moley, see that crash!"
"The gas is leaking", I said.
Told 'em "Back up".

And then "Oh man."
And Bobby, "Oh hide!" [laughs]
"The four wheeler's gonna blow up!" [laughs]
We went all the way up to the bushes.
Wait for a minute.
Went down.

"I don't see nothing", I said.
And I check the four wheeler.
Start it up [gives sound effect of engine starting].
And Jennie says "Oh scary cats."
She says to Bobby "Thought it was gonna blow up!"
[laughs]

After that we went home,
we went home told the whole story to our friends.

(Child 03)

The use of gesture, facial expression, pantomime, and laughter to orient listeners and evaluate events have been demonstrated in this chapter through their inclusion in the narrative excerpts. In total, there were 33 instances of these features noted across the 18 narratives selected for high point analysis. Laughter comprised 14 (42%) of the 33 instances and was included in Table 5 along with exclamations, following Peterson and McCabe (1983). Of the other 19 instances (58%), two-thirds involved the use of gesture to demonstrate locations of events or sizes and locations of animals or objects and one-third involved the use of pantomime and facial expressions to evaluate events (e.g. a child showing how he held his head in his hands after a bad fall).

Use of theme. It is worth noting that the elements of surprise and suspense inherent to stories about the unexplained and the unexpected may lend themselves to the ending-at-the-high-point patterns. In the present study, common themes found in the data were encounters with the unexpected (i.e. surprise meetings with animals in the bush, getting fooled and fooling others) and the unexplained in the form of spirits, dreams, and voices. In addition to these themes, several narratives involved conflict and harmony with parents and friends, and brushes with danger in the form of accidents, illness, and death.

The themes found in the 18 narratives analyzed using

high point analysis were echoed in the remaining data. Very few of the narratives with the same themes were actually told in the same group of children. For many of the narratives, themes were not suggested by the researcher. When they were, I often suggested a topic or theme from the narratives of other children. The predominance of the themes mentioned suggests that narrators' choices were driven by similar experiences, mutual notions of interesting topics, and mutual restraints for inappropriate ones.

The children also appeared to share perceptions of narrator role and values regarding self-presentation. First, many of the narrators were not the main characters of the narratives they told. Instead, they frequently took an observer or witness role. Other narrators included themselves as co-participants but also included peers and adults and their perspectives on the events. Narrators rarely presented themselves as heroic, smart, or skilled. Nor were their peers, family members, or anyone else presented in this way. The themes or the narratives reflect this somewhat. The narrators told stories in which they and others were fooled or mistaken, frightened, hurt, surprised, mystified, moved, and amused.

What children tell and to whom they tell it is partly dependent on the trust and closeness they feel with the listener. Intimacy sometimes prompts people to report even

mundane events in detail (Tannen, 1989). Familiarity, however, is just as likely a prerequisite for reporting certain ordinary or extraordinary events. While children touched on many different feelings and themes in their narratives, the sample discussed here does not represent all the possibilities of personal experience narratives nor the sum of children's experiences in Rapid Lake.

Conclusion

As the examples and discussion in this chapter have shown, there was diversity in the length of children's narratives and in the degree to which they used the different narrative elements of high point analysis. At the same time, there were important within-group similarities in narrative organization and the topics that children chose. Lastly, the fairly extensive evaluation of events, the highlighting of such evaluation by ending-at-the-high point patterns, and the use of reported speech, gesture, pantomime, and facial expressions contributed to the dramatic quality of many of the narratives.

The use of the high point method and the findings are discussed further in the chapter that follows.

Chapter Seven

DISCUSSION

Summary of the Purpose and Results of the Research

The purpose of the present research was to investigate how a group of Algonquin children construct meaning in their narratives of personal experiences. Observations in the children's school and community, interviews with their teachers, and narratives told by adult members of the community contributed to the choice of methods for collecting and analyzing the children's narratives, as well as to the interpretation of the findings.

The conversational context for the children's narratives was examined by determining and comparing the frequency and characteristics of verbal input to narrators by different listeners (teachers, researcher, and peers). Listener input was coded for a total of 93 narratives told by the 18 children involved in the study. The results showed that children spontaneously contributed to each other's narratives, and that narrators incorporated these contributions. This was one of the ways in which children engaged in the co-construction of narratives. Narratives told with equal or extensive participation of two or more narrators were rarer but remarkable examples of co-construction in the data. Collaboration was also evident in the nature of listener contributions. Children often based their input on their own participation in the events being

narrated. When the experience was not shared, listeners drew on their knowledge of the world in which the narrative events had taken place in order to add to and explain events. In addition, children drew on their shared language, codeswitching to Algonquin in order to translate, to make comments related and unrelated to the narrative, to express their shyness, and to encourage each other to speak. The children also provided English vocabulary to each other, illustrating their shared status as English-as-second-language speakers.

The high point method was used to analyze the structure of the longest narrative told by each of the 18 children. Using this method, the use and proportions of narrative elements and overall patterns of structure were identified for each narrative. The data indicated that children were sensitive to the need to provide listeners with information about people and spatiotemporal context. At times, this information was limited to the names of people and places and reflected narrators' reliance on their listeners' familiarity with the people, places, and events in the community to fill in details. Given the small size and population of the community (as discussed in Chapter Two), an assumption of shared knowledge was usually appropriate. Other children provided fuller descriptions of individuals, locations, and ongoing events, usually for my benefit.

Seventeen of the 18 children evaluated narrative

events; one child hinted at the meaning of the events he'd told only with prompting by his teacher. The spontaneous use of evaluative devices by almost all of the children was an indicator of their awareness of the need to signal the meaning of the narrated events. How children did this varied. Children embedded evaluation in events slightly more often than they made explicit statements of their attitudes, feelings, or responses to events.

Half of the narrators also ended their narratives with evaluative comments, resulting in classification as end-at-the-high-point patterns. This structural pattern appeared to function as a means of involving listeners. By positioning evaluative comments at the end of the narrative, narrators reiterated the significance of the events and focussed listeners' attention on the heart of their stories. Some children used themes to tie together events within a narrative. In such cases, it was up to the audience to detect the common theme in two or three different clusters of events. The recurring themes and rising plot contours found in the data served as meaning-making devices. In this sense, they were evaluative strategies, but contrasted with evaluation as defined in the high point method in that they exceeded the boundaries of a clause.

Lastly, the data showed that the voices and perspectives of others were integrated into many of the narratives. This was accomplished through reported speech,

the inclusion of co-protagonists who also evaluated events, and the adoption of a witness or observer role by narrators. In summary, these latter features of the narratives and the structural data indicated how the children involved others in their narratives, while the interactional data demonstrated how the children involved themselves in the narratives of others. Together, the findings indicate that children in this Algonquin community were equally if not more concerned with relating to others than they were with relating events.

The children's assumption of shared knowledge on the part of their audience, their mutual sense of what was frightening, moving, and funny, their role in each other's narratives as participants in events or as interlocutors in telling, and the integration of multiple points of view in their narratives makes the term "personal experience narratives" somewhat of a misnomer. The term "shared experience narratives" better captures a great many of the narratives heard in the context of this study.

Methodological Issues

Group elicitation

The methods of data collection in the present study were productive. Time spent in the community and interviews with teachers contributed to the development of elicitation procedures that were appropriate and comfortable for children. Evidence for the children's comfort and even

enjoyment of the process came from two sources. One was the narratives themselves. Most of the narratives went beyond recounting events. They had a quality of involvement that has been referred to as "commitment" in children's narratives (Perera, 1984). The other affirmation of the elicitation methods came from an exchange I had with the Aboriginal teacher of the 5th/6th grade students upon completion of the research:

Researcher: Did they [= the students] ever say anything about this project, like they thought it was silly, they thought it was fun?

Teacher: Yeah, they thought it was alot of fun. They just kept asking for you, when is Diane coming back.

Researcher: Oh, they asked when I'd come back!

Teacher: They wanted to see their stories over again. They came up with more stories. For a while there they were on a story binge.

Flexibility in when and how each child participated likely played a role in children's enjoyment of the data collection process. In addition, the peer group setting allowed the emergence of children's perceptions of what listening to and telling stories entailed. In contrast with a view of listeners as passive and narrative as essentially monologic (Roth & Spekman, 1986), the children in this study demonstrated their perception of narration as potentially dialogic and of narrative as polyvocalic.

Multilayered analysis

A combination of methods of analysis proved very useful in the present study. For instance, by preceding high point analysis with ethnographic observation and coding of listener utterances, I was able to identify possible influences on narrative structure. The use of high point analysis and, in particular, the evaluation category led me to question how else the significance of narrative events might be expressed, thus prompting me to think about theme. The findings in each area led me back to the notion of narrative function, as discussed in Chapter Four with reference to the narratives told by adults in the community. Considering function with respect to the children's narratives, I saw how they contributed to the creation and confirmation of group belonging and cohesion among the children in the study. The merging of approaches allowed for a richer and more coherent story about the narratives than any one analysis could have alone.

In addition to the benefits of combining methods, each method for coding the children's narratives (listener involvement and high point analysis) was effective. The categories I used for coding listener involvement were appropriate to the study's objectives. Ongoing qualitative analysis extended the information obtained from frequency counts of the codes. The use of a greater number of subcodes would have been an alternative way of determining

with specificity the nature of listeners' contributions to narrative structure. For example, the elaboration category might have been broken down further into subcodes that corresponded with the elements of high point analysis (that is, appendage, orientation, evaluation, actions, or resolution). The coding system might also have included a coding tier on the narrator line to represent narrators' exact responses to listener utterances. Contingency analyses of narrator and listener utterances could have then been used to specify in more detail the effectiveness and results of peer collaboration. While I was aware of these potential refinements to the coding system, I chose to limit the number of codes and to qualify my findings, while leaving open the possibility of a second, future round of coding of the same data. The advantages of this approach were (a) continuous reference to the narratives themselves in the process of reporting and discussing the results and (b) a reasonable number of categories for the reader to bear in mind. The latter was a particularly important consideration in the present study given that high point analysis already involves a number of categories and a large number of subcategories.

The high point method was useful in describing and interpreting the narratives by children in Rapid Lake. In particular, the evaluation category and its' subtypes alerted me not only to overt meanings, but to more subtle,

embedded ones. However, coding the narratives according to the high point elements and patterns was not always obvious. Narrators' use of theme was one feature that contributed to this difficulty. Other features that were difficult to code were perspective shifts, actions and evaluations by multiple protagonists, and clusters of events within a narrative that had their own internal structure. Story grammar analysis (discussed in Chapter One) includes narrative patterns that are comprised of substructures embedded within a narrative (complex episodes) and of two interacting lines of action (interactive episodes). While the definitions of these would require considerable modification in high point terms, the incorporation of such patterns to the high point method might solve some of the coding difficulties encountered.

One possible explanation for coding difficulties was that the high point patterns were derived from data from younger children. The plentitude of studies of oral narratives by children up to age nine is unmatched with studies of older, upper-elementary school children or young teens. However, cross-linguistic comparisons of narratives by 4-9 year olds with those told by adults indicate that children continue to become more sophisticated narrators after the age of nine (Berman & Slobin, 1994).

A second reason why the high point method might not capture certain features is the emphasis placed on plot. This emphasis is implied in the presence or absence of a

climax as a defining feature of several of the patterns.

Yet another possibility is that the narratives of the Algonquin children in this study differed sufficiently from those of White American children to require alternative conceptions of their structures. In Chapter One I noted the productive use of stanza analysis in describing the narratives of Black American, Native American, and Japanese children. Stanza analysis might further illuminate features of the narratives of Canadian Aboriginal children discussed here.

Despite some difficulty in applying the high point method to the narratives by Algonquin children ten to thirteen years old, the system did provide a framework for discussing even those features that were not easily coded. Another advantage of the method was its' 'openness'. For example, I was able to both adapt the high point categories to the CHAT format and to subsequently add categories (e.g. reported speech) to the coding schema. New categories may be developed and new structures delineated as we gain additional information about the narratives by children of various cultural groups.

Theoretical Issues

The present study fits with social constructivist accounts of language by demonstrating that children's narratives are influenced by both the immediate interactive context of their telling and by the sociocultural context in

which children live. The study also relates to theories of narrative. Individual variation among the narrators in this study and differences found when comparing the narratives to those by other groups of children oblige a reconsideration of what properties, if any, might constitute a universal narrative structure. The construction and co-construction of meaning evidenced in the narratives in this study also supports an understanding of narrative as a "boundary phenomenon" (Hicks, 1994, p. 215). Hicks refutes a view of narrative as either an expression of what's "inside the learner's head" (that is, of abstract cognitive processes) or as the "reproduc[t..on] of existing textual forms" that exist "out there" in culture (p. 218-219). Rather, she suggests that narrative discourse involves the emergence and creation of individual and social meanings.

The present study also raises certain questions. The findings indicated differences in the narratives of Algonquin children when compared to the narratives by white, predominantly working-class American children studied by Peterson and McCabe (1983). The most striking differences were the greater incidence of an end-at-the-high point pattern in the Algonquin children's narratives and the findings of other (miscellaneous) patterns. In addition to the commonality of particular structures, the interaction of listener and audience, the themes, and the use of reported speech converged to show that narratives by Algonquin

children reflect and create a co-constructed and shared world. The questions that these findings evoke relate to methodological and theoretical issues that extend beyond this particular study. The first two are listed and then discussed below.

(1) Would one find some of the features of the narratives by Algonquin children in the narratives of white American children (or children from other groups) if they too were told in peer groups and/or if researchers assumed a less neutral, more engaged stance as listeners?

(2) Do differences in elicitation procedures compromise comparisons of narratives of the same children told by children from different cultures?

When researchers study the narratives of young (i.e. 2-3 year old) children, the input of caregivers is often included in analysis. In studies of narratives by older children, the frequent exclusion of other listeners and the use of a neutral stance by researchers implies an assumption that older children engage primarily in narrative monologue. Perhaps this assumption derives from the kinds of narratives that children are often expected to produce in educational contexts. The findings of the present study indicate that monologue is not necessarily the rule for all children in all situations. Indeed, it is possible that the narratives by White American children (or children from other groups) would take on a more dialogic quality if they were elicited differently and with more varied, participatory audiences, or if they were recorded in natural settings.

In the present study I described how children interacted and narrated when not heavily constrained to a particular format. The study did not address what these particular children were capable of doing. It can not answer, for example, whether the children in this community were able to tell narratives that required less or focussed less on shared knowledge. In addition, the comparison of my structural data with that collected by Peterson and McCabe was complicated by differences in elicitation procedures. Yet had I done the study in such a way as to maximize comparability and determine what children could or would do under fixed circumstances, I would have missed out on how the children chose to tell their narratives, and what they chose to talk about. It seems, then, that there is an unavoidable trade-off between (a) discerning children's narrative abilities and comparing them with some degree of certainty to a point of reference (be it a target narrative, or narratives by children from another cultural group, or of the same or different ages) and (b) elucidating narration as a social act that reflects culturally-influenced communicative styles, notions of what's reportable under particular circumstances, group preferences for how to realize narrative functions, and the situations in which children live.

Another question that pertains to the present study as well as to others is what constitutes evidence for a

culturally-based narrative structure? While I have pointed out typical aspects of the narratives I analyzed, I have also suggested that other children might tell similar narratives if a similar research paradigm were used. There was also individual variation in my data; not all the narratives conformed to one structural pattern. Nor did all of the narrators interact in identical ways, or all use the same involvement strategies. And what of the fact that the narratives of the Algonquin children share certain features with narratives by children of other cultural groups? The end-at-the-high-point pattern appears more popular among Chinese children than in North American children (Minami & McCabe, in press). Nearly one quarter of the narratives in the present study conformed to the classic pattern found by Peterson and McCabe in narratives by White American children. Of these same children, the percentage of nine year olds who used reported speech was nearly equal to the proportion of narrators who used it in the present study (Ely & McCabe, 1993). The spontaneous participation of children in each other's narratives has been documented in a triad of a two North American and one Asian-American child (Preece, 1987; 1992) and among groups of Hawaiian children (Watson-Gegeo & Boggs, 1977). The use of theme as an organizer of structure has been demonstrated in the narratives of African-American children (Craddock-Willis & McCabe, in press), and an emphasis on social ties has been

documented in the content of narratives told by Latin American children (Jimenez-Silva & McCabe, in press). When considering my own findings regarding narrative structure, I think it is fitting to conclude that Algonquin children may vary from other groups in the relative emphases they place on the referential, evaluative, and social functions of narrative, and structure their narratives accordingly. While I will not claim a uniquely Algonquin narrative structure, I do want to argue that claims of universal or prototypical narrative structure must account for findings from children of different cultural groups. Seen in this light, the narratives discussed in the context of this study inform us not only about Algonquin culture but also about stories and children in general.

Another question arises from the findings of the end-at-the-high-point-pattern. Could the end-at-the-high-point-pattern found in the data be attributed to the children's years of experience in English? Or, more broadly stated, does the length of experience with a second language predict narrative structure in the same way that development in a first language might? This question can not be answered from the findings of the research reported here. It is interesting to note that the development of narrative structure is partly defined by changes in how children employ the linguistic knowledge that they have. Such might also be the case for second language learners. The children

in this study, for example, did demonstrate their ability to use restricted clauses (that is, to linguistically code punctual actions) but did not use these kind of clauses in certain positions (i.e. as resolution). This kind of finding would be important to take into account in theories of both developmental and second language effects on narrative structure.

Implications for Educational Practice

In the school where this research was carried out, one can readily observe a large, varied collection of books, student-written poems, essays, and stories displayed in the classrooms and halls, teacher-made posters of theme-related vocabulary, word-processing in the computer room, and student writing and teacher editing in most of the classrooms. There appears to be a strong and conscious commitment to literacy development. One teacher's rhetorical question "Isn't this a literate environment?" upon a visit to the first-grade classroom reflects this focus.

Literacy is an appropriate and necessary educational goal for children in Rapid Lake. The development of written instructional materials in Algonquin is not anticipated at the moment, and most children will achieve literacy in English. What then can oral language activities, including narrative, contribute to children's education in Aboriginal communities in which instruction is in the children's second

language? In Rapid Lake, oral narrative has served and could serve more extensively as a means of integrating the first language into the curriculum. Community members have told traditional stories in the school, and these stories were also recorded for future use. The non-Aboriginal teacher who participated in this study pointed out that some of the children did not know some of the common Algonquin vocabulary used by the speakers. Integration of oral activities in Algonquin could be a means of maintaining and strengthening children's knowledge of their first language. Such activities could also confirm the value of language retention and provide opportunities for children to understand and appreciate what remains of oral traditions in their communities. By using the language of the home and validating learning and teaching derived from sources other than books, the interest and participation of a greater number of the community's adults in school activities might be promoted. The retention of Algonquin and other Aboriginal languages depends on a multitude of factors, not limited to but certainly including education.

Personal experience narrative, in particular, be it in English or Algonquin, can also play a role in teaching and learning. The Aboriginal teacher in the study was observed using anecdotes in his lessons on several occasions. When I specifically asked him why he chose to use narrative in lessons, as opposed to "just telling the facts", he replied:

> Because it's something that I've experienced. It's something that's concrete. It's pretty much the way I learned. When my grandmother wanted to teach me something she would tell me a story about herself or someone that she knew, and the kids will do the same thing. When they tell you a story they're going to tell you something that happened to them, or to somebody that they knew. So the way to bring it out in them is to tell them about something about yourself or something about somebody that you knew.
>
> D: It makes it more real to them?
>
> Yeah, it makes it more real, but not only that. When you open yourself up to the kids, they're more open to you. You have to be a part of them to work with them.

In interviews, this teacher referred on several occasions to learning from stories told by his grandmother. A few of the children in the study also referred to stories told to them by grandparents. Oral narrative in the classroom might be a particularly culturally-congruous means of educating children.

The same teacher also expressed several times his belief that stories involved and stimulated students. In the last line of the excerpt above, he suggests the role of sharing stories of one's own experience in establishing intimacy, sameness, and group membership. Others have demonstrated how personal experience narratives are used by children in the classroom to negotiate their standing among their peers (Dunning, 1985; Gallas, 1992; Maguire, 1991). I have already discussed at length the "shared experience" quality of the narratives by children in this study. Narrative, then, can have both an important social and

educational role in the classroom.

Many researchers have discussed oral narrative as preparation for literacy. In the same vein, oral narrative may be used in teaching children who are beyond the stage of beginning reading and writing.

A greater awareness of the involvement strategies used in speaking (e.g. reported speech and paralinguistics) and their adaptation to writing is an appropriate goal for upper-elementary students such as the children who participated in this study. There are many ways of accomplishing this goal. I suggest a few here. In the present study, I returned to each child typed-out versions of their oral stories. In a classroom context, these could be used to help students identify the strategies that transferred well from the oral to the written medium, and to adapt those aspects of the oral narrative that did not.

Exposure to the notion of oral genres and to the qualities that characterize them can aid children's comprehension and production of written genres. As discussed, children in Rapid Lake took a number of roles and stances in their narratives, as protagonists, co-participants, observers, and witnesses. These different stances could be explored in conjunction with genre to foster an understanding of the many possible roles of writers as translators and adaptors, recounters and chroniclers, observers and creators, scenario and script

writers (Maguire, 1989). Children of varying cultural backgrounds, interests, personalities, and skills might choose from among these roles the ones that they find most comfortable and most authentic. The reappearance of certain characters or cultural figures are a significant characteristic of Aboriginal oral traditions. Children might choose one of these characters or invent their own, develop the characters orally, and write a series of stories about them in groups or on an individual basis.

Themes in oral narrative could be identified and followed by contrasts and discussions of themes in written work by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal authors. Au (1992) found that classroom discussion helped children discover and develop themes. Her research in the classrooms of upper-elementary school Native Hawaiian students demonstrated the importance of student collaboration as well as teacher scaffolding. Student-student exchanges led to the development of themes that teachers had not themselves seen in stories. Based on findings from aspects of this classroom research, Au has also stated:

> Expert teachers know that awareness of the theme should be developed gradually, as the story unfolds, so they ask theme-developing questions periodically during lessons. In contrast, novice teachers usually become preoccupied with asking questions about the detail of the story. Sometimes they forget about theme-developing questions altogether...or squeeze in a whole string of theme-developing questions at the last minute. (p. 107)

Several of the few suggestions given above involve fostering the metalinguistic knowledge of children. Assuming language as a valid 'object' of study does not require that one regard it as either neutral or fixed. Written and spoken language can be approached as ways of meaning that are socially and culturally based, and both potentially resistant and open to inquiry and change.

Implications for Clinical Practice

As service delivery by speech-language pathologists may involve classroom intervention and collaboration with teachers, the implications for educational practice discussed in the preceding section would also be relevant for clinical practice.

There are, in addition, many examples of the use of narrative in more "traditional" models where children are evaluated and receive therapy outside of the classroom. For example, among young children, narrative recall and comprehension may be evaluated by asking children to retell parts or all of an orally-presented story. This kind of procedure has been recommended and used in screening (e.g. Culatta, 1983) and is part of standardized test batteries (e.g. Wiig, Secord, & Semel, 1992). High point analysis has been recommended for the assessment of narrative production by preschoolers (McCabe & Rollins, 1994). Story grammar analysis has been used to assess the production of narratives by both lower and upper elementary school

children (Hutson-Nechkash, 1990). Narrative production of generated stories (of either fictional or actual events) are also part of criterion-referenced procedures used in evaluating older children's communicative competence (Simon, 1986). In addition to published procedures, clinicians may informally elicit and evaluate children's narratives.

Published materials, my own clinical experience, and the experience of colleagues indicate that narratives are also used in intervention. Titles of speech-language therapy materials and books by well-known publishers illustrate the use of narrative production as both an object of and vehicle for intervention. Likewise, a recent review article identifies narrative teaching strategies for use in language intervention with children by speech-language therapists (Hoggan & Strong, 1994).

Within the field of communication disorders, the case has been made for assessment which is based on a recognition of cultural and linguistic diversity in narrative structure and style, and suggestions for conducting appropriate assessment have been outlined (Gutierrez-Clellen & Quinn, 1993). The present study indicated that elicitation methods are an important aspect of narrative, as are audience and the way that narrators and listeners perceive the function of a particular narrative. These would also be important issues to address in assessment. The findings of the study also indicated that the effects of culture and/or second

language might, in some instances, result in narrative structures that resemble those of younger children. It would be important to evaluate children's narratives with this in mind.

Lastly, the present study stimulates reflection on the goal of intervention with respect to narrative. Prototypical narrative structures may, after all, be primarily conventions for structure among some groups of people. Accordingly, clinicians might introduce children to a variety of genres and structural patterns in narratives from a variety of cultures. The focus of intervention might be on raising children's awareness of the shared features of these narratives as well as the different ways that narrators realize similar functions.

Future Directions for Research

Effects of first and second language typology

A recently-published cross-linguistic study investigated form-function relationships in stories told by native speakers of English, German, Spanish, Hebrew, and Turkish. The subjects were adults and children aged four to nine years, and all completed the same task of narrating a picture book (Berman & Slobin, 1994). Investigators pointed out that each of the languages studied "requires and facilitates particular choices" (p. 11) in the narration of events, and concluded that differences in rhetorical style between members of the different linguistic groups were

"partially determined by linguistic characteristics of [the different] languages" (p. 12).

The authors of this study give examples of how certain characteristics of the languages they studied may affect narrative. An example from Algonquin is closer to the present discussion. Algonquin has a grammatical distinction of obviative and proximate. Obviatives indicate the "less important of two animate nouns, provided the more important one is third person" while proximates indicate the more important (Jones, 1977, p. 7). These forms allow speakers to identify certain subjects as the focus of discourse (by marking on the verb form) (Cook, 1987, p. 268). With respect to narrative, the obviative and proximate are one available means of establishing narrative cohesion and of foregrounding and backgrounding information. As no such distinction exists in English, narrators must use other means (i.e. anaphora and relative clauses) to accomplish the same communicative goals.

In Algonquin, obviative and proximate forms, then, are one aspect of microlinguistic knowledge that might be employed in narrative. In English, temporal and causal connectives, pronoun use, anaphoric reference, and tense and aspect adjustments are microlinguistic forms that are likely to influence narrative cohesion and coherence (Hudson & Shapiro, 1991). The present study did not investigate children's use of these forms. While each participant in

the study had had several years of schooling in English, the impact of individual children's levels of second language acquisition on the quality and structure of the narratives was not examined. Thus, there are factors related to the children's status as speakers of English-as-a-second-language that were not investigated but that clearly merit further attention. The children's use of cohesive devices and other aspects of microlinguistic knowledge in English could be investigated through reanalysis of the narrative data.

The non-Aboriginal teacher in the study seemed particularly aware of the potential effects of second-language on the children's narratives. In answering the question "Is a good storyteller a good writer/reader too?" she responded:

> Oh yeah. If you've got it in your head it's much easier to put it down. Reading [provides] structure, vocabulary. Especially being second language students. The more we read the more they're gonna know about English.

When I asked this teacher about my findings of variable length and degrees of talkativeness among the students, she also stated:

> I think the ones that told the most stories are the ones who are the most comfortable with English and that have the most oral skills. That makes them the bigger talkers than the others.

As in many Aboriginal community schools using English as the language of instruction, teachers in Rapid Lake are

aware of second language issues but often have not received training as second-language teachers. Research on second language issues with regard to narrative could be extremely useful to teachers and to the children they are educating.

Comparative studies

There are a number of other ways that narratives by children in Rapid Lake could be investigated further. The same subjects' narratives in English could also be compared with narratives told in Algonquin. Such a comparison could include investigation of the extent of carry over of structural patterns used in English with those used in Algonquin. The absence of written materials in Algonquin and the use of English as the language of instruction creates a situation in which children in Rapid Lake are exposed to oral narrative in Algonquin, but oral and written narrative in English. A comparative study of children's oral narrative in their first and second languages could explore and possibly provide insight into the effects of literacy on oral narrative. In order to control for potential transfer effects of literacy acquisition in the second language on the first, the most effective design might be to compare the narratives of monolingual Algonquin speakers with the Algonquin narratives of bilingual speakers who read and write English. There are, however, to the best of my knowledge, no monolingual Algonquin speakers of school-age in this particular community.

Developmental changes in narrative production in the first language of Algonquin or in the second-language of English could be investigated by comparing the narratives of younger children in the community with older ones, and possible age effects could be compared to those documented among native speakers of English.

I have already suggested that the data here could be comnpared with the narratives of White middle class children elicited in peer groups. One might also compare the narratives of the children in the present study with those by other children who speak English as a second language.

Lastly, children from other Aboriginal communities or groups would also be an interesting comparison group. There are Canadian Aboriginal communities in which instruction for the first several years of school is in children's first (Aboriginal) language, and where a range of materials written in the Aboriginal language are widely available. In some of these communities, most children are bilingual; in others, most are monolingual Aboriginal language speakers. A study of narrative in either or both of these contexts would be an interesting direction for future research.

Narrative socialization studies

Further ethnographic study could continue to elaborate narrative socialization practices in the community studied here. While many studies of language socialization focus on

the interaction of caregivers and young children, older children's socialization and growth as narrators could certainly be a focus of further investigation. Knowledge of how, when, and what kinds of stories are told to and by children in the family/home setting could reveal patterns of communicative interaction and the distribution of storytelling rights. In the present study, I touched on the types of narratives I heard in the community. An ethnographic study of home practices could elaborate the use of narrative in imparting information and transmitting values and beliefs to children, and provide deeper insights into what those values and beliefs are. A study of narrative socialization might also afford an occasion for examining how not only women but men (be they fathers, grandfathers, older male siblings, or others) contribute to older children's language development, an issue which has received little research attention. Spontaneous personal-experience narratives or other genres of narratives by adult members of the community collected in an ethnographic investigation could also be examined in terms of structural patterns, and thereby illuminate the types of organization found in the children's narratives (i.e. the prevalence of the ending-at-high point structures).

Lastly, it would please and interest me to have members of the community respond to the stories collected in the

context of the present study and discuss my interpretations of them. For like the narrators in the study, I have also interpreted, filtered, foregrounded, backgrounded, sequenced, juxtaposed, reported, and evaluated in my attempt to represent and make sense of what I heard and saw.

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NOTES

[1] Here and in subsequent discussion of others' research, I have retained, for the sake of accuracy, the authors descriptions of participants' race, ethnic group, and socioeconomic status.

[2] The division of tale, teller, and telling in this model has its roots in distinctions developed in the study of literary narrative (narratology). Blum-Kulka & Snow discuss the basis of their model. Brief explanations of some of the most influential theories (e.g. Russian formalists such as Propp, French semioticians such as Barthes) can be found in Toolan, 1988, p. 8-11.

[3] These articles were all revisions of papers given at the Fifth International Congress for the study of Child Language and published in a special issue 'Narrative Development in a Social Context' of the Journal of Narrative and Life History Vol 2:3

[4] Of the other nine Algonquin bands in the region, seven have reserves, most of which were also formed in the late 1950's and early 1960's (Montpetit, 1993).

[5] The total Algonquin population in the area is 6842 including 4170 on reserve, according to 1993 Indian Affairs census figures (Pineault, 1993).

[6] Rapid Lake residents did not respond to the 1986 census on which demographic and linguistic data compiled in Les langues autochtones du Québec was based (Dorais, 1992).

[7] The Algonquin communities of northwestern Quebec include 9 communities of Grand Lac Victoria, Hunter's Point (the Wolf Lake Band), Kebaowek, Maniwaki (the Desert River Band), Temiscamingue, Winneway (the Long Point Band), Pikogan (the Abitibiwinni Band) and Lac Simon. Golden Lake, Ontario is also often included in discussion of the Algonquin bands of the region (Clement, 1993).

APPENDIX A

DATES OF VISITS TO RAPID LAKE

	DATE	PURPOSE OF VISIT
1.	June 9-12, 1992	Videotaping/observation in grades Kg & 3/4 for classroom discourse research; Videotaping/observation of traditional teaching (basket weaving) in bush
2.	October 29-30, 1992	Observation (death in community shortens visit)
3.	November 7-9, 1993	Observation
4.	March 24-26, 1993	Arrange for narrative data collection; Discuss elicitation methods with teachers; Teacher interviews
5.	May 11-20, 1993	Narrative data collection; Classroom observation
6.	June 6-11, 1993	Narrative data collection
7.	August 15-17, 1993	Assist in preparation of and attend wedding
8.	November 24-27, 1993	Teacher interviews; feedback to teachers; distribution of narrative transcripts to students

APPENDIX B

PARTICIPATING STUDENTS by sex, grade, age, and number of personal experience narratives

CHILD	SEX	GRADE	AGE	TOTAL # NARRATIVES
CHILD 01	F	5	10;8	3
CHILD 02	F	5	10;10	9
CHILD 03	M	5	11;1	3
CHILD 04	M	5	11;5	5
CHILD 05	F	6	11;7	12
CHILD 06	F	5	11;8	3
CHILD 07	F	6	11;10	3
CHILD 08	F	6	11;11	3
CHILD 09	M	6	11;11	7
CHILD 10	M	6	11;11	6
CHILD 11	M	5	12;5	3
CHILD 12	F	5	12;5	4
CHILD 13	M	5	12;7	7
CHILD 14	F	5	12;7	1
CHILD 15	M	5	13;0	4
CHILD 16	F	6	13;4	3
CHILD 17	M	5	13;8	3
CHILD 18	M	6	13;11	13
MEAN AGE BY SEX	**F**		**11;10**	
	M		**12;5**	
MEAN AGE			**12;2**	
TOTAL NUMBER OF NARRATIVES				**93**

APPENDIX C

SAMPLE TEACHER INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Do you think that hearing and telling stories is part of education/schooling? In what way?

2. What kind of stories are told in school? Are there any sharing time type activities?

3. Have any community members told traditional stories in the school context? What was the reaction of students to these?

3. Do you use stories in your own teaching? If so, when and why (for what purpose)?

4. Do you see any connection between telling stories/being told stories and learning to read and write? Is a good storyteller a good writer/reader too?

5. What do you think are the qualities of a good story or storyteller? What makes a story or storyteller good? What motivates a good story?

6. Do you recall being told stories in childhood? What kind of stories? Who told them to you?

7. Are there any stories told ritually at certain events or times of the year? What are the stories? Where do they come from?

8. What have you noticed about children's stories in the community? Do their stories have a clear beginning, middle, and end?

9. What kind of topics do children in the community talk about?

10. Did any of the children's narratives told in the context of the study surprise you? Which ones and why?

APPENDIX D

SAMPLE NARRATIVE TRANSCRIPT

```
@Begin
@Filename:          CHILD05
@Narrator:          CH5
@Age of BEN:        11;11.
@Birth of BEN:      19-JUN-1981
@Sex of BEN:        Male
@Participants:      STS Students Group_Peers, STU Student
                    Unidentified_Student, NAR Narrator,
                    JJJ Peer, WWW Peer, MMM Peer, RES
                    Researcher
@Setting:           Library
@Date:              08-JUN-1993
@Time:              morning
@Tape location:     audiotape # 06, side A
@Comment:           previous speaker CHILD18

*MMM:     Bobby wants to tell you something.
%add:     RES
%pmt:     $DE
*RES:     there was a crack in there?
%com:     still following story of preceding speaker.
*JJJ:     yeah.
*STU:     xxx.
*MMM:     fractured.
*NAR:     there's a bug right there.
*RES:     oh yeah, when I was in the bush they were all over
          me.
*RES:     you wanna tell me something?
%pmt:     $DE
*NAR:     yeah.
*RES:     okay, Bobby's gonna tell.
%com:     microphone slid along table and makes noise.
*NAR:     okay, when I was like +...
%cla:     $TUN:fg
*NAR:     whatcha call that thing there?
%cla:     $TUN:ic:ml
*MMM:     grinding.
%pmt:     $VOC
*NAR:     grinding.
%cla:     $TUN:fg:rp
*NAR:     I was like going like this with the meat grinder.
%act:     shows use of grinder
%cla:     $TUN:ic
*NAR:     and then I happened to shove my finger in there.
%cla:     $TUN:ic
*NAR:     and then um it tore right there in the center of
          my nail.
%act:     indicates tear
%cla:     $TUN:ic
*NAR:     and I like cried (be)cause it was all bloody.
%cla:     $TUN:sb
```

*NAR: the blood it was gushing down, around my finger up to here [=! indicates where].
%cla: $TUN:ic
*NAR: and I looked at it.
%cla: $TUN:ic
*NAR: I didn't feel like looking at it.
%cla: $TUN:ic
*NAR: but I had to look at it.
%cla: $TUN:ic
*NAR: then my mom took me to the house, put some water.
%cla: $TUN:ic:cp
*NAR: and then she took me to Maniwaki.
%cla: $TUN:ic
*NAR: ah, does it ever hurts!
%cla: $TUN:ic
*RES: yeah, it really hurt?
%pmt: $BKC/$ELB:ceq
*NAR: then the doctor he sting me there to keep it +...
%cla: $TUN:sb
*STU: numb.
%pmt: $VOC
*NAR: yeah, that what you said.
%cla: $TUN:ic:ml
*RES: yeah.
%pmt: $BKC
*STU: numb.
%pmt: $VOC
*NAR: then he looked at it.
%cla: $TUN:ic
*NAR: like he washed it first.
%cla: $TUN:ic
*NAR: then he looked at it.
%cla: $TUN:ic
*NAR: then he took off my broken nail.
%cla: $TUN:ic
*RES: mmhmm.
%pmt: $BKC
*STU: yuck!
%pmt: $COM
*NAR: two of them are there.
%cla: $TUN:ic
*NAR: but this one is starting to go now.
%cla: $TUN:ic
%act: shows nail
%com: talking about and showing his two nails, one of which is beginning to fall off.
*RES: yeah, yeah.
%pmt: $BKC
*RES: new one.
%pmt: $ELB
*NAR: yeah.
%cla: $TUN:fg:yn
*NAR: and um, I'll tell you another one about my head.
*RES: okay.
@End

APPENDIX E

CODES OF LISTENER UTTERANCES

(in alphabetical order)

Note: All examples taken from transcripts

1. **BACK CHANNEL (BKC)**
   Acknowledges listening, understanding
   Ex: Yeah; No?; She did?; Uhhuh; Mmhmm; Oh.

2. **BIDS (BID)**
   Bids for turn at narrating
   Ex. I have five more stories; Let me tell one.

3. **CHOICE ELICITATION QUESTION (CEQ)**
   Yes/no question
   Ex. That's it?; Another one? She put one of those on you? Sucker fishing?

4. **COMMENT (COM)**
   Reactions to content of narrative
   Ex. My goodness that's big; That's a good shot; Sounds scary; They must've liked it; Oh it was!

5. **DIRECT ELICITATION (DE)**
   Eliciting story through direct requests once topic and/or speaker established
   Ex. Tell me more; Then what happened; Go ahead; And then? Can you tell us about that?; It's your turn.

6. **DIRECT ELICITATION QUESTION (DEQ)**
   Eliciting a particular type of information through product questions

   6a. **DEQ SUBCODES: who, when, where, why, how, what** to specify type of information requested by listener
   Ex. Who came to get you?, What do [did] you eat in the morning?

7. **ELABORATION (ELB)**

   (a) Adds content to story
   Ex. John was there.

   (b) Provides summary
   Ex. (after story of car crash) That was a big accident.

(c) Makes explicit implied details
Ex. (after mention of soup spill) It went over the top.

(d) Verbalizes gesture
Ex. (after STU gesture) Spread out.

(e) Paraphrases or adds to student utterance
Ex. Narrator: And the popcorn was all black.
Listener: All crispy black.

7a. **ELABORATION IN FORM OF CHOICE ELICITATION QUESTION (ELB:ceq)**
Elaboration (as above) in the form of a yes/no question
Ex. She was sleeping?; Then tney hit the ground? Were you scared?

8. **EVALUATES (EVL)**
Evaluates story or storytelling itself. Distinct from comments (COM) on narrative events e.g.That sounds fun!
Ex. That was a good story; You told that well.

9. **NARRATES (NAR)**
Listener narrates events (over more than one utterance) during the story of another narrator.
Distinct from elaborations in that the listener takes floor to narrate his/her own experience.
Ex. Listener: (in middle of another child's narrative) My brother saw it. He couldn't do nothing.He [was] just staring at it. But not me, I was still sleeping.
Narrator: All my sisters were sleeping except me and N.

10. **REPETITION OF NARRATOR UTTERANCE (REP)**
Exact repetition of all or some of narrators words
Ex. Narrator: Go faster, go faster.
Listener: Go faster, go faster.

10a. **PARTIAL REPETITION (REP:par)**
Repetition involving modification of the subject and objects to reflect listener perspective
Ex. Narrator: I have a lot of friends there.
Listener: You have a lot of friends there.

10b. **PARTIAL REPETITION OF NARRATOR UTTERANCE IN THE FORM OF CHOICE ELICITATION QUESTION (REP:ceq)**
Repeats or partially repeats narrator utterance in form of a yes/no question to indicate listening and prompt narration

Ex. Narrator: And then we went to the bush
Listener: And then you went to the bush?

11. **REQUESTS CLARIFICATION (RCL)**
Choice elicitation or product question requesting clarification of narrator utterance or narrator gesture; sometimes involves partial repetition of narrator utterance. Distinction between RCL and Repeats Narrator Utterance (REP) is that REP signals listening while RCL signals addressee need for clarification; determined primarily by context

Ex. He did what?; (after vague gesture) He went running?; Smashed you?; She was staying with you, that old woman?

12. **REQUESTS REPETITION (RRP)**
Request for repetition in cases where original utterance was not heard
Ex. Huh?; What did you say?

13. **RESPONDS TO PROMPT (RTP)**
Listener other than narrator responds to question or utterance directed at narrator
Ex. Researcher: Nine point nine? (RCL)
Listener: Yeah, motor boat. (RTP)

14. **TOPIC PROMPTS (TOP)**
Topic suggestions or subtopic prompts; May be in declarative or choice elicitation form
Ex. Have any other accidents?; Did you meet someone special? You could tell about the powwow.

15. **VOCABULARY (VOC)**
Provides vocabulary voluntarily or on implied or explicit request by narrator
Ex. Narrator: And I got one of them +...
Listener: Medals.

Narrator: What do you call that?
Listener: Door?

APPENDIX F

DEFINITIONS* OF TYPES OF EVALUATION

(in alphabetical order)

* Definitions summarized from Peterson, C. & McCabe, A. (1983). Appendix 2. In Developmental psycholinguistics: Three ways of looking at a child's narrative (pp. 222-224). NY: Plenum.

Note: For some types of evaluation, the name of the type is self-explanatory. In these cases examples from my data and/or from Peterson & McCabe are given.

Attention-getters:
Refers to commands that draw listener attention to particularly important pieces of info
Ex. You know what?

Causal explanations:
Clauses introduced by because and so when these indicate causal relationships.
Ex. She hit me because she was jealous.

Compulsion words:
Ex. They had to fix the bed.
Ex. She made us do it.

Exaggeration & fantasy:
Expansion of actual events & accounts of fictional events, respectively
Ex. I ate ten hot dogs.

Exclamations:
Ex. Holy moley!

Facts per se:
Comments that are evaluative because of widely held cultural assumptions. Since first & foremost actions, clauses usually also coded (first) as complicating actions
Ex. She came running.
Ex. I caught twenty [=fish] And they caught more than me.
Ex. [re: shooting a goose] There were lots. I shot one.

Gratuitous terms:
Give no information; lexical means of intensifying or stressing what they modify.
Ex. I just ran over there.

Hypotheses, guesses, inferences, and predictions:
Ex. I thought it was a big one [=fish].

Intentions, purposes, desires, hopes:
Ex. Like I wanted to see who it was.

Internal emotional states:
Ex. I felt embarrassed.

Negatives & modifiers:
Events that did not happen. May inform listener of either personal or general expectations that were held but not met in the situation.
Ex. I didn't even crash.

Objective judgements:
Means by which others evaluate events; must be specified rather than inferred
Ex. My brother liked my snowman much better than he did my sister's.

Onomatopoeia:
Ex. It came down on my head, schlick.

Repetition:
Evaluative when used for sake of emphasis rather than in order to add any new information or clarify pronunciation
Ex. I just hold on the chair. I just hold on the chair (ex. also illustrates use of gratuitous terms).

Results of high point action:
Results of high point or climactic action
Ex. Then I fell off the tree. My head was bleeding.

Similes and metaphors:
Familiar similes and metaphors not scored as evaluative because conventional usage has diminished evaluative impact
Ex. I was swinging like Tarzan.

Subjective judgements:
Narrator's own opinions about what was good or bad.
Ex. I liked the house; That was my favourite.

Tangential information:
Tangential remarks that serve to suspend or stop the action
Ex. (in a dream about something else)
I was living with Madeleine in my dream.

Words-per-se:
Adjectives such as fun, ugly, excited, lazy, scared, happy; Also some adverbs & some verbs
Ex. I was so scared. Your brother's a bad boy now.
Ex. The car spun. I just hold on the chair tight.