

THE DEVELOPMENT OF YOUNG CHILDREN'S PRODUCTIVE
NARRATIVE COMPETENCE IN CONVERSATIONAL CONTEXTS:
A LONGITUDINAL INVESTIGATION

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation focuses upon the productive narrative competence of three young children as revealed in their spontaneously occurring conversations recorded over an eighteen-month period during their kindergarten and grade one years. The data consist of 131 separate audio-tapes and the transcriptions made from them. Data were recorded an average of two times each week; almost ninety hours of the children's conversations were recorded. The children's narratives, produced as they were driven to and from school, have been examined in terms of their form, their various functions, and their relationship to the conversations in which they were embedded. Developmental changes in each of these three areas were also traced.

Fourteen different forms or types of narrative language were identified in the data. Although review of the literature had suggested eight of the narrative forms, six additional categories emerged during data analysis. The range of functions served by the narratives produced by the children was examined. Again, although the review of the literature had suggested six main functions likely to occur, analysis of the recordings necessitated the expansion and refinement of this list. In all, ten major functional uses of narrative language were identified in the data examined for this study. In addition, thirty-eight

specific functions were distinguished. The relationships among the various narrative forms, and the functions served by narrative language, also were outlined.

The effect of the interactional situation and peer-input on the narratives produced was examined. The children were found regularly to collaborate in the production of a wide variety of narrative forms. The responses, comments, and questions of the listeners were found to exert considerable influence on both the content and the form of the narratives produced, and their interactions appeared to have contributed significantly to the development of the narrative competence of the three subjects.

The data were examined to determine whether individual differences were apparent in narrative skills, styles of presentation, and preferences for form. Striking differences were found in all three areas; although all three subjects displayed a wide range of narrative skills they chose to employ their narrative competence in very different ways.

This study adds to the existing literature in three main areas. First, it offers definitions and descriptions of the range of narrative forms produced by individual children. Secondly, it delineates a broader and more specifically stated list of the functions served by the narrative language produced

by young children than that offered by the literature. Lastly, it clearly illustrates the contribution peer-interaction can make to the development of narrative competence.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This dissertation focuses upon the productive narrative competence of three young children as revealed in their spontaneously occurring conversations recorded over an eighteen-month period during their kindergarten and grade one years. The children's narratives have been examined in terms of their form, their various functions, and their relationship to the conversations in which they were embedded. Developmental changes in each of these three areas have also been traced.

Rationale

To date the research on child language, in the main, has directed attention towards the referential, instrumental, literal, and utilitarian aspects of language use (Bruner, 1985). The non-literal, the playful, the personal and the expressive dimensions of children's language competence, with few exceptions, have been granted only cursory attention. This omission has been noted and decried by those who seek a more balanced understanding of children's linguistic competence (Applebee, 1978; Bruner,

1985; Cazden, 1976; Chomsky, 1981; Ferguson & Macken, 1983; Gardner, 1980; Garvey, 1984; Halliday, 1977; Iwamura, 1980; Keenan, 1983).

The use of narrative - the telling of 'stories', the recounting of past incidents - has been recognized as a basic, fundamental, and universal means whereby we come to know, represent, interpret and relate our experience (Bettleheim, 1977; Bower, 1976; Britton, 1982; Bruner, 1985; Gardner, 1980; Hymes, 1980; Leondar, 1977; Robertson, 1976). Narrative has been described as "one of the first uses of language...and one of the most skilled" (Kemper, 1984, p. 99). Gardner (1980) concisely summarizes this point:

Few cultural elements have achieved such centrality in the lives of children the world over as have stories. Many cultural practices are passed on by means of narratives. Much of children's entertainment comes from stories. Education in subject matters, ranging from history and geography to the sciences and even mathematics, relies frequently on storytelling methods. Individuals (including children) relate much of what has happened to them through the informal means of storytelling.

Given the undisputed significance of storytelling and understanding in the lives of young children, it is surprising that so little systematic psychological research has been undertaken on the nature of the story, the mechanisms by which it is constructed and apprehended, and its psychological effects upon individuals. (p. 102)

Even a casual examination of adult conversation serves to confirm that a considerable proportion of those conversations is comprised of narratives - the telling of personal anecdotes and 'stories', the sharing of gossip and jokes, the summarizing of past events, and the retelling of a book just read or a program recently seen (Goffman, 1974; Tannen, 1984; Jefferson, 1978; Ryave, 1978). No account of linguistic competence therefore can afford to neglect this pervasive and fundamental aspect of language use. Similarly, researchers interested in language development and in obtaining a comprehensive picture of children's language competence need to consider the development of narrative skills and the deployment of such skills in conversational contexts.

Although there has been a recent surge of interest in the child's concept of story (Applebee, 1978; Heath, 1983), in the cognitive skills necessary to appropriately comprehend stories (Rumelhart, 1975; Stein & Baker, 1981), in the structural properties of stories most salient to children of varying ages (Mandler & Johnson, 1977; Meyer, 1977; Stein & Glenn, 1977), and in the contribution of story-book reading to literacy acquisition (Teale, 1984; Heath, 1982; 1983), very little attention has as yet been directed towards the child's productive narrative

capabilities (Bruner, 1985; Gardner, 1980; Kuczaj & McClain, 1984; Leondar, 1977).

By far the bulk of studies examining the stories produced or created by children have been of stories elicited from children upon adult request (Ames, 1966; Applebee, 1978; Leondar, 1977; Pitcher & Prelinger, 1963; Sutton-Smith, 1981). Very few studies exist which have taken as their focus the narratives and stories spontaneously produced by young children as part of their naturally occurring conversations. Most of those that do exist have involved subjects either younger (Keenan, 1983; Umiker-Seblak, 1979; Volterra, 1984) or older (Kernan, 1977) than the subjects in this study, who were five years old when recording began.

Although the term 'narrative' encompasses a variety of forms, or types (for example, personal anecdotes, gossip, story retellings, original fictions), it is the fantasy narrative that has garnered the bulk of research attention (Abrams & Sutton-Smith, 1977; Ames, 1966; Bettelheim, 1977; Botvin & Sutton-Smith, 1977; Kuczaj & McClain, 1984; Pitcher & Prelinger, 1963; Sutton-Smith, 1981; Volterra, 1984). Rather than limiting the focus of this research to one particular narrative form, the study examines a range of narrative forms produced by the subjects.

The majority of the analyses of children's stories has concentrated upon the texts produced (Bruner, 1985); the context in which the narratives were delivered has either been ignored or merely noted. As Babcock (1977) puts it, "with few exceptions we have tended to study the tale at the expense of its teller, telling, and reception" (p. 64). This tendency of researchers to focus on product, and neglect the performance of that product, has been criticized by Hymes (1973), Tedlock (1972), Bauman (1977), McDowell (1979) and Cosbey (1980). To a considerable degree, adult conversational skill is attributable to the ease with which stories and anecdotes are interwoven with the warp and woof of ongoing verbal interaction (Goffman, 1974; Labov, 1972; Tannen, 1984; Sacks, 1974). Our understanding of the development of these skills will not be furthered until the manner in which children begin to integrate and exploit narrative forms in their conversations is examined. It is necessary to attend to both the 'performance' and the piece 'performed'. In this study, both text and context constitute the data that were analyzed.

The majority of the studies of language acquisition and development have focused on adult-child interactions (Bloom, 1973; Bruner, 1983; Scollon, 1976). Considerably less is known about child-child interactions (Camaloni,

1979; Garvey, 1984; Iwamura, 1980; Rubin, Fein & Vandenberg, 1983). Very few studies have examined the impact of peer influence and interaction upon the language development of young children. This study takes as its data the naturally occurring conversations of three children interacting with each other as they were driven to and from school during their kindergarten and grade one years. Although an adult was present during all of the recording sessions, the prime task of that adult was to drive the car; consequently, her interaction with the children was, for the most part, intermittent and incidental. Most of the time the children attended to and talked to each other. One of the questions investigated by this study concerns the impact or effect of 'audience' reaction/reception/rejection and participation on the narratives that the children shared with, and told to, each other. The point of considering the 'audience' was to try "to understand how the character of the story is generated (and altered) by the nature of the performance in which it occurs" (Sutton-Smith, 1981, p. 33).

The majority of the studies of narrative competence have utilized cross-sectional data (Abrams & Sutton-Smith, 1977; Ames, 1966; Applebee, 1978; Galda & Pellegrini, 1982; Kernan, 1977; Pitcher & Prelinger, 1963). This study is longitudinal in nature, spanning a period of eighteen

months. During the period of data collection, the verbal behaviour of the subjects was intensively sampled; recordings were made at least twice each week. Referring to child language research in general, Garvey (1984) notes:

Usually, too, a child is recorded only once or twice in the same situation; relatively few studies have attempted to follow the same children over a longer period of time after they have acquired the fundamentals of language. The sampling of the functional differentiation and elaboration of talk during the pre-school years is thus less than complete.
(p. 24)

McCall (1977), Bronfenbrenner (1979), Bissex (1980) and Holdaway (1979) all have underscored the need for more longitudinal research, for research which can provide insights into the processes of development, change, and growth.

There is considerable evidence that children use more complex and sophisticated language when in the presence of 'familiar' than when in the company of strangers (Fein, 1981; Forys & McCune Nicholich, 1984; Garvey, 1977; Iwamura, 1980; Yawkey & Miller, 1984). This study affords the opportunity of examining the nature of the narrative language produced by children well acquainted with each other, in a situation thoroughly familiar to them all.

The carpool situation, during which the data for this study were recorded, is commonplace in the lives of most modern North American children. By far the majority of the studies of children's language performance have sampled a limited number of situations; most commonly data have been collected in the home, in the language laboratory, and during free play in preschools and kindergartens (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). By recording the language of the children as they were being driven to and from school, this study departs from what has by now become the stereotypical range of research situations. The only other study of language 'in a car' that has come to the present researcher's attention is that of Iwamura (1980) who recorded the conversations of two two-year-olds on the ten-minute drive to their playschool. Data in Iwamura's study were collected over an eight month period.

The situation sampled in the present study was naturally and predictably varied due to the staggered entrances and departures of the children. Consequently the data permitted comparison of the nature of verbal interactions when two children were present with those that occurred when three children were present. As well, it was possible to compare and contrast different pairings of the children.

Almost nothing is known about individual differences in story aptitude and preferences (Gardner, 1980) or about differences in the productive narrative capabilities of children. This study examines individual differences in terms of narrative skill and preference for particular forms.

With the recent development or formulation of various story 'grammars', measures now exist which permit more rigorous analysis of stories than were possible without them. Although these 'grammars' have been criticized on many grounds (Gardner, 1980), they offer the very real advantage of providing researchers with a somewhat standardized framework for comparison (Leondar, 1977). The narratives produced by the subjects of this study were scored according to the criteria of the Maranda scheme (Sutton-Smith, 1975; 1981a), the plot-structure model developed by Botvin and Sutton-Smith (1977), and the Labov and Waletzky (1967) model.

Many of the stories that formed the data bases of previous research investigations into children's narrative competence were recorded in longhand (Abrams & Sutton-Smith, 1977; Ames, 1966; Leondar, 1977; Pitcher & Prelinger, 1963; Sutton-Smith, 1981a). As Applebee (1978) notes:

the apparent fluency of the stories has probably been increased by the recording procedure, which relied on transcriptions at the time of story-telling rather than on mechanical recording. Such features as prompting, pausing, and garbled sentences have probably been reduced as a result of adult mediation. (p. 139)

The data examined for this study were recorded on audio-tape. Transcriptions of the tapes are verbatim and unedited, and the recordings were used in conjunction with the transcripts throughout the process of data analysis in order to permit an accurate and adequate interpretation. The retention of the tapes made it possible to pursue issues that arose during the data analysis (Harste, Burke, Woodward, 1981; 1983; Bloom & Lahey, 1978) as well as to investigate the questions that had been formulated.

Definitions of Terms

The following definitions are representative of those in current use in the literature. They are included here to provide a frame of reference for the presentation of the research questions and for interpreting the review of the literature.

Narrative:

Spoken or written recital of connected events in order. Oxford Dictionary

We define a narrative as one means of representing past experience by a sequence of ordered sentences that present the temporal sequence of those events by that order.

(Labov & Fanshel, 1977)

Narratives are defined here in a very broad sense as including any verbal description of one or more past events, i.e., as utterances which inform the addressee that 'something happened'. Such a definition would, of course, include the more traditional folklore genres such as stories, tales, jokes, and so forth. It would also include the solicited and spontaneous 'oral versions of personal experience' described for school children by ...Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Kernan (1977).

(Umiker-Sebeok, 1979, p. 92)

Personal Narrative:

...verbal accounts, usually in the first person, of an individual's experiences, thoughts and feelings. ERIC Thesaurus, 1985.

Story:

...past course of one's life, account given of an incident, a piece of narrative or tale or anecdote. Oxford Dictionary

...an account of some happening or group of happenings ...either true or made-up, intended to interest the reader or hearer.

World Book Dictionary

..at the least, one can include the positioning of a character and a setting, the introduction of some situation or problem which confronts the character, and her efforts to overcome or circumvent the problem...the crux of a story does seem to inhere in the capacity of a character to recognize and to negotiate her way around some kind of an obstacle. (Gardner, 1980, p. 104)

Anecdote:

...a short account of some interesting incident or event.

...applies to a brief story about a single incident, usually funny or with an interesting point. World Book Dictionary

Gossip:

..the recounting and evaluating of the activities and personalities of others.
(Heath, 1983, p. 153)

Fantasy:

..a play of the mind, imagination, fancy.
World Book Dictionary

Narrative competence:

Basic narrative competence includes the ability to construct a story that combines an appropriate setting with characters who react to a central problem through a

sequence of events that move to a logical conclusion. (Galda, 1984, p. 105)

Conversation:

...informal, more or less spontaneous interchanges in which a few or just two persons alternately introduce and jointly pursue topics in a leisurely manner without an explicitly prearranged agenda. A conversation can be embedded in some other type of interaction or can constitute a whole encounter.

(Garvey, 1984, p. 156)

Connected discourse:

Connected discourse differs from an unrelated string of sentences (among other ways) in that it is possible to pick out what is important in connected discourse and summarize it without seriously altering the meaning of the discourse. The same is not true of strings of unrelated sentences. Since such strings lack structure and do not make meaningful wholes they cannot be summarized at all.

(Rumelhart, 1975, p. 226)

Research Questions

The following research questions were addressed by this study. Although there is obviously some overlap, the questions have been categorized according to whether they focus primarily upon form, function or patterns of developmental change.

I. Form

- 1.1 Do young children between the ages of five and seven include narrative accounts in their conversations with each other?
- 1.2 If so, what form do these narratives take? What types of narrative are represented in their conversations? What is the range and variety of the narratives found?
- 2.1 Do the children collaborate in the creation and telling of narratives?
- 2.2 If so, what is the nature of this collaboration? How are the collaborations initiated and

maintained?

3. Does the reaction of, and interaction with, peers have an effect on the narratives that are told?

II. Function

4. What function do narrative accounts appear to serve in the conversational exchanges in which they are embedded?
5. Do the subjects reveal individual differences in terms of their skills, styles of presentation, and/or their preferences for certain narrative forms over others?

III. Developmental Patterns - Changes Over Time

6. Over the eighteen months during which data were recorded, are any changes apparent in terms of:
- i) the variety of narrative types employed?
 - ii) the structural complexity of the narratives told?
 - iii) the conversational/social functions served by them?

7. Do the findings of this study, based on longitudinal data, support or contradict the findings that have been reported from the cross-sectional investigations of the child's concept of, and production of, narrative?

Theoretical Assumptions

The following theoretical assumptions underlie the conception and execution of this study.

1. To be fully understood, language needs to be "seen to be essentially a means of communication and social interaction among individuals, rather than an autonomous formal system" (Camaioni, 1979, p. 325).
2. The development of the ability to employ narrative language in conversational contexts requires both sociological and linguistic abilities (Keenan, 1983; Hymes, 1980). Therefore, not only must the conversational exchange as such be considered, but also the physical, social, and cultural context in which it occurs (Babcock, 1977; Heath, 1983). Conversational rules which are found to be valid in one context cannot simply be extended to another situation (Camaioni, 1979). Language will not be adequately understood if attention is directed solely to linguistic factors; the nature of the social interaction that generates it must be considered as well.
3. Knowledge of the position in a conversation in which an utterance occurs is frequently critical for the

interpretation of that utterance (Goffman, 1981; Labov & Fanshel, 1977; Sacks, 1974). Consequently, it is important that during the analysis of data the researcher take into account the whole of the conversation in which an utterance is embedded, and recognize that "the interpretation of any utterance depends upon the negotiated understandings that have developed during the interaction, and on the situated character of that utterance..." (Cook-Gumperz & Corsaro, 1977, p. 414). It follows, therefore, that in order to understand the social and conversational functions served by the use of narrative language "it is essential to preserve the context of the narrative" (Labov & Waletzky, 1967, p. 32), and include in the analysis enough preliminary dialogue so as to "obtain some idea of the stimulus to which the narratives respond" (p. 20).

4. Children's "most elaborate utterances, in which they attempt to express the most complex thoughts, are most likely to occur when they are at their most relaxed, in a natural and familiar setting" (Clark, 1982, p. 26). If one wishes to tap the peak of children's linguistic abilities, to discover the upper range of their competence, then data should be gathered in such settings. Research indicates that "children will set

themselves the most difficult linguistic tasks in natural situations in relation to familiar experiences" (Clark, 1982, p. 28), and in the company of familiar people (Iwamura, 1980).

5. Any investigation of language ability must bear in mind the distinction between competence and performance. Data gathered under natural conditions, in which no intervention or manipulation of the situation occurs, will reflect what the subjects have chosen to do or say in the situations observed. It will reveal the linguistic and behavioural options that the subjects have elected to exercise. Such data may be taken as evidence of what these subjects do; it is not safe to assume that such data reflects all that these subjects can do (Labov, 1973; Leondar, 1977).

6. Our current knowledge and theory of discourse are incomplete. Data have been gathered in a limited range of situations, and the investigative perspectives have leaned heavily to the referential and literal aspects of language use, and neglected the playful, the non-literal, and the narrative modes of interpreting and presenting experience (Bruner, 1985; Garvey, 1984; Gardner, 1980

Hymes, 1980).

7. Effective research into the complex subject of language use requires multiple perspectives. Input from the related disciplines of literature, philosophy, linguistics, sociology, psychology, anthropology and education are essential.
8. Children differ in their communicative competence, and in their rates and styles of acquisition (Nelson, 1981; Wolf & Gardner, 1979).
9. The presence of an adult affects the nature and content of the language used by children (Cook-Gumperz & Corsaro, 1977); the presence, role, and linguistic input of any adult must be taken into consideration when drawing conclusions about children's linguistic performance when adults are included in the situation observed.
10. "Narrative competence advances in a predictable fashion that is amenable to analysis and description" (Leondar, 1977, p. 190).

Methodological Assumptions

This study is based upon, and reflects, the following methodological assumptions.

1. In order to understand the meaning of language, investigation must focus on how language is used. (Wittgenstein, 1958).
2. In order to understand the social use of language, it is important to collect descriptive data in natural contexts. There is a need for "closer observation of what children actually do in naturalistic settings" (Clark, 1982, p. 31).
3. Because language is strongly dependent upon the situation and context in which it occurs (Clark, 1982), it consequently is necessary to obtain information about contextual and situational variables, and to interpret the linguistic data in terms of those variables (Bloom, 1973; Cook - Gumperz & Corsaro, 1974; Schieffelin, 1979; 1983).
4. Adequate description of the behaviour of interest is a necessary pre-requisite for theory generation (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982; Giffin, 1984; Shuy & Griffin, 1981).

It is imperative to obtain "sufficient data to avoid emphasizing unique or only marginally important behaviors" (Bloom & Lahey, 1978, p. 28), and to ensure that a representative and accurate portrayal of the behaviour of interest is obtained (Labov & Fanshel, 1977). While it is certainly true that "tracing the development of skill...and relating that skill to skills of mature adulthood are important steps" (Giffin, 1984, p. 75) it is equally true that "they should not precede adequate description of the phenomenon itself" (p. 75).

5. In order to understand the process of change, growth and development, longitudinal studies which monitor the behaviour of the same subjects over time are an essential complement to cross-sectional studies (Bloom & Lahey, 1978; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; McCall, 1977).
6. The validity of any and all interpretations is ultimately dependent upon the data; therefore a representative sampling of raw data should be included in the report of the study (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982), and the data should be made available to other researchers upon request (Iwamura, 1980; Labov & Fanshel, 1977; Weir, 1962).

7. Researchers interested in language use "need to gain a participant's perspective in the particular setting in order to use contextual information in <their> analysis in the way that the participants rely on it for their language use" (Shuy & Griffin, 1981; Wax, 1971).
8. In order to protect the validity of the data gathered, it is important that the subjects not be aware of the specific focus of the researcher's interest (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, & Sechrest, 1966). At the same time, ethical considerations preclude surreptitious recording of behaviour (Genishi, 1982).
9. Data should be recorded in a way that minimizes data reduction and loss (Bloom & Lahey, 1978). Audio recordings permit the original situation to be reconstructed to a certain degree; such 'permanent' and 'retrievable' means of data collection therefore are preferable to data gathering techniques which code or analyze data on-the-spot, as with checklists or code sheets (Harste, Burke & Woodward, 1981).
10. In any conversational exchange communication is achieved non-verbally as well as verbally -- by means of facial expressions, positioning of the head,

and gesturing with the hands, for example. This non-verbal information obviously is not retrievable from audio-tape. There is, however, "a great deal of redundancy in speech alone" (Labov & Fanshel, 1977, p. 7) and the "information lost from nonverbal channels ... is rarely totally different from that preserved in the speech channel. Rather, it reinforces the messages communicated through language" (Tannen, 1984, p. 36). In view of this redundancy, it seems fair to conclude, as have other researchers, "that audio recordings are sufficient to give... a coherent interpretation of what takes place." (Labov & Fanshel, 1977, p. 7).

11. In order that the subjects of the study not feel exploited by it, provision for some fair return for their participation needs to be made (Bruner, 1983a). This can take the form of information; when children are the subjects of a study this information can be shared with their parents who may choose to make it available to the subjects when they deem it an appropriate time.
12. Ethical considerations require that the identities of the subjects be protected, and that participation in the study in no way causes them embarrassment, or

places them in a position where the data gathered can be used against them (Rheingold, 1982).

Strengths of the Study

1. The situation in which the data were recorded is a situation that would have occurred whether or not this research project had been undertaken. The research setting was neither constructed nor contrived for the purpose of obtaining the data, and all those present were naturally and necessarily present.
2. The study is longitudinal in nature. The same three subjects, in the same setting, were recorded as they conversed over a period of eighteen months. Many so-called longitudinal studies in fact monitor very short intervals of time; others encompass longer stretches of time, but frequently assess or observe the behaviour of their subjects infrequently, or only at the beginning and the end of the time frame. In this study the language of the subjects was intensively monitored; recordings were made on an average of twice-weekly throughout the entire period of data collection that school was in session.

3. Because the entire trip to and from school was recorded, the necessary supporting linguistic context was available on the tapes for analysis. This 'retrievability' of the data made possible the consideration of factors and aspects of the data which were not recognized at the time of data collection as being relevant (Scollon, 1976; Harste, Burke & Woodward, 1981;1983). The method of recording the data ensured that linguistic information which might have been significant was not prematurely eliminated, as it inevitably would have been had the tape recorder only been switched on when the subjects were heard by the researcher to be telling 'stories' and recounting narratives.
4. Although orienting questions had been formulated prior to data analysis, the specific focus of this study was not determined until after the data had been recorded. Consequently, the validity of the data was protected. A criticism directed at many studies that involve the interaction and participation of the researcher with the subjects is that the researcher's interest in, and focus on, particular behaviours can unnaturally highlight them. Many findings from such studies are subject to the criticism that they are nothing more than artifacts of the research situation

that gave rise to them. The decision to focus on children's productive narrative competence was made after the data for this study had been recorded. During data collection the researcher did not at any time consciously attempt to engineer the situation or the conversations in order to elicit stories or narrative accounts from the children. The encouragement that was given was nothing more, and no different from, what naturally occurs in such exchanges.

5. The researcher knows the subjects well and has spent considerable time with them since the carpooling began. This familiarity makes possible the interpretation of the implications and significance of situations and remarks that might appear innocuous or might go unnoticed by a researcher who had not been present when the data were recorded, and who was attempting to examine only the transcriptions of the tapes. While it is recognized that any and all interpretations must be supported and validated by the data, rather than by any 'intuitions' of the researcher, the familiarity of the researcher with the subjects and situations increases the likelihood that significant exchanges and details were not overlooked.
6. The nature of the data made it possible to compare and

contrast the narrative language behaviour that occurs when two children are together with that which occurs when three are together.

7. Although the study focuses on only three subjects, these subjects represent different backgrounds in terms of parental education, socio-economic status, and ethnic origin.
8. Evidence from the work of Botvin and Sutton-Smith (1977) on the development of the structural complexity of the plots of the stories created by children suggests that the age span between five and seven years may be particularly germane for the consolidation and exploration of narrative competence. It appears to be during this period that a transition is made from simple narrative structures to conjoined and co-ordinated multiple action sequences. The subjects of this study were all five years old when recordings began, and seven, or almost seven, when recordings ceased.
9. The findings were submitted to, and corroborated by, the parents of each of the subjects. They were asked to respond to, and confirm (or dispute) both the accuracy of a number of the classifications made, and

the general conclusions reached. Their teacher was also asked to respond to perceived individual differences. The interpretations offered have therefore been 'triangulated' with those of the subjects' teacher and with those of their parents, and may be considered to be more 'reliable' because of their input.

Limitations of the Study

1. The study involves only three subjects who were selected for reasons of 'convenience' and availability. They cannot be considered to represent a 'random sampling' of children of their age, and therefore generalizations from this study must be made with caution. For example, the narrative language behaviour of children when no adult is present, when more children are present, in a school context, or at home, may be quite different from that collected in this study.
2. Although the situation in which the data were collected is commonplace in the lives of most North American children, it is recognized that the situation is in some ways unique. It is possible that the

language behaviour that has been recorded is likely to be produced only by children who have had the opportunity to spend extended periods of time alone together in a situation that permits little activity other than talk.

3. The conditions under which the data were collected cannot be considered ideal, although they were certainly realistic. Car noise, and the fact that three children were frequently speaking at the same time, made transcription of the audio-tapes challenging and extremely time-consuming. The familiarity of the researcher with the subjects, the fact that the researcher was present during the periods when data were recorded, and that the researcher transcribed the tapes herself rather than assigning the task to another, helped counter to a considerable degree the negative aspects of the recording situation.
4. It is never safe to assume that subjects who are aware that their behaviour is being recorded are not affected by that knowledge (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz & Sechrest, 1966). Although the tape recorder was treated casually, and became very much a fixture in the car, it was there, and it was always in full view

of the subjects. Possible reactivity effects therefore must be considered when interpreting the data.

5. One of the subjects is the daughter of the researcher. The unconscious biasing of the treatment of the data that can result from such relationships has been well documented (Ausubel, Sullivan & Ives, 1980). The best defence against such potential distortions is awareness of the problem, clear criteria for selecting certain portions of the data for close analysis over others, adequate provision for validity checks, and reliance on the data to support any interpretations offered. As far as has been possible, all such 'defensive' steps have been taken to validate the study.
6. Any comparison of the skills and preferences of the different subjects with respect to narrative language must take into account the fact that one of the subjects was, so to speak "on her own territory", while the other two were "in somebody else's car". This factor may well have exerted some influence on the freedom with which each of the children engaged in offering narratives, and should be taken into consideration when interpreting the findings on

individual differences.

7. Although the focus of this study is primarily upon the verbal interactions of the children, an adult was present in the car while the data were recorded. For the most part, the role of this adult was that of driver, and interactions with the children were largely incidental. However, any conclusions about the nature of the peer-interactions recorded must be tempered by recognition that these interactions occurred in the the presence of an adult. The child lore literature (Cosbey, 1980; Sutton-Smith, 1981b; 1983; Opie & Opie, 1959) has clearly demonstrated that the nature and content of children's language behaviour undergoes change when children are free from adult supervision and scrutiny.
8. The non-verbal behaviours of the children were not recorded.

CHAPTER TWO

Review of the Literature

This review will first discuss those studies of children's narrative competence which have taken as their data stories elicited from their subjects at adult request. A number of the analytical schemes devised to measure the structural complexity of such stories will be described. Next, studies of children's conversational narratives will be reviewed, and the performance aspects of narration will be considered. The role of adults in fostering the development of narrative competence and the contribution of pretend play to that development will also be discussed. The absence of literature on individual differences in this area of linguistic competence will be noted.

Although, as Bruner (1985) points out, "we know very little about how narrative thinking develops in childhood" (p. 100) we do know that "storytelling is one of the first uses of language" (Kemper, 1984, p. 99) and that "when given the opportunity, children are inveterate tale tellers" (Sutton-Smith, 1981, p. 1). A number of researchers have collected and analyzed the stories told by children and it is these studies which will be discussed in the following section.

A. "Tell Me a Story"

Pitcher and Prelinger (1963) collected a total of 360 stories from 137 "socioeconomically rather privileged children" (p. 26) who ranged in age from 2 to 5 years. The stories, which were gathered during regular school sessions and recorded in longhand, were elicited from the subjects by the researcher's request to "Tell me a story". As the authors were primarily interested in the role of fantasy in the lives of young children, the study "limited itself to material from a child's own creative imagination" (p. 29). Consequently, when a child offered anything "secondhand" she/he was informed that what was wanted was "a story that is your very own, one that nobody else told you, that you made up all by yourself" (p. 29).

The stories obtained were rated according to seven "formal story dimensions" (i.e., expansion; external differentiation of the main figure; inner complexity of characters; realism; action vs. thought processes; and emotional differentiation). Story 'content' was examined in order to determine the type and variety of the characters introduced, identifiable themes, and age and sex differences. In addition, reflecting their psychoanalytic perspective, the authors attempted to interpret the data in terms of Erickson's psycho-social developmental categories and to "determine their dynamic, unconscious contents as

well as the characteristic mechanisms of censorship and disguise appearing in them" (p. 218).

Of relevance to this study are their findings regarding the characters and themes prevalent in the stories of their older subjects and the developmental trends they noted. Summarizing briefly, Pitcher and Prelinger report that "both boys and girls consistently tend to utilize wider and wider spaces in their fantasy products as age increases" (p. 155), setting their stories initially in the home but moving out to the foreign and the unfamiliar by the age of five. With age, more characters are included in their stories, and there is some indication that "increasingly complex thoughts and feelings are attributed to them" (p. 159). A "significant increase in the use of fantasy and imagination" (p. 159) is apparent, with boys being found the more likely to create and include the 'fantastic' in their stories. The five-year-old subjects are reported to have exhibited an "intensive" interest in the distinction between the real and the unreal; mention of magic, dreams, pretense and disguise appeared with regularity. Sex differences were evident in terms of both the characters portrayed and the themes favoured. Boys were more inclined to feature objects and vehicles in their stories; girls preferred domestic animals. Boys introduced a greater variety of characters, but girls were found to describe their characters with

"greater and more vivid detail" (p. 173). The girls tended to present people more "realistically, and to identify themselves with the personalities and experiences of others" (p. 170). Whereas boys were found rarely to name their characters, the girls almost always did, and were also more likely to directly quote the conversations of their characters and display a greater interest in the social relationships between characters. The authors interpreted these differences as suggesting "that boys may tend more to extensive experience, whereas girls may experience more intensively" (p. 173).

Themes of aggression, in a wide variety of manifestations, were found to be prominent at all ages, with the stories revealing an apparent enjoyment of, and fascination with, them. This was true of both boys and girls, but "with the boys, aggression tends to be much more violent" (p. 177). Other recurrent themes, listed in descending order of frequency, were: hurt or misfortune, morality, nurturance, death, dress, friendship and crying. The five-year-old subjects were found to increasingly mention "the more subtle forms of ethical misbehavior involving social responsibility" (p. 198); such things as lying, stealing, and sending sick children to school are mentioned in this connection. Their stories also revealed a developing realization of the complexity of good and evil" (p. 199), an understanding of the fact that "goodness

and badness can exist in the same person, and even in the same deeds" (p. 197).

Using subjects from the same area, of the same age range, and attending the same nursery school, Ames (1966) conducted a study on much the same lines as that of Pitcher and Prelinger. Each of the 270 subjects contributed one story. Although the stories are described as having been "told more or less spontaneously" (p. 339), the children were taken aside, sometimes to a separate room, by their teacher and the researcher and asked to tell a story. Ames reported that the children often hesitated to do so, and were encouraged by prompts such as "What could your story be about?" and "Could it be about a little boy -- a little baby -- a little doggie?" (p. 341) The researcher then recorded by hand the stories offered. Again, although it is claimed that "no clue as to their form or content was given" (p. 339), examination of the data reveals that any stories not considered to be original creations were rejected and the child was again informed of what was required (p. 347).

In order to make comparisons between the two studies possible, Ames examined most of the questions posed by Pitcher and Prelinger, and employed the analysis categories they had used. In addition, she examined the stories for instances of intentional humour and for evidence of the development of the notion of causality. In almost every

respect, the findings were consistent with those reported by the earlier study. In both sets of stories "by far the majority at every age deal with themes of violence" and the "stories of boys tend to be more violent than those of girls" (p. 383). Girls were found to mention more people in their stories than did boys and, at every age, told more stories which centered around notions of socialization. In contrast, "boys tell stories which center predominantly around self" (p. 382). Boys again revealed a greater interest in vehicles. Male characters were more likely to figure in the stories told by both girls and boys, and boys were found to "move away from strict realism sooner than do girls" (p. 392). The stories created by the older children contained "more sentences in which some idea of causality is implied or expressed" (p. 393), and although Ames reported that "humor as an intentional theme is largely lacking" (p. 365), over twenty percent of the stories told by five-year-olds were designated as "humorous to the teller" (p. 365). Examination of the length of the stories revealed that, not surprisingly, the stories got longer as the children got older. For the girls, the pattern of increase was consistent; at age two their stories averaged 51 words, and each year increased in length until, at five, they averaged 124 words. The pattern was less even for the boys. The average story length at two years was 32 words; at

four-and-a-half this had risen to 103 words, only to decrease sharply to 63 words at five.

Ames' study is particularly informative because, for each of the age levels investigated, she has sketched a profile of the typical response of the child to the request for a story, summarized the characteristics of the stories produced, and noted sex differences. A fair number of the stories were included in her report as examples. Of particular relevance to this study is her finding that "the chief difficulty in obtaining spontaneous stories from 5-year-olds is their strong drive to tell stories they have already been told" (p. 378). Noting that this tendency occurs at other ages as well, Ames comments that it was most apparent with the oldest subjects.

Applebee (1978) re-analyzed the stories gathered by Pitcher and Prelinger (1963) in order to "explore the child's concept of what stories are, how they can be organized, and why they are told" (p. 2). With skill and insight, Applebee interpreted the stories from the theoretical perspectives of Britton (1970) and Vygotsky (1962). Stories are conventionally marked as such by a variety of linguistic means, including the use of stock opening and closing phrases, of a consistent past tense, and of alterations in pitch and intonation during the telling. Taking these markers as a measure of the child's recognition that stories are "in some way different from

other uses of language" (p. 36), Applebee scored each of the stories in the Pitcher and Prelinger collection for the presence or absence of a formal opening or title, a formal closing, and consistent use of the past tense. He found that "even the two-year-olds had begun to distinguish stories in these ways" (p. 37). Over 70 percent of their stories were marked by at least one of these three devices; over half of the stories produced by the five-year-olds employed all three. As well, a third of the stories produced by the five-year-olds were found to contain conventional story characters with, interestingly enough, Santa Claus the most frequently named, and cowboys and witches making the most frequent appearances.

Applebee approached the question of how "children organize the complexity in the stories they tell" (p. 56) by applying an analysis model based on Vygotsky's (1962) six stage model of concept development. He found that the stories produced by the two-to-five-year olds could be described by six basic types of structures, and that these appeared in "the same general developmental order" (57) as hypothesized by Vygotsky's conceptual stages. The most primitive narrative forms are labelled "heaps", the stories consisting of little more than a free-association list of characters or events "with few links from one sentence to another" (59). Heaps give way to sequences, with events being linked, but by "bonds of similarity

rather than causality or complementarity" (p. 60). Applebee found the two most common patterns at this stage to be: "(1) A does X, A does Y, and A does Z; and (2) A does X to N, A does X to O, and A does X to P" (p. 61). Primitive narratives represent the next stage of organization, and can be characterized "as a collection of complementary events organized around a central situation or concrete core" (p. 62). Although these stories can be quite well formed, Applebee designates them as primitive narratives because the links between characters and events are concrete rather than conceptual. Unfocused chain narratives consist of a series of incidents which lead quite directly from one to another, but the attributes that link them shift continually, so that "the whole loses its point and direction" (p. 64). In such stories, the "type of action changes, the setting blurs" (p. 64) and characters pass in and out. In contrast, focused chain narratives, (found to be the story type most represented by the productions of the five-year-olds), have a main character who goes through a series of events which are linked to each other. The connections in these "continuing-adventures-of _____" type of stories, however, are concrete rather than conceptual and it is this factor which distinguishes them from true narratives. In narratives proper, "each incident not only develops out of the previous one, but at the same time elaborates a new

aspect of the theme or situation" (p. 65). Only twenty percent of the five-year-olds' stories could be counted as true narratives by this definition.

Applebee's work confirms that narrative competence develops in a systematic and more or less predictable manner and that, with the acquisition of each of the various structures, the child is able to manipulate increasingly complex material "through the expedient of organizing it more thoroughly" (p 72). Although, obviously, the more 'advanced' structures are likely to be employed by older rather than younger subjects, it is important to recognize that age alone does not determine which of the organizational options will be exercised. Similarly, once a child is able to utilize a more complex structural framework, it does not mean that, on occasion, he will not choose to tell stories based on simpler models. Examination of the Pitcher and Prelinger (1963) corpus makes it plain that many of the stories are best described as a combination of the various structural models.

As well as re-analyzing the Pitcher and Prelinger stories, Applebee conducted interviews with a large sample of British six- and nine-year olds in an effort to learn when, and if, young children come to expect that fairy stories are things "'made up' rather than 'real'" (p. 41). Among other questions, the children were asked whether they thought Cinderella was a real person, where she lived, and

whether it would be possible to pay her a visit. The interviews revealed that, for the six-year-olds as well as for some of the nine-year-olds, the distinction between the fictional and the factual was by no means firm. For many of the younger children, Cinderella was quite real and the possibility of visiting her did not strike them as preposterous. Applebee interprets these findings as indicating that "six-year-olds begin to grasp that stories do not necessarily have to be about real things before they accept that the characters they have come to know well are part of this fictional world" (46).

This brief summary of Applebee's work in no way does justice to the subtlety and suggestiveness of his treatment. His approach is noteworthy because of his attempt to understand the perspective of the child, to discover the child's concept of what a story consists of, and to relate the stories produced to the cognitive characteristics of the children who produced them.

Pitcher and Prelinger (1963), Ames (1966) and Applebee (1978) restricted their examination of the development of productive narrative competence to very young children. The Folkstories of Children, by Sutton-Smith (1981), extends the age-range of those sampled by five years as it contains approximately five hundred stories, (half of a collection of almost a thousand), which were systematically collected from fifty-two American children between the ages

of two and ten. Most of these stories were recorded by adult 'story-takers'; some were written down by the children themselves. These stories have provided the data base for a variety of studies into the nature of children's narratives that have involved a number of different researchers (Sutton-Smith & Abrams, 1978; Abrams & Sutton-Smith, 1977; Botvin & Sutton-Smith, 1977; Sutton-Smith, Abrams, Botvin, Caring, Gildesgame & Stevens, 1975).

In his introduction to the collection, Sutton-Smith (1981) reports on the two techniques that were used to analyze the plots of the children's stories. The first, based on the work of Maranda and Maranda (1970), is a four-level scheme which focuses on what happens to the characters. "What happens" is couched in terms of threat (and threat nullified), and lack (and lack supplied). Level One stories are described as those in which "one power overwhelms another and there is no attempt at a response" (p. 20). Usually a monster, or a wild animal, threatens and terrifies. In Level Two stories, the predominant responses are those of escaping or being rescued. The "monster may attack, but the attack is not successful" (p. 20). The monster, however, is not defeated but merely temporarily avoided. Level Three stories are those in which "the story's central character is successful in rendering the threat powerless in some way or in

supplying what is lacking" (p. 21) Finally, in Level Four stories the danger is removed, the situation is permanently rectified, and "there is clearly no possibility of this threat or lack returning again" (p. 22). In other words, everyone lives happily ever after. The progression is from a stance of passivity on the part of the characters to one of active and effective engagement.

When the stories were classified according to these four levels, a significant age trend was noted, with the older children found most likely to tell the higher-level stories. However, on occasion, even some of the five-year-olds told fourth level stories. No sex differences were noted across the various levels, other than "a difference in style of solution" (p. 24). Boys tended to overcome their villains, while girls scored victory by means of an alliance.

The second plot analysis technique was developed by Botvin and based on the work of Vladimir Propp (1958). Propp proposed that folkstories consist of a limited number of fundamental elements of action that always appear in the same order. Botvin modified Propp's analysis in order to render it appropriate for stories created by children, organized the elements according to whether they occurred at the beginning of the story (introduction, preparation, complication), in the middle (development), or at the end (resolution), and described a "seven-step structural

system" (p. 25) in which the plot elements are combined in patterns of ever-increasing complexity.

To summarize briefly, the first step of this system is characterized by "productions which are fragmented into discrete elements with no underlying organization or integration" (Botvin & Sutton-Smith, 1977, p. 386). At step two the discrete elements are organized around a conflict, and result in "the appearance of the primary dyads of villainy and lack" (Sutton-Smith, 1981, p. 25. At this stage, only one such dyad would be present in any single story. The next three steps are characterized by the conjunction and co-ordination of these simple structures; the number of dyads is increased, and secondary elements are introduced. At step six, subplots appear. Finally, at step seven, multiple subplots are found; the plot elements are organized "into superordinate and subordinate sequences" (Botvin & Sutton-Smith, 1977, p. 386).

The stories of the five- to ten-year-olds were scored according to their length, the number of "plot units" found in each (i.e., represented by such general terms as threat, chase, attack, escape, release, and defeat), and according to how the plot units were organized. Results indicated "that both the total number of words and the total number of plot units in a narrative are highly related to age" (Botvin & Sutton-Smith, 1977, p. 382). However, increased

length was found to be "primarily a by-product of increased structural complexity" (p. 384) rather than attributable solely to age gains. No sex differences were found on any of these measures. The analysis confirmed the proposed order of the acquisition of structural complexity, and the authors suggest that this order might well be invariant. However, the authors caution that differences in the rate at which children acquire more complex narrative structures are to be expected.

As Sutton-Smith (1981) points out, the application of the Botvin model revealed "only two qualitatively novel steps" (p. 27) in the growth of narrative structural complexity. The first, which occurs at step two, is the structuring of the story in terms of a 'dyad'. The second, at step six, is the inclusion of subplots. Each of the other intervening steps can be regarded as reflecting quantitative differences in that they are extensions and enlargements of the dyadic and subplot embedding components. Sutton-Smith interprets this finding as evidence that many of the simple measures of complexity that are frequently used to evaluate children's stories (for example, number of words, number of characters, number of incidents) do not covary with, or adequately indicate, structural complexity. Iwamura (1980) reached a similar conclusion with regard to the verbal routines invented and employed by the preschoolers she studied; on many

occasions, a short routine could be shown to be significantly more complex than an extended one.

For the five- to eight-year olds, "complexity is at first repetition" (Sutton-Smith, et al., 1975, p. 93). Their stories in this collection are marked by the tendency to repeat "the dyadic units of attack and defense, or chase and escape" (Sutton-Smith, 1981, p. 25). The following example, part of a story by a five-year-old boy, illustrates this point:

One day Matthew came over to my house....I knocked him down. My mother said, "What happening 'round here?" Then I knocked him down on the bed. He kept fighting me. She gave him a whipping. Then both of us have something to eat. He throws food on my face. She spansk him again....I go over to his house and his mother gave him a whipping. Three whippings. I came home. (p. 126)

The repetition, with variation, of basic patterns appears to be a fundamental discourse strategy exploited by young children (Garvey, 1977; Iwamura, 1980; Kuczaj, 1983; Schieffelin, 1983; Weir, 1962). Among other things, it serves, as Keenan (1977) has demonstrated, the function of effectively "making it last". In children's stories, as in their sound play routines, the patterns may be repeated, but with each repetition details are changed. In the above story, for example, although the plot consists of little more than the main character repeatedly suffering "whippings" at the hands of enraged mothers, the first

whipping is for fighting, the second for inelegant table manners, and the third presumably for good measure.

The Maranda technique and the Botvin scheme were found to be appropriate and informative measures for the stories produced by their older subjects. However, as Sutton-Smith (1981) reports, plot analysis did not prove "to be the most useful way to approach the stories of <the> youngest children" (p. 6) in their sample. Application of the Botvin model made it obvious that "the very youngest children told stories that were mainly beginnings and endings" (p. 3); their stories were found to lack a middle or development section and to display very little sense of plot at all. The following example neatly illustrates this point:

Once upon a time there lived a horse and
that's the end. (Alice, aged two, p. 51)

Even the youngest subjects usually employed the past tense, however, and their stories usually featured impersonal characters who experienced some sort of disequilibrating event. In contrast to what is expected of "proper stories" (p. 7), though, equilibration was rarely re-established. The following example is fairly typical in this respect:

I saw a worm jumped over the fence
and a fly got on the worm
and the dirt got in the worm's mouth
and the worm went "ow" <demonstrates>

that's the end
(Alice, aged two, p. 49)

Although equilibrium may not have been restored, the story does demonstrate a sense of closure, in that the worm's reaction is the logical response to such an experience. Sutton-Smith concluded that the stories of the youngest subjects were more profitably viewed as examples of verse, as 'poems', rather than as efforts at plot-making. It is perhaps worth noting that although Sutton-Smith and his colleagues did not do so, most of the stories collected from the two- to four-year olds can be satisfactorily described by Applebee's (1978) first two categories, as either heaps or sequences. Sutton-Smith suggested that the stories are structured according to a theme-and-variation pattern and that prosodic effects play a dominant organizational role. In addition, he noted that the stories "are told as lines, not as continuing sentences" (p. 13), that their telling is characterized by "a strong, and regular beat in the manner of most nursery rhymes" (p. 13), and that they contain multiple instances of alliteration, assonance, consonance, and attempts at rhyme. Weir (1962), Garvey (1977) and Heath (1982) have all reported the presence of these elements in the 'narratives' and language play of very young children.

The stories of the older children did not, in general, have the verse-like qualities of those of the younger ones; Sutton-Smith reports, however, that "the desire to versify was present constantly" (p. 19) and that it was not uncommon for a number of the six- and seven-year olds to "burst into verse in the midst of their stories" (p. 19). One of the implications of these findings for the current study lies in Sutton-Smith's recognition that the stories, at least of the younger subjects, are best understood and appreciated when they are taken on their own terms, and not solely in contrast to an external, adult standard of 'well-formedness'.

Analysis of the contents of the stories in this collection revealed that most dealt with conflict, or potential conflict, of one sort or another, "with some lack that must be removed or some threat that must be nullified" (Sutton-Smith, et al., 1975, p. 86). Sex differences were apparent in choice of theme: boys were found to have told significantly more tales of villainy and contest, while the girls told more tales of deprivation. One of the most general themes, for both boys and girls, however, "was of creatures separated from their loved ones, who after various peregrinations find them again or find substitutes for them" (p. 93). The favoured characters of the three to eight year olds were wild and domestic animals and monsters, while older children "more often told tales that

were human dramas, about romance and science fiction" (Sutton-Smith, 1981, p. 27). Television content was found regularly in the boys' stories, and rarely in stories told by girls. Sutton-Smith and Abrams (1978) examined the stories for psychosexual elements and found that as the children got older their stories became more explicit and contained more references to sex organs and sexual processes. This was particularly true of the boys.

The appearance and development of a particular character-type, the 'trickster', was examined in a separate study by Abrams and Sutton-Smith (1977). Fifty-six children between the ages of five and eleven were individually asked to make up a story which the researcher then recorded in longhand. If "a stereotyped or real-life chronicle was given, the child would be asked again to make up a story of his own" (p. 31). Many of these stories have been included in The Folkstories of Children.

The subjects were also asked to name their three favourite television programs. Bugs Bunny proved the favourite of the younger subjects. A representative sample of Bugs Bunny cartoons were recorded and they, along with the children's stories, were scored according to the Maranda category system, and by means of a 'Trickster Inventory' developed for the study. The inventory listed the various characteristics of tricksters found in the folklore literature and categorized them. Scoring of the

cartoons and stories consisted of examining them for the presence or absence of the characteristics noted.

The majority of the Bugs Bunny cartoons were classed as Maranda Level Three type tales. The five- to seven-year olds, who had named Bugs Bunny as their favourite show, were found to tell stories that were predominantly of Levels Zero, One and Two by the Maranda criteria. In other words, they were found to enjoy watching programs with plots that were developmentally beyond what they could generate in their own narratives.

By combining the results of the Maranda scoring and the Trickster Inventory, Abrams and Sutton-Smith identified four stages in the development of the 'trickster tale'. At five, the children produced a "Maranda level one tale type that could be called the stage of physical clumsiness" (p. 38). These are "stories of pure ineptness" (p. 39) in which the characters appear incapable of doing anything properly. Six-to-seven year olds favoured a "slightly more advanced slapstick clown story" (p. 39) which Abrams and Sutton-Smith labelled the stage of moronic self-defeat. Although still clumsy and inept, "the main character now attempts to do something about his situation. But everything he tries falls." (p. 39). Between the ages of seven and eight stories appear in which the protagonist begins to make use of trickery, but "there is still ultimate failure" (p. 39). Stories at this stage, the

stage of the unsuccessful trickster, are scored as Maranda Level Two. The final stage, the stage of the successful trickster, seems to occur between nine and eleven years of age. In these stories the 'trickster' is able to defeat the villain "by humiliating him with pretense and clever trickery" (p. 42).

Abrams and Sutton-Smith interpret the progressive appearance of the different types of trickster tales as reflecting the child's concerns with the struggle to master developmental tasks. They suggest that the tales of the younger children reveal their concern with self-management; that those of the seven-to-nine year olds focus on the struggle for autonomy from parental control; and that the tales of the oldest reflect issues of peer-group relations. Cognitively, they reflect the movement from gullibility to logical trickery. In terms of sexual development, the tales of the youngest deal with "lack of bodily control" (p. 43), while those the older subjects reveal "anxiety over adequacy of sexual features...and concern over adequacy in sexual intercourse and fertility" (p. 43). The creation of the trickster tale, it is argued, is one means by which the child can explore and come to terms with the concerns of growing up. Abrams and Sutton-Smith suggest that the nonsense humour of the tales, and "the creation of ribald, regressive trickster figures give the child a more flexible grasp on what is and what is not possible"

(p. 45), and thus contributes to the process of socialization.

As is obvious from the studies reviewed, researchers interested in children's narrative competence have developed a variety of different measures with which to assess it. Kemper (1984) attempted to directly compare four of the analytical models designed to describe story structure by applying each to "a set of 40 stories selected from the Sutton-Smith (1981) corpus" (p. 103). The four models selected for comparison were: a) Applebee's (1978) six-stage scheme patterned after Vygotsky's concept development model; b) the Maranda scheme, as developed by Sutton-Smith and his colleagues (1981); c) Botvin and Sutton-Smith's seven-level system of hierarchically organized plot units; and, d) the seven-level story grammar model developed by Stein and Glenn (1977). As the last is the only one not yet discussed in this review, it will be briefly outlined.

Stein and Glenn proposed a story grammar composed of six requisite categories: setting, initiating event, internal response, attempts (i.e., overt actions directed towards goal attainment), consequence, and reaction. A story is considered well-formed if it contains all of the requisite categories arranged in the correct logical sequence (Baker & Stein, 1981). When applied to a set of stories elicited from elementary school students by means

of a story-completion task, the grammar helped identify a sequence of seven story types (Stein & Glenn, 1977). To summarize briefly, the most primitive stories consist of mere descriptive sequences. At the next level, events are ordered temporally, then, by level three, causally. Internal responses are added in level four stories, and level five stories contain all the requisite story components specified by the grammar. Stories at level six display greater complexity, and contain embedded sequences. Finally, the level seven stories involve the coordination of more than one perspective.

Kemper's (1984) comparison of the four different models yielded four main conclusions. First, all of the schemes indicated that "the development of story structure appears to be essentially complete by age 10" (p. 109). Secondly, the only scheme found to discriminate well among stories produced by two-to-four year olds was Applebee's. Thirdly, both the Botvin and Sutton-Smith system and the Stein and Glenn system were found able to effectively "capture the change in the structure of stories produced by children between 5 and 10" (p. 109). Finally, the Maranda level of children's stories was found not to be independent of plot structure. Kemper concludes that "the development of control over coordinate and embedded dyadic structures is concomitant with the development of successful responses and effective actions" (p. 109).

Kemper also investigated the development of causal structure, using as her data a selection of 74 stories drawn from both the Pitcher and Prelinger (1963) and the Sutton-Smith (1981) collections. Her analysis revealed that the stories of very young children "are tied together with weak enablement links" (p. 118). By four, children begin to link physical states or actions to mental states in their stories; by five, "motivation links between mental states and actions emerge" (p. 118). With increasing age, children are more likely to explicitly state the causes and consequences of the events reported and to specify motivational and causal connections. Consequently, "the stories become easier to understand as fewer inferences are required" (p. 119).

The investigations undertaken by Pitcher and Prelinger (1963), Ames (1966), Applebee (1978), Kemper (1984), and Sutton-Smith and his colleagues into the narrative productions of young children share a number of common theoretical and methodological characteristics. The subjects in all of the studies were from relatively 'privileged' backgrounds, and of above-average or superior intelligence. With the exception of the children interviewed by Applebee, all of the subjects were Americans living in the Eastern United States in urban environments. All of the stories were collected in school settings, and elicited from the children at the request of an adult

researcher. Almost all were recorded in longhand by the researcher in the presence of the teller. Only 'original', 'make-believe', fantasy narratives were included in the collections; those stories which did not fit this description apparently were not recorded. None of the investigations, with the exception of Sutton-Smith's treatment of the verse-stories of his youngest subjects, directed any particular attention to the performance aspects of the telling of the tales; the focus is firmly on the text, on the stories themselves, rather than on the way they were told. For the most part, analysis involved cross-sectional data, and concentrated upon the contents and the structure of the stories.

Each of these studies has contributed a great deal to our understanding of the stories children tell adults when asked to do so. They most effectively demonstrate that children, when requested, can tell stories, and that the ability to do so develops in a systematic and predictable fashion. However, they tell us little about the 'stories' children tell other children, or about narrative competence in naturally occurring conversational contexts. Studies of the 'spontaneously' produced narratives of children will therefore be examined in the following section.

B. Narrative Competence in Conversational Interaction

Conversational narratives require different analytical models than those developed for folktales, fairy tales, and fantasies. Before presenting the findings of researchers who have examined such narratives, the model that has had a major influence on much of the work in this area will be briefly outlined.

Labov and Waletzky (1967) developed "an analytical framework for the analysis of oral versions of personal experience in English" (p. 12) that has been successfully applied by a variety of different researchers working with subjects of markedly different ages in a broad range of situations (Chambers, 1984; Kemper, 1984; Kernan, 1977; Labov, 1972; Labov & Fanshel, 1977; Umiker-Sebeok, 1977). The model, as refined by Labov (1972), provides a 'clean' and flexible tool for the description and evaluation of narratives, and consequently, has achieved wide acceptance.

Narrative is defined 'formally' as "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred" (Labov, 1972, p. 360). Functionally, a fully-formed narrative may be expected to contain the following elements:

1. Abstract
2. Orientation

3. Complicating action
4. Evaluation
5. Result or resolution
6. Coda

The abstract, usually located at the beginning of the narrative, briefly summarizes the story and encapsulates its point. It serves "the structural function of marking what is to follow as a narrative" (Kernan, 1977, p. 93) and indicates "why it was told" (Labov, 1982, p. 370). The orientation section serves "to orient the listener in respect to person, place, time, and behavior situation" (Labov & Waletzky, 1967, p. 32). Although orientation information often appears at the beginning of the narrative, much is also "placed at strategic points" (Labov, 1972, p. 365) throughout. The complicating action consists of a series of events related in the sequence in which those events occurred. The result terminates the complicating action. The evaluation refers to "the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative" (Labov, 1972, p. 366). Evaluative devices are usually distributed throughout the narrative, as well as concentrated in the evaluation section. They are the devices that inform the listener that the narrative is worth reporting, that the events related were not "ordinary, plain, humdrum, everyday, or run-of-the mill"

(p. 371), but rather "terrifying, dangerous, weird, wild, crazy; or amusing, hilarious, wonderful...strange, uncommon, or unusual" (p. 371). Finally, the coda, found at the end, signals that the narrative is finished and serves to "bring the narrator and the listener back to the point at which they entered the narrative" (p. 365). In other words, it indicates that 'normal' turn-by-turn talk (suspended when one narrator holds the floor) may again be resumed (Garvey, 1984; Sacks, 1974).

The model describes the structure of an idealized, fully-developed narrative. At the other extreme is the "minimal narrative", defined 'formally' as "a sequence of two clauses which are temporally ordered" (Labov, 1972, p. 360). With respect to the functional categories just described, a minimal narrative would consist of a complicating event and a result. It would appear logical that the development of oral narrative competence would represent a shift from the production of minimal narratives to the production of more fully developed narratives that possess most or all of the six elements distinguished. As yet, this hypothesized shift remains to be adequately tested. The point, though, is that Labov and Waletzky have developed an analytic framework, and described a continuum of narrative performance, that greatly facilitates investigation in this area.

Labov and Waletzky tested this model on data drawn from six hundred interviews with subjects who ranged in age from ten to seventy-two. Labov (1972) later employed it to examine the narratives obtained during interviews with preadolescents, adolescents, and adults in Harlem. Of relevance to children's narrative competence is their observation that orientation sections are frequently not included by children, and that the exploitation of evaluative devices increases with age. The adolescents studied were found to make much richer and more frequent use of a greater variety of evaluative devices than did the preadolescents. Consequently their narratives were qualitatively superior and more readily comprehended. Labov concludes that although "it is clear that every child is in possession of the basic narrative syntax" (p. 393), fully-developed narrative competence is rarely achieved until adolescence and adulthood.

Although "mastery" may well require maturity, children begin to express and explain themselves in narrative language seemingly as soon as they are able to talk. Keenan (1983), Heath (1982), Volterra (1984), Weir (1962), and Kuczaj and McClain (1984) have all presented evidence of the spontaneous narrative efforts of very young children.

Keenan (1983) unobtrusively made audio and video tape recordings of the early morning conversations of her

two-year-old twin boys over a period of a year. She was interested in the development of communication skills in young children, particularly in child-child interaction and the ways in which children co-operate in talk. Her analysis of the twins' "bedroom dialogues" revealed six distinct categories of talk, with narratives being one of them. Their narratives consisted of "a sequence of two or more events which the child imagines takes place" (p. 11). Although uttered in the presence of the other twin, the narratives were found "to be addressed to some imaginary interlocutor or to some audience, which may include the co-present child but not him exclusively" (p. 4). They were delivered in a louder voice than immediately preceding utterances, and the speaker did not appear to expect a response. Even though very brief, the narratives were frequently interrupted by the listener who appeared to interpret the switch into narrative discourse as a signal that the speaker had "withdrawn from the dialogue" (p. 15). Keenan suggests that the interruptions were deliberate attempts to bring the other child back into conversational play.

Volterra (1984) audio-recorded the conversations and verbal interactions of a two-year-old boy with his parents and with the research observers in his own home. Her main objective "was to collect the child's spontaneous language in the most natural situation possible" (p. 223); two-hour

sessions were recorded every two weeks for almost two years. During part of that period, the boy's mother was expecting a second child. When reviewing the data, Volterra found that she unwittingly had recorded a series of verbal "fantasies that his mother's pregnancy had prompted" (p. 220). Many of the examples provided in Volterra's report of her study are rudimentary narratives detailing the exploits of an imaginary and not very well behaved baby. The interacting adults contribute to the telling by asking the child questions that encourage him to expand on the information provided. Volterra discusses the fantasies in terms of psychoanalytic theory; she considers them convincing evidence that children as young as two are capable of expressing their fantasies linguistically. Be that as it may, the examples do demonstrate that very young children are capable of creating simple narratives and interjecting them into conversation with adults.

Kuczaj and McClain (1984) analyzed fifty-eight fantasy narratives produced by a single boy that had been recorded during weekly taping sessions in the boy's own home over a two-and-a-half year period. The child was two when taping began, and five when it ceased. The data were examined in order to determine the temporal framework within which the stories occurred, the manner in which the characters interacted with one another (or failed to do so), and "the extent to which listeners contributed to the child's

stories" (p. 127) by asking questions, requesting additional information or prodding him to continue. Consistent with previous research findings, the boy showed himself far more likely to cast his narratives in the past tense than in a present or a future one, although the use of all tenses occurred and tense switching was not unusual. Categorization of the stories according to the interactions of the characters revealed that the boy most frequently produced fantasy narratives "in which the main character and the peripheral characters interacted with one another" (p. 142) but that he was next most likely to produce "fantasy narratives in which there was no consistent character or theme" (p. 142). While the narratives did tend to become "more advanced and more complex as he grew older" (p. 143), Kuczaj and McClain emphasize that the correlation between age and story sophistication is not perfect in this case, as "some of his early stories were as complex as his later ones" (p. 143).

Fantasy characters appeared most often, but familiar people (including the child himself) engaging in fantasy behaviours also frequently figured in his stories. Two-thirds of the narratives were initiated by the child; the remainder were prompted by "another present person" (p. 144). The listeners contributed to the child's stories by asking questions; Kuczaj and McClain suggest that these queries may have alerted the boy to the types of content

that his listeners required and expected, and that he was omitting. They note that in subsequent tellings, much of this information was spontaneously included "in the absence of direct requests for it by listeners" (p. 144).

Examination of the examples quoted in this study illustrates quite dramatically the contribution that an interested and supportive adult can make to a child's early efforts at creating and sharing his stories.

All three of these studies have been based on narratives produced in home settings. In contrast, Umiker-Sebeok (1979) conducted her investigation in a school context. She analyzed the conversational narratives spontaneously produced by 62 pre-schoolers between the ages of three and five during verbal interactions in their classrooms. The subjects were white Americans from middle-class backgrounds. Over a five-and-a-half month period, conversations between children, and between children and their teachers, were recorded in shorthand by the researcher. Umiker-Sebeok defines 'narrative' in a broad sense; as well as stories, tales, and jokes, she includes "any verbal description of one or more past events" (p. 92) if that description informs the listener that 'something happened'. Personal anecdotes as well as original fantasies therefore were examined.

Over a third of the recorded conversations were found to contain at least one narrative, with the older subjects

producing them more frequently than the younger ones. Most commonly, the narratives described the personal experiences of the narrator although vicariously experienced incidents were reported as well. Only a few fictional accounts were obtained. In accordance with previous findings, Umiker-Sebeok notes a "striking increase" with age in the choice of more remote narrative topics.

The Labov and Waletzky (1967) model (modified slightly to accommodate "the unsolicited, intraconversational context in which the narratives occurred, and their relatively primitive character" (Umiker-Sebeok, 1977, p. 94)) was used to analyze narrative structure. The children were found not to rely on the stylized introductions common among older children and adults, but to preface their narratives with 'you-know-what questions', requests to speak, 'information available' utterances (i.e., "I know what happened!") and interjections such as "Guess what?".

Almost sixty percent of the narratives contained at least one introduction, and the variety of types of introductions increased with age.

Abstracts were found in seventeen percent of the narratives, and they fell into two categories depending upon whether the narrative was addressed to an adult or to another child. When directed to an adult, the abstract "was intended to seek the adult's attention to the narrative to follow" (p. 96). When addressed to a child

the abstract detailed "the significance of the outcome for the subsequent action of the listener" (p. 97); in other words, it explained why that child was now expected to do whatever it was that had been proposed.

Contrary to Labov and Waletzky's observation that children were prone to omit orientation information from their narratives, Umiker-Sebeok found that, overall, almost eighty percent of the preschool narratives contained at least one orientation element. In fact, orientation information was found in one hundred percent of the narratives produced by the five-year-olds. Three-year-olds tended to provide their listeners only with information about where the narrative occurred and who was directly involved. By the age of five, however, narrators were found to routinely inform their listeners of the time, characters, behavioural situation, props, and setting, although not always including all of this information in each and every narrative.

Labov and Waletzky describe five verbal techniques of evaluation or ways that narrators express their reactions to the events recounted. Umiker-Sebeok found examples of three of these in the narratives of the preschoolers: direct statement, lexical intensifiers, and suspension of the action. Again, age trends were noted; the older children were found to employ a greater variety of evaluative devices and to include them more often. At

five, the most common evaluative technique proved to be mention of intensity, or quantity. Umiker-Sebeok offers the following example:

Once when my mother and father and me were outside talking. Well, you know what? My sister came out of the house 'n she was all covered with bandages. She didn't hurt herself but she had a whole box of bandages on her. (p. 99)

Results, not always readily distinguishable from abstracts in the preschoolers' narratives, were present approximately one fifth of the time. Similarly, codas were not easily differentiated from results. This proved a minor concern, however, as codas were rarely encountered.

The "number and sequencing of the narrative elements in the preschool narratives were not uniform" (p. 103), and considerable differences in complexity and composition were noted. Some of these differences are attributable not only to the narrator but to his audience as well. As Umiker-Sebeok points out, listeners can solicit specific information at various points during the telling, and listener inattentiveness can result in an evaluation being added "in which the storyteller tries to spark enthusiasm by revealing the relevance of the story to his listeners or to the interaction between them and himself" (p. 103). By the same token, if a narrator is aware that the listener knows relevant details of location and time, these need not

be specified (Kernan, 1977). Listener intervention can have a marked effect on the structure of the narrative that is produced, and therefore should be taken into account in any assessment of conversational narrative competence.

When compared with the narratives of the three- and four-year-olds, those of the five-year-olds were clearly more fully developed. Abstracts were far more likely to be included, as were orientations, evaluations, and results. More emphasis was placed on "influencing the listener's interpretation of events and providing conversational motivation for the story" (p. 108). So-called 'dangling narratives' became increasingly rare. As well, listeners played a more active role, seeking evaluations and results as well as orientations. Finally, the narratives appeared to have become more fully integrated into the conversational exchanges, to have become "an integral part of a longer chain of interpersonal exchanges of meanings" (p. 108)

Umiker-Sebeok's study is particularly informative because of the careful attention she pays to the linguistic context which surrounds conversational narratives and because she takes into account the impact and effects of listener reaction and response on the story being told. Her profiles of 'typical' three, four, and five-year-old narrators clearly and impressively outline the course of

the development of conversational narrative skills in young children.

Working with older subjects, Kernan (1977) examined 18 narratives of personal experience that had been produced by black American girls between the ages of 7 and 14. Most of the narratives were given in response to prompting questions put to them by familiar interviewers; however, the interviewers attempted to fit the eliciting questions into the ongoing verbal interaction. Like Umiker-Sebeok (1979), Kernan based his analysis on the Labov and Waletzky (1967) model, and viewed the construction of conversational narratives as an interactive event. Kernan was interested in discovering the means employed by the speakers to make their "narratives interesting to, and appreciated by, the audience" (p. 91).

The narratives of the younger children (7 and 8 year olds) were found to differ significantly from those of the older children. The younger children devoted "a smaller proportion of their narratives to background information necessary to the proper semantic interpretation of the narratives" (p. 102). In addition, they provided different types of information. Although they informed their listeners of relevant names, places and dates, they did "not elaborate character, motivation, and circumstance" (p. 102). Consequently, their narratives were more difficult to interpret and often seemed "to lack a point" (p. 102).

The younger children seemed to assume that the point of their narratives could be communicated to the listener simply by describing the events that had occurred. In contrast, the older children realized that, in order to ensure the appropriate interpretation and appreciation of the narrative by the listener, "contextual and extranarrative elaboration" (p. 102) was required, and therefore it was supplied.

Concern with the performance aspects of conversational narratives and the effects of an interacting audience is apparent in a study by Watson-Gegeo and Boggs (1977) of 150 narratives jointly produced by 26 part-Hawaiian children. Data were recorded on audio-tape over a ten month period on the grounds of the school attended by the five to seven year-old subjects. Their teacher was not present during these sessions. Although the researcher who gathered the data initially used the eliciting frame, "Tell us a story", the children "quickly learned how to work the recorder and took charge of the recording sessions" (p. 69). No attempt was made to control the content or style of the children's speech, or the order of turn-taking.

The stories, jointly produced, were found to be long and complex. Those recorded during the last half of the data collection period averaged 148 words, which, as the authors point out, "compares favourably with stories told by 5-year-olds of superior intelligence from professional

families in New Haven recorded by Ames" (p. 68). Over two-thirds of a sample of 30 of the stories, when scored by the Labov and Waletzky (1967) model, were found to contain initial orientation, later description, summarizing, and formal closings, while half contained interpretation. Many of the stories focused on sexual themes and concerned love, "lovemaking and its consequences: marriage, pregnancy, and childbirth" (p. 71). Told both to entertain and to tease, the story characters were most often the children themselves. Frequently, one child would tell a story, purportedly detailing the exploits and adventures of another child, who would 'retaliate' in kind as soon as the occasion permitted.

Watson-Gegeo and Boggs, interested in both the acquisition of rhetorical and performance skills, describe the telling of one story by a particularly talented child-narrator that took almost 40 minutes to complete:

...she built her audience by spontaneously weaving passersby into the story as characters; she paid attention to inputs from the audience and was sensitive to her effect on audience response; she dramatized the story by acting out the roles and behavior of characters both paralinguistically and physically. (p. 72)

One of the techniques used most frequently by the storytellers to heighten the dramatic impact of their narratives was the quotation of dialogue. As well as

lending "intimacy, immediacy, and realism" (p. 83) to the events described, the use of quotation affords the teller a certain measure of distancing from what is recounted. It is particularly useful if a narrator wishes to include insults, sexually suggestive, or provocative material in the story (Goffman, 1974). By quoting the words of a character, the teller avoids "direct claims of knowledge in certain cases" (Watson-Gegeo & Boggs, 1977, p. 82) and thereby "may also avoid contradiction or assault from the audience" (p. 83). When challenged, the narrator can always retort that the words are not his words, and that he therefore is not responsible for them. The use of quotation permits the introduction of content that might otherwise be excluded. It serves the same function of protecting the teller from what is told that projection of bad and forbidden behaviours onto imagined characters does in the fantasy narratives (Ames, 1966; Pitcher & Prelinger, 1963; Sutton-Smith, 1981).

As well as quoting the speech of others, the children added drama to their tellings by imitating the vocal characteristics of those they were quoting. The narrators in this study were found to "imitate dialect accents, alter their voices to indicate age, sex, and personality of a character, or distort their speech to insult a target child or group" (p. 83). Such techniques occurred in 60% of the

narratives collected; body movements were used for emphasis and illustration in 20% of them.

As well as responding to the narratives, the audience contributed to them. 'Conarration' was found to be the norm, and the narratives collected, (as is illustrated by the examples provided), were jointly produced in the give-and-take of the telling. Listeners were found to support the teller by adding information that confirmed the point being made, to offer encouragement and invitations to continue, to join in the telling, and to challenge interpretations. The narrators either accepted the contributions, or elaborated the narratives in anticipation of, or in response to, listener reaction. There seems little doubt that this inter-action contributed to the length and the complexity of the stories created.

Watson-Gegeo and Boggs compared the data they had recorded during free interaction on the school grounds with data recorded in a kindergarten classroom and with data recorded in home environments in order to determine the relative frequency of the occurrence of narratives in each of the various settings. A total of nine hours of tape was recorded in the kindergarten and the homes. These recordings were found to "contain only three narratives told by children under 8 years of age, all of them personal experiences told to other children" (p. 70). Some caution should be exercised in making too much of these differences

because different children, as well as different settings, were compared. However, the authors regard "the paucity of narratives" (p. 70) on the home and kindergarten tapes as "indicative of the children's actual experience with this form" (p. 70). On the basis of this, and "participant observation since 1966 by Boggs in a wide range of settings" (p. 70), the authors conclude that there is little "evidence that children tell stories to one another or to adult members of their families at this age" (70). They credit the particular circumstances of the recording sessions on the school grounds with sparking the rich story-telling sessions that emerged. In particular, they regard the presence of an interested but non-interfering adult, the tape-recorder, and a receptive audience as critical contributing factors. Perhaps of most importance was the fact that "control of performance in the group rested with the children, since this facilitated collaboration" (p. 88). Whatever the causes, Watson-Gegeo and Boggs have demonstrated that, under the right conditions, young children can collaborate in the production of long, complex, and highly entertaining narratives. Their study is unique in its focus on the performance aspects of the narrative competence of young children, and in their willingness to let their subjects define what will count as, and contribute to, that performance.

C. Narrative as Performance

Although a number of researchers working with folk narratives (Tedlock, 1972; Abrahams, 1977), and the conversational narratives of adults (Labov, 1972; Tannen, 1984) have stressed the need to focus on both the 'text' (the words spoken) and the way the text is delivered, the performance aspects of narration have not yet received the research attention they warrant. Despite Hymes' (1980) approving observation that "there is a current movement to go beyond collection and analysis of texts to observation and analysis of <the> performance" of those texts (p. 135), there is little evidence of this shift in focus in the studies of the narrative skills of children. The work of Kernan (1977) and Watson-Gegeo and Boggs (1977) stand as exceptions to this conclusion, as does McDowell's (1979) in-depth study of children's 'riddling', and several thoughtful investigations of the narrative aspects of children's sociodramatic play (Garvey & Berndt, 1977; Giffin, 1984; Nelson & Seidman, 1984). While acknowledging the exceptions, it is nevertheless fair to claim that researchers "have tended to study the tale at the expense of its teller, telling, and reception" (Babcock, 1977, p. 64). Such neglect is unfortunate, and not readily justified if conversational narratives are the focus of the study.

This point is forcefully underscored by the work of Erving Goffman (1966; 1967; 1974). Rather than occasions for information exchange, Goffman regards conversations as 'interaction rituals' and dramatic performances. In his essays, he repeatedly points to the parallels "between stage and conversation" (1974, p. 508), and suggests that "often what talkers undertake to do is not to provide information to a recipient but to present dramas to an audience" (p. 508). The sharing of an anecdote is consequently viewed as more than a mere reporting of events; rather, it is seen as a "replaying" of a personal experience in such a way that the listeners can "empathetically insert themselves" into, and vicariously reexperience, the events which took place (p. 504). This suggestion has implications for the understanding of the functions served by the telling of narratives from the perspectives of both speaker and listener. More obviously, it highlights the need for researchers to take account of listeners in their role as audience, and to recognize the impact of their presence on the form 'performed' (Bauman, 1977).

Performance implies a display of competence. Bauman concisely summarizes the point:

Fundamentally, performance as a mode of spoken verbal communication consists in the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative competence. This competence rests

on the knowledge and ability to speak in socially appropriate ways. (p. 11)

Performance thus also suggests "accountability to an audience for the way in which communication is carried out, above and beyond its referential content" (Bauman, 1977, p. 11). While this is certainly true of formal performances, it is also true, to a lesser degree, of the "spontaneous, unscheduled, optional performance contexts of everyday life" (p. 28). With respect to the telling of tales and anecdotes in conversations, the price for dominating the floor is exposure to the evaluative scrutiny of the audience.

Babcock (1977) stresses that the presentation of narrative data ought to "include the dynamics of performance as enacted, the immediate context of performance, and the larger socio-cultural context" (p. 65). In addition, she suggests that researchers need to attend to "the metacommunicative situating devices" (p. 66) which every performer uses to set up an interpretative frame within which the utterances communicated are to be understood - i.e., those devices used to mark the narrative as narrative, and the situation as a story-telling. She proposes the term 'metanarration' to refer "specifically to narrative performance and discourse and to those devices

which comment upon the narrator, the narrating, and the narrative" (p. 67).

While several studies of children's narrative competence have directed attention to these marking or metanarrative devices (Applebee, 1978; Leondar, 1977), only a few researchers have dealt directly with the socio-cultural context in which the narratives have been produced and attempted to assess the influence of that context on those narratives. The work of Watson-Gegeo and Boggs (1977), Labov (1972), and Heath (1983) is exemplary in this regard.

In the reports of her longitudinal ethnographic study of the ways children from two different communities learn to use language at home and at school, Heath (1982a, 1982b, 1983) has demonstrated the critical and pervasive role of the local culture and the community in defining such language events as storytelling. Although the communities are separated by only a few miles, 'story' and 'storytelling' mean quite different things to the members of each.

"Roadville" is a "white mill community of Appalachian origin" (Heath, 1982a, p. 49). Children in Roadville:

are not allowed to tell stories, unless an adult announces that something which happened to a child makes a good story and invites a retelling. When children are asked to retell such events, they are expected to tell non-fictional stories which "stick to the truth".

Adults listen carefully and correct children if their facts are not as the adult remembers them. In contrast, fictive stories which are exaggerations of real-life events, modeled on plots or characters children meet in story-books, are not accepted as stories, but as "lies", without "a piece of truth". (1983, p. 158)

"Trackton" is a "black mill community of recent rural origin" (1982a, p. 49). The stories told by Trackton children are highly exaggerated fictions; fact "is often hard to find, though it is usually the seed of the story" (1982a, p. 68). In order to be considered 'good', a story must be related to the on-going topic of conversation, reveal skillful language play, and invite the participation of the listeners. It is expected to include flights of fantasy, affective expressions, and the suspension of reality. In Trackton, far from being invited to tell stories, "children must be aggressive in inserting their stories into an ongoing stream of discourse" (1982a, p. 68); storytelling is a highly competitive venture, and only 'good' storytellers will be allowed to hold the floor for very long.

Not surprisingly, Trackton and Roadville children arrive at school bearing very different expectations for, and experiences of, 'stories'. Ironically, the concept of 'story' held by the school differs from that of both communities. Heath skillfully documents the experiences of both groups of children as they attempt to come to terms

with what is expected of them when faced with the school's request that they 'tell a story'. She also sketches the implications of their preschool encounters with these different senses of 'story' for their long-term academic achievement. Both groups of children are placed at a disadvantage by virtue of the fact that their concept of 'story' and their experience of literacy events does not match that assumed by their school. The point to be stressed is the necessity for researchers, and teachers, to recognize that terms such as 'story' and 'narrative' are culturally defined, as are the occasions of their telling.

D. The Role of the Adult in Fostering the Development of Narrative Competence

Cultural definitions are communicated to the child, at least initially, by the adults - parents and teachers - with whom she/he interacts. The response of the adult (and later, peer) listener has been recognized as a major factor in the development of narrative competence (Heath, 1983; McNamee, 1979; Sutton-Smith, 1981; Watson-Gegeo and Boggs, 1977). Sutton-Smith (1981) suggests

that the parents' willingness as a listener, when the child has urgent matters to report from his own inner world, may be a critical element in the development of the child as a ready story-teller. (p. 30)

Interest, a willingness to listen, and an attitude of acceptance rather than censoriousness on the part of the adult (Sutton-Smith, 1981; Watson-Gegeo & Boggs, 1977), all appear to contribute to the child's confidence, competence and eagerness to create and tell stories. By telling stories themselves, adults provide the child with models of how it is done (Abrahams 1977; Heath, 1983), and, as has been extensively documented, by reading stories to children, adults expose them to story conventions, stock-characters, settings and plots, and the rules ('grammars') by which they are combined (Bissex, 1980; Galda, 1984; Teale, 1984). As well, adults provide children with opportunities to practice their fledgling narrative skills; they may invite children to report on particular events (Heath, 1983), 'slot' an opening for a child's narrative in the on-going conversation, and actively assist in holding the floor for them (Michaels, 1981).

McNamee (1979) proposes "that the analysis of a child's development of narrative skills must begin with an analysis of what the child learns in story-telling interactions while receiving support and guidance from the adult listener" (p. 64). In an effort to "describe what learning in social interaction can look like" (p. 68), she examined a tape-recorded dialogue between a 5-year-old girl and her kindergarten teacher that focused on the child's

efforts to retell a story she had previously heard several times. When first requested to tell the story, the child refused and claimed she had forgotten it. The teacher offered encouragement in the form of cueing questions, "praise, and specific story material" (p. 67), until the child was gradually able to proceed confidently on her own. As McNamee points out, retelling stories is not something children learn to do by being formally taught. The instruction as to what constitutes an adequate account is received via the questions with which the adult responds to the child's efforts, questions such as: 'What happened?'; 'Then what did they do?'; 'Where did they go?'.

Teachers frequently use the period after the reading of a story as a time for their students to tell stories or anecdotes of their own. It is not at all unusual for a teacher to follow the reading of a particular story with a question such as: "Well, has anybody ever had anything like that happen to them?" This practice has been documented in a study by Cuff and Hustler (1981). They recorded a 'story-time' session in a classroom of 6 and 7-year-olds; after the reading, the teacher invited stories from the children that recounted their personal experiences of the story's theme. Analysis of the children's stories revealed how much they had been assisted in their telling by the contributions and questions of the teacher. Collaboratively developed, the stories can be viewed as

joint productions as the teacher not only provided the "invitation which specifies what the story should be about" (p. 131) but also additions and completions. In this manner the children were the recipients of a considerable amount of indirect instruction as to the type of information a personal anecdote should contain, and how its telling should be structured.

Both McNamee (1979) and Cuff and Hustler (1981) describe student-teacher interactions which serve to enhance or develop the child's understanding of narrative. Michaels (1981), on the other hand, has described how a teacher can unknowingly and unintentionally inhibit a child's narrative performance, and limit his or her opportunities for self-expression. Michaels examined the narrative accounts produced in over 50 'sharing sessions' she had recorded in a racially-mixed grade one classroom. In agreement with Heath's (1983) findings, Michaels reports that children from different backgrounds "come to school with different narrative strategies and prosodic conventions for giving narrative accounts" (p. 423). She describes two distinct styles, one 'topic-centered', and the other 'topic associating'. When the child's discourse style matched that of the teacher's (as it did with the white children in this study), the teacher was able to collaborate and assist the child to structure and extend his narratives. However, when the child's oral discourse

style was at variance with the teacher's own literate style and expectations, the interaction between teacher and child was "often asynchronous and marked by interruptions and misinterpretation of semantic intent" (p. 424). For one group of children the sharing sessions offered successful "oral preparation for literacy" (p. 423). For the other it proved a regular exercise in frustration that did little to "bridge the gap between the child's home-based oral discourse competence and the acquisition of literate discourse features required in written communication" (p. 423).

The pity of it is that both groups of children were well able to express themselves in narrative language; they merely employed different styles for doing so. Their teacher's failure to understand the nature of the difference made it impossible for her to assist many of her students. Despite the best of intentions, she may have harmed rather than helped. The implications of this study for teachers are obvious, although what is not so obvious is the solution. It is clear that a better understanding of the nature of stylistic differences in verbal performance is necessary, whether those differences arise from cultural or individual variation. Also sorely needed, as Heath (1983) and Michaels (1981) have indicated, is a careful examination of the consequences of such differences both in terms of differential access to school 'literacy

events', and in terms of interactional friction and frustration (Tannen, 1984).

There is evidence that adults play an important role in introducing children to verbal fantasy, and in demonstrating how fantasy elements can be incorporated into play situations to extend and enrich the playing. Experience with fantasy in pretend play contexts may well contribute to the ease with which children include the fantastic in their narratives. Kavanaugh, Whittington and Cerbone (1983) offer some support for this hypothesis. They examined mothers' use of fantasy in their speech to one and two-year-olds during play interactions. Both the mothers' nonliteral input to the children, and their response to the fantasy play of the children were analyzed.

The mothers were found to be instrumental in introducing the children to fantasy; they initiated fantasy episodes and were actively involved in "directing most of the fantasy play" (p. 54). Kavanaugh and his colleagues conclude that "the adult has a key role in directing the interactions away from the here-and-now and into the nonliteral dimensions of play" (p. 54). They note that the mothers' comments "made the theme of the child's play explicit" (p. 53) and "appeared to encourage the child to continue with or even elaborate on the fantasy theme" (53). The implications of their findings for the development of narrative competence rest with their observation that "the

mothers in this study modelled several key elements of a cohesive story in their play with the child" (p. 55) and by so doing presented them with "the opportunity to learn about the important function of narrative construction" (p. 54). Specifically, the mothers informed their children "how an episode can begin and end" (p. 55), how "imaginary objects can be part of a story line" (p. 55), and "how fantasy can be used to construct episodes and themes" (p. 55).

Galda (1984) reached a similar conclusion when she pointed out that, by providing a 'narrative thread' for early disconnected play actions, adults guide or scaffold children into a narrative mode. She credited this adult guidance and the literary input derived from the stories read and told to the children as "clearly two sources of stimulation for the child's developing narrative competence" (p. 107).

E. Child-Child Interactions and Narrative Competence

Narrative skills develop in, and as a result of, social interaction. Most of the investigations into the origins and development of narrative competence have been restricted to adult-child interactions; child-child interactions involving narrative language have received

very little attention. This is unfortunate as researchers concerned with other aspects of language development have noted that adult-child and child-child interactions differ on a variety of dimensions (Camaioni, 1979; Garvey, 1984).

Keenan (1983) and Iwamura (1980) both focused on child-child interactions. Keenan recorded the conversations of her twins when they were alone together in their bedroom, and Iwamura recorded the conversations of two pre-schoolers as they were driven to and from their daycare centre. Although narrative language was of only incidental concern to Keenan and not examined at all by Iwamura both studies offer insights into the nature of the verbal collaborations of young children. Keenan (1983) stresses "the highly social nature" (p. 15) of the twins' dialogues and illustrates how they engage in the "co-operative enterprise" (p. 20) of co-ordinating their utterances to produce extended sound play sequences. Iwamura (1980) describes the verbal play routines and games her young subjects collaboratively invented and developed. One, the 'Hiding Game', was a routine "which had a characteristic structure identified by a set of topics and related actions which were based on an underlying narrative" (p. 165). With each playing the girls incorporated various "expansions and innovations into the basic structure of the Hiding Game" ((p. 165), and the playing itself gradually became "ritualized" (p. 166).

Iwamura notes that because of this ritualization and the shared expectations that resulted from it

each girl was able to use the language of the game expressively for amusement, to exercise control over the other and the direction of the conversation, and to indicate the closeness of their relationship. (p. 166)

Both of these studies demonstrate that even very young children are capable of spontaneously collaborating in the production of expressive language 'routines'.

Umiker-Sebeok (1979) recorded the narratives children directed at other children as well as at their teacher, but she did not specifically differentiate between them in her analysis. The study by Watson-Gegeo and Boggs (1977) which reported on the narratives jointly produced by a group of children in the presence of (but not directed by) an adult is one of a very few to focus specifically on the effects of such collaboration on the form of the narratives produced, and on the manner of their 'delivery'.

Dorval and Eckerman (1984) examined the "quality of conversation" generated by small groups of acquainted peers from grades 2, 5, 9 and 12, and by a group of young adults. The groups met with a nondirective adult leader and were free to discuss whatever they wished. The measure of 'quality' involved judgments of topic-relatedness. Of relevance to this study are their findings that

"storytelling turns are particularly frequent in the conversation of second, fifth, and ninth graders" (p. 35) and that "storytelling formats are important elements of the organization of conversation across a considerable age span" (p. 35).

Robertson (1976) also found that narrative language was extensively used by 14 grade eleven students during discussions in their Science, Social Studies and English classes, and he concludes that "the narrative plays a critical role in learning" (p. iv). He suggests that the students "used narrative to indicate their search for relevance and for security" (p. iv), the security presumably resulting from the familiarity of the narrative mode.

Although children's use of narrative language in their interactions with other children has received very little research attention there are several conclusions that can be reached. In the first place it appears that children of all ages do employ narrative language in their conversations with each other. In fact, Garvey (1984) has reported that even when alone "children recount to themselves events of the past day, little narratives of what happened or what might have happened" (p. 211). There is some evidence that narrative language plays an important (if not yet fully understood) role in helping the child interpret new happenings in terms of past experiences. As

well, children have been shown capable of collaborating in the production of verbal routines, narratively-based games, and extended verbal fantasy-narratives. It is fair to conclude that additional research is warranted in this area.

F. Pretend Play and Narrative Competence

A number of studies of the pretend or socio-dramatic play of children have produced findings relevant to the questions addressed in this study. What follows is a brief summary of the key issues.

Wolf, Rygh and Altshuler (1984) claim that "virtually all normal children use toys to create and dramatize events" (p. 198) and that they often organize this play by means of narrative. During the playing, children will frequently "assume the stance of a narrator who comments on or explains the actions of the individual figures" (p. 199). By the age of four, the subjects studied by Wolf and his co-workers were found "able to attribute sensations, perceptions, emotions, obligations, and cognitions" (p. 208) to the toy replicas they played with. These attributions are listed in the order of their appearance; only the older subjects commented on the toys' 'thoughts'. In an interesting parallel with the findings of Ames

(1966), boys were found more likely than girls to "emphasize descriptions of how characters act" (p. 210); girls tended instead "to describe internal states frequently and explicitly" (p. 210) and to comment on their social relations. Sex differences were noted also in "the patterns of affiliation with the characters they create" (p. 212). Girls were found "more likely to adopt the intimate, conversational strategy, whereas boys are more likely to speak about their characters from the vantage point of an observing narrator" (p. 212).

Successful and elaborated socio-dramatic play appears to be 'scripted', or based on an underlying event 'schema', action-format, or narrative that is familiar to, and shared by, the participants (Corsaro, 1983; Garvey & Berndt, 1977; Nelson & Seidman, 1984; Sachs, Goldman & Chaille, 1984; Tough, 1977; Wolf, 1984). These 'scripts' or play schemas have been defined as "an abstract plan or representation of an event sequence....sufficiently abstract to subsume variant and specific guides to performances" (Garvey & Berndt, 1977, p. 8); once formed, they are productive in the sense that the script will generate "specific action formats that control the performances" (p. 8). Playing doctor is an example of such a schema; the setting, props, characters, role behaviours, and probable plot (i.e., treat/heal) all come out of, or are generated by, the doctor theme or script.

Corsaro (1983) stresses "the importance of shared knowledge of a basic script for the production of concerted activity" (p. 6). This point is echoed by Nelson and Seidman (1984) who note that in order to co-ordinate their pretending, all players seem to require "a representation of some event drawn from experience, each similar enough to the other's that they can communicate about the world and maintain a coherent scenario within it" (p. 46). Sachs, Goldman and Chaille (1984) have demonstrated how the absence of such shared knowledge, and the lack of "an overall narrative line relating actions to a 'plot'" (p. 126) can hamper the development of play sessions and often results in the players breaking off the playing entirely.

A shared script "can flawlessly direct pretense play and its accompanying dialogue" (Nelson & Seidman, 1984, p. 55). However, the scripts suggest more than they control the direction of the playing; older children use shared background knowledge of how things are to "coconstruct transformations of it" (p. 70). Rather than simply 'playing it straight', older children introduce and superimpose elements of the fantastic and the bizarre.

One of the most popular themes or scripts enacted by the children observed by Garvey and Berndt (1977) was that of "averting threat", often from monsters. This play schema involved three temporally sequenced components: a) identification of threat, victims, and possible defenders,

b) defense, and c) outcome. Garvey and Berndt draw an interesting parallel between this averting threat schema and the plots of the children's stories that were analyzed by Sutton-Smith, Botvin and Mahoney (1976). They note that, according to the Maranda scheme criteria, the complexity level of the play is more advanced at an earlier age than that of the stories. In the pretend situation, even the 4- and 5-year olds mounted active counter-attacks, brought in reinforcements and successfully nullified the threat. In the children's fantasy narratives such an active stance and successful outcome was found far more characteristic of the plots of the older children's stories (7-10 year olds) than those of the younger ones (5-6 year olds).

Garvey and Berndt tentatively interpret this discrepancy as a reflection of the fact that narration "imposes increased demands on the representation and production of action plans" (p. 13), and that narration (at least under the conditions imposed by the researchers who requested the stories from the children) is achieved independently without benefit of "the communicative support and social cooperation" (p. 13) that marks group pretend enactments. Because of these factors, the plots of the stories children tell appear not to be as complex as the plots they can enact.

Also of relevance are Garvey and Berndt's findings regarding developmental changes with respect to role playing. The roles of the younger subjects were invariably self-referenced; those of the older ones included "roles they could not have experienced as participants in real life" (p. 18). In addition, the older subjects elaborated the role identities, engaged in far more diverse activities, and were able to integrate these activities into the role enactment.

These studies point to the parallels and relationships between sociodramatic play and narrative development. In the "most advanced pretend play, children...have an overall narrative structure in mind and integrate each action into that structure" (Sachs, et al., 1984, p. 127). The content of pretend enactments and the content of the stories children create share much in common. It seems appropriate to suggest that pretend play probably contributes in many ways to budding narrative competence. As Sutton-Smith (1981) notes, "it would not be surprising if when first asked to tell their own stories, children borrowed from dramas that they have acted out in sociodramatic play" (p. 31).

Several researchers have investigated the effects that dramatizing a story has upon the comprehension and later recall of that story (Galda, 1982; Pellegrini, 1982; 1985; Pellegrina & Galda, 1982; Saltz, Dixon & Johnson, 1977).

In general, findings indicate that dramatizing a story has a greater impact on comprehension than either discussing or illustrating it, particularly for children in kindergarten and grade one. The critical variable appears to be the

amount of verbal social interaction required. Players had to discuss and agree upon things such as play roles and props and story setting. Through this interchange with their peers, they became aware of aspects of the story which they individually might not have noticed.
(Galda, 1982, p. 53)

The discussions mentioned, however, did not permit the same degree of peer input as they "were teacher-directed, as are most discussions in elementary school" (p. 54).

Qualitative differences were noted in the story retellings of those who had engaged in the dramatizations. As well as recalling more story incidents in correct sequence, the 'dramatists' "used a more dramatic tone, included more details, and recreated the conversations between characters" (p. 54). Interestingly, those children who had assumed "roles requiring more active involvement had better total recall and sequential recall scores" (Pellegrini & Galda, 1982, p. 450) than those with minor parts.

As well as providing considerable support for the merits of including story dramatizations in the school curriculum, these findings hint at the value of retellings themselves. They point out the demands, (in terms of

recall, sequencing, and presentation skills), that the task of retelling a known story places on the teller. When a child spontaneously offers to retell a story, and successfully does so, it should be recognized as a not inconsiderable achievement.

G. Individual Differences in Narrative Competence

Almost nothing is known about individual differences in narrative competence beyond the general observation that some people are better storytellers than others. As is apparent from this review, sex differences have received some research attention (Ames, 1966; Pitcher & Prelinger, 1966; Sutton-Smith, 1981; Wolf, Rygh, & Altshuler, 1984), and cultural differences in story definition and performance expectations are beginning to be examined (Heath, 1983; Hymes, 1980; Tannen, 1984; Watson-Gegeo, 1981). However, "individual differences in story aptitude and preferences have been almost entirely neglected" (Gardner, 1980, p. 107). We do know that children differ in their willingness to respond to the request that they tell a story (Sutton-Smith, 1981), and there is some evidence that children achieve structural complexity in their stories at differing rates (Botvin & Sutton-Smith, 1977; Kuczaj & McClain, 1984). Michaels (1981) has

demonstrated that different children display different presentational styles when recounting personal anecdotes in school settings, and Tannen (1984) has shown that adults display equally marked stylistic variation when presenting conversational narratives under informal, social circumstances.

There are indications from the literature on children's play that individual differences may well prove a profitable area for future research. Wolf (1984) points out that children "have a repertoire of play modes at their disposal" (p. 181) and as a consequence of this "option for choice" they exhibit individual styles of play. He goes on to note that "there is evidence for considerable variation in the way that individual players engage in the same type of play" (p. 181). Applying this to children's narrative competence, it would appear worth investigating whether children also have a repertoire of narrative 'modes' and whether they prefer to produce and perform some more than others. Similarly, it would be worth examining their productions for evidence of individual variation in narrative style.

H) Summary of Findings on Narrative Form

Review of the literature on the development of narrative competence clearly demonstrates that the majority

of research attention has been directed to a single narrative type: the original fantasy. All of the studies reported in this review which took as their data stories elicited from their subjects restricted their investigations to this one particular narrative form. Although Volterra (1984), Kuczaj and McClain (1984) and Watson-Gegeo and Boggs (1977) examined children's narratives that had been produced during naturally occurring conversational interactions they too chose to focus on 'made-up make-believe stories'.

Children's personal anecdotes have received considerably less research attention. Kernan (1977) and Labov (1972) studied anecdotes elicited from adolescents in conversational contexts, and Heath (1982), Michaels (1981) and Umiker-Sebeok (1979) examined the anecdotes produced by young children during instructional and informal interactions.

These investigations have established that "narrative competence advances in a predictable fashion" (Leondar, 1977, p. 190), that even very young children can produce 'stories' when requested to do so, and that children include narrative accounts of their personal experience in their conversations with adults and with peers. Cultural and social factors have been found to exert considerable influence on the types of narrative language likely to be employed and on the narrator's style of presentation

(Abrahams, 1977; Heath, 1982; Michaels, 1981; Tannen, 1984).

I) The Functions Served By Narratives; Summary of Findings

Narratives serve to inform; children "relate much of what has happened to them through the informal means of storytelling" (Gardner, 1980, p. 102). There is evidence that narrative language plays an important role in helping children interpret new happenings in terms of past experiences (Bruner, 1985; Gardner, 1980). Robertson (1976) found that the adolescents he studied used narratives to render abstract material concrete; abstract concepts were interpreted in terms of their own past experiences and by that means were made personally relevant and easier to understand.

Narratives serve to entertain and to amuse (Heath, 1982; Kemper, 1984; Sutton-Smith, 1981). As Watson-Gegeo and Boggs (1977) have shown, they can also be used for teasing and for playful retaliation. Personal anecdotes are frequently exploited for purposes of self-aggrandizement (Kernan, 1977; Labov, 1972).

Pitcher and Prelinger (1963), Ames (1966), Volterra (1984) and Abrams and Sutton-Smith (1977) all have

suggested that fantasy narratives are one means by which children can explore and come to terms with the concerns of growing up. In their fantasies children can confront and consider issues and behaviours that might be threatening, unpleasant, forbidden, or unlikely to occur in reality (Watson-Gegeo and Boggs, 1977). Although few studies have taken as their focus the functions served by narrative language, review of the literature makes it clear that children exploit narratives for a variety of different purposes.

J) Developmental Changes in Narrative Competence;
Summary of Findings

Narrative competence has been shown to develop in a predictable and orderly fashion (Bruner, 1985; Leondar, 1977). As children get older their stories get longer (Ames, 1966), feature a greater number and variety of characters, and incorporate a wider range of settings and events. Initially children's stories predominantly reflect their own experience, the familiar, and the realistic (Kemper, 1984); as they get older the imaginary and the fantastic are increasingly likely to be included. At first, only external events and actions are reported; gradually the perceptions, emotions and thoughts of the

characters are also described (Wolf, Rygh, & Altshuler, 1984). As they mature, children include more material of a sexually explicit nature (Abrams & Sutton-Smith, 1977).

The stories created by young children frequently place heavy inferential demands on the listeners; those of older children are more likely to explicitly state the causes and consequences of the events reported and specify motivational and causal connections (Kemper, 1984). Older narrators have been found more prone than younger narrators to include contextual and background information anticipated necessary for the appropriate interpretation of the narrative (Kernan, 1977). When compared with anecdotes related by younger children and preadolescents, the anecdotes told by adolescents have been found to display increased use of a greater variety of evaluative and expressive devices, and consequently they have been judged as qualitatively superior and easier to understand (Labov, 1972).

There is considerable evidence that, as children get older, the structural organization of their narratives increases in complexity (Applebee, 1978; Botvin & Sutton-Smith, 1977; Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Stein & Glenn, 1977). There is evidence, as well, that the skill with which narratives are integrated into ongoing conversations increases with age and experience (Umiker-Sebeok, 1979).

C H A P T E R T H R E E

Methodology: Design and Procedures

The Data

The data in this study consist of audio-tape recordings of the spontaneous conversations and verbal interactions of three children made as they were being driven to and from school throughout their kindergarten and grade one years. Eighty-four recordings, each approximately forty-five minutes long, were made during the kindergarten year. Forty-seven recordings, each approximately thirty minutes long, were made between September and February of the grade one year. The difference in the length of the tapes is due to the fact that the researcher moved closer to the homes of the other carpool members during the summer of 1984. In all, there are one-hundred-and-thirty-one separate recordings that contain approximately ninety hours of conversation. Six of the tapes made during the kindergarten year, and four made during the grade one year were not included in the data analysis for this study. On four of the eliminated tapes, only one of the three subjects was present in the car; on four of the others an extra child was

present; on the remaining two, a different adult drove the car. (See Appendix A for a list of recording dates).

The three subjects in this study were enrolled in a French Immersion program offered in a large, elementary school located approximately thirty minutes travelling time away from the small rural community in which the children live. Carpooling arrangements were made during the summer before kindergarten began and, with the exception of minor alterations to accommodate changing schedules, resulted in each mother driving the children an average of three trips per week. From the first month of kindergarten recordings were made of almost all of the trips during which the researcher served as driver. On a number of occasions, in order to test for reactivity effects attributable to the presence of the tape-recorder, the tape-recorder was deliberately removed from the car (Iwamura, 1980). Its absence was neither noticed nor commented upon by the subjects. Occasional problems with the tape-recorder resulted in several trips being unrecorded. In addition, the driving schedules were occasionally interrupted by bouts of childhood illness. Although the taping continued until the carpool dissolved at the end of the grade one year, the data examined for this dissertation spans the eighteen month period from September 1983 to February 1985.

Neither the children nor their parents knew each other prior to school registration; geographic proximity and a mutual desire to form a carpool initiated the relationships.

Permission to record the children's conversations was sought from, and granted by, both families before the recordings began. The parents were told simply that the researcher was interested in the development of children's language and that the carpool situation afforded an excellent opportunity to study child talk in a relatively constant and 'natural' setting.

A SONY "CASSETTE-CORDER" (Model TCM - 757) with a built-in microphone was placed between the two front seats of the car in full view of the subjects. For the most part, all three children sat in the back seat. On rare occasions, however, one child was moved into the front seat, either as a disciplinary measure, or in an effort to separate the ailing from the healthy. Although they knew they were being recorded and expressed initial and periodic curiosity about the tape recorder, the children, for the most part, appeared to take its presence for granted and ignored it. All questions about the tape recorder were handled in a straightforward and factual manner; explanations were brief, however, and the researcher took pains to treat the recording casually.

As the researcher was engaged in driving the car during the recording sessions, simultaneous note-taking of

contextual information and non-verbal behaviour was not possible. Had such activity been possible, however, (for example, had the researcher been a passenger in the car, or had another adult been included in order to record such information) it would have seemed intrusive and undesirable in the situation (Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, & Sechrest, 1966). Such note-taking would have served to focus the children's attention on the fact that their behaviour was an object of study, and thereby would have rendered the situation less than 'natural'. Because contextual support data is often essential to ensure accurate and adequate interpretation of the behaviour recorded (Bloom, 1973; Corsaro, 1981; Miller, 1977), the following procedures were followed:

- (1) From the beginning of the taping a record was made of such things as the children's seating arrangements in the car, objects they brought with them and referred to or played with, and the general tone or atmosphere. Initially this information was recorded by hand in a note-book. It later proved to be easier to add comments directly to the end of the tape after each recording session. On trips to school, this was done immediately after the children were dropped off; on return trips a delay in recording this

information was sometimes unavoidable because of the presence of the researcher's daughter. No 'contextual' or support information was ever added to the tapes within hearing range of any of the subjects.

- (2) Each tape was replayed as soon after it was recorded as was possible in order to clarify any references made by the children, to add any notes about the situations which had been discussed or which had arisen during the drive, and to fill in any relevant contextual details. Also recorded were any significant facial expressions or physical gestures (for example, cuddles, pokes, stuck-out-tongues) noted by the researcher in periodic monitoring of the children's behaviour through the rear-view mirror.

The tape recorder was turned on at the beginning of each trip and the entire trip was recorded. This ensured that the linguistic context surrounding the narratives, as well as the narratives themselves, would be available for analysis. Had the tape-recorder been turned on only when the researcher realized narrative language was being used by the children, a great many examples would doubtless have been lost. By recording the whole of each trip, the data were protected from premature and inadvertent 'filtering'

(Scollon, 1976). Material not necessarily recognized at the time of data collection as relevant, therefore, was preserved for later analysis.

As each child was picked up and dropped off at his own home rather than at a central meeting point, the data varied in a predicatable and potentially revealing fashion. For example, on the trips to school, the researcher and her daughter were at first alone together in the car. The second female subject lived closest and therefore was picked up first. The two girls were together for slightly less than ten minutes before being joined by the third subject, a boy. All three children were together in the back seat for the remaining twenty minutes of the drive to school. On the return trip things happened in reverse order. As a consequence of this arrangement it is possible to compare the production of narratives when (i) one child interacts with an adult, when (ii) two children interact with each other, and when (iii) three children interact together. The data analyzed for this dissertation, however, are restricted to those portions of the tapes that recorded the periods when either two or three children were present in the car.

Transcription

Starting at the beginning, and proceeding sequentially, each tape was reviewed and all exchanges that could unambiguously be considered examples of 'narrative' (as defined on page 120) were fully transcribed along with the utterances that immediately preceded and followed each example. The transcription conventions adopted are listed in Appendix B. For the most part, standard orthography was used, and proved all that was necessary. When the subjects engaged in sound play, imitative baby talk, the creation of sound effects, or deliberate vocal distortions, these were translated with as much phonetic accuracy as was required to achieve a comprehensible reading and fair rendering. Each example of narrative was identified as to the date on which it occurred, its position on the tape (tape-counter numbers were used), and whether it was recorded on the way to or from school. Also noted were all speakers involved, and the names of all present in the car at the time of the telling. Any remarks that appeared to initiate or prompt the narrative, and any information recorded in the notes or added to the end of the tape that seemed significant, were also noted in the transcriptions.

The tapes were transcribed directly onto a computer (APCO) by means of the Word Handler II word processing program. Although immeasurably facilitated by the use of

the word processing capabilities of the computer (particularly the editing provisions), the transcription process proved extremely taxing and time consuming. Other researchers working with tape-recorded data have reported a similar experience. For example, reported time estimates for transcription have ranged from ten hours (Miller, 1977) to twenty hours (Schieffelin, 1979) for every hour of tape. As approximately ninety hours of recorded conversation were reviewed for this study, it can be seen that the transcription process was demanding.

The tapes, or portions of them, were replayed as many times as was necessary to achieve an accurate transcription. A headset was worn when the recorded voices were particularly soft or when background noise was particularly loud. Once transcription of each tape was complete, the tape was played once again, and the transcript checked against it. A paper copy of each transcription was made; in addition, the data were retained on computer disk. In order to minimize the children's awareness of the fact that they were being 'studied' none of the tapes were ever played or discussed in their presence or hearing during the data collection period.

The tapes were not erased after transcription but stored so as to permit accuracy checks by other raters, and also so that they could be used by the researcher in conjunction with the transcripts to clarify ambiguous

passages and permit more accurate interpretation of the data. The process of converting oral behaviours into a written form results in considerable data reduction; a great deal of information is lost in the translation (Bloom & Lahey, 1978; Tedlock, 1972). It is virtually impossible to

transcribe, or notate, everything that is being transmitted by the speakers. Even where there is only one person speaking, and speaking clearly, there is always the problem of how to convey the actual emphasis, the implied gestures, and significant faltering or pausing. Voice quality and facial expressions can, for example, give an additional layer of meaning to the actual words spoken, to the extent that they may even show that the speaker means quite the opposite of what he is actually saying! And, of course, the difficulties of accurately notating a conversation where several people are taking part, interrupting and laughing, are many times greater.

(Martin, Williams, Wilding, Hemmings & Medway, 1976, p. 21)

The inadequacy of our vocabulary to describe the different types and intensities of the laughter generated in response to the narratives, or offered as back-channel cues became obvious during the transcription of the tapes. The difficulty of translating the oral version into the written form is further compounded by the fact that the notational symbols for indicating paralinguistic aspects of language have not yet been standardized (Bauman, 1977; Ochs, 1979). This problem of data reduction and loss is considerably

reduced, however, if recordings and transcriptions are used in concert.

As a further protective measure, duplicate tapes were made of any recording which was found to contain particularly good or interesting examples of narrative language. Duplicates were also made of the tapes that were randomly selected for the transcription accuracy checks, so that no data would be lost if the tape was accidentally damaged by the second transcriber.

Validity Checks

a) In order to verify the accuracy with which the tapes were transcribed, five were selected at random. Randomly selected examples of narrative language from each tape were fully transcribed by another researcher familiar with conversational data. Examples were selected until a minimum of 250 words per tape had been transcribed. (A somewhat similar procedure was employed by Kuczaj and McClain, 1984.) These transcriptions were then compared with the 'originals'. Percentage of agreement, averaged for the five transcription checks, was 98.6%.

b) In order to check the accuracy with which utterances were attributed to the speaker responsible for them,

randomly selected portions of six tapes were listened to by the mothers of the other two subjects, and matched against the transcripts. The mothers were the obvious best choice for this check as each had spent as much time as the researcher in their cars listening to the children converse. They therefore were thoroughly familiar with the voices of all three of the children. Percentage of agreement (based on number of conversational turns examined) was 100%.

c) In order to verify that what the researcher had considered to be 'narrative' would be considered 'narrative' by others working with the same definitions, five randomly selected tapes were presented to another rater. He was familiarized with the working definition of narrative employed in the study (see page 120), asked to listen to each tape in its entirety and to record, by means of tape counter numbers and a brief description, every instance that he considered an example of narrative. He was instructed to be conservative, and, if in doubt, not to count the example. The examples selected were then compared with those previously identified by the researcher. Percentage of agreement was 95%.

Later discussion revealed that the rater had encountered very few examples that he had hesitated about classifying. One was a description of something that 'always happened' - one of the children noting that one of their classmates

always got into trouble. Another was a brief statement about something that had happened given in response to an enquiry from the driver. In both of these instances, the rater (in view of the instruction to be conservative) decided not to count the utterances as narrative examples. The first was regarded instead as description, and the second rejected because the child had provided only the minimum of information requested by the adult; the child clearly was just answering a question and not attempting to tell 'what happened'. These decision criteria very much agree with those applied by the researcher and the examples illustrate the types of utterances which proved difficult to classify.

d) Once the narratives had been examined and classified according to the categories developed during the course of this study, another rater was familiarized with the categories and asked to read a random selection of 30 narrative examples and classify them accordingly. These designations were then compared with those of the researcher. Percentage of agreement was 96%.

In several specific instances particular narratives were read to the mothers of the children in order to confirm whether the events had actually happened as recounted, whether they were based on fact at all, or whether they were

complete fabrications. In each case, the child's mother was asked to confirm the classification.

Questionnaires

Two questionnaires were developed that served as the basis for structured interviews with the subjects' parents and with their Grade One teacher (See Appendices C and D for copies of both). All of these interviews were conducted by the researcher after the recording of the data was complete. Each parent (both mother and father) was interviewed individually in their home on separate occasions, and these interviews were recorded on audio-tape. The subjects were not present during the interviews. The teacher was interviewed at the children's school on a day when the children were not in attendance. This interview was recorded in longhand.

The parent questionnaires were designed to elicit information about the children's preschool backgrounds, their exposure to books, television, and films, their experience of story-book reading and story-telling, and visits to the library. As well, information was sought about parental attitudes towards the acquisition of reading skills, and possible efforts to support it. Each parent was asked to characterize the nature and personality of his or

her child, and to describe the child's interactions with other children. Although the subjects are identified in the data only by their first names, parents were asked during the interview whether they wished their child's name changed in the report of the study. All stated that they preferred that the names not be changed.

The teacher was asked to characterize each child as a student and to rate each one with respect to general verbal ability, reading skills, imagination, and sense of humour. She was asked to describe their interactions with other children at school, and to determine whether, if given a choice, each would be more likely to work independently or with others. Finally, she was asked about the children's participation in 'Show and Tell', whether they volunteered 'stories' or personal anecdotes at school, and whether they wrote stories.

The Subjects

The subjects of this study are two girls (one the daughter of the researcher) and one boy, all aged five when data collection began.

a) Bronwyn: Female; Caucasian

Only daughter of the researcher.

Date of birth: February 3, 1978

Age at beginning of study: 5 years, 6 months

Age at end of study: 7 years, 0 months

Family intact; both parents hold university degrees.

Both parents employed as teachers.

b) Heather: Female; Caucasian

Oldest child in family; has a brother 2 years younger.

Date of birth: April 1, 1978

Age at beginning of study: 5 years, 4 months

Age at end of study: 6 years, 10 months

Family intact. Both parents high-school graduates; father has five years post-secondary technical training.

Mother homemaker.

Father is a tele-controller with B. C. Hydro.

c) Kepmen: Male; mixed race Caucasian/Chinese

Oldest child in family; has a sister 2 years younger.

Date of birth: July 18, 1978

Age at beginning of study: 5 years, 1 month
Age at end of study: 6 years, 7 months
Parents separated; Kepmen lives with his
mother. Kepmen's mother did not complete high
school, but during his kindergarten year she
attended a local college in an effort to obtain
academic credits required for matriculation.
Mother homemaker.
A new father joined the family at the
end of Kepmen's kindergarten year; he is
employed in construction.

Data Analysis Procedures

For reasons of clarity and convenience, the data analysis procedures employed in this study will be described for each of the research questions in turn.

I. Form

- 1.1 Do young children between the ages of five and seven include narrative accounts in their conversations with each other?

In order to answer this question, 'narrative accounts' were broadly defined as including:

- "any verbal description of one or more past events, i.e., as utterances which inform the addressee that 'something happened'" (Umiker-Sebeok, 1979, p. 92).
- any examples of 'stories', both original creations and retellings, with 'stories' being defined as accounts "of some happening or group of happenings...either true or made-up, intended to interest the reader or hearer" (The World Book Dictionary, 1971).
- any examples identified and labelled as 'stories' by the subjects themselves.

The tapes were systematically reviewed and each instance which confirmed to the above definition(s) was fully transcribed along with the conversation immediately preceding and following it (i.e., that portion of the conversation which appeared relevant). If there was doubt as to whether or not a particular example should be classified as 'narrative' it was transcribed and marked for later consideration. Each example was identified by the day and date on which it was recorded, whether it occurred on a trip to or from school, and its position on the tape. The speakers involved and the names of all present in the car at the time of the utterance were also noted.

The working definition proved generally easy to apply; in the vast majority of instances there was no difficulty deciding whether or not a particular set of utterances should or should not be classed as narrative. Those utterances which did prove somewhat problematic, however, tended to be of three general types. The first, already referred to in the discussion of the validity checks, were utterances couched in the 'general present' which referred to "events which have occurred an indefinite number of times" (Labov, 1972, p. 361). The following are examples from

the data:

a) The children have been discussing exercises.

Heather: "My Dad always does it in the morning,
and always jogs in the morning."

Adult: "Yeah, your Dad's in great shape, isn't
he?"

Heather: "He always..he doesn't care what kinda
weather it is, he goes out on cold days
without any...his T-shirt on!"

(Jan. 25, 1984)

b) Heather is talking about two boys she doesn't
like.

Heather: "Like they like to stand on the cement,
and pretend they're sleeping. All the
girls stand there to watch, and then
they start growling, then they get up
and chase the girls all over the place."

(Feb. 18, 1985)

In both examples the child is describing things
that happen all the time; she is describing 'what
is' rather than reporting 'what happened'.

Following Labov's lead, examples of this sort,
therefore, were classified as descriptions and not
as narratives. Sometimes these 'descriptions' led
into narratives; in those cases they were
considered part of the introduction to, or stage-
setting for, the narrative and were transcribed
along with it.

The second type of exchange which proved
somewhat difficult to classify involved brief
narrative statements given as minimal responses to

adult questions. In these cases the decision as to whether to count the exchange as a narrative or not depended upon its length, whether the child elaborated in any way beyond the simple informational requirements of the question, and whether the child's intent appeared to be to 'tell what happened'.

The last type of example that required close scrutiny consisted of what Dorval and Eckerman (1984) have labelled as "listing turns" (p. 48). They define these as "a series of one-turn narratives by several participants in a conversation" (p. 48) and include the following, produced by a group of fifth graders, as an example:

1. I've got a little terrier.
2. I've got - um - two cats, Muff and Blackie.
3. Well, I have a German shepherd, and, he's mean.
4. Well, I've got a parakeet, Tweetie. Got him at
K-Mart. (p. 48)

By the criteria of the working definition used in this study, only the fourth example noted above would be considered an example of narrative; the rest seem simply descriptions of possessions. Quite a number of "listing turns" appeared in the carpool data; however, unless they clearly reported

events and happenings they were not considered narratives. Consequently, the examples designated as narratives in the carpool data represent a conservative application of the working definition. If there was any doubt as to whether an example could be fairly classed as narrative, it was transcribed but not included in the data analysis.

- 1.2. What form do the narratives take? What types of narrative are represented in the children's conversations? What is the range and variety of the narratives found?

Based on suggestions from the literature, a pre-liminary set of narrative categories was identified. For example, Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Kernan (1977) have described personal narratives or anecdotes, labelled by them as "oral versions of personal experience". Labov (1972) has further distinguished between anecdotes that report on events personally experienced and "narratives of vicarious experience" (p. 367) which recount the doings of others. The majority of the investigations of the development of narrative competence have concentrated on children's fantasy narratives, on their "fictional, or make-believe stories"

(Kuczaj & McClain, 1984, p. 126). While many of these stories featured fantasy characters, others placed 'real' characters (i.e., Mother, Father, Teacher) in fantasy situations (Ames, 1966). Pitcher and Prelinger (1963), primarily concerned with eliciting from children stories that were "your very own...that nobody else told you, that you made up all by yourself" (p. 29), note that during their data collection their subjects frequently offered stories that they had been told or that had been read to them. Similar experiences are reported by Ames (1966) and Abrams and Sutton-Smith (1977). Television is a major source of stories and of reports of news and happenings for most modern children and the stories created by such children reveal that they borrow characters "from cartoons, television shows, and movies" (Kemper, 1984, p. 102). Consequently, two 're-telling' categories were included in the preliminary listing, the first to include retellings of books read and stories heard, and the second retellings of television programs and movies.

The language-play literature reveals the apparently well-entrenched tendency of children to engage in parody (Cosbey, 1980; Horgan, 1981; Iwamura, 1980; Sanches & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett,

1976; Shultz & Robillard, 1980) and to create 'mock' forms or versions of various genre (Chukovsky, 1963; Cosbey, 1980; Geller, 1981; Opie & Opie, 1957). Therefore, it did not seem unreasonable to predict the occurrence in the carpool data of 'mock-stories'.

Finally, the literature on sociodramatic play documents the process whereby children co-operate in the enactment of what can be considered pretend narratives (Garvey, 1984; Iwamura, 1980; Nelson & Seidman, 1984; Pellegrini, 1982). Watson-Gegeo and Boggs (1977) have demonstrated that young children can and do collaborate in the creation and telling of narratives. It therefore seemed reasonable to predict the possible occurrence, during the carpool conversations, of collaborative efforts in the creation of oral narratives.

The literature therefore suggested the following preliminary classification of oral narratives:

1. Personal anecdote - subject self.
2. Anecdote - report past incident or event, vicariously experienced (i.e. subject other than self).
3. Original fantasy - a 'made-up' story involving

- fantasy or make-believe characters.
4. Original fiction - a 'made-up' story involving familiar, real-life characters (i.e., family members, friends, relatives).
 5. Retelling of book - an account of known story that had been read or told to them.
 6. Retelling of visual media - an account of a program seen on television, or at the movies.
 7. Mock stories - deliberate parodies.
 8. Collaborations - jointly produced narratives.

This listing of narrative types was intended to be a first-step, a means by which to approach and perhaps organize the data. It was expected that during the review of the data these category designations and definitions would be refined and/or elaborated, and that the number of categories would be either added to, or, if categories were collapsed, decreased.

A simple category check-list sheet was drawn up (see Appendix E for a copy of the modified version) and the transcribed data were reviewed. Each example of narrative that could be classified according to the designated categories was so identified. The classification was

noted on the transcript and recorded on the checklist along with information about its date of occurrence, who had uttered it, who had been present to hear it, and who, if such was the case, had collaborated in its production. Also noted were any examples that did not fit the identified categories. Several additional classifications were added during the data review and the check-list was modified accordingly. Zerox copies were made of all examples of each narrative type. These were then collected and placed, in dated order, in separate files - one file per narrative category. This greatly facilitated their examination, and made it easier to identify common characteristics and developments over time.

- 2.1. Do the children collaborate in the creation and telling of narratives?
- 2.2. If so, what is the nature of this collaboration? How are the collaborations initiated and maintained?

'Collaboration' is defined by the World Book Dictionary (1971) as "the act of working together". The data were examined in order to determine whether there were any instances wherein the

subjects, either as a duo or trio, co-operated in the creation of, and/or telling of, narratives. Once identified, these examples were marked on the transcripts, and recorded on the check-list as joint productions. The type of narrative that had been co-operatively engaged in was also noted, along with the names of those involved, and those present as listeners.

The examples were then analyzed to determine:

(a) what such collaboration involved, and what forms it took;

(b) how, and by whom, the collaborations were initiated. Of interest here was whether the co-operation was solicited, or offered spontaneously. For instance, did the children appear to need an invitation or to be given permission from the child who was delivering a narrative account in order to join in the telling, or did they merely 'launch right in'?

(c) how the various contributions were 'managed' in the course of the ongoing narrative account, and if and how they contributed to, or were integrated into, the final 'text' of the narrative.

(d) whether collaborations were more likely to involve two or three children.

3. Does the reaction of, and interaction with, peers have an effect on the narratives that are told?

The data were first examined to discover whether the children did in fact react to the narratives that were told by the others. Next, the nature of the "listener's response" was explored. The data were reviewed in an effort to determine whether the children modified, expanded, or in any way altered their narrative accounts in response to questions or comments from those they were addressing. For example, when the data were reviewed, if it was noticed that during the telling of an original story a listener had offered a suggestion as to the content or direction of the story, the data would be examined in order to discover whether that suggestion subsequently had been acted upon. Similarly, if during the 're-telling' of a well known story a listener was found to object that a particular character had been left out, the data would be examined to see whether or not that character was later included.

II. Function

4. What function do narrative accounts appear to serve in the conversational exchanges in which they are embedded?

Although no model of the functions of conversational narratives currently exists, there are suggestions in the literature that the telling of narratives may:

- serve an informational function in that listeners are informed of past occurrences;
- serve a 'self-aggrandisement' function in that the teller may report on happenings that reflect favourably on him (Labov & Waletzky, 1967), and negatively on others.
- serve to enhance or confirm social solidarity or intimacy in that personal 'revelations' are offered and shared (Iwamura, 1980; Keenan, 1983; Heath, 1983).
- serve to entertain. Children enjoy listening to stories for the pleasure such activity affords (Teale, 1983; Shaw, 1985). They perhaps tell stories for similar

reasons.

- serve an adaptive function in that they possibly provide a means through which the teller can confront and deal with unfamiliar and potentially distressing situations and issues (Bettleheim, 1979; Cosbey, 1980; Elms, 1977; Pitcher & Prelinger, 1963). In this sense, the telling of tales may be a relatively "buffered" form of experience; the story frame permits the exploration of matters that concern, but it keeps the teller a safe distance from the events told.
- serve a floor-holding function. The telling of narratives may help the teller to gain, hold, and temporarily control, the conversational floor (Abrahams, 1977; Heath, 1983; Sacks, 1974).

The conversation in which each example of a narrative account was located was examined in an effort to understand the reasons why the teller might have chosen to tell that particular 'story', and to discover the ends served by the telling. Patterns of usage were looked for. As well, the data were examined for any statements made by the subjects which revealed or commented on their

reasons for utilizing narrative language, or on their perceptions of why either of the other two children might have done so.

5. Do the subjects reveal individual differences in terms of their skills, styles of presentation, and/or their preferences for certain narrative forms over others?

Each example of narrative language was identified as to the speaker(s) involved. The narratives produced by each of the subjects were compared in an effort to discover whether:

- a) differences in skill were apparent (as judged by audience response and structural complexity, for example)
- b) differences in the manner of presentation or narrative 'style' were evident (Tannen, 1984; Wolf, 1984; Wolf & Gardner, 1979).
- c) different children favoured different narrative forms, or types. Examination of each of the filed collections of the examples of the various narrative categories permitted the determination of 'who-told-what'.....and 'who-never-told-which'.

The information gathered during the parent and teacher interviews was used to help interpret and confirm any perceived differences.

III. Developmental Patterns - Changes Over Time

6. Over the eighteen months during which data were recorded, are any changes apparent in terms of:
- a) the variety of narrative types employed
 - b) the structural complexity of the narratives told, and
 - c) the conversational/social functions served by them?

The procedures followed for each sub-section of this question will be described separately, and in turn.

a) The data were reviewed in order to determine whether any changes were apparent in the range of narrative types found. The intent of the question was to discover whether, as the children got older, they employed an increased variety of narrative forms or whether all the forms identified had been present in the data and utilized by them from the

beginning of the study. The checklist proved informative; a simple comparison was made between the occurrence of all forms found during the first three months of the study and all those found during the last three months. In addition, 'time-line plots' of the occurrence of each of the various narrative types were sketched; these provided an easy visual representation of the frequency of appearance of each of the different forms over the eighteen month period of data collection. To facilitate an examination of individual differences, separate time-line plots were made for the contributions of each of the three subjects.

b) Two procedures were employed to determine whether any changes had occurred in the structural complexity of the narratives during the course of the study. The personal anecdotes were scored by means of the Labov and Waletzky (1967) model. This model was selected as it was specifically developed for oral narratives of this sort, and because it has been successfully applied by other researchers working with the conversational narratives of children (Kernan, 1977; Umiker-Sebeok, 1978). A representative sample of personal anecdotes,

consisting of an equal number from each of the three subjects produced during the first three months of the study (September, October and November, 1983) were compared with a similar sample produced during the middle of the period of data collection (March, April, and May, 1984) and a third sample produced during the last three months of the study (December, 1984 and January and February, 1985).

The original fictions and fantasies were scored according to the four levels described by the Maranda scheme (Sutton-Smith, 1981), and also by means of the model developed by Botvin and Sutton-Smith (1977). The latter model was selected because a recent comparison of four different plot analysis schemes undertaken by Kemper (1984) indicated that the Botvin and Sutton-Smith system was better able than several of the others to "capture the change in the structure of stories produced by children between 5 and 10" (p. 109). It consequently seemed an appropriate choice in view of the ages of the subjects of this study. The Maranda scheme was selected because it is easy to apply and because it focuses on the reactions of the characters to events rather than just the manner in which story events are organized.

c) The data were examined in an attempt to perceive any patterns of change in the nature of the functions served by the telling of narratives. This question is related to the issue of the range and variety of forms utilized by the subjects. The intent of the question was to determine whether the children expanded the range of functions served by the narratives over the eighteen month period of the study.

7. Do the findings of this study, based on longitudinal data, support or contradict the findings that have been reported from the cross-sectional investigations of the child's concept of, and production of, narrative?

In order to answer this question the findings were compared with those reported in the literature.

CHAPTER FOUR

Findings

The questions addressed by this study primarily focus on three aspects of the narrative language produced by the young carpoolers. These are the form of that language, the functions served by its employment, and the developmental changes revealed over the eighteen month period of data collection. The findings, for the most part, will be reported on a question-by-question basis. However, because of the nature of the data, and the inter-relationship of many of the questions, points relevant to several questions may be reported in answer to a particular question. For example, in the sections describing the various narrative forms produced by the children, some information is included which is related to individual differences, to the children's collaborative efforts and to the impact of listener response on the narratives produced. In the interests of clarity, and in an effort to avoid unnecessary repetition, points will be made and examples presented where they are thought to be the most informative. Information relevant to a specific question that has been presented in response to a different one will be referred to, and summarized in the report of findings for that

question. Wherever appropriate, the findings will be discussed in terms of the relevant literature.

I. Form

- 1.1 Do young children between the ages of five and seven include narrative accounts in their conversations with each other?

The answer to this question is a definite yes. Review of the tapes yielded a total of 599 examples of narratives produced by the children, either independently or in collaboration with each other. Three-hundred-and-thirty-seven of these were recorded during the kindergarten year, and 262 occurred during the first six months of grade one. Although some recordings contributed more examples than others (the range proved to be 0 - 18 narratives per trip), only two of the 123 tapes that were examined failed to contain any at all. Table 1 presents the mean, mode, and range scores for the number of narratives per recorded trip, and Appendix A lists the exact number of examples found on each of the tapes.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF NARRATIVE EXAMPLES PER TRIP

	Kindergarten	Grade One	Total Sample
Mean	4.3	6	4.9
Mode	3	3	3
Range	0 - 15	0 - 18	0 - 18

If all of the tapes are taken into account, the average frequency of occurrence per trip is five. If only the kindergarten tapes are considered, the average drops to four per trip; the grade one tapes averaged six narratives each trip. The highest number of narratives recorded during a single trip in the kindergarten year was 15; during the grade one year this total increased to 18. On the basis of these frequency tallies it is apparent that the subjects routinely and regularly engaged in narrative language. If one takes average frequency of occurrence scores as an indicator, then it would appear that narratives played an increasingly important role in their conversations over the course of the study.

Of the 599 narratives produced by the children, 529 were independently told, and 70 were joint offerings. Table 2 presents the figures for these independently told narratives, broken-down according to the individual

contributions of each subject. Both the number of narrative and percentages are listed, and sub-totals are given to distinguish between the narratives produced during the kindergarten year and those produced during the first half of grade one.

TABLE 2. INDEPENDENTLY-TOLD NARRATIVES

	Kindergarten		Year One		Total	
	Number of Narratives	%	Number of Narratives	%	Number of Narratives	
Bronwyn	101	34	95	40	196	37
Kepmen	81	28	89	38	170	32
Heather	112	38	51	22	163	31
Total	294	100	235	100	529	100

Examination of the table reveals that narratives were produced by all of the subjects, and that the data represent a balanced sample in the sense that each of the three subjects contributed approximately one-third of the narratives.

Of the 70 jointly-told narratives, 61 involved children only, and the remaining 9 involved the children and the adult researcher. Table 3 illustrates who collaborated in these efforts, and the frequency of that

collaboration. The narratives that involved the researcher have not been included in these figures.

TABLE 3. JOINT-TELLINGS; CHILD COLLABORATIONS

	Kindergarten	Grade One	Total
All 3 children	17	5	22
Bronwyn & Heather	8	9	17
Bronwyn & Kepmen	4	10	14
Heather & Kepmen	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>
Totals	36	25	61

On different occasions all of the children collaborated with each of the others to produce narrative language. As the table makes clear, collaboration was almost twice as likely to involve two children as three.

The next three research questions are closely related and the findings for the first provide information that is relevant to the other two. Therefore, although the findings will be reported for each of the three questions in turn, these questions will again be presented at this point to facilitate reader interpretation.

- 1.2 If narrative accounts are used, what form do these narratives take? What types of narrative are represented in the subjects' conversations? What is the range and variety of the narrative language found?
- 2.1 Do the children collaborate in the creation and telling of narratives?
- 2.2 If so, what is the nature of this collaboration? How are the collaborations initiated and maintained?

Findings for Narrative Form

- 1.2 What form do these narratives take? What types of narrative are represented in the subjects' conversations? What is the range and variety of the narrative language found?

Analysis of the data yielded many examples of each of the eight narrative types identified in the preliminary classification: anecdotes of personal and vicarious experience, original fantasies and fictions, retellings of books and accounts of visual media, mock stories and collaborative efforts. Review of the transcripts necessitated the formulation of six additional categories: a) tattle tales, b) narrative jokes, c) repeat

performances, d) replays, e) hypothetical narratives, and f) 'cons'.

In the following section each of these fourteen classifications will be defined and/or described in turn, and representative examples from the data will be presented. Their frequency of occurrence, and their pattern of distribution across the 18 months that data were collected will also be reported.

A) Personal Anecdotes

Personal anecdotes are narratives which relate the personal past experiences of the narrator. They are of the "let-me-tell-you-what-happened-to-me" variety, usually delivered in the first person, and purportedly factual. Not unexpectedly, personal narratives were found to be the most popular of the narrative forms employed by the children. The data supplied 314 examples, 186 produced during the kindergarten year and 128 from the grade one tapes. Table 4 presents the totals contributed by each of the subjects, reported in number of instances and percentages. Table 5 presents the distribution of the personal anecdotes over the course of the study.

As Table 5 illustrates, personal anecdotes were more-or-less evenly distributed throughout the data, and they were as likely to occur at the beginning of kindergarten as during the middle of grade one. The need

The low figures for May can be partially explained by the fact that the taping was interrupted because of an outbreak of chickenpox, and that one of the few May recordings contained no narratives at all because it was completely given over to the playing of a toy musical instrument.

The following examples are typical of the personal anecdotes related by the subjects of this study.

- Heather: "I'm gonna tell you what happened to me this morning." ...

Adult: intervening comment directed to another child.

Heather: "I'm gonna tell you what happened to me, Bron. Um, I was playin' on the monkey bars. A boy came along with a big, huge, giant spider in his hand." (Heather laughs.)

Bron: "Real?"

Heather: "Yeah! No, it wasn't real, it was a play one, it was a coloured one, it was a big, black spider he had in his hand. And he was chasing me with it....A big, black spider." (Heather giggles.)

September 30, 1983

- We arrive to pick up Heather, slightly late. The following is addressed to Heather as soon as she enters the car.

Bronwyn: "Heather, you know what? "You know what, Heather?"

Heather does not respond.

Bronwyn: "Heather?You know what? Heather? Know what?Heather! You know what?"

Heather: "What?"

Bronwyn: "Yesterday I almost died."

Heather: "No you didn't." (said very softly)

Bronwyn: "Heather, that's true!"

Adult: "Well, tell her what happened.....Tell her what happened, Bron."

Bronwyn: "I was choking and I couldn't br-eathe, and I hadded to..I hadded to try all the things to breathe with it, that was why we got the

- jellybean outta my throat."
- Adult: "We were really worried there, because she got really...ah, boy, scary! You gotta be careful when you eat candy, love, or anything. Bron got it stuck right in her windpipe..."
- Bronwyn: "Yes, Yah!.....I was crying."
February 6, 1984
3. Heather: "Yeah...I've been on the stage before."
Bronwyn: "I have too...I act on the stage once, when all the people were watching..had costume on, everything. I...you know the girl Tracey, right here? <Bronwyn has the class photograph on her lap>she was the leader who was leading the dance, that girl, and I was...Tracey and me, now let's see... Miriam, I think was in it, and Linnea was in it, and Nancy was in it...they were all in the same costume, and Mummy made it and Daddy made it, we all made our own costumes 'cept they're all exactly the same...all (?) up as a elf, a green elf, we all.."
- Heather: "Oh yeah, I seen those on stage."
Bronwyn: "Oh, they were little kids."
Heather: "I know, I seen it."
Bronwyn: "Did you see it? Did you see me in it? What was I like? Did I have a white blouse underneath?"
- Heather: "Yes."
Bronwyn: "Right. What did...what did I have on my legs?"
- Heather: "Green...green pants."
Bronwyn: "No. No, no I didn't have green pants, I had green leotards."
- Heather: (after short pause) "Oh yeah, and you had green ..uh...green shirt..."
- Bronwyn: "No, it wasn't a shirt. It was felt."
Heather: "You said you took some holly up there."
Bronwyn: "Holly? No, ...I did not bring any holly up. And Heather...and we had a little green hat, a little green hat made out of felt, and a little bell, and we hear-ed the whole stage jingling..jing..jing..jing..jing..jing ...everybody had a little bell on their hat ...and we ha-d...and we had little ruffles to go around our feet..."
- Heather: "Oh, yeah, the white ones, right?"
Bronwyn: "No, they didn't have white ruffles. Had green felt ruffles...our...our whole self

was wh..white...no, our whole self was green
'cept our shirt."
We arrive at Heather's home.

February 13, 1984

The events related in each of these narratives are "reportable" in that they are not "ordinary, plain, humdrum, everyday, or run-of-the-mill" (Labov, 1972, p. 371) but are instead what the children consider amusing, dramatic, and special. They are announced and marked as narratives by means of what Kernan (1977) has labelled "introducers" ("I'm gonna tell you what happened to me."), by permission-to-speak questions ("You know what?"), and by abstracts ("I act on the stage once."). They are self-contained and complete; their conclusions are marked by repetition ("A big, black spider."), evaluation ("I was crying."), and summarization ("...our whole self was green 'cept our shirt."). Examples 1 and 3 are linked to the on-going conversation; Example 2 is not, but that is because the narrative greets Heather's entry into the car. In the first case, the narrative is offered as a deliberate attempt to cheer Bronwyn up after she had been reduced to tears during a tattle-tale exchange with Kepmen. Heather's anecdote was actually prefaced by her suggestion: "Let's try to make Bronwyn happy". The third example follows a brief discussion of what the girls imagine they could do "whenever we go on stage". In almost every case, the

personal anecdotes recorded for this study were found to be clearly related to and triggered by the conversations in which they were embedded. Very few 'dangling' anecdotes were noted; in the vast majority of instances, the anecdotes were semantically tied to the topic of talk, and served to either comment on it, or add corroborating or conflicting information from the children's own experience. This point, which will be elaborated upon later, is worth stressing. It is a measure of the communicative competence of the three subjects that they were capable of relating their anecdotes as appropriately as they generally did to the on-going flow of talk.

When an individual reports events that he has been personally involved in, that first-hand experience entitles him to speak with authority. As Labov and Fanshel (1977) put it,

In ordinary conversation, we are always subject to being contradicted on matters of fact, and we may expect contradiction most often if we speak about areas where the other person is known to be expert and we are not. But a speaker can be confident that there are many areas where he himself is the undisputed expert. These are his personal and private emotions, experience, and all of the events that make up his biography. If he chooses to speak of his innermost feelings, his fatigue, his anger or guilt, the other party is not as free to contradict him as if he had spoken of the temperature or predicted an economic recession.

This explains, in Example 2, Bronwyn's indignant "Heather, that's true!" in response to Heather's denial of her claim to have almost died. It explains, too, Bronwyn's assumption of the role of 'Quiz-Master' in Example 3. Heather's claim that she saw the performance is subject to verification by Bronwyn's knowledge of 'the facts', and Heather accepts Bronwyn's authority in this instance. It is possible that one of the real attractions for children of the reporting of their personal experience is precisely the opportunity it affords them to speak with authority.

The 'interactional' aspects of conversational narratives are also apparent from these examples. They are specifically addressed to the listeners who are named. The introductory utterances are repeated in Examples 1 and 2 until the listeners' attention is obtained. The narrators use a variety of techniques to hold their listeners' attention, including emphasis ("...they were little kids"), dramatic slowing of pace ("I couldn't br-eathe.."), sound effects and repetition ("jingling..jing..jing.. jing..jing ..jing"), laughter, and direct questions ("..you know that girl Tracey?"). For their part, the listeners reveal that they are attending by asking questions, and, as is well illustrated by Example 3, by attempting to contribute information to the telling. Example 2 demonstrates the adult's role in providing information to the narrator as to what is required for an adequate performance. Rather than

just baldly asserting a fact, the suggestion is made that the child elaborate and "tell her what happened". Once the child has related the events, the adult again intervenes and adds a reaction to those events. This indirectly signals that some sort of evaluation is expected, and results in the child also then adding a reaction: "I was crying."

B) Anecdotes of Vicarious Experience

Anecdotes of vicarious experience are narratives which relate events that happened to, or were experienced by, someone other than the narrator. In most instances these events were either witnessed by the narrator, or told to him or her by the person(s) involved. Qualitatively much like "gossip", they are the "let-me-tell-you-what-happened-to-so-and-so" narratives.

Examination of the data revealed 121 examples of anecdotes of this sort, 56 recorded during the kindergarten year, and 65 recorded during the first half of grade one. Table 6 presents the numbers of narratives and percentages which indicate the contributions of each of the three subjects.

TABLE 6. FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF ANECDOTES OF VICARIOUS EXPERIENCE

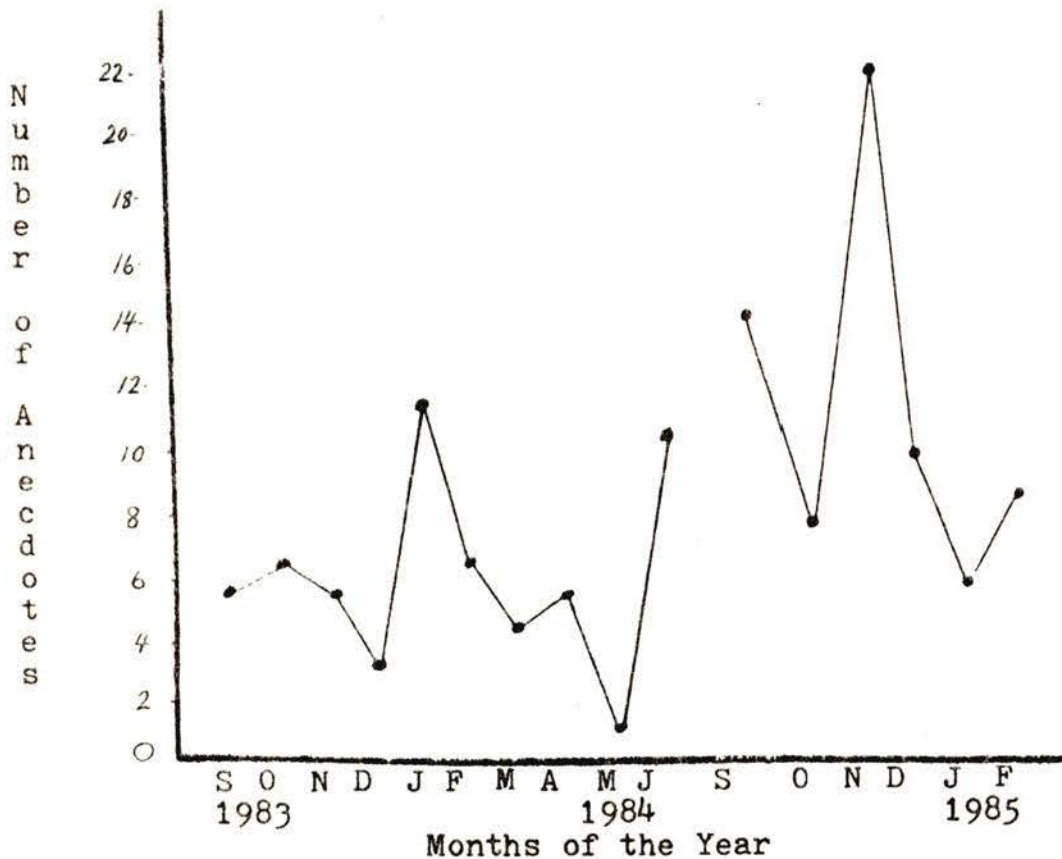
	Kindergarten		Grade 1		Total	
	Number of	%	Number of	%	Number of	%
	Narratives		Narratives		Narratives	
Bronwyn	17	30.4	25	38.5	42	34.7
Heather	16	28.6	18	27.7	34	28.1
Kepmen	19	33.9	12	18.5	31	25.6
Jointly Told	4	7.1	10	15.3	14	11.6
Totals	56	100	65	100	121	100

Examination of the table reveals that anecdotes of vicarious experience were related by all three of the subjects. Taking into account that the grade one totals represent six months of data collection, whereas the kindergarten totals represent ten months of data collection, the figures suggest that this type of narrative became more commonly used as the subjects got older. Put differently, over the course of the study, the children (with the possible exception of Kepmen) became increasingly likely to relate the experiences of other people.

Figure 1 presents the distribution of these anecdotes over the period of data collection. The graph illustrates

their consistent occurrence and their increased frequency in grade one.

FIGURE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF ANECDOTES OF VICARIOUS EXPERIENCE OVER THE PERIOD OF DATA COLLECTION



The following examples are representative of those found in the carpool data.

1. Bronwyn: "Guess what Aaron said whoo..to me. The big kids in the bathroom grabbed Grady by

the belt and threw him out the bathroom.
 Right, Kepmen?"

Kepmen: "Right."
 Adult: "Why?"
 Bronwyn: "Kepmen, why?"
 (Slight pause - Kepmen says nothing.)
 Bronwyn: "Kepmen must know more because he is a boy
 and he saw it happen because he was in the
 bathroom."
 Adult: "Did you see it, Kepmen?"
 Kepmen: "No, I don't go to the bathroom no more, I
 just wash my hands."
 (Pause)
 Adult: "Makes you wonder what was wrong. Was
 Grady upset or not?"
 Bronwyn: "No."
 Adult: "Ah, he wasn't really hurt or anything?"
 Bronwyn: "No, he just got thrown out."
 Kepmen: "What for?"
 Bron: "I don't know."
 Kepmen: "He must have peed on somebody." (This is
 said seriously.)
 Bronwyn: "No."
 (Heather can be heard tittering in the background;
 these titters develop into giggles indulged in by all
 three.)

December 9, 1983

2. Bronwyn: "Ya know what?...guys, once I...I...once I
 knew this dog, and you know what? His name
 is Brandy. And you know what? He got
 sprayed by um a skunk."
 Adult: "Yes ...he did, didn't he."
 Bronwyn: "And then, what did they have to get it off
 with?" (rising intonation, voice animated)
 "Tomato juice!!"

January 16, 1984

3. Kepmen and Heather have just announced that they won
 'merit points' for having clean desks at school.
 Kepmen: "And Bronwyn never."
 Adult: "I guess you didn't get your desk checked,
 huh, Bronwyn?"
 Kepmen: "Yes, she got her desk checked..checked, and
 Chad got his desk checked..."
 Bronwyn: (breaking in) "She..she did not...look in
 my desk!"
 Kepmen: "Well maybe she didn't, but Chad did. And
 he had tons and tons of pictures and he only

- had, had to have one in your desk."
- Bronwyn: "Or two."
- Kepmen: "Maybe two, or one, or three, but not but he..like this, well like Chad had maybe..."
(Kepmen pauses.)
- Bronwyn: (under her breath, softly, but loud enough to be easily heard) "Four hundred and fifty thousand million, forty-four thousand..."
- Kepmen: (laughs) "No. He maybe had....ten.."
- Adult: "Four thousand twenty million, you said?"
- Kepmen: (laughs) "No, he maybe...(pause)...six, ... fourteen pictures, maybe, in his desk. Fourteen."
- Adult: "And that was too many?"
- Bronwyn/Kepmen: "Yes."
- Kepmen: "Way far too many!"
- Bronwyn: "Like five too many, Kepmen."
- Kepmen: "And he never forgot. He just said 'I'm gonna keep this in my desk.' He was being real bad."

November 13, 1984

These examples illustrate a number of points that merit comment. Again, each is "reportable" in that the events related, although factual, are out-of-the-ordinary; the narratives chronicle misadventures and transgressions. Example 1 is a second-hand account of events heard about that happened to others. Precisely because the narrator did not witness the events, she seeks confirmation of her account from Kepmen, whom she assumes did. Thinking he was on-the-spot when the 'eviction' occurred, Bronwyn attempts to turn the floor over to him, and she explains the logic behind her offer as she does so: "Kepmen must know more because he is a boy and he saw it happen because he was in the bathroom". This surrender of the conversational floor indicates recognition of the tacitly understood "rule" that

the one with the most information on a topic is the one with first rights to relate it: first hand knowledge takes precedence over second-hand knowledge. Kepmen, unable to elaborate, focuses instead on motivation (no doubt prompted by adult enquiries) and contributes a proposed explanation of the 'big kids' behaviour.

Example 2, introduced with the ubiquitous "You know what?", illustrates several techniques the narrators routinely employed to heighten listener interest in their narratives. The listeners are directly addressed, here by means of the familiar and affectionate "guys". A rhetorical question is used: "And then, what did they have to get it off with?" The answer, the punch-line, is marked with rising intonation and a pause for dramatic effect.

Example 3 illustrates how the narrator must accommodate his telling to listener reaction. Anecdotes of this sort are more open to challenge than those of personal experience. Kepmen has to deal with outright contradiction and playful but potentially disruptive input ("Four hundred and fifty thousand million, forty-four thousand..."). The correction is accepted and the humour good-naturedly acknowledged. Anecdotes of vicarious experience frequently include the quoted utterances of those who were reported. In this example Kepmen concludes his account with a quotation which serves as 'proof' of Chad's conscious

disobedience and therefore justifies the judgment: "He was being real bad."

C) Tattle-Tales

Closely related to anecdotes of vicarious experience and "gossip" are tattle-tales. Tattle-tales are narratives which detail the past doings of someone other than the narrator and that are related to a third party in the presence of the person complained against. These are the "let-me-tell-you-the-bad/mean/miserable thing that so-and-so did" narratives. Complaints of behaviour 'in progress' at the time of telling or of behaviour that happened immediately prior to the reporting of it were not included in this categorization (i.e., "He just hit me!"); rather, the term "tattle-tale" was restricted to reported past transgressions.

Only 19 examples of tattle-tales were recorded although many more were delivered as the children walked with the researcher across the school grounds to the parking lot. As almost any parent will attest, this is one variety of narrative that is commonly used by children; it is also a variety that evokes strong negative reaction both from the adults reported to, and the children reported upon. The taunt 'Liar, liar, pants on fire!', which was chanted on several different occasions during the recorded sessions, stands as evidence of the latter point.

The recorded tattle-tales were evenly distributed throughout the data, and examples were contributed by each of the subjects although Kepmen produced over half of the total and all of the examples recorded during the last five months of the study. Bronwyn told six of the tales, Heather two, and one was a joint complaint against Heather launched by Bronwyn and Kepmen. In almost every instance the tattle-tales were addressed to the adult and, probably because that adult happened to be Bronwyn's mother, most of the tattle-tales featured Bronwyn as offender.

The following examples are presented in the order in which they occurred.

1. Adult: "Okay, how was school this morning?"
 Bronwyn: "Fine."
 Kepmen: "But Bronwyn was a little bossy at school. She tells me 'You can't do that...you can't do this, you can't do anything.'"
 Adult: "Erh..that's not very nice of her."
 Bronwyn: (vehemently) "I did not, Kepmen!"
 Kepmen: "You did so."
 Adult: < "Well, you've been bossy in the car, Bron."
 Bronwyn: "Mummy, I d-i-d-n't!" (starts to cry)
 Kepmen: (softly) "You did so."
 Bronwyn: "Ah, Kepmen hurt my..I'm going in the front!"
 (Charges and denials continue for 18 more turns of talk.)

September 30, 1983

2. Bronwyn shared part of her lunch with Tyson. While the adult was out of the car on an errand Kepmen asked Bronwyn "What happens if your Mum finds out Tyson just ate the crackers without the cheese on, and you scrunched the cheese?" Bron explains that she threw the cheese out because the heat had made it "all sweaty". The following tale was told almost ten

minutes after this conversation.

- Kepmen: "Um, now can I tell ya something?"
 Adult: "Yes, what is it?"
 Kepmen: "Tyson didn't eat the cheese, on the crackers..."
 Bronwyn: "Because it was sweaty."
 Kepmen: "So Bronwyn....so Bronwyn (laughs) got it, and she didn't even eat it, she scrunched it up and threw it in the garbage."
 Adult: "Why?"
 Bronwyn: "Because it was all sweaty and yucky and gooey and mushy."

September 4, 1984

3. Kepmen: "Bronwyn was running outside at recess. And I told her 'Stop running or you're gonna slip on those shoes!'"
 Bronwyn: (shouting) "You did not say that!"
 Kepmen: (loudly) "I did so!"
 Adult: "He was right. Because those shoes will be so slippery. Bronwyn take..."
 Bronwyn: "Mummy, he's telling a big lie!"
 Adult: "I picked up your other shoes so you'll have better shoes to wear tomorrow."
 Kepmen: "Oh good. Thank you. I'm not gonna tell her it again. I'm not gonna tell her it again."

September 4, 1984

4. Kepmen: "And you know what, Alison? I fell...Josh...um, you know what? Alison.."
 Adult: "Yes?"
 Kepmen: "Um, ..Josh pushed me down and jumped on me, and then.."
 Adult: "You mean, right after school?"
 Kepmen: "Bron went and jumped on me and broke my cookie."
 Bronwyn: (scornfully) "I did not jump on so...you liar!"
 Kepmen: "You jumped on me..she broke my cookie."

October 30, 1984

As is obvious from these examples, the tattletales usually earned a strong and angry reaction from the accused that was frequently delivered at full volume and

occasionally punctuated by tears. Bronwyn's response to Example 1 was a tearful "Kepmen, you're hurting my feelings" and a retaliatory "I don't like you, Kepmen." The consequences of becoming identified as a 'Tattle-Tale' are not minor; it is adequate cause for withdrawal of friendship.

On a number of different occasions on the tapes the girls criticized Kepmen for telling tales, and labelled him 'mean' because of it. For example:

Bronwyn: "Kepmen tells on everyone."
 Kepmen: (very softly) "I do not."
 Bronwyn: "Every minute you say 'Oh! you go...you do so so, you did so so, you did so so, you do so so, you do so so, you do so so!' - He says what all the ...everytime he closes his mouth he says something: 'You do so so! You do so so!'"
 Kepmen: (amused, but protesting) "I do not Bron!" (laughs)
 Bronwyn: "You do so!"

November 9, 1984

A few weeks later, Bronwyn announced she was changing Kepmen's name.

Bronwyn: "And I don't like Kepmen, he's a tattle-taler. I'm gonna keep...when...I don't call Kepmen any more..Kepmen. I'm gonna call him 'Tattle-Taler."
 November 30, 1984

Interestingly, this last is offered in reaction to a tale told on Heather.

Even though a tattle-tale generally signals a negative interaction, if the reaction of the person told-upon is sufficiently casual (as in Example 2), or sufficiently imaginative, the situation can be defused. The following illustrates the latter case.

5. Bronwyn: "Mummy, Heather and Kepmen pet...when I was drawing Kepmen was hitting me with his hands."
 Adult: "Oh oh oh..."
 Kepmen: "That's cuz I was a Big Bad Wolf. So did Heather."
 Adult: "I didn't know they let Big Bad Wolves in the classroom."
 Kepmen: "Yes they did."
 Adult: "Thought they had to go to the zoo."
 Kepmen: "No, Big Bad Wolves in the classroom."
 (laughs)
 Heather: "Yeah, me and Kepmen were Big Bad Wolves."
 Adult: "What does your teacher do with these Big Bad Wolves?"
 Bronwyn: "She threw them out the door!"
 Kepmen: (delighted) "Noo-o..she...No she doesn't throw them out the door, she pats them on her back."
 Bronwyn: "Oh no, they'll get....."
 Heather: < "And says 'Good Wolf! Good Wolf!'"
 (Adult laughs)
 Bronwyn: "No, everyone'll never...even...I'll throw these wolves out window!"
 (Bronwyn playfully tussles with Heather and Kepmen in an effort to make good her threat.)

November 28, 1983

D) Retelling - Print Source

Eighteen retellings of stories that had originally been read to the children were found in the data. Ten of these were produced by Kepmen, four by Bronwyn, two by

Heather, and two collaboratively. Their distribution over the course of data collection is presented in Table 7.

TABLE 7. DISTRIBUTION OF RETELLINGS (PRINT SOURCE) OVER TIME

															Total			
Bronwyn	1					1								2	4			
Heather				1	1										2			
Kepmen		1	1	1	2						1	2	2		10			
Joint	-----1-----1-----														2			
	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	//	S	O	N	D	J	F	18
	1983				Months of the Year										1985			

The majority were retellings of traditional folk tales although there were several examples from recent children's literature, one retelling from a nature book and one account of a newspaper story. The only one of the three children to repeat stories was Kepmen. His repertoire included three versions of 'The Three Little Pigs', two versions of 'Snow White', two versions of 'Old Yeller', one of 'The Monster of Black Lagoon', a brief account of the pot-of-gold-at-the-end-of-the-rainbow legend and (with Heather's assistance) 'Mrs. Honey's Hat'. Bronwyn told 'Cinderella' and 'Goldilocks', two modern tales ('Petranella', and a story about an errant cat) and a factual story about red kangaroos. Heather supplied a

brief account of a newspaper article, an abbreviated version of 'Chicken Little', and she assisted Kepmen with 'Mrs. Honey's Hat'. Kepmen told the longest of these stories; his retelling of 'Snow White' required 498 words, but Bronwyn's 'Cinderella' was almost as long at 423 words. Heather's longest contribution, in contrast, was only 65 words.

Because of their length, Kepmen's two versions of 'Snow White' have been placed in Appendix F. Bronwyn's retelling of 'Petranella' is in Appendix G. 'Cinderella' is included here.

Bronwyn: "Um. Once upon a time there was two mean sisters and a girl. One time the Prince wasselling these forms for to have a ball (last phrase said slowly, somewhat hesitatingly)...In...the two wicked sisters could go, and they said 'Cinderella, you can not go. You are filthy. You have ashes and you have no dress. Well! As the two sisters were getting ready she threw out her good ribbon and her necklace. All that Cinderella had was a pink dress. Cinderella's mice knitted, sewed, and jumped..and they digged through the garbage, got the ribbon, necklace, and ran for the ball. Til...when she got at the ball..the other sisters said 'Hmmm, that's a beautiful lady there...she must be from a different country or something. Uuh...well the Prince said 'This is my partner!' He danced...and danced, and danced, all night. ..'til the clock struck midnight and ran to her carriage, caught the carriage and and took it home. Quickly sat by the cinders and her, the sisters said 'Hm, there was this beautiful lady and a necklace just like me, a ribbon just like me, and a beautiful pink dress, diamond blue...shoes. ..and just beautiful.' And Cinderella was

just listening..and..she knew it was herself that....Then, the next week there was another ball. The....fairy...widlered her wand....she went into a more beautiful dress...and went to the ball. When the sisters saw this beautifuller lady she, they couldn't believe their eyes! The Prince said (this is whispered) 'This is my partner'. The clock struck midnight, and she quickly ran out of the ballroom and lost her white slipper. Uh, the Prince ran after her, and grabbed the slipper and went all over the world....on a horse...and a pillow to lie the shoe on. Everyone to strug..were struggling their feet into the slipper but 'til 'til he came to Cinderella's house. (Pause) Til the sisters tried to struggle their feet in there...they struggled and struggled even 'til their feet were bleeding."

Heather: (This last remark brings an appreciative response from Heather...a sort of laugh/grunt.)

Bronwyn: "Duhhh. Really."
 "The Prince said 'Is there anyone else in your family?' 'NO, she's ugly, she's....' 'Can I see her?' 'Cinderella...' She quickly putted her foot in it and off she went. Off to the far (tape runs out, is turned over).....Well, quickly putted her foot in, and just went away. The Godmother came, flipped her wand and she went with the Prince, on the horse, to....after all it was a beautiful life...not all'd with that, the Prince married the girl, the King was happy, the Queen was happy, and End."

October 16, 1984

It is worth noting that this account includes comment about the internal states of the characters. The puzzled musings of the Ugly Sisters are reported, as is Cinderella's awareness that she is the person being discussed by them. The dialogue of the characters is dramatically presented. Sometimes it is attributed to the speaker responsible and sometimes it is simply stated. In

the latter case, the identity of the speaker is left to be inferred by the listeners or assumed to be obvious from the context of the talk. The temporal links between events are indicated by the repetition of "til" and the inclusion of phrases such as "when she got to the ball" and "'til the clock struck midnight". Also worth pointing out is the use of detail and vocal emphasis to heighten the dramatic interest of the narration, as in the comment that the Ugly Sisters "struggled and struggled even 'til their feet were was bleeding."

The stories were introduced into the carpool conversations in a variety of ways. Heather's short newspaper story followed an account of another newspaper article reported by the researcher and her 'Chicken Little' was prompted by, and offered as a commentary on, a picture she was drawing on her lap. Some of the stories were requested: at different times both Bronwyn and Heather asked Kepmen to tell 'Old Yeller'. Both Bronwyn and Kepmen spontaneously volunteered to retell familiar stories. Some of these offers were obviously triggered by the preceding conversation (for example, a rhyme about a kangaroo led to Bronwyn's kangaroo story), and some appeared to be a response to a lull in the conversation. Not all offers were warmly received. Immediately after his retelling of 'Old Yeller' Kepmen suggested the girls might like to hear 'Big Red'. Although he repeated his offer three times he

was unceremoniously turned down. On most occasions, however, these re-told stories were welcomed and the children granted them close and appreciative attention.

The spontaneously offered stories were 'announced'. The following are typical of the introductions:

1. Kepmen: "I'm going to tell a story of the three little pigs...out even the book."
2. Kepmen: "Hey (laughs)..I want..I want to tell the story of 'Snow White'."
3. Bronwyn: "Hey, let's....let's tell a story today! (Pause) Guys, let's have a story today."
4. Heather: "I'll tell you another one that was in the paper..."

In their retellings the children attempted to faithfully recreate the originals. Upon hearing the taped versions of Kepmen's stories, his mother remarked "He's memorized them!", and then produced his books as proof. Comparisons of the texts of 'Old Yeller', 'Snow White' and 'The Three Little Pigs' with Kepmen's versions, and of the texts of 'Petranella' and 'Cinderella' with Bronwyn's retellings served to underline how frequently the exact wording of the original had been reproduced.

This striving after accuracy is probably partly a consequence of the fact that listeners demand accurate

recountings. The demand for accurate reproduction is one of the constraints placed on any narrator re-telling a story known to his audience. The children were quick to reinforce this expectation. For example, Bronwyn interrupted Kepmen's 'Three Little Pigs' with "You're forgetting the wolf..You'll hafta start all over again" (January 25, 1984). At the end of this same story, Kepmen attempted to add a sequel in which the wolf is miraculously saved because he "flipped out of the p..pot when they put the lid on" and returns to continue terrorizing the pigs. Both girls immediately put their fingers in their ears and, when reprimanded by the driver for their rudeness, justified their response with:

Heather: "Well, that's not right.".... "Made up that story."

Bronwyn: "Yucky story."
January 25, 1984

The fact that the listeners also know the stories makes them a resource that the teller can tap. The girls joined in the 'Not by the hair of my chinny-chin-chin!' refrains, and each of the children regularly provided information to the story-teller if they got stuck or requested it. For example, in his first recorded attempt at 'Snow White' Kepmen ran into difficulty with the Queen's appeal to her mirror and sought assistance: "Every day she looked

at...at the mirror saying...ing...What is it, Bronwyn?
 Mirror, mirror...?". At the end of the story he managed to
 get Snow White buried ("the animals pushed her, pushed her,
 they know ..know where a big, big, big hole was, where lots
 of people died..pushed her in there, and she never returned
 again."), but the manner of her return-to-life was provided
 by the girls:

Kepmen: "....and she never returned again."
 Heather: "Only if the king, only if the king kisses
 her, right?"
 Kepmen: "That..."
 Bronwyn: "No not the king, the prince."
 February 15, 1984

As is apparent from the examples, the children's
 retellings are marked as 'stories' by means of most of the
 story conventions. They begin with the traditional opening
 formulas ("Once upon a time...", "Now once there was..."),
 and their settings are remote both in terms of time and
 place: "long ago in a country..far, far away". Stock story
 characters appear (i.e., princesses, wicked witches, little
 girls, defiant pigs) and the traditional plots unfold. The
 stories are told in the past tense, and their endings are
 signalled formally ("that's the end") and by means of the
 familiar happy resolutions: "...and never bothered those
 little pigs again and they lived happily ever after"
 (Kepmen, September 7, 1984).

The children's versions are peppered with their attempts to employ the literary or 'story language' they recognize as belonging to this narrative form. As the following brief extracts illustrate, some attempts were more successful than others:

Kepmen: "...at last the wish was granted...a little baby with black hair, red lips... and ...lips that...um..and fleece as white as snow!"
('Snow White', February 15, 1984)

Kepmen: "Well, her lips were as red as blood, her ebony was white, as white as snow, and her hair was as black as...um....ebony."
('Snow White', October 16, 1984)

Bronwyn: "Then everybody twinkled with their eyes and her father said: 'We are.'"
('Petranella', February 1, 1984)

E) Retelling - Visual Media Source

The narratives categorized as visual media retellings were those which related stories or events that had been portrayed on television, on film and video, or on stage. Twenty-seven examples of such retellings were found in the data, 14 produced by Kepmen, 5 by Bronwyn, 5 by Heather, and 3 collaboratively. Table 8 illustrates how these retellings were distributed among the different media sources.

TABLE 8. FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF VISUAL MEDIA RETELLINGS

	T. V.	Film/Movie	Play	Total
Bronwyn	3	1	1	5
Heather	3	2	0	5
Kepmen	5	7	2	14
Joint	1	1	1	3
Totals	12 (44%)	11 (41%)	4 (15%)	27

Table 9 presents the pattern of occurrence of visual media retellings over the course of the study.

TABLE 9 DISTRIBUTION OF VISUAL MEDIA RETELLINGS OVER TIME

Kepmen	1	2	2			3				1	3		2				
Bronwyn	1			1		2			1								
Heather					1	2	1					1					
Joint				1	1								1				
	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	//	S	O	N	D	J	F
	1983					Months of the Year										1985	

Heather's contributions were brief and included two short descriptions of cartoons, a mention of a T. V. news story, a retelling of a single incident from the T. V. program 'Chips', and a quick summary of 'Charlotte's Web'. Bronwyn described a film about orangutangs, a news story, a play, the 'Strawberry Shortcake Movie', and a T.V. special,

'The Snow Queen'. Kepmen's retellings included four animal programs, two accounts of a live variety show, as well as descriptions of Oscar's adventures on Sesame Street, 'Dumbo', 'The Muppet Movie', and 'Superman'. Kepmen's forte, however, was horror; his sometimes reluctant listeners were subjected to lengthy and dramatic retellings of 'King Kong', a film about matricide (with sound effects), and Jaws III. The children collaborated to tell about two films seen at school and to describe the highlights of a play that had been attended only by Bronwyn but which she had told the others about on a previous occasion.

As the following excerpts will illustrate, these retellings generally lack the sense of structural cohesion displayed by the retellings of stories from books. They frequently seem little more than a listing of events and images, and often are disjointed and difficult to follow.

1. Kepmen: "I saw a good show at the Appo's and we saw a baby...a baby koala bear, we saw a baby kangaroo get born, we saw uh some ants, we saw a frog, we saw uh..we saw a porcupine, we saw lots of things, we saw.." ... "..what kind of ant, we saw." "And I s...it was lizards, there was snakes, there was everything." ... "There was snakes and lizards, and the, and the lizard bit the snake....." (Intervening comments have been edited out. This continues in the same fashion, despite repeated interruptions from the other children, over many turns of talk.)

September 30, 1983

2. Bronwyn: "You know what? Um, last night I watched.. the um 'Snow Queen', and I watched...and there's um, and I watched it...and d'you know what? There's um...there's Snow Queen, everybody dances and then it gets windy and everybody puts a hide and then there's only one man...what um.....what um ..what um dances with the Snow Queen..... and then, her friend looks out the window and when she came out...."

Kepmen: (asks question...Inaudible)

Bronwyn: "No, the Snow Queen took...him away and then...um...and um..then the ...bir..I know her name... (story is interrupted by the spilling open of one of the children's pack-sacks).....And..and then...I know her name, and then - her name is Linda Rawl - she went on her magic trip to go find him.(voice slows dramatically)....she came to the Qu-e-e-n's palace, Queen's house... And, d'you know what? She um watched them dance and then you know what? she standing looking there, then she came out...."

(story is continued for another 400 words)

December 12, 1983

3. Kepmen: "I'll tell you a scary, scary thing in a movie..." (several comments intervene)
 "This little, um...this...person...was fixing the gate, and his head went side-ways and was fixing and his head went side-ways.....WAAAAAH! His arm got cut off.. the jaw (?) came out of his body, and his back flipped off, and all that was left was a mask and his arm!" (Kepmen continues and describes three additional incidents from the film 'Jaws III'.)

February 22, 1985

These retellings usually were introduced with a phrase describing where the story originated:

Kepmen: "I saw a movie when it...on the days off of school and the funny, uh, one funny part..."

Bronwyn: "I watched um something in my Grandma and Grandpa's..".

A rationale for the telling sometimes followed or was included with the introduction and was directly stated as in Bronwyn's announcement: "I want to..I want to tell you the funniest movie..(laughs)". Most often the justification for the narrative lay in it being either funny or frightening. Nine of the retellings could be classified as 'scary' (and were labelled as such by the children), seven were funny, and the remainder seem best described as being of general interest. Whereas the amusing and the scary retellings seemed most often introduced for their entertainment value, the general interest retellings usually were related to the current conversational topic. The length of these narratives varied considerably. The shortest were just four or five sentences; the majority were fairly lengthy, however, with the longest (Kepmen's retelling of a murder movie) being over 800 words. Endings were rarely formally signalled; most often the tellings simply petered out or were cut off by one of the other children.

The children's retellings of programs and stories which had originally been presented to them in a visual form are strikingly different from their retellings of stories they had heard or that had been read to them. In

the latter case the verbal structure is provided for them; the teller's task is simply to reproduce as best he can the story as he heard it. With stories and events that have been seen, however, the teller must create the structure and translate the visual into the verbal. Although stories and events that are presented on film and television often have accompanying dialogue and narration, frequently this verbal commentary is meaningless in the absence of the visual image. The child is faced with integrating both the visual and verbal input from the media and communicating the meaning of both in a coherent fashion. This is quite clearly a more demanding task, and no doubt explains why the children's visual media retellings seem on the whole to be less well crafted than their print media counterparts. At several points in the data the narrators offer evidence of their struggle to impose structure on their tellings. For example, in her account of 'The Snow Queen', Bronwyn carries the story to the point where she decided to turn the television off because "I was getting scared what they were going <to> do", and then suddenly announces "I forgot some of it in the middle, and in the middle there was this little...." and she again launches into the telling. Similarly, in his gory rendering of the murder movie, Kepmen at first begins to describe the film's climax and then stops and backtracks: "...I saw this show, and there was this girl, and she was so stupid, and she killed her..

um. She ripped...well, after....I should tell you the first part" (November 6, 1984). Despite their apparent awareness of the need to structure their tellings, and their efforts to do so, the visual media retellings are choppy and disjointed. Often they appear little more than a pastiche of images and events, and they contain few overtly stated causal or motivational links. Consequently they appear to make heavy inferential demands on the listeners.

Examination of the data reveals that listener response is markedly different in the two cases. The children almost always reacted positively to the print media retellings. As already noted, they supported the narrator by joining in on refrains, by monitoring the telling for omissions, by supplying information about plot and wording when it was requested or perceived to be needed. Much of this positive reaction may be attributable to the fact that in many cases the stories were familiar to the listeners. In contrast, listener response to the visual media retellings often included disinterest, confusion, and frustration. The longer retellings were subjected to interruption from the listeners and blatant attempts to change the topic; the narrator often had to expend considerable energy just to hold the floor. Interspersed throughout Kepmen's retelling of Example 1, for instance,

were the following floor- holding bids, all spoken by
Kepmen:

"Can I finish what I was saying?"

"I wa..I'm not finished....(pause)...And um..."

"Don't interrupt, please."

"Don't interrupt, please."

"Excuse me."

As becomes obvious when the comments of the listeners are examined, the objections arise from the fact that the narrator dominates the conversational floor with material that the listeners find uninteresting partly because the way it is told makes it difficult to understand and partly perhaps because they have not seen it. For example, Bronwyn reacted to the length of Kepmen's turn by charging "You never let me go on another turn, 'cept we never got any turns", and Heather echoed the charge with her observation that "Kepmen got to talk until we get into Duncan". On a different occasion, Kepmen described a variety show he had attended and his account consisted of not much more than a listing of the performers. This account was bluntly dismissed as "Not interesting at all" by Bronwyn. The long rendition of the murder movie raised no comment at all from either of the girls; it was simply ignored.

It should be noted, however, that if most of these retellings can be considered less than satisfactory as 'stories' per se, some quite successfully achieved the interactional ends set for them. For example, Kepmen's purpose in retelling 'Jaws III' was plainly stated: "I'll tell Bronwyn so she can freak out tonight" (September 4, 1984). The story raised the intended reaction; Bronwyn declared it "too scary" and blocked his efforts to continue with it. The 'funny' retellings succeeded in amusing, and the retelling of the favourite parts of the play resulted in all three children collaborating in an impromptu and highly entertaining performance of one of the musical numbers from that play.

F) Repeat Performances - Retellings of Narratives
Told By Same Narrator

This category includes narratives that have been previously told by the same narrator; they are repetitions. Obviously therefore they overlap the other narrative categories.

A review of the data revealed 20 examples of repeated narratives of this sort, nine produced by Bronwyn, seven by Kepmen, three by Heather, and one by Bronwyn and Kepmen together. Table 10 presents the distribution of repeat performance narratives over the course of data collection.

TABLE 10. DISTRIBUTION OF REPEAT PERFORMANCE NARRATIVES OVER TIME

													%					
Bronwyn				2	1		1			1		3	1	45				
Heather			1	1	1									15				
Kepmen				1	1					1		1	2	1	35			
Joint													1	5				
	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	//	S	O	N	D	J	F	
	1983						Months of the Year						1985					

As Table 11 illustrates, 70 percent of the repeated narratives were anecdotes, the majority of which were told by the two girls. The only other narrative forms represented were retellings of books and movies, all but one of which were contributed by Kepmen.

TABLE 11. DISTRIBUTION OF NARRATIVE FORMS RETOLD BY SAME NARRATOR

	Personal Anecdote	'Vicarious' Anecdote	Retelling of Book	Retelling of Movie	Total
Bronwyn	8	1			9
Heather	2		1		3
Kepmen	2		3	2	7
Joint	1				1
Totals	12 (60%)	2 (10%)	4 (20%)	2 (10%)	20

The narratives were repeated for a variety of reasons. Several of Bronwyn's anecdotes were told to Heather on the drive to pick up Kepmen and then repeated when he joined them. Because of the 'taboo' content of one anecdote it was first whispered to one child, and then repeated for the other. One anecdote was repeated at the listener's request because it hadn't been understood. One was repeated twice, apparently because the topic, a confrontation on the playground, had upset the child involved. Several repetitions seemed prompted by the positive response they had received on their first airing. Almost all of the repetitions appeared to have been triggered by the conversations in which they were embedded, and all (with the exception of the first repetition of 'Jaws III') were well received by the listeners.

Repetitions of this sort are of interest because they potentially grant insight into what it is that makes a child consider a narrative worth repeating. In addition, the repetitions afford the opportunity for comparison of the same content delivered on different occasions by the same speakers.

Because of their length both versions of Kepmen's 'Snow White' are included in Appendix F. In the following example, a personal anecdote related on two different occasions by Heather, both the first telling, and the repetition are presented.

- 1 Kepmen: "Like ya see, when they are bad, I give them a choice... I give them a choice... choice. 'Do you wanna come play with me and be nice or do ya wanna be rough?' I give them a choice."
 (several intervening comments have been omitted)
- Heather: "Guess what?...When I was in bed and I couldn't get to sleep, my Mum gave me a choice...dishes or bed. I take dishes --" I hate beds!" (laughs softly)
- Bronwyn: (to Adult) "What did Heather say?"
- Adult: "Ask her to tell you."
- Bronwyn: "What did you say, Heather?"
- Heather: "I said, I ...I didn't wanna go to bed so I..I couldn't get to sleep, so I...Mum gave me a choice, dishes or bed. I picked dishes because I hate bed." (Heather laughs quietly again).

September 27, 1993

Bronwyn complains that she is not feeling well.

Adult: "You should go home and go to bed."

Bronwyn: "No."

Heather: "You know what? Mum give me..Mum..Mum gave me a choice..dishes or bed. I picked dishes. (Adult laughs quietly) Cuz I don't like bed!"

December 16, 1983

G) Replays - Retellings of Narratives Previously Told By Others

A replay is a repetition of a narrative which was originally delivered by someone other than the present narrator. A total of 18 replays were found in the data, 10 produced by Bronwyn, 5 by Kepmen, and 3 by Heather. Fifteen of these replays proved to be anecdotes, 10 of vicarious experience, and 5 of personal experience. The

replays also included 3 stories which had originally been told (rather than read) to the narrators. Table 12 presents the distribution of these narratives over the course of data collection.

TABLE 12. DISTRIBUTION OF REPLAYS OVER TIME

													Total					
Bronwyn	1					1			3	1	3	1	10					
Heather		1						1	1				3					
<u>Kepmen</u>						1			3	1			5					
	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	//	S	O	N	D	J	F	18
	1983				Months of the Year								1985					

The following example present both the original narrative and the replayed version.

- Kepmen: "I almost drowned..."
 Adult: "What?!"
 Kepmen: "I I...almost drowned yesterday."
 <several intervening remarks have been omitted>
 Kepmen: "I went into the lake, you know, with Con.."
 Adult: "Yeah."
 Kepmen: "The Boogey Man pushed me out too far."
 Adult: (after slight pause) "Whhhhh....So what did you do?"
 Kepmen: "Mummy got me."
 Adult: "Did you get a whole lot of water in your mouth?"
 Kepmen: (softly) "No...but I went under."
 Adult: "Good Lord. And your Mummy got you?"
 Kepmen: (softly) "Yeah. I was scared when she came bashing into the water."

Heather was present during this narration but Bronwyn was not. The following narrative occurred on the same trip, but after Bronwyn had joined the two others in the car.

- Heather: (in a sing-song voice) "Tell what happened!"
- Kepmen: "I don't wanta tell it one more time."
- Adult: "Oh, you must, cuz you're the one who knows it."
- Heather: "Ok-ay, I'll tell it." (Adult laughs)
"What was that man's name again, that you were with?"
- Kepmen: "Man?"
- Heather: "Yeah."
- Kepmen: "I wasn't with a man."
- Heather: "Well, what was the man that um...that's name...." (inaudible couple of words)
- Kepmen: "Monster....Con.."
- Heather: "Well, ah, Kepmen was swimming with Con yesterday...."
- Kepmen: "Uh no, yah...."
- Heather: "Not yesterday?"
- Kepmen: "Yah, yesterday."
- Heather: "Yesterday, and um...."
- Kepmen: "I wasn't swimming. Con was going in the water, because, you know those big tatoos that won't come off?"
- Heather: "Yeah."
- Kepmen: "If you put them in water, they'll run. So he wasn't swimming."
- Heather: "So, um, Kepmen was in the water, and um... the Boogey Man took him out until...where.. it was really deep, and then, and then he was drowning and then his Mum came out, out ta save him." (Talk then shifts to a discussion of the Boogey Man.)

June 25, 1984

Although lengthy, the following examples have been included because, in addition to providing an excellent illustration of the form of replayed narratives, they serve

also to illustrate a number of points relevant to the other research questions raised by this study.

2. Kepmen: "I'll tell you a story so you'll never cry wolf."
 Adult: "Okay."
 Kepmen: "One time when I wasn't born - Mummy told me this one - a little boy said 'Wolf, wolf, wolf, wolf, wolf!', and Mum came out and said 'Where, where?' and then she looked up...."
 Bronwyn: <"That's not right."
 Kepmen: "...and she said 'I'm only fooling'. And she, and she looked back and saw it and she said 'Wolf, wolf, wolf, Mum, Mum, wolf, wolf', and Mum..and she got really worried and she went 'Where? Where?' and it, and he, the little boy said 'I'm only fooling you' and he said 'Wolf, wolf, quick, quick, wolf, wolf, wolf...". And she said 'He's only fooling me again' and she came outside and there was no little boy and she said 'Boy I'm glad he's gone, he'd uv eaten up by the wolf....(pause)..."
 Bronwyn: "Wrong."
 Kepmen: "Is it wrong, Alison?"
 Adult: "No."
 Bronwyn: "A bit wrong. A tiny bit wrong."
 Adult: "There's lots of different ways to tell stories..."
 Bronwyn: "I know 'cept that's one of the ..that's just one of the ways to make that one up."
 Adult: "Tell it your way then, Bron, and we'll see how they're different"
 Bronwyn: "Um.....once there was a little boy who was taking care of the sheriff's sheep..she.. sheep...and he said 'I'm bored of taking care of these sheep' and so he said I think I'll just do a little fool...so he sat up on the hills...."
 Adult: "I can't hear you Bronwyn...say it louder."
 Bronwyn: "He sat up on the hills and he said 'Wolf, wolf, wolf, wolf, wolf!', and everybody gotted their guns and their...what are those forks called again?"
 Adult: "Pitchforks."
 Bronwyn: "Pitchforks and their spears and they said 'Where? Where? Where?' and he said (next phrase said in a sing-song voice) 'I was

only fooling you!' until next day he sat up on the hills and he said 'Wolf, wolf, wolf, wolf, wolf!' and all the people in the village heard this and everyone runned and said 'Where? Where? Where?' and they got pitchforks and their spears, their guns and he said 'I was only fooling you!' (this said in a sing-song voice, deeper tone, guttural)....So one day....he sat on the hills (both Bronwyn and Kepmen here burst out laughing...perhaps in reaction to her tone which is clearly anticipatory, foreshadowing)..and there really was a wolf! (higher pitch - slowed for dramatic effect).....he doesn't get eatened up... when he says, and he says...'He's going to take all those sheep, and then after he's eaten all those sheep he's gonna eat me-e. ..he's cried 'Wolf...wolf...WOLF!'..and all the people in the village hear-ed this and they said "Ooh...have your supper..oh he's just fooling'...and he was crying louder and louder 'WOLF! WOLF!' (Kepmen laughs)and....that's the end."

- Adult: "What happened to him?"
 Bronwyn: "He stays...he doesn't get killed."
 Kepmen: "He just stays going (very exaggerated, high pitched) "W-O-L-F! W-O-L-F!" (Adult laughs)
 Bronwyn: "No he doesn't, he goes home. He goes home."

October 12, 1984

There appeared to be two main reasons for repeating a narrative someone had already told. The first was that the anecdote or story had been enjoyed or considered interesting and the subjects wanted to hear it again. On a number of occasions, if one child requested a retelling of a narrative first told by another and the original narrator refused to oblige, the requester told it himself. Secondly, narratives would be replayed if there was

dissatisfaction with the first version; these repetitions could be characterized either as efforts to 'set the record straight', or to 'tell it right'. Example 2 falls into this latter group. A comparison of the two versions of 'Never Cry Wolf' shows that what is missing from the first and added to the second are characters (the villagers), props (pitchforks and spears) and motivational explanations for the behaviour.

Quite a number of the replays were offered in reaction to narrations of incidents that had involved one of the listeners. For example, one of the longest of the recycled narrative exchanges involved a sequence of retellings in which Bronwyn first gave an account of a dispute at Kepmen's birthday party. Kepmen then retold the narrative from his perspective. Angrily objecting that "he..that wasn't right!", and further that "That was a lie. One part of that was a lie." Bronwyn again recounted the events at the party. Her objection to Kepmen's account resulted in part from his inclusion in it of comments about her 'thoughts' at the time of the party. She justified her repetition of the narrative with the statement "He doesn't know what I'm thinking...he doesn't know what I'm forgetting!". She then proceeded to explain what her feelings had been. This objection recalls the point made by Labov and Fanshel (1977) that the only one entitled to speak with authority about personal or inner events is the

person who experienced them . Although only six at the time this was recorded, Bronwyn revealed herself aware of, and prepared to enforce, this 'rule'. Perhaps it is worth noting that Heather, who had been involved in the original dispute, listened to both accounts without comment and refused an invitation to tell her version of what had gone on.

H) Original Fantasies

The narratives categorized as original fantasies were those which (as far as it was possible to determine) were the original creations of the narrator(s) and which related the actions and antics of fantasy characters. In view of the research attention this particular narrative type has received (Ames, 1966; Applebee, 1978; Kuczaj & McClain, 1984; Pitcher & Prelinger, 1963; Sutton-Smith, 1981; Volterra, 1984) it is interesting to note that very few such narratives appeared in the carpool recordings. Only seven examples were identified. Four of these were collaborative efforts, two were created by Kepmen, and one by Bronwyn. Table 13 presents their distribution over the course of data collection.

TABLE 13. DISTRIBUTION OF ORIGINAL FANTASY NARRATIVES OVER
TIME

Bronwyn													1																											
Heather																																								
Kepmen													2																											
Joint													1													1	1													1
	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	//	S	O	N	D	J	F																							
	1983				Months of the Year												1985																							

The first recorded examples are quite brief, and one consists of not much more than a character description. The last two, however, which were jointly-produced by Kepmen and Bronwyn, are very lengthy and complex. For example, the 'Saga of the Beastly Boys' (see Appendix H for the complete text of this example), is 971 words long, 560 of which were contributed by Kepmen and 421 by Bronwyn.

The following example is the third of this narrative category that was recorded. It is brief, and offers only a sketchy outline of a story. In contrast, the 'Saga of the Beastly Boys', which was recorded ten months later, is fully developed and skillfully executed.

- Kepmen: "Hey, I wanna tell a story!"
 Adult: "Okay."
 Kepmen: "Once there was somebody (blond ?) who came down on a forest..."
 Bronwyn: (playfully - tone amused) "Eating her Christmas pie!"
 (Adult laughs)
 Kepmen: "He...he was a little...he was a little

boy named....Jag and Dune...he walked too far, he could not find his home...he ran home, he just walked (inaudible phrase).. now he was afraid...." (breaks off to point out a building we pass and does not resume story.)

February 3, 1984

Examination of the fantasy narratives created by the children revealed that they displayed most of the story conventions associated with the genre. Almost all of them began with a traditional opening formula ("Once upon a time...long ago"; "Once there was a little boy...") and all were couched in the past tense. Their settings were traditional and stereotyped and included a village, "a little house on the hill", "an old building", "a little nice cottage", and "the deep forest". The characters included lost wayward boys, a woodcutter, a detective, Rudolph-the-Red-Nosed-Reindeer, a wolf, a witch, and "two racoons and three good fairies". Props were equally conventional; gold pieces and magic wands were featured. Five of the seven examples were organized around a problem. The plots were traditional; one of the fantasies involved a quest for treasure, and two described the adventures of lost children separated from their homes. This is consistent with Sutton-Smith's (1981) observation that one of the most common themes in the stories he collected "was of creatures separated from their loved ones" (p. 93). The fantasy narratives in the present study documented bizarre

and exaggerated events and included solutions that involved magical intervention. The endings that were marked signalled their finish either with an abrupt 'The End', a traditional formula ("...and they lived happily"), or, as in the 'Saga of the Beastly Boys', the finality of the grave. One of the fantasies also carried a formal dedication; the 'Saga' ends with Bronwyn's "For Julie, Rosie, Marian and Anna...Love Kepmen, Trina, Heather and Bronwyn".

These stories were spontaneously volunteered by the narrators, and introduced into the conversations with utterances such as Bronwyn's "How about we make up a story...You go first", and Heather's "I've got a story, it's about...". Often they would be part of a story-telling series, with one story or anecdote being followed by another offered by a different speaker. For example, one of the jointly-produced fantasies immediately followed the two retellings of 'Never Cry Wolf'. As Ryave (1978) notes, this is a common pattern in adult conversation for "frequently it seems to be that stories are manifested in clusters of two or more" (p. 113).

1) Original Fictions

Narratives classed as original fictions were those which had been 'made-up' by the narrator and which involved

the children themselves. In eight of the examples the narrator was a character in his own story; in one (Example 3, reproduced below) the subject of the fiction is one of the other carpoolers, who just happened to be present at the time of the telling.

The 'plots' or events described in these fictions run the gamut from the preposterous and bizarre to the blatantly rude. In almost all of them the normal 'rules of conduct' are set aside or flagrantly and gleefully violated (Shultz & Robillard, 1980). The fictions incorporate descriptions of a teacher punching a mother and booting her out of the school, of grandparents being stuffed down the toilet, of a waitress grossly overcharging a customer and then calling him "a bad little boy, you pee pee", and of a substitute teacher demanding her students break the toys "or else I'll kill ya!!" The exploits the children claimed for themselves included fighting a wild bear, "pooping" their pants, rock-'n'-rolling at school, throwing garbage all around the school, and sneaking out in the dead of night to take karate lessons.

The fictions were introduced into the conversations in one of three ways. The majority were extensions or fictional elaborations of topics raised in the on-going conversation. For example, a discussion about a recent visit by Heather's grandmother led to:

1. Heather: "And when I got home, you know what I did?"
 Adult: "What?"
 Heather: "I went upstairs and I threw her...I threw my Gran and Grandad in the toilet."
 (Heather breaks into delighted laughter, and is quickly joined by Bronwyn)
 November 28, 1983

Secondly, fictitious accounts would be given in answer to routine questions. For example:

2. Adult: "What you guys do today?"
 (Pause)
 Bronwyn: "Drink...all day long. We worked outside even because...um...we worked outside because it was so hot a day." (It is pouring with rain and has been all day)
 Adult: (Incredulous) "What?"
 (Kepmen laughs)
 Bronwyn: "We did all our work (giggles) outside, putted the glue on Kepmen's head, (Kepmen giggles)...still a little glue on Kepmen's head, see right there? ...Heather?"
 Adult: "Oh my goodness me."
 Heather: "Oh yeah, I see that ...glue."
 Adult: "Oh Kepmen, you poor thing."
 (Heather giggles)
 Kepmen: (laughing) "No, Bron, you naught...Your naughty little daughter did that to me."
 October 9, 1984

Lastly, fictions were offered, and identified, as 'stories'. The following is one of the two such examples recorded:

3. Bronwyn: "Once upon a time there was a man. He, and a lady, and a boy and a girl (Kepmen laughs). That was a whole family. One was called Mirlam, one was called Greg, and one was called Heather and one was called Kepmen...and they all went for a walk. That was a great big family."
 Kepmen: "And then one Kepmen, he said, 'Oh, I'm so

tired' and he walked back and he went to bed.'" (Kepmen has been lobbying to play the 'Let's-Pretend-We're-Asleep' game; Adult laughs)

Bronwyn: "And then once upon a time they went..then they woke up, then they still...went for a walk. And when Kepmen came (Kepmen laughs) back and...he couldn't find his family, they walked so far...they walked ...from Duncan to Victoria. (Kepmen and adult laugh) He went looking all around Duncan and he could not find them at all so, um... (pause) what they did is..they walked back, and walked back and walked back all around Duncan 'til they found Kepmen. And then they walked all home to say 'Merry Christmas!'"
(Appreciative 'noises' from Kepmen...sounds of expulsion of breath)

December 12, 1983

This last example of fiction offers an interesting instance of the 'fictionalization-of-self'. Kepmen is made a character in Bronwyn's story. He accepts the characterization and in his remark refers to himself by name, as if talking about someone else. In somewhat similar fashion, in Example 2 Kepmen refers to Bronwyn by means of the flowery "Your naughty little daughter". Such language use reflects the distancing that the fictionalization process permits; one can be oneself and, one step removed, one can be a character in a story all at the same time. Also of interest in Example 3 is the closing. Although not the traditional ending, the 'Merry Christmas!' has a ritual ring that effectively rounds off the narrative.

In contrast with the original fantasies, most of the fictions did not include conventional 'story' markers, although they were clearly marked as fictions. With the exception of the two identified by their tellers as 'stories', none began or ended with conventional formulae, and all were set in familiar and local surroundings. All were delivered in the past tense, however. The nature of the content made it obvious the narratives were fictional, but this was underscored in almost every case by the narrator's laughter (often exaggerated) and by high-pitched and fast-paced delivery, frequently at a louder volume than usual.

J) 'CONS'

Synonyms: Dupe, bamboozle, befool, chicane, flim-flam, fool, hoax, hoodwink, hornswoggle, trick.

Webster's Collegiate Thesaurus (1976)

'Cons' are original fictions which are intended to deceive or "trick" the listener(s) into believing that they are factual accounts. They are best characterized as "playful deceits" (Goffman, 1974), as "the containment of one or more individuals for the avowed purpose of fun - harmless, unserious, typically brief entertainment" (p. 89). No malice is intended; rather the motivation seems to stem from the desire to discover just how much can be 'got

When participation in the collaborative efforts is taken into account, it is clear that Heather was the keenest of the con-artists. She was involved in 11 of the 24 examples, and the instigator of all three of the collaborations of which she took part. She also produced the lengthiest (consisting of over 950 words) and perhaps the most successful of the 'cons'. Also willing dissemblers, Kepmen and Bronwyn each were involved in 9 of the 24 'cons'; Bronwyn participated in all of the collaborations.

The 'cons' were invariably presented as anecdotes. Fifteen of the examples detailed the purported behaviour of the narrator and the remaining nine were presented as anecdotes of vicarious experience. They featured the children's mothers, their teacher, and their school friends. Almost all of the events related were conceivably true, and within the realm of possibility. They were usually introduced with an assertion and then backed with supporting details and evidence as required to counter listener challenges and questions. Of the 24 examples, 11 could be considered successful in that they did, at least temporarily, fool or 'con' the listener(s). Most succeeded in amusing all involved.

Part of the fun came in announcing that a trick had been played: often 'cons' were terminated with a happy "I tricked you!" To cite one instance, Heather told Bronwyn

and the driver all about taking a sled over an icy waterfall. The account was artfully supported with details about slippery rocks and melting snow, and elaborated with an on-the-spot commentary of her thoughts: "I thought 'What am I doing? I'm too high up! How high? and I thought water was supposed to be deep!' I almost felt down the waterfall...." (December 5, 1983). The account met no challenge from the listeners and was accepted at face value. Heather then informed her audience they had been duped: "I tricked you all about that"...."I tricked you" ... "cuz it's a joke. It's not really true, what I just said." (December 5, 1983).

Not all of the 'cons' were admitted, however. Most were challenged and many defeated by logic and counter evidence. Sometimes the narrator 'gave the game away' by dissolving into giggles. The listeners evaluated the veracity of the 'cons' by scrutinizing the manner of delivery. Smiling and laughing were taken as proof of deceit. For example, Bronwyn responded to one of Kepmen's anecdotes with "Kepmen, you're making that up because you laughed" (September 27, 1983), and Heather similarly rejected his account of a car accident with "He's laughing...he has a smile on his face" (September 27, 1983). The successful 'cons' were delivered deadpan and the children recognized and discussed with each other the necessity of maintaining neutral facial expressions if they

were to convince a listener of the truth of what they were recounting. Heather was a master of the deadpan delivery. The longest recorded 'con', which she created and maintained throughout one entire trip to school, was uttered in a thoroughly matter-of-fact fashion and calmly and logically defended (an abbreviated version of this 'con' can be found in Appendix I). With considerable skill Heather convinced both Bronwyn and Kepmen that she had written and arranged the typing of a 300 page hardcover book which she held on her lap as she pretended to put the finishing touches to the illustrations with a crochet hook. Granting only that she had bought the cover and had received help from her mother with some of the difficult parts, she managed to overcome the scepticism of Bronwyn and Kepmen and set them both to planning the making of similar books for themselves. This 'con' was never admitted to either of the other children; it was, however, quietly confessed to the driver the following day with a half-smile that requested her complicity in keeping the secret.

The nature of the 'cons' is made plain by the fact that the listeners rarely took offence, and that most of the 'cons' were responded to with laughter and playful jostling. The children referred to them as "tricks", "teasing" and "jokes" as in the following admission which terminated a successful collaborative effort:

Heather: "We're joking!"
 Bronwyn: "We're joking....We're just kidding!"
 June 18, 1984

No particular pattern emerged as to the targets of the 'con's. Those which were independently executed were aimed at whoever happened to be present and listening. Most occurred when all three children were together in the car. The driver was the specific target of seven 'cons', three of which were collaborations, three produced by Kepmen and one by Bronwyn.

The following example is the first that was recorded.

1. Kepmen: (Voice excited) "You know what my Mum did?"
- Bronwyn: "She ran into a tree." (This much is true, but as was confirmed in a later discussion with Kepmen's mother, she was alone at the time of the mishap.)
- Adult: "Ooh...is she hurt?"
- Kepmen: "Na..yep."
- Adult: "Oh, poor Mum...was was she just jogging, or what?"
- Kepmen: "And my sister fell out of the car."
- Adult: (after slight pause) "When did all this happen?"
- Kepmen: (after slight pause) "Yesterday."
- Adult: "Your poor Mum."
- Heather: "Poor Trina. She fell out of the car."
- Adult: "Is she all right?"
- Kepmen: "No, she had to go to the hospital."
- Bronwyn: "Who?"
- Adult: "Really?"
- Kepmen: "Yep."
- Bronwyn: "Trina?"
- Kepmen: "And then I had..and then I holded onto the steering wheel and I fell on the door and cracked my head open."
- Adult: "Yesterday, Kepmen?"
- Kepmen: "Yes."
- Bronwyn: "He didn't crack his head open..."

Heather: "He's laughing...he has a smile on his face...."

Adult: "Are you teasing me, Kepmen? (said warmly, not accusingly)"

Bronwyn: "Yah, he..."

Kepmen: "No."

Bronwyn: "Yes..because he has a smile on his head."

Adult: "Ah, maybe he's not..."

Bronwyn: "He da, he cr...he said he cracked his head open and his head isn't cracked open."

Kepmen: "Yah, but I put band...bandages on it and it coloured the bandages..."

Heather: "Yeouu..." (Heather moves over and examines Kepmen's head)... "let me feel your head... Hey, you hair's all stale."

Bronwyn: (after inspection and a slight pause) "Yeah, your hair's all stale."

Kepmen: "I have a ...I have a clock...."
Topic of talk changes, mood playful.
September 27, 1983

2. The children had been talking about snakes and worms.

Kepmen: "I'm goin' out of this car if anyone talks about worms again, or snakes."
(Heather laughs)

Heather: "Aah...and I ate a snake before I came home...(laughs)..in the garden, I ate one cuz I was, I was trying to pick a berry, and I ate a little...snake's tail in it... .."

Bronwyn: "Did it taste good?"

Heather: "I ate a...part of the middle of a snake in there."

Bron and Heather: (squealing) "Ahhhhhhhhh!

Heather: "I d-i-d...ah ah ah! It was...I loved it, cuz it tasted sorta like..."

Bronwyn: "What does it taste like?"

Heather: "Sorta meatish."

Bronwyn: (appreciatively) "Mmmm. 'Cept I'm never ever gonna eat a snake."

Kepmen: "I'm never gonna eat a snake either."
October 7, 1983

Most of the 'cons' that were recorded occurred during the kindergarten year. Only four examples were found on

the grade one tapes and two of these resulted in accusations (one good-humoured, one less so) of lying. It is possible that the children, as they got older, were not so easily duped. Perhaps they were just less willing to be seen to have been duped. The last recorded 'con', delivered by Bronwyn and directed at Kepmen, was laughingly denounced as a "big fat lie!" (February 22, 1985). Kepmen added: "Now I know (Bronwyn giggles) that Bron was telling a big fat lie". Underscoring the basically benign nature of the 'cons', Bronwyn replied "That's you don't call that a lie...you call that a fib".

These 'cons' afford an interesting opportunity for the examination of what the subjects consider to be the essential components of factual accounts. As Goffman (1974) has so effectively illustrated, the study of fakes, fabrications and falsity can be very informative of the nature of our conception of the 'true'. As he puts it, "one can learn how our sense of ordinary reality is produced by examining something that is easier to become conscious of, namely, how reality is mimicked and/or how it is faked" (p. 251). By examining what the subjects include in their narratives when they set out to convince their listeners that they are delivering a factual report, it is possible to learn much about their understanding of what constitutes and supports factual reporting. For example, as the following quotations from the data reveal, the

successful narrative 'cons' provided information about time and location ("when we were on a real airplane"; "I ate a snake before...in the garden"), and included realistic details ("His teeth turned out black. They had to go to the dentist."). Successful 'con-artists' quoted the words of those supposedly involved ("Yeah, I remember she said 'Porcupine sandwiches'."). In addition, the narrators sought the corroboration of their accounts from others ("Right, Kep?"; "Yeah, we saw lots of friends of ours, right Heather?"), and even included reassuring clichés ("No, they have to eat prickles - they're good for you."). As their 'cons' make plain, the three children understood a great deal about what is required to 'tell a good story'.

K) Narrative Jokes

Narratives which recounted past events perceived as humorous by the narrator, and which were related with the intention of amusing, were categorized as 'jokes'. The majority of the examples found in the data were identified as jokes by the subjects themselves.

Although there was a great deal of humour recorded on the tapes, only seven examples of narrative jokes were identified. Four of these were delivered by Bronwyn, two by Kepmen and one by Heather. All but one were recorded

during the first six months of data collection. Most were fairly brief, and several had a 'one-liner' quality.

The following are examples of what the children in this study counted as 'jokes':

1. Bronwyn: "Guess what? One day, Heather, we had some um ...visitors over, I...guess what? There was a bald man, here. The man said 'There's another bald man over here!'"
 (laughs softly, and Heather joins the laughter). "And everybody laughed."
 (Heather laughs). "Right, Mum?"
 Adult: (laughs softly) "Right."
 Bronwyn: "There's a funnier joke."
 Adult: "It sure is." (Pause) "One of those bald men was your Daddy, wasn't it?"
 Bronwyn: (excited, almost shrieking) "Yees!"
 (laughs; there is a pause for almost 10 seconds) "One of the bald men wasBill."
 Adult: "That's right."
 Bronwyn: "And one of the bald men was David. One of the hairy ladies was Alison...and one of other hairy ladies were ah ah..um..."
 Adult: "Wendy."
 Bronwyn: "Wendy."
 Adult: "Hairy ladies?"
 Bronwyn: "Yep!" (dissolves into giggles)
 September 23, 1983

2. Kepmen is telling the girls about the animals on a farm that we are driving past.
 Kepmen: "One of them moo's so loud that I think it came out of the bushes."
 Bronwyn: "Is it a moose?"
 Kepmen: "No, it's a moo-moo."
 Adult: (laughs) "It moos so loud it's a moose."
 Kepmen: "And d'you know what?"
 Adult: "What?"
 Kepmen: "Ah um...we..my...um..my Mum's brother has got a cow and they call it Boo-Boo. I guess it Boos."
 January 25, 1984

3. The girls have been talking about absentees at school.

- Heather: "Tyson's gone."
 Bronwyn: "Kristine's back."
 Heather: (animated) "Yeah, Tyson's gone now. Kristine's back now." (Both girls laugh) Aah, we used to have only oneth and now we have another..."
 Bronwyn: (breaking in, voice excited) "Oh, I got to tell you a joke....um...Tyson's gone now and Kristine's back and used to Tyson was here and (lowers tone) Kristine was not here. (laughs) R..right?"
 Heather: "Yeah."

December 5, 1983

The humour appears to derive from the perception of pattern and parallelism (i.e., two bald men, two hairy ladies; one child "gone", one child "back" and then the reverse; moo-moo/Boo-Boo) and of the incongruous. For example, one of Kepmen's jokes consisted of his telling about drawing a picture of Dracula and labelling it 'This is Mummy', and one of Bronwyn's hinged on the ludicrous contrast between her hair, deliberately messed up and sticking out in all directions, and her mischievous announcement "I have a haircut...yesterday!" This remark succeeded in 'cracking-up' the entire carpool.

Heather provided a five-year-old's definition of 'jokes'. After Bronwyn's description of the switching absentees (Example 3) which she had labelled as a joke, the following exchange took place:

- Heather: "That's not a joke, is it?" (intonation indicates this is a statement rather than a question)
 Bronwyn: "Uh uh. (pause) That's not a joke."

Adult: "Why?"
 Bronwyn: "Cuz it's true."
 Adult: "Well, what's a joke?"
 Heather: (after slight pause) "When you say, ah.. let's see....okay..'Knock, knock, who's there?' Who is there? (pause...no response from Bronwyn or the driver) Do you know? (waits a second) Mickey Mouses's underwear."
 Adult: "And that's a joke, huh?"
 Heather: (Heather sniggers...makes 'sshush shush shush' sounds) "Yes, it is."
 Adult: "Why is that a joke?"
 Heather: (laughs) "Cuz Micky Mouses's underwear isn't there at the door!"
 December 5, 1983

This definition repeats Heather's comments after one of her 'cons'; her deception was explained as "a joke. It's not really true".

L) Mock Stories

Utterances which deliberately mocked or played with the form, content, conventions or manner of presentation of stories were classified as 'mock stories'. These playful 'send-ups' were identified by the subjects as "our stupid stories" (September 7, 1984) and were invariably accompanied with laughter. Twenty-eight examples were found in the data, thirteen produced by Bronwyn, nine by Kepmen, four by Heather, and two collaboratively. Table 16 presents their distribution over the course of data collection.

TABLE 16. DISTRIBUTION OF MOCK STORIES OVER TIME

															Total			
Bronwyn					3	2					1	2	4		1	13		
Heather					1								3			4		
Kepmen				3								3	2	1		9		
Joint			1								1					2		

	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	//	S	O	N	D	J	F	28
	1983																	1985
	Months of the Year																	

The mock stories can be roughly divided into two categories: a) those which mocked the tale, and b) those which mocked the telling. Almost all of them represent a deliberate violation of one or more of the conventional expectations surrounding 'stories'. Three narrative types proved the most frequently targeted: traditional folk tales, personal anecdotes, and anecdotes of vicarious experience. A list of the features mocked by the children include content, characters, the conventions for beginning and ending stories, length, and story structure. Elements of presentation style that were mocked include introductions, volume, speed, pitch, and repetitiveness. Worth noting is the enthusiasm with which the children engaged in this type of language behaviour and the fact that they were well aware of what they were about. These

mock stories were not counted as mockeries because, through adult eyes, they quaintly fell short of some standard of acceptability for stories. Rather they were counted as mockeries because the children deliberately violated in some fashion what they understood to be the conventional expectation for stories.

The following examples illustrate these points. Mock versions of four folk tales were found in the data. Kepmen, aware that he was almost home and that time was running out, recited the story of 'The Three Little Pigs' at a breathless pace, laughing as he did so. The familiar story-line was maintained almost to the end, which Kepmen then embellished in the following fashion: "...the three little pigs put a um..a..a..a pot a boiling pot of some chili, then the wolf dropped in...he s..he popped out...he said 'I'm the sweetest wolf in the whole wide world!!'" (October 16, 1984). On this same tape, Bronwyn offered the following updated high-tech version of 'Goldilocks and the Three Bears':

Once Mama made porridge for Papa Bear, Baby Bear and herself. Well, Papa said 'This is too hot of porridge, I will not eat it.' Baby Bear said 'This is too hot of porridge, Mum, I will not eat it', and Mama 'I think this is too hot and I think I should just zap it in the microwave (Bronwyn laughs)...put it a little hotter!' (laughing) Well, as it was going in the microwave for ten hours...(pauses for effect - Heather laughs, and Bronwyn joins with her)... they went for a walk. When they got home Papa Bear said 'This is perfect!' Baby Bear said

'This is tasty!' Mama Bear said 'You bad boy. You cooked bad porridge!' Then...Goldilocks saw a big bear coming out of big house, small bear coming out of small house, mung-booby bear coming out of booby bear's house, trees coming out of trees house, all different houses coming out of houses. The End.

October 16, 1984

Heather's reaction was the amused, if rather dry, observation that "this is a new story. I think Bronwyn's just making this one up."

In addition to revamping familiar folk tales, the children enjoyed placing characters belonging to one story into another. For example, Kepmen told a series of mock stories in which he offered various versions of the pot-of-gold-at-the-end-of-the-rainbow legend. Prancing through these stories, gloriously out of context, were Frosty the Snowman, Rudolph the Red-Nosed-Reindeer, and Santa Claus. In keeping with the tradition of happy endings, the pot of gold was found "under his bed with all the reindeer in it!" (December 7, 1983).

The teasing transposition of characters is illustrated by Heather's playful "Who is the famousest one of all, and the mirror says: Cinderella!" which she interjected at the appropriate point into Kepmen's account of 'Snow White'. Another way that characters were mocked consisted of rendering them highly improbable choices for the subject of a story. For example, Heather began one mock story with

the following: "Once upon a time there was two Bronwyns... (giggles)...one named....Bronwyn, and one named...Bronwyn (laughs)." (September 7, 1984). Bronwyn populated one of her mock stories with the following unlikely cast of characters: "...six boys and two...and fifteen girls, and two hundred Mummies, and six hundred and fifty Daddies. The End." (February 3, 1984). This 'story' consisted of an elaborately introduced setting, the listing of characters just noted, and nothing more - and that was the point. The children repeatedly played with the structural components of stories and their mocking primarily consisted of omitting key components and of stripping the genre down to the barest of essentials, and then eliminating even those. The following series of mock stories offers an excellent example of this process:

Heather: (voice excited - fast) "Can I tell you guys a really fast story?"
 Adult: "Sure."
 Heather: (quickly) "Once upon a time."
 Adult: "That's a really fast story."
 Heather: "And they lived happily ever after!"
 (Adult laughs)
 Bronwyn: "D'you want me to tell you a really, really fast story?....(said very quickly -->) Thank you!"
 (Kepmen laughs)
 Heather: "I'll tell you a really fast story. Uooop!" (i.e. sound of her just catching her breath...a gulp. Kepmen laughs.)
 Kepmen: "I'll tell you a really fast story... Hello, Goodbye!"
 Heather: "I'll tell you a really fast story....."
 (Heather makes no sound at all and as soon as the other two catch her point they burst into loud laughter.)

Bronwyn: (happily) "You didn't say anything!"
 (Kepmen laughs.) "I'll tell you a real
 fast story....Hmp! (Bron makes soft
 'raspberry' noises with her lips.)
 Kepmen: "I'll tell ya a real fast story....I'll
 tell you a real fast story - Hello!"
 Bronwyn: "I'll tell you a fast...."
 Kepmen: "Goodbye!"
 Bronwyn: "...fast story...Lalala!!"
 Adult: "Shsh."

November 20, 1984

The first "really fast story" consists of nothing more than the traditional beginning and ending formulas; the fourth consists of similar conventional framing utterances, but this time greeting rituals are substituted. The ultimate in mock stories is no story at all, and that is precisely what Heather produces. Of note is the way her 'wit' is recognized and appreciated by the other children, and their quickness to join in and try to top each other's performances. Just as in the above example, many of the mock stories in the data were delivered in a sequence; one tended to spark another which in turn prompted another.

Anecdotes were also spoofed. For example, in response to the driver's routine enquiry as to what they had done at school, Heather and Bronwyn, amid shrieks of laughter, recounted a preposterous list of events. Unlike several of the 'cons', which had followed a similar pattern, there was no attempt to make this account in any way believable, nor any intention that it be believed. It was one of a number of narratives that, during data analysis, became known as

'preposterositities'. On another occasion, the researcher's request that Bronwyn tell the others about her visit to the Old West movie set at Old Tucson raised a loud "Ah, Tucson! Bang! Bang!" and a great deal of laughter. Later, acknowledging that her account hadn't fully informed the others, she happily expanded it: "Bang! Bang! Bang!" (March 26, 1984).

The conventions surrounding the telling of stories were repeatedly mocked in the examples found in the data. For instance, after the children had spontaneously arranged that they would "make a story up", Kepmen announced "I wanna say something funny first". Then, in a very theatrical circus-ringmaster-voice, he formally introduced the first story:

Kepmen: "Hello Boys and Girls...I would
like to introduce the story of.....
who read this story..."
Bronwyn: "That's not funny!"
Kepmen: (ignoring Bronwyn) "The person who made
this story....was called...."
Bronwyn: "Kep."
Kepmen: "Mr. Poop Big Fat!"

October 16, 1984

Precisely because stories are usually delivered in moderated tones, at a reasonable pace, the children thought it a hilarious departure to tell stories at top speed, and at top volume. Bronwyn reduced Kepmen to helpless giggles by repeating in a very loud and measured voice an anecdote

playful spoof. This ability to play with story and story-telling conventions clearly indicates the subjects' awareness of these conventions - and their confidence in handling them.

M) HYPOTHETICALS: 'WHAT-IF' NARRATIVES

Review of the tapes revealed many examples of utterances which did not report 'what happened' but which instead presented 'what would happen'. These examples, usually couched in the future rather than the past tense, contained most of the components of a conventional narrative: setting, characters, and a problem or sequence of events. The examples could be roughly divided into two basic types. In the first, the speaker would describe an imagined event, either realistically as it might legitimately be expected to unfold, or playfully by elaborating, exaggerating and introducing the preposterous and the fanciful. In the second type, the narrator would describe an imagined situation in which the characters involved were faced with a problem or dilemma. In this case, rather than providing the solution, the narrator would instead turn to his listeners and ask "What would happen?" The listeners would then propose various solutions. The narrator would invariably attempt to defeat all offered suggestions by adding further details or

complications to the scenario that rendered the proposals unworkable. These exchanges had a game-like flavour; the hypotheticals were generally responded to with keen interest and accepted by the listeners as a challenge to their problem-solving skills. Although these examples do not exactly fit the working definition of narrative devised for the initial data analysis, they are closely related to original fictions and fantasies. They also appeared to be a variation of narrative form that the children were familiar and comfortable with and which they effectively employed to explore possible situations.

Thirty-two examples were located in the data, and almost half of them were collaborative efforts. Table 17 presents their distribution by subject and over the course of data collection.

TABLE 17. DISTRIBUTION OF HYPOTHETICAL NARRATIVES OVER TIME

														Total					
Bron	1													1	1	3			
Heather				1			1			1	1					4			
Kepmen	1	1		1		1			2		3		1			10			
Joint		3	1			1	1	3		1			4		1	15			
		S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	//	S	O	N	D	J	F	32
		1983			Months of the Year												1985		

Examination of the data revealed that all three subjects produced and co-operated in the production of this type of narrative language. Kepmen created most of the independently presented hypotheticals (31%), and he was a participant in all of the collaborations. He therefore was involved in 78% of the hypothetical narratives. Bronwyn was involved in 50% of the total number of examples, and Heather in 39%.

The following examples are the first recorded. The driver had just told the children about seeing two dead deer and about the car that had been damaged when it had hit one of them on the highway the day before. Bronwyn and Kepmen had launched a barrage of questions in an effort to discover precisely how the accidents had happened. Because the driver had not seen what had occurred, she was unable to answer these questions to their satisfaction. They therefore hypothesized the following accounts:

- Bronwyn: "'Cept you know, the deer...the deer what was on the side of the road...it mustuv um was in the side of the road and then it mustuv been Mummy deer or Daddy deer and then, and then the car was coming and then almost ran over the deer again and then 'cept she stopped real quickly, slammed the brakes on and then the policeman was coming and then ..and just slammed her brakes, his brakes on..brakes on right behind her."
- Adult: "Could be. That could have happened, too."
- Kepmen: "What happened?"
- Adult: "I wasn't there. I just saw the...I just drove past them. That's what I saw."

Kepmen: "Or maybe someone was blind and driving - they could only see the cars, nothing else, no deer - they could only see the cars, cars - and then they ran over them."

Adult: "That could be, I guess."

September 30, 1983

In these examples, the events are described in the temporal sequence in which they are imagined to have occurred. The hypothetical mode is indicated by such verb forms as "mustuv been" and "could only see", as well as by the inclusion of "maybe". Although some of these hypothetical explorations were quite serious, others were playful and fanciful and marked by laughter. Among others, the situations imagined and described included considerations of what-would-happen-if:

- a) the carpool drivers failed to pick the children up from school
- b) a man fell off the pedestrian overpass and landed on the roof of our car
- c) Heather's brother accompanied them to school dressed as a giant bee
- d) Bronwyn faked an injury and wore a sling on her arm
- e) they had to drive an "England car" with the steering wheel on the opposite side, and
- f) Kepmen died.

This last example, presented by Kepmen himself, appeared to be a non-too-subtle effort to make the girls feel guilty about their treatment of him. Theatrically announcing "I don't care if I'm dead!", Kepmen sketched the scene in which "noone would ever see me again, and everyone would come to my grave...and Heather and Bronwyn would be so sorry for theirselves" (January 15, 1985). This maudlin future fantasy was fairly lengthy and Kepmen introduced both Santa Claus and Jesus into his account to assist with his plans to "fix Bronwyn and Heather". The girls were utterly unmoved.

The delight taken in 'foiling' the proposed solutions is illustrated in the following excerpt from a lengthy discussion of possible farm problems.

- Bronwyn: "Ah um..There was a plg...and..and they had a little house...and um..and the the ...owner who has the pigs ..um wasn't there, was out in town, and um....and their mil...their water was all used up..
- What will they do?"
- Adult: "They will go down to the lake and have a swim and have a big drink."
- Bronwyn: "'Cept they are, 'cept they, 'cept they're at home, they're in a cage, with a fence."
- Adult: "Ooooh...they'll just hope that it comes back, ..or, I don't know, hope it rains so they can get a ..open their mouths and catch the rain drops and get a drink that way, right?"
- Heather: "They have a roof on their house."
- Bronwyn: (laughs) "Yeah."
(Both girls laugh together)
- Adult: "Oh uh...They'll hafta phone up to a... pizza place and say to deliver some pizzas and some pop."
- Heather: (excited; voice high pitched) "They can't

phone...they don't have a phone in their house!" (Heather shrieks with laughter)

October 14, 1983

Most of the hypotheticals were triggered by anecdotes recounted during the conversations, or by things encountered during the drives. For example, the discussion about the man falling off the overpass came directly after we had driven under one, and a long exchange about what could cause a car to catch fire resulted from our passing a charred parked car. Most of the examples were introduced into the conversations by means of such expressions as "Or, maybe...", "'Cept you know...", "Guess what?", and "Yeah, but what if...". None had formally marked endings; once the situation had been described, the description simply stopped, or the floor was turned over to the others with the 'what would happen?' question. Many of the hypothetical narratives included the imagined dialogue of the characters. They outlined not just what the characters would do in the various scenarios, but what they might say as well. In many instances, the featured characters were familiar to the children and a fair portion of the laughter that was generated resulted from the fun of putting unlikely words in someone else's - or even in one's own - mouth. For example, Bronwyn and Kepmen engaged in an inventive and involved discussion of their future marriages which began in the following fashion:

Bronwyn: "I'm not going to marry you. And I've already planned that at my house.... (hoot of laughter from Kepmen...Ah ah ah!!) If you say 'Can I marry you?' I'm gonna say 'No way, you poop!'" (Both burst out laughing)

Kepmen: "I'm not going to marry you. If you ask me I'm gonna say 'No way, you pee!' and I'm gonna marry Heather."

November 2, 1984

N) Collaborations: Jointly-Produced Narratives

TABLE 18. SUMMARY OF THE PROPORTION OF EACH NARRATIVE CATEGORY THAT WAS COLLABORATIVELY PRODUCED

PERSONAL ANECDOTES	7%
ANECDOTES OF VICARIOUS EXPERIENCE	12%
TATTLE TALES	5%
RETELLINGS - PRINT SOURCE	12%
RETELLINGS - VISUAL MEDIA SOURCE	12%
REPEAT PERFORMANCES	5%
ORIGINAL FANTASIES	57%
ORIGINAL FICTIONS	33%
CONS	21%
MOCK STORIES	7%
HYPOTHETICALS	47%

As is apparent from the findings so far reported, many of the narratives examined were collaboratively produced by the subjects. When these collaborations were categorized according to the fourteen narrative types described in this study, only two categories were found not to be represented. The data provided no jointly produced narrative jokes, nor any jointly told replays. Table 18 (see page 219) presents the proportion of each narrative category that were collaboratively produced and presented.

As is obvious from these figures, the imaginative narratives were the most likely to be co-operatively undertaken. Over half of the original fantasies were joint productions as were almost half of the hypotheticals, a third of the original fictions and a fifth of the 'cons'. The nature of the content of these narrative types permits anyone who wishes to contribute to do so (if permission is granted by the other narrator(s)) for the events related are fabrications. It is not necessary to have been involved in, or a witness to, the events related; 'cons', fictions and hypothetical narratives can simply be made up as the story unfolds. Similarly, a child is in a position to share in the retelling of a book, a film or television program if he or she has read or seen it. As the three subjects shared a classroom (and a culture) all often were exposed to the same films and stories. Therefore, it is not surprising that 12% of the narratives in both of these

categories were joint-reportings. For obvious reasons, personal anecdotes do not lend themselves to collaborative narration; the speaker is relating what has happened to him. The anecdotes of vicarious experience which were jointly related invariably dealt with incidents that had occurred at school which all three subjects had witnessed.

The 'Saga of the Beastly Boys', reproduced in Appendix H, is an example of a collaboratively produced original fantasy. It is also one of the most complex and sophisticated of the narratives recorded during this study. The account of the big bad wolves in the classroom, (a portion of which is reproduced as Example 5 of the Tattle Tales, see page 161), is an example of the collaborative creation of an original fiction. The following, which describes the girls' reaction to the school buzzer in their cloakroom, is an example of the joint-reporting of personal anecdotes.

1. Bronwyn: "You know what, Mummy?"
 Adult: "What?"
 Bronwyn: "Sometimes when Heather and me, cuz we have our hooks right under the 'larm..."
 Adult: "Oh no."
 Bronwyn: "And sometimes we're getting our coats off when the 'larm going, and we're right under the 'larm! Rrmm!"
 Heather: "And sometimes I'm not ready for it, so all the time I shake when I get under there, and you're always gone."
 Bronwyn: "Sometimes you're there when I'm there..... Yeah, member once we were both there and the buzzer went off and we 'Oohhhh!'"
 Heather: (laughs) "Yeah."

February 6, 1984

With their choice of words, the girls echo each other. The repetition of the phrase "And sometimes.." serves to unify the account, so that although there are two narrators the narration is coherent and semantically and lexically linked.

The next example is a jointly-produced anecdote of vicarious experience.

2. Bronwyn: "I'll tell you who is new in our class."
 Adult: "Who?"
 Bronwyn: "Chad. He wasn't in kindergarten with us."
 Heather: "He doesn't know very much French."
 Adult: "Is he learning it fast, though?"
 Heather: "Yes."
 Bronwyn: <"No, no."
 (Pause)
 Bronwyn: "He always...he..he always gets punished."
 Adult: "Why?"
 Bronwyn: "Right, Heather?"
 Heather: "Yeah, because he's fooling around and he's..."
 Bronwyn: (After slight pause) "And he comes in the class crying."
 Adult: "Ah, why?"
 Bronwyn: "Because...."
 Heather: <"Because he makes fun of everybody else and they hurt him."

January 21, 1985

Each narrator contributes information to the account, and one confirms what the other has stated. Bronwyn notes that Chad comes crying into the classroom, and Heather explains why. The following example illustrates how the children collaborated and pooled their information in the retelling of the story of 'Chicken Little'. Heather introduces it, Bronwyn supplies the climax, and Kepmen concludes it.

3. The children are drawing, and examining the pictures they made that day in school.

Heather: "The sky is falling! The sky is falling! The sky is falling! That's that little chick that runs around and say's 'The sky is falling! The sky is falling!' Tells all the other big chicks...Chicken Little does that."

Adult: "That's right."

Heather: (after slight pause) "Says 'Sky is falling! The sky is falling! The sky is falling!"

Kepmen: "And then they go and..."

Heather: "And all it was was the um..fox had dropped a piece of sign, right?"
(Several intervening remarks have been omitted.)

Kepmen: "And the fox just...the fox..."

Bronwyn: (overlapping Kepmen) "Said...just said 'I know a short way to the King's, 'cept he took him to his home and ate them all up, right?"

Kepmen: "But they...he didn't eat Chicken Little."

Bronwyn: "Why?"

Kepmen: "Because, um...the rooster made a cawk, and when they do that that means they need help."

Adult: (After a brief pause) "And so somebody came and rescued him?"

Kepmen: "No. Chicken Little ran home to her little baby."

January 18, 1984

The children's collaborative productions will be discussed further in response to research questions 2.1 and 2.2.

Summary of Findings for the Narrative Categories

Examination of the data revealed that all three subjects spontaneously produced a variety of different

types of narrative language during the conversations that were recorded over the eighteen month period of data collection. Fourteen categories of narrative language were distinguished and examples of all of the various narrative types were produced by Bronwyn and Kepmen, and all but one by Heather (original fantasies were not included in Heather's narrative repertoire).

The proportionate distribution of the total number of narrative examples among the various narrative categories is represented in Figure 2. As there is a minor amount of overlap (the replays and repeat performances were doubly classified) the summed total of all graphed categories is slightly more than 100%. The collaborative productions (12% of the total narrative examples) have not been separately marked on the graph but were instead incorporated into the other classifications.

Over 70% of the narrative language that was produced by the subjects took anecdotal form, and related either personal or vicarious experience. Original 'make-believe' stories made much rarer appearances in their conversations. If the original fiction and fantasy categories are collapsed to make one 'make-believe' category, the total is only 4%. Even if the figures for the 'cons', hypotheticals, and mock story categories are added, this total increases to no more than 18%. Not unexpectedly, most of the narrative language produced by the three

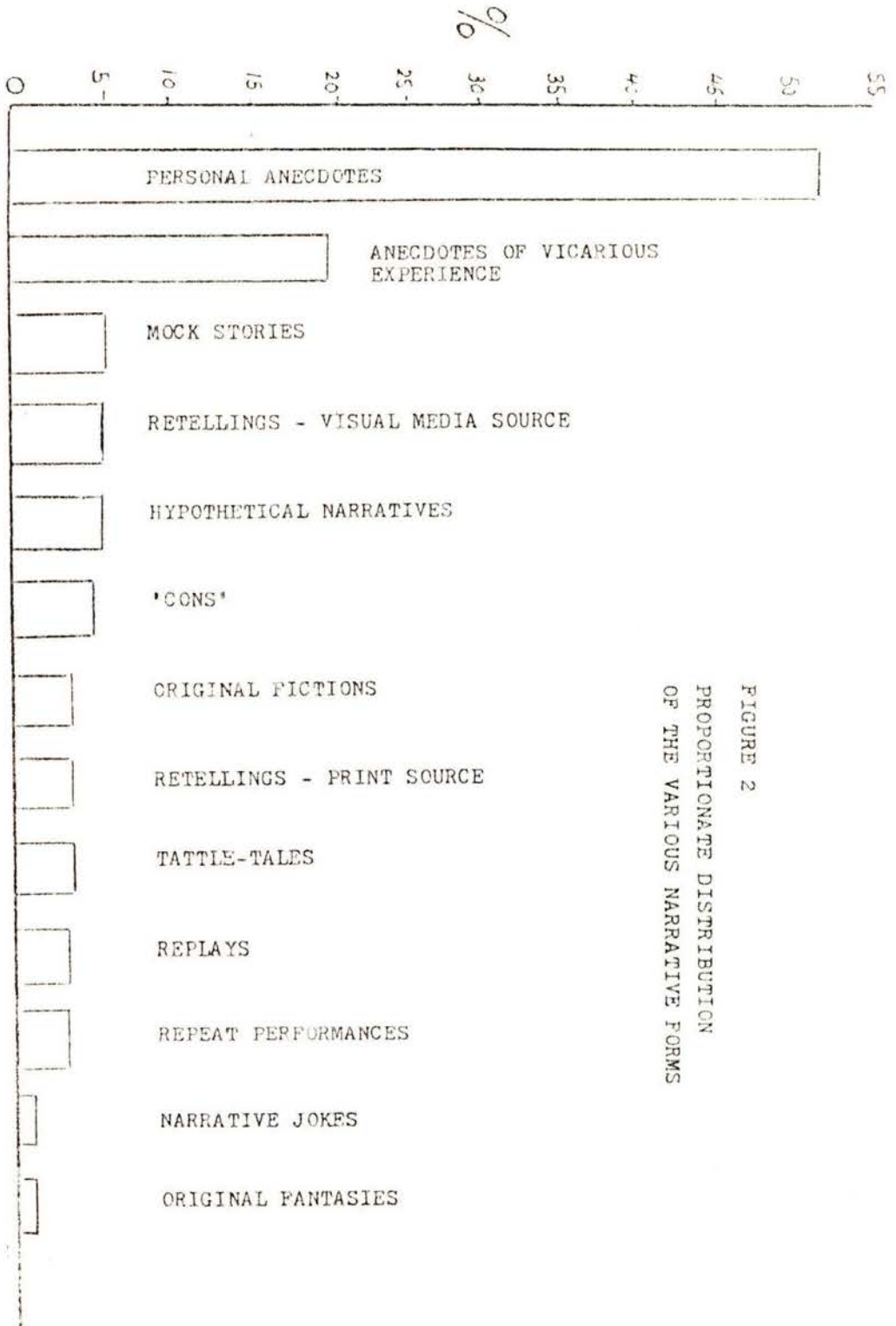


FIGURE 2
 PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION
 OF THE VARIOUS NARRATIVE FORMS

subjects of this study during their naturally occurring interactions with each other on the drives to and from school was employed to describe 'what had happened' to themselves and those they knew. Although the other categories of narrative language were not engaged in with the same frequency, they played important and different functional roles in the children's interactions. Examination of the data, and of the examples that have been included in this report to illustrate the nature of that data, show that all of the subjects were able competently (and often skillfully) to exploit a variety of narrative forms in on-going conversation.

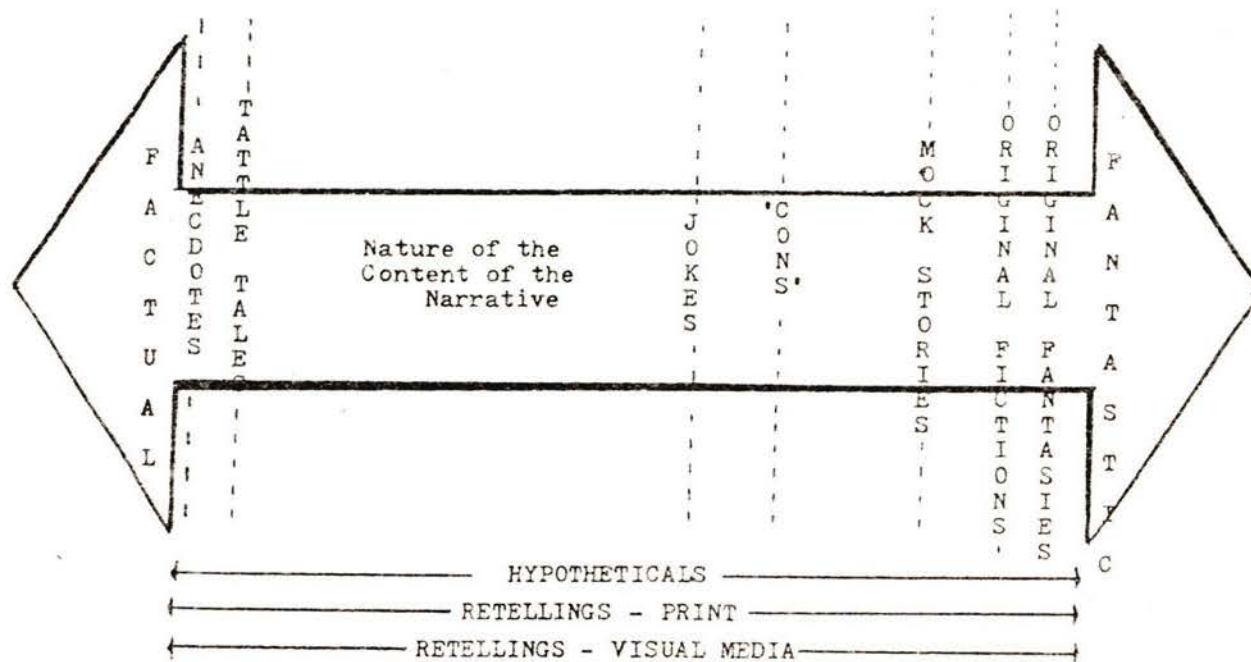
The nature of the content of the narrative categories described can be seen as falling along a continuum that runs between the factual and the fantastic. Figure 3 illustrates the approximate placement of the narrative categories on such a continuum. Collaborative narratives, replays and repeat performances have not been included in this representation.

<Insert Figure 3>

Anecdotes are factual accounts of 'what happened'; although narrators (particularly good narrators) generally embellish their accounts to make them 'come-to-life' for their listeners, and emphasize certain aspects over others (Labov, 1972) the whole point is to convey what actually happened. Tattle-tales, although also offered as factual accounts of

FIGURE 3

PLACEMENT OF THE NARRATIVE FORMS ON FACTUAL/PANTASTIC CONTINUUM



another's transgressions, have been placed slightly to the right of the anecdotes to acknowledge the fact that most tattle-talers tend to somewhat exaggerate the nature of the 'crime' to assure that appropriate redress is obtained. Although the subjects 'defined' jokes as something that wasn't true, most of the jokes that they produced commented on something in the 'real' world or something that had actually happened. For this reason, they have been positioned just to the right of the mid-point. 'Cons', although by definition untrue, have been placed closer to the mid-point of this continuum than to the fantastic pole because their content masquerades as the factual. The contents of mock stories are usually fanciful exaggerations and imaginative spoofs; consequently they fall close to the fantastical pole. Original fictions have been placed slightly to the left of the original fantasies because the former involve 'real' rather than make-believe characters. The hypotheticals, and print and visual media retellings have been placed at the midpoint because their content can range over the entire continuum depending upon the nature of the original source, or upon the topic and nature of the conjecture.

The various narrative types can also be placed at different points along a continuum that describes the range of listener expectations as to the veracity of the content reported. At one pole the listener expects an accurate and

truthful account. At the opposite pole, the listener grants the narrator license to fabricate, to be inventive, imaginative and non-literal. There is no expectation that the content of the report need conform to 'reality'. Figure 4 illustrates the approximate placement of the various narrative categories on a continuum of listener expectations of veracity.

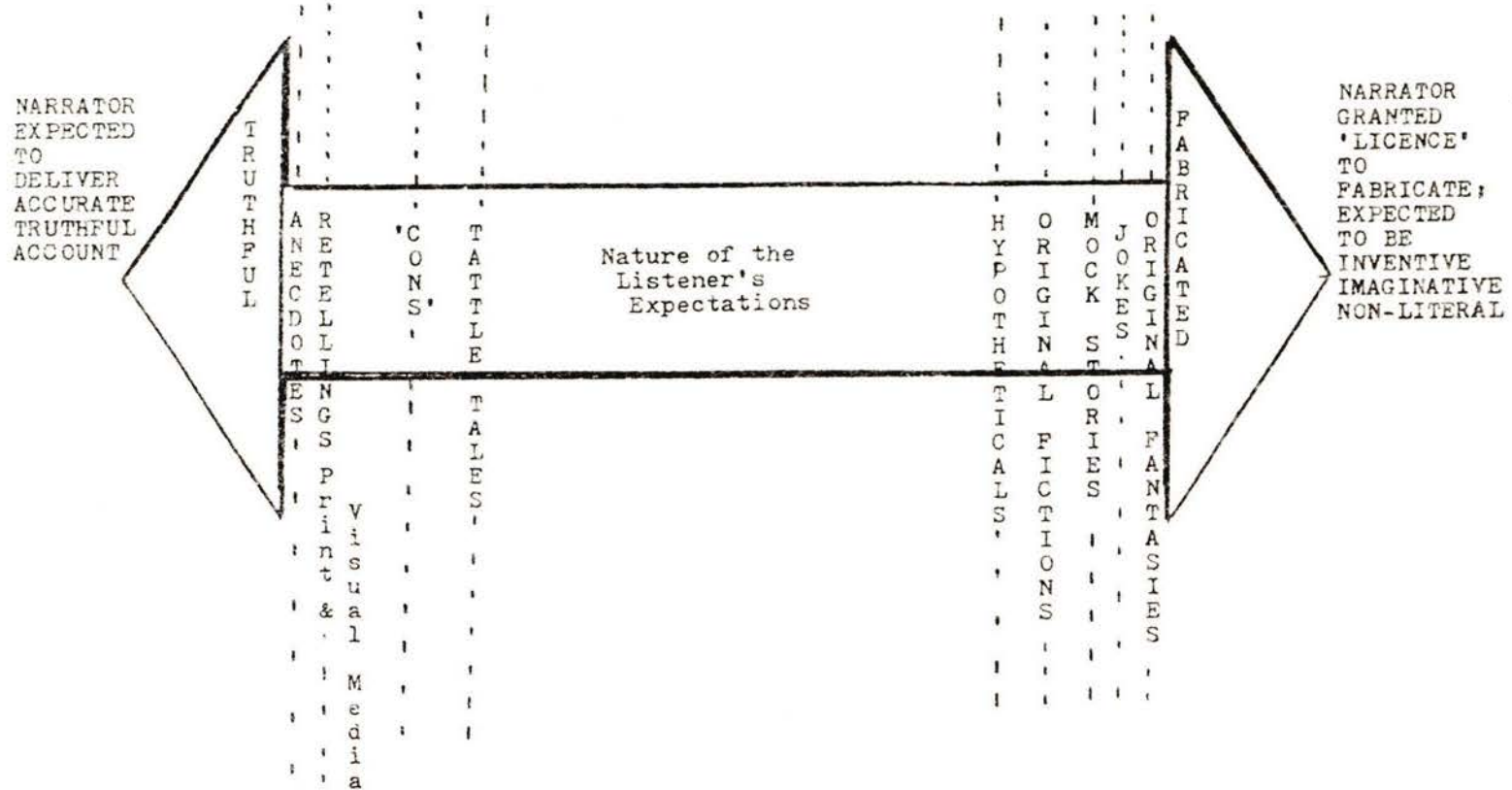
(Insert Figure 4)

Anecdotes, both of personal and vicarious experience remain at the 'truthful' pole; the listener expects that what is related is what occurred. By the same token, retellings of both print and visual media presentations are expected to be faithfully rendered. 'Cons' are positioned close to anecdotes because they are presented to the listener as anecdotes. Tattle-tales have been placed somewhat to the right of the 'truthful' pole because the narrator's annoyance and distress usually alert the listener to the likelihood that the account will be slanted so as to place the offender in the worst possible light. With narrative jokes, hypotheticals, fictions, mock stories and fantasies the listener is as aware as the narrator that the contents are fabrication and conjecture.

The term 'narrative' is a general term which encompasses a variety of narrative forms. The subjects of this study, only five-years-old when recording began, revealed themselves familiar with, and able to produce, a

FIGURE 4

PLACEMENT OF THE NARRATIVE FORMS ON FACTUAL/FABRICATED
CONTINUUM OF LISTENER EXPECTATIONS



wide range and variety of narrative language during the course of their conversational interactions.

2.1 Do the children collaborate in the creation and telling of narratives?

As has already been indicated, the answer to this question is affirmative. A total of 70 collaboratively produced narratives were found in the data; 61 involved only the children and 9 involved the children and the adult present. Table 3 (see page 142) illustrates who collaborated in the children's productions, and the frequency of that collaboration. Collaborations with the driver included 5 involving Bronwyn, 3 involving Kepmen, and 2 with Heather.

Almost 70% of these joint efforts occurred when all three of the subjects were together in the car. Analysis of the total data sample revealed that 64% of the collaborations involved two participants, and the remaining 36% involved three. It would appear that jointly-told narratives were almost twice as likely to engage two rather than three of the subjects. However, when the collaborations produced when all three children were together in the car were examined this difference diminished considerably; 55% were found to involve two

participants, and 45% involved three. This would still suggest that two is the preferred number for co-operative productions and the lengthiest and most complex of the collaborations did in fact involve two rather than three narrators. However, it is important not to overlook the fact that almost half of these collaborations involved all three of the subjects when they were present and available to join in.

2.2 If the subjects are found to collaborate in the creation and telling of narratives, what is the nature of this collaboration? How are the collaborations initiated and maintained?

The children collaborated with each other in a variety of different ways, and the nature of that collaboration was to a certain degree influenced by the type of narrative language being produced. To summarize, the subjects' co-operation took the form of contributing information to each other's narratives, elaborating and corroborating the information given, supplying unknown or forgotten details, assisting with sequencing, and confirming the accuracy of statements made and opinions expressed. Sometimes the assistance simply took the form of helping the narrator gain and hold the floor. On a number of occasions the children jointly planned the telling of certain narratives

and organized both what and how each would contribute. In many instances their co-operation took the form of playing along, of not giving-the-game-away. With the 'cons' in particular, the children would staunchly support each other (in various pairings of two against one, or all three against the driver) by adding realistic details and statements that confirmed the fabrication being developed.

In their jointly-related anecdotes one child would frequently begin by offering a description or short account of the relevant events. Another child would then add details, and elaborate upon the information given, often restating it to add emphasis to key and critical points. Almost always the narrators would confirm and corroborate each other's accounts. This is well illustrated in the following anecdote of vicarious experience:

- Bronwyn: "Once, guess what? There was a person in the middle of the road..um..In the middle of the road..and in..riding his bike, and um, Heather's Mummy honked her horn."
- Adult: "Yeah, well, that's..that's..she probably..."
- Heather: "It was a man with black hair and he was riding right on the yellow line."
- Adult: "Oh, well, that's ...crazy, you know..."
- Heather: "Right on the yellow line, and we were on the side, and my Mum had to go 'beep, beep, beep, beep, beep, beep, beep, beep, beep, beep!"
- September 27, 1983

Bronwyn's "in the middle of the road" is restated more precisely by Heather as "right on the yellow line".

Similarly, Bronwyn's "Heather's Mummy honked her horn" is elaborated by Heather and dramatically realized as "...my Mum had to go 'beep, beep, beep, beep, beep, beep, beep, beep!'". The dramatic impact of the anecdote is heightened by the fact that the girls also repeat their own phrases ("right on the yellow line....Right on the yellow line..").

Sometimes one child would restate the ending of another's narrative. This could serve to indicate their attention and understanding of the events related, as well as their agreement with the conclusion reached by the narrator. Some of these added conclusions seemed philosophical, while others were humorous. Humour is evident in Heather's response to Bronwyn's report of a skating accident:

Bronwyn: "See my wrist? I cracked the
bone! Whoo.....I hit it on
the ice....three times."
Heather: "Boing! Boing! Boing!"
December 12, 1983

By pooling their resources the children were able to relate events and report dialogue with greater accuracy than they likely would have achieved independently. It took all three of them to handle the translation in the following example:

Bronwyn: "Tomorrow we're getting our report cards
.....the teacher said. She said in
English...'Tomorrow you'll get your

report cards!"
 Kepmen: "No, she said 'Demain, you will....'"
 Heather: "Tu est..."
 Kepmen: "Va a la maison avec le report cards."
 (laughs)
 Bronwyn: "Avec les reports."
 November 13, 1984

Often the collaborations would be delivered in a turn-by-turn fashion with each child reporting the portion of the anecdote that specifically or most directly involved him or her. For instance, proud of the fact that they had handled the transaction themselves, the children reported their good manners when dealing with the waitress who had sold them ice-cream:

Heather: (half-laughing) "I didn't hear Kepmen."
 Bronwyn: (to Kepmen) "Did you say 'Thank you very much'?"
 Kepmen: "Yes I did. (fairly long pause) But I said it quietly.... Cuz if you said (loud) 'THANK YOU!' (he and Bronwyn giggle) what would happen...they'd say 'Get outta here right now!!....Say Thank you better next time!'"
 Bronwyn: "I just said 'Thank-you-very-much'".
 Heather: "I said 'Thank you very much.' Yeah, that was it."
 Bronwyn: "How did you do it?"
 Kepmen: (loud stage whisper) "Thank you."
 (Everybody laughs).
 January 20, 1984

Often, one child would echo the words of another to emphasize their importance or to signal their agreement with the opinion expressed. For example:

Kepmen: "There was some smelly pens..."
 Heather: "Eugh, yuck. That one ever smell, didn't it?"
 Kepmen: "Yeah."
 Bronwyn: "Oh we have a smelly pen, too."
 Kepmen: "Did it ever stink!"
 Heather: "Opened it up..we most of us took a..smelt it...it stinked like a skunk's odor!"
 November 7, 1983

On another occasion the three children together described a substitute teacher they had not enjoyed. Each took a turn providing an example of an incident that supported their negative reaction. Judgment was then passed jointly, and in unison:

Kepmen: "And she was the meanest substitute I've ever had!"
 Heather: < (echoes Kepmen) ".....ever had!"
 Bronwyn: "Yeah."

In case there was any danger of missing the point, it was made again:

Bronwyn: "...she is the stoopest, dumbest, dumbest, stoopest, meanest (Kepmen laughs) teacher in the world!"
 Kepmen: "Yeah!"

October 1, 1984

As well as supporting each other's judgments of people and events, the children would add 'evidence' to each other's print and visual media retellings to corroborate their evaluations of those materials. For instance, Bronwyn and

Kepmen together told about seeing 'The Rats of Nimh'. Bronwyn pronounced it a frightening film. Kepmen explained why, and Bronwyn then repeated his explanation adding emphasis to it by restating "all" as "every single thing". The following is an excerpt from that retelling:

- Bronwyn: "Oh it's a very scary one, isn't it Guys?"
 Kepmen: "Yep. The rats were trying ta kill the mice...and they got all of the things from the toy shop."
 Bronwyn: "Yeah, all of the things from the toy shop, to try to kill every single thing..."
 December 16, 1983

When one narrator was unsure of a word, or of the sequence of events, the others would supply the needed information. During a jointly-told account of donating to the local food bank Heather listed her contributions:

- Heather: "...and beans, and some...I forgot.. tomato sauce, and what is that?..some stuff you um, some cheese stuff you spread all over your lasagne....or whatever you call it."
 Bronwyn: "On your spagetti!"
 December 4, 1983

Other examples of similar assistance and support have been reported in the description of the children's print-source retellings. The collaborative account of 'Chicken-Little' (see p. 223) also illustrates the nature of the children's cooperation in the production of narratives. The playing along with a 'con' is evident in the next example, which

was prompted by the driver's enquiry as to how Kepmen's mother had enjoyed the school concert. Heather answered for him.

Heather: "She said it was dumb."
 Adult: "No, I meant yesterday at school."
 Kepmen: "Yeah, she said it was dumb."
 Adult: "What?"
 Bronwyn: "Yeah, she said it was dumb."
 Adult: "She didn't, did she?"
 Bronwyn: "Yeah!"
 Heather: "She said it was so stoopid."
 Adult: "She didn't!"
 (Chorus) Kepmen: "She did!"
 Bronwyn/Heather: <"Ye - ah!"

December 16, 1983

Although this 'con' was created on-the-spot, the children also occasionally planned their 'cons' in advance. A number of them were preceded by whispered conferences and conspiratorial giggles and were revealed as deceptions at a mutually decided point in the telling.

The nature of the collaboration was to a certain extent determined by the type of narrative that the children were engaged in telling. Table 19 presents a summary of the ways in which the three subjects generally cooperated with each other in the production of ten of the different narrative forms.

<Insert Table 19>

Frequently no invitation to participate in the telling was issued to the other children; they simply joined in when they felt they had something to contribute. Kepmen

once was so anxious to take part in a fictitious narration that he repeatedly requested permission to join in. The following 'entry bids' are only a sample of those that he laughingly interjected throughout the story: "I'll tell it! I'll tell the..."; "Um, um, let me say some..."; "Let me...let me say something..."; "Let me tell!"; "Let me say it!" (December 9, 1983).

Although participation was frequently volunteered, it was just as frequently invited by the narrator. The data reveal many instances where the narrator would openly solicit the cooperation and involvement of the others. These requests took a variety of forms. Perhaps the most common was the use of tag questions to elicit agreement, confirmation of accuracy, and to strengthen the case presented. The following example is fairly typical:

Bronwyn: "He singed it four times!..didn't he?"
 Heather: "Yah, with Madame Diana playing the piano together."
 Bronwyn: "Yah, they were singing."
 November 28, 1983

Often the narrator would directly and specifically request input from one of the others. During her account of the rough behaviour of one of their classmates, Heather decided to supplement her list of general complaints with an example:

Heather: "And he um and he um, he always...hurt

things, and everytime, what is Angus did to you, Bronwyn?"

Bronwyn: "What?"

Heather: "What does he always do to you Bronwyn?"

Kepmen: "He kicks her, and one time he even threw her down on the ground."

Adult: "Did he?"

Heather: "Angus was.."

Bronwyn: "<He..he hit my back!"

Heather: "Yep! Angus pushed me down and hit Bronwyn's back."

Bronwyn: "Yeah!"

October 3, 1983

Although the request was directed to Bronwyn, Kepmen volunteered the information and both girls confirmed it. Similarly, throughout the joint-narration of 'Mrs. Honey's Hat' (March 26, 1984), Kepmen repeatedly requested Heather's assistance in determining the sequence of story events. The following are just a few of the questions he asked her:

"Now, what came after when the bubble gum?"

"Okay. What came after the fish?"

"And now what came after that? I forget..."

"Um, what was after that, Heather?"

As well as providing the desired information, questions of this sort also serve to ensure the continued participation and involvement of the other child in the narration. Sometimes the narrator would make a statement that would serve to cue or signal the right of one of the others to join in the telling. In the first example quoted (see page 233) Bronwyn related an incident that had involved Heather's mother. The fact that her own mother was the

topic of talk sanctioned Heather's joining the telling. On a different occasion, Kepmen described a problem experienced by Heather's little brother. Because it was about her little brother, Heather elaborated his account. Further justification for her participation was provided by her explanation that "I told Kepmen that". Another time Kepmen described something he had done; he then provided an opening for Heather's contribution by adding "So did Heather."

Sometimes one narrator would set the topic for a joint-narration by reminiscing. Heather initiated the collaborative retelling of the plot of a cartoon by introducing it and then adding "Yeah, remember that one?", and Bronwyn joined Kepmen in telling about some vaguely off-colour mischief they had previously planned by remarking "Remember <what> we were going to do to the gorilla?". They both remembered, at length and in graphic detail.

Collaborations were also planned in advance. Bronwyn initiated and organized the cooperative creation of an original fiction by suggesting "No, Kepmen, how about we jus...just tell stories?" and then adding "How bout we say it together?" (December 12, 1983). Almost a year later she again set up a story-telling session with Kepmen. Once her suggestion that they "make up a story" had been accepted,

Bronwyn directed her attention to turn-taking order and procedures. Kepmen was elected to go first:

- Kepmen: "Okay, I'll begin the story...okay."
 Bronwyn: "Okay, do the first sentence...like one.. one long sentence. Do you know what a sentence is?"
 Kepmen: "Yes, it's a, it's a word, one long word."
 Bronwyn: "one long word."
 Okay, then I'll do...Okay, just do a little tiny story, okay, and I'll add on to it, and then you add on to it and I'll add on to it, and I and then you, okay...."
 October 12, 1984

The 'system' worked admirably, with one refinement added. A signal was devised for use at the point when one narrator wished to indicate that he was ready to turn the floor over to the other: "You say, you point when it's my turn". All transition points were thereafter marked by the exaggerated pointing of the narrator's finger. An elaboration of the telling technique was developed towards the end of the joint-fiction that the two created on this occasion. Again, Bronwyn was the instigator. She, by means of whispered instructions to "do the actions, do the actions", succeeded in getting Kepmen to dramatically react to each of the events she added to her portion of the story.

Two months after this session, Bronwyn and Kepmen together created the 'Saga of the Beastly Boys'. The same system was employed, this time at Kepmen's suggestion:

- Kepmen: "Oh let's ...like Bronwyn like the one..

like the one that we..that we traded turns
 ...like...like I said...like I...like you
 said um..."

Bronwyn: "Oh yeah, and then I point and then..."

Kepmen: "Yeah."

Bronwyn: "Okay."

December 3, 1984

Heather never participated in the creation of these original fantasies. However, she did help organize the telling of other sorts of narratives. The children had decided they were going to report two troublesome boys to their principal, and they discussed the way this should best be handled beforehand:

Heather: "And we all tell each one of our stories and if somebody else tells what another person said to you guys, then don't tell the principal, or else he'll get really mad if you didn't see it. Cuz the other person could be telling lies."

Adult: "Yeah, you mean you say only what you really know, not just what you heard some people say?"

Heather: "What I know...what I felt..".

February 22, 1985

Once Heather had established the limits of the content, Bronwyn decreed the order of the narrators: "Heather will start..I'll...Heather will do the first story, I'll do the second, Kepmen will do the third." It is worth noting that the children here referred to these anecdotal accounts as 'stories'. As these examples make obvious, the children took an active role in the initiating and planning of many of their narrative collaborations.

Once initiated, the co-operation and participation of those involved in the narration was maintained by means of several distinct and effective techniques. One way the children guaranteed the continued involvement of the others was openly to approve and applaud their contributions. This approval was frequently indicated by laughter, but also by the acceptance of the information added. Acceptance was signalled by an agreeing "Yeah", by the repetition and restatement of that information, by its incorporation into the account and by its elaboration. The following example, part of the children's attempt to describe the Boogey Man, illustrates several of these techniques.

- Bronwyn: "Well, he comes in the...he comes in the night..."
 Heather: "And hides in..And he he's got a friend that hides in the cupboard!"
 Bronwyn: "Yeah, and..and he's ..and he comes, and he comes in the night and scares people."
 Adult: "Is this real, or make-believe, or what?"
 Bronwyn/Heather: "Real!"
 Bronwyn: "'Cept he's on a vacation."
 Kepmen: (after slight pause) "No, yeah, he's on a vacation."
 Bronwyn: "To Ha-wall."
 Kepmen: "Yeah."

June 25, 1984

Sending the Boogey Man to Hawaii illustrates both imaginative and protective distancing.

Participation was also maintained by means of cueing and "coaching" statements uttered during the narrations.

The previously reported instructions to "Do the actions, do the actions!" that Bronwyn whispered to Kepmen as they together created a story gave him an active, and important, role during the turns when he was not the speaker.

Negative examples are often as informative as positive ones. Although the children regularly and effectively joined forces to create and relate narratives, they also revealed themselves adept saboteurs. On occasion they would playfully interrupt and block another's narration, or disrupt the telling by maintaining a mocking running commentary on the events related. On several occasions one child's announcement that he or she was about to tell a story served as the trigger for wild yodelling by the other two. When uncooperative, the listeners would challenge and dispute the information presented. They would withhold attention by openly ignoring the narrator and by attempting to engage the other child or the driver in conversation. Sometimes the narrator would be physically prevented from delivering his story; on several occasions defiant 'listeners' covered the speaker's mouth with their hands. When that failed to deter, they used their hands to plug their own ears.

All three subjects in this study regularly cooperated and collaborated with each other to produce narratives. Although collaboration was more likely to involve two rather than three participants, it was not at all unusual

for all three children to join forces to relate a wide variety of narrative forms. The nature of the collaboration was to a certain degree influenced by the nature of the narrative being produced. The children assisted each other by providing information, by elaborating and corroborating the information given, by indicating sequencing, and by 'playing along'. Sometimes they also supported each other's efforts to hold the floor.

The subjects both volunteered to collaborate and were invited to do so. Towards the end of the period studied, the children revealed themselves aware of the need to plan and coordinate the telling of jointly-produced narratives. They developed procedures to facilitate and 'manage' their collaborative efforts and successfully implemented those procedures.

3. Does the reaction of, and interaction with, peers have an effect on the narratives that are told?

In answering this question the first step was to ascertain whether or not the children did in fact attend to and react to the narratives that each told in the car. Review of the data made it immediately obvious that almost all of the child-created naratives were responded to by the other children with close attention, genuine interest, and

Careful monitoring of both their content and the manner of their delivery. The children proved to be very active listeners and their reactions to the narratives included delighted approval, supportive confirmation, scepticism, direct challenge, outright dismissal and refusal to listen. Their reactions to each other's narratives, however, favoured the positive end of this continuum far more frequently than the negative.

During the review of the recordings and the subsequent data analysis it became clear that the children acknowledged a set of general 'rules' or expectations for stories and storytelling that exerted considerable influence upon their response to the conversational narratives to which they were exposed. These 'rules' have not been intuited or abstracted from the texts of the narratives the children created although they are certainly reflected in those texts. The 'rules' that will be reported are those which were directly stated or enforced by the subjects during the interactions that surrounded the presentation of their narratives. Just as with mock stories, these 'rules' can be divided into those which concern the tale and those which concern the telling of that tale. This parallel with the mock stories is predictable for the mockeries hinge on the flagrant breaking of rules.

The children had three overtly stated requirements for a tale itself: a) it should be interesting, b) it should be comprehensible, and c) all information included should be relevant or thematically related. The first point is illustrated by Bronwyn's rejection of Kepmen's rambling account of a variety show with her comment that it was "Not interesting at all" (February 8, 1984). The second requirement, that the account be comprehensible, is illustrated by Bronwyn's frustrated reaction to Kepmen's disjointed retelling of a television program: "You don't make sense!" (April 16, 1984). The demand that accounts make sense was regularly reflected in the children's quickness to question any point of a narrative that they failed to understand or that they found contradictory or nonsensical. For example, Heather told about seeing a sign in a local store window:

- Heather: "...in Gerry's window it say's 'Free Kittens For Sale' that way."
 Bronwyn: "Free kittens for sale?"
 Heather: "Free kittens."
 Bronwyn: (after slight pause) "Free kittens for sale doesn't make sense, cuz it says 'Free' and you have to buy 'em...What does that mean??"
 October 1, 1984

The third requirement was that events reported be relevant to the account. This expectation was directly and bluntly voiced by the children on a number of different

occasions and they were prepared to enforce it. For example, Kepmen's attempt to introduce a list of toys he had received for Christmas into a discussion of presents dropped off by the Easter Bunny resulted in the following exchange:

Heather: "We're not talking about Christmas, we're talking about Easter."
 Bronwyn: "No, stick to the point!"
 Kepmen: "I don't have to."
 Bronwyn: "Yes you do, or we're not talking..."
 January 25, 1985

During a lengthy description of a dispute over prizes at his birthday party, Kepmen digressed to mention that Bronwyn had almost accidentally let the dogs out. This digression earned Bronwyn's scornful "What is about the dogs? They don't win any prizes!" (September 10, 1984). The fact that the 'rule' was generally recognized and accepted by the children is revealed by Kepmen's acquiescence in the face of Bronwyn's veto of his introduction of a village into their jointly-created fiction because the story was set on a farm:

Bronwyn: "That Kepmen, that can't go it. That's not going."
 Kepmen: "Okay."
 Bronwyn: "Can't go with our story....it's a farm..."
 Kepmen: "Okay."

October 12, 1984

Although not properly classed as a 'rule' a further restriction placed on the content of the narratives was that they not be "too scary". The relating of material that was decreed "too" frightening frequently met with loud protests and appeals to the driver to make the narrator stop. The children also placed some restrictions on content that was too rude, although what was considered to be 'too rude' differed depending on whether the driver was present in the car or not. This distinction was discovered when, on several occasions, the driver left the children and the running tape-recorder in the car while she ran brief errands. In the following example, both Kepmen and Heather reacted negatively to Bronwyn's use of the rude phrase 'poohey pooh':

- Kepmen: "I don't want any rude things like that, Bron."
 Heather: ".....(inaudible comment). And that's the rule of the car!"
 Kepmen: "I don't like it. I've been hearing it every day."
 Heather: "Why? I don't like it, either."
 June 25, 1984

Unrepentant, Bronwyn asserted her right to free speech with a defiant "Well, you're not the boss. Poohey pooh!"

The 'rules' that governed the telling of the children's narratives were more numerous. The first, not always acted upon but quickly invoked by objecting or reluctant listeners, was that a narrator should not proceed

with a narrative without first obtaining the attention and 'permission' of the listeners. This 'rule' explains Bronwyn's reluctance to begin without Heather's acknowledgment that she could:

Bronwyn: "Heather, you know what?.....You know what, Heather?....(no response)
 ...Heather?....You know what? Heather?
 ...Know what? Heather! you know what?"
 Heather: "What?"

February 6, 1984

If listeners had not agreed to be part of the audience they felt under no obligation to attend to the narrative offered. Similarly, the children had to agree to be the subject of a narrative; it was not acceptable to talk about them when they were present or to make up a story involving them, without their 'okay'. This is illustrated by Bronwyn's grumpy objection to her inclusion in Heather and Kepmen's report of the day's events: "They're not telling anything about me!" (September 30, 1983). The strong negative reactions to the tattle tales also reflect this 'rule', although much of that reaction might more accurately be attributed to fear of 'getting in trouble'.

It was not acceptable for a child to repeat an anecdote if it had been told to the listener on a previous occasion. Kepmen responded to one of Bronwyn's anecdotes with a dismissive "She told me that yesterday!" (October 7,

1983). Bronwyn invoked this same 'rule' when she tried to block Kepmen's retelling of the dispute at his party:

Bronwyn: "She doesn't need it. She knows the story. She..she knows the story, Kepmen...She already heard it. She already knows it."
(September 10, 1984).

Exceptions were made if the listener requested the anecdote, or if new information was being added. In the latter case, this had to be established when the anecdote was introduced. For example, Bronwyn justified her repetition of an account of a play by prefacing the second version with an explanation that she had learned something new:

Bronwyn: "Guys, remember when I was telling you Tom was singing with a bare tummy under his shirt?"
Kepmen: "Yeah."
Bronwyn: "And I wasn't sure. And I asked the actariss, my Aunt, who was the actariss, who uh...what he had under...and you know, I wasn't sure, and I was right, it was just bare tummy."

February 13, 1984

It was also not considered acceptable to report an anecdote to someone if it was known already, either because the listener had been present at the time, or because he or she had been informed of it previously. Kepmen delayed telling the girls about his brush with drowning until the car was

in motion and everyone was out of the hearing range of his mother because, as he put it, "Mum knows already, so she can't hear it" (June 25, 1984).

Another 'rule' the children recognized, and spoofed with their mock stories, was that a narrative should not be repeated exactly as told immediately after that telling. Exceptions were made only if the second narrator offered changes or 'improvements'.

Rights to the floor depended on a variety of factors. The person with first-hand experience of an event, or in possession of the most information, was the one the children considered to be the most entitled to talk. This is well illustrated by Bronwyn's hand-over of the floor to Kepmen during the account of Grady's forced exit from the bathroom (see Example 1, page 153). It is revealed also by Kepmen's rejection of the accuracy of Heather's report on his mother's reaction to her college courses: "Heather doesn't even know, she doesn't even go there" (January 11, 1984). Already noted is the children's recognition of the fact that personal knowledge or inner experience is something only the person involved can fairly report on. Daily the car went over a bump in the road that 'fluttered' tummies. Bronwyn described the sensation as one "that makes your tummy hungry". Heather disputed this and suggested instead that "it makes your tummy feel better". Knowing that she was the one best able to report how her

stomach felt, Bronwyn responded with "You're not allowed to say things for other people - and you are" (January 11, 1985).

The person who had started to tell a story was, in most cases, the person recognized as the one entitled to finish it. If a speaker stopped talking during a narration this was taken as a signal that he or she had surrendered the floor. Bronwyn rejected Kepmen's claim that he had been interrupted by pointing out: "'Cept you stopped! So I can still talk" (September 30, 1983). The narrators also had definite expectations for the appropriate behaviour of their listeners, and these were concisely expressed by Kepmen in his opening to 'Snow White': "Okay, are you ready everyone? Nice and quiet, now" (October 16, 1984). The same point was made, if less decorously, by Bronwyn when she prefaced one of her narratives with a brusque "Shush!" (November 20, 1984).

A summary list of these 'rules' can be found in Table 20. Although most adult narrators would perhaps be less blunt and blatant in the enforcement of these 'rules', there are few on the list that they would be likely to dismiss as unreasonable. There are probably few that they themselves fail to acknowledge when engaged in the conversational exchange of narratives.

T A B L E 2 0.DIRECTLY STATED AND CHILD-ENFORCED 'RULES' AND EXPECTATIONS
FOR NARRATIVES AND NARRATIONS

I) 'RULES' FOR THE TALE

1. It should be interesting.
2. It should be comprehensible; it should make sense.
3. All information included in the account should be relevant, and/or thematically related.
4. The content should neither be 'too scary' nor 'too rude'.

II) 'RULES' FOR THE TELLING

1. Do not proceed with the telling of a narrative without first obtaining the attention of your listener(s) and gaining their permission to do so.
 2. Do not relate a narrative in the presence of the people involved in that narrative without their agreement that it is all right to do so.
 3. Do not repeat a personal anecdote if it has been told to the listener on a previous occasion unless it is requested or unless new information is to be added.
 4. Do not report an anecdote to someone who already knows about it.
 5. Do not immediately repeat a narrative that has just been related exactly as it was delivered. If the repetition is to be acceptable, it must be substantially changed or 'improved'.
 6. The person with first-hand experience of an event, or with the most information on a topic, is the one most entitled to talk about it.
 7. The person involved is the only one legitimately able to report on personal knowledge and inner experience.
 8. The person who starts to tell a story is the one usually most entitled to finish telling that story.
 9. The stopping of talk during narration signals the surrender of the floor.
 10. Listeners should listen politely and quietly during a narrative.
-

These 'rules' have been described because they influenced the way the children responded to the narratives that were produced during the drives to and from school and because they serve in many instances to explain their reactions. The point of the question, however, was to determine whether the reactions, comments, and questions of the listeners had any effect on the narratives that were produced. The data therefore were examined in an effort to discover whether the children modified, expanded, or in any way altered their narratives as a consequence of their interactions with each other. It is fair to conclude that the children exerted considerable influence upon each other and that over the course of the study they exchanged a great deal of information about the nature of narrative and about listener expectations for and requirements of narrators. As the following examples confirm, there is little doubt that their interactions contributed to the modification, expansion, increased coherence and complexity of the narratives that they produced.

One of the easiest effects to measure is the narrator's response to a listener's corrections. The children monitored each other's narrations for errors of pronunciation and word usage, for inaccuracies in the way the events were reported, for omissions of characters and key details, and for errors of interpretation. For example, during one of his fictions Kepmen mentioned that a

little boy had to feed some foxes "two packages of milk every day". This elicited an immediate response from Bronwyn: "Packages?..of milk? Cartons of milk". Without pausing for breath, Kepmen incorporated the correction into his next utterance: "Cartons..cartons of milk every day" (October 12, 1984). During Kepmen's retelling of 'Old Yeller' (November 6, 1984) he noted that the dog "had the sickness...he roared!" Bronwyn questioned the description: "Roared? Dogs don't roar like lions". Kepmen responded by adding a brief explanation of the story events: "Yah, but he got, he got sickness from a wolf."

The listeners reported the omission of elements they considered to be critical to the story. For instance, shortly after Kepmen began to tell the 'Three Little Pigs', Bronwyn informed him "You're forgetting the wolf...You'll hafta start all over again" (January 25, 1984). Kepmen rejected the suggestion that he begin again, but almost immediately after resuming his story he described the wolf's role in it: "He knew there was a big bad wolf...and he blew anything down that was made of sticks or straw...but not bricks". During the telling of this same story, which turned into a collaborative production at the first occurrence of the chorus, the following exchange took place which serves to illustrate the way listener input was handled and incorporated into the narratives:

Heather: (cutting in and speaking very quickly)
 "And the three little pigs ran home to their mother."
 Kepmen: "No, no, the two little pigs ran to the.."
 Heather: "Oh yeah, the two little pigs ran home to their mother."
 Kepmen: "No.." (intakes breath)
 Heather: "They say they ran home to their mother."
 Kepmen: "Well...."
 Heather: (cutting in) "But they really do go over to the next house, right?"
 Kepmen: "They go ov..they ran to the next house."
 January 25, 1984

Personal anecdotes were similarly monitored for inconsistencies and inaccuracies in the way that they were reported. The following exchange occurred during a general discussion of hospitals:

Heather: "I...I got four X-rays."
 Bronwyn: "No, you said you got three."
 Heather: "Oh, yeah, three. I got three X-rays, and I got that stoopid old needle punched into my thumb again!"
 January 25, 1984

The listeners did not hesitate to seek clarification from the narrators and their enquiries generally resulted in the narrator adding missing information to the story. The following exchange, which took place during Kepmen's presentation of 'Old Yeller', demonstrates the not entirely successful efforts of both the listener and the narrator to make the story make sense:

Kepmen: "...Old Yella threw the do...the big cow right down, threw her down ag..again...and

then, he burnt her."
 Bronwyn: "Burnt who?"
 Kepmen: "Burnt the ah um cow."
 Bronwyn: "With what?"
 Kepmen: "With fire."
 Bronwyn: "Why?"
 Kepmen: "Because she...because so no-one, animals
 will...would get sick. Okay, listen to the
 story."

November 7, 1983

By means of the questions asked by the listeners a great deal of information was indirectly relayed to the narrator about listener requirements. Although these questions usually referred to specific aspects of particular stories, sometimes the requirement was stated in slightly more general terms. For instance, Kepmen began to relate an anecdote by plunging right in without first providing any explanatory background information. In frustration, Bronwyn interrupted with the 'instruction' that "You hafta tell what we're doing!" (September 10, 1984). Kepmen then belatedly provided the context for the anecdote.

As well as generating the addition of the specific information requested, the listeners' questions and comments often served to cause the narrator to greatly elaborate his or her account and extend it in directions that might not have been pursued without audience input. A simple "How did it happen?" from Kepmen resulted in Bronwyn expanding a brief mention that an art project "got wrecked"

into a full description of the incident (September 27, 1983). During one of Heather's 'cons', she reported that she had seen a boy retrieve and resume chewing his bubblegum after he had dropped it in some oil on the road. The listeners reacted with predictable disgust, and the driver remarked "Yuck...their teeth would turn all black." Heather immediately made use of this information to expand her 'con':

Heather: (after slight pause) "His teeth turned out black. They had to go to the dentist.Oh really.....Had a cavity. The doctor says, the um nurses said he had a cavity. He had to stay there for two um days."

Bronwyn: "Where?"

Heather: "At the dentists. He had to go home for night-time. Had to stay there two whole days...oh boy."

November 7, 1983

A request frequently made of narrators by the listeners was for reassurance about the 'frame' of the story. Again, these requests were usually responded to, but whether honestly or not depended upon the nature of the narrative being related. During the telling of 'Snow White', for example, Kepmen informed the others that the Good Queen died shortly after Snow White's birth. Bronwyn quickly sought confirmation that this was just make-believe: "She didn't really, did she?". Kepmen immediately obliged: "No. It was just a story" (February

15, 1984). After describing the evil deeds of the Snow Queen, Bronwyn similarly reassured Kepmen: "'Cept it's not real, it's just make-believe" (December 12, 1983). With 'cons' however, the listener had to be convinced that what was related was not make-believe. During the bubblegum-in-the-oil 'con', Bronwyn reacted with an incredulous "Is it real?". Heather first responded indirectly by elaborating the 'con' to include the realistic details of the visit to the dentist. When Bronwyn then asked if she was "teasing", Heather answered directly with an emphatic "Did it! Really he did!" and a further revelation that the boy was Kepmen and that he hadn't wanted anyone to know about it.

One obvious effect of the interactional situation in which the children's narratives were delivered was that it resulted in the production of more narratives. The children asked each other to tell stories, and offered them as entertainment and as ways of passing the time. Sometimes a narrative would be re-told by another simply in an effort to correct the first version. Kepmen's mock account of a presentation Bronwyn made for Show and Tell 'forced' her to report her perception of how the events had actually transpired. Over and over again in the data examples can be found where one narrative triggered another, which, in turn, triggered another. This is well illustrated by the series of mock 'short' stories the

children created (see p. 209). In similar fashion, Kepmen's version of 'Never Cry Wolf' led to Bronwyn's version of 'Never Cry Wolf' which then led to Bronwyn and Kepmen joining forces to produce an original fantasy about a boy on a hill in charge of feeding foxes.

When narratives were delivered in a series, they were invariably thematically linked. This topic relatedness is apparent in a sequence of anecdotes recorded during the first month of the kindergarten data. As already reported during the description of hypothetical narratives, the driver told the children about seeing two dead deer on the highway. This led to Bronwyn relating a hypothetical account of the accident which was immediately followed by Kepmen's hypothetical account of the same accident. This in turn triggered a personal anecdote from Bronwyn in which she told of an incident when her father had slammed on his brakes in order to avoid hitting a deer. Heather then offered an anecdote about a neighbour's dog almost getting hit by a car when trying to cross the road. Kepmen concluded the series by combining the subjects of dogs and deer by reporting seeing a dead deer that his uncle's dog had found and dragged out of the bushes.

The presence of a peer audience had a considerable effect on the narratives that were produced by the three subjects of this study. The comments, questions, and challenges of the listeners resulted in the narratives

being changed, 'corrected', censored, clarified and elaborated. The presence of an attentive and generally supportive audience encouraged the 'practice' of narrative skills. In the interactional process of the presentation of the narratives a great deal of information about both the content and form of stories and storytelling was shared and exchanged. The narrators contributed their stories; the listeners helped refine the telling of those stories and often submitted additional information relevant to the content. The children's conversational exchange of narratives proved an opportunity for effective and entertaining peer-'teaching', and appeared to contribute significantly to the development of their narrative competence.

II. Function

4. What functions do narrative accounts appear to serve in the conversational exchanges in which they are embedded?

Conversation is a form of social interaction (Goffman, 1971). More than simply a linguistic form, it is "a means that people use to deal with one another" (Labov & Fanshel, 1977, p. 30). The parties to a conversation can be shown

to be understanding and reacting to each other's utterances "at many levels of abstraction" (p. 30), and most utterances that contribute to a conversation can be shown to be performing several functions simultaneously (Labov & Fanshel, 1977). In their conversations, "participants use language to interpret to each other the significance of the actual and potential events that surround them and to draw the consequences for past and future actions" (p. 30). The narratives people relate to and share with each other serve to help them "work through, sort, organize and evaluate the events" (Martin, et al., 1976, p. 15) of their daily lives. They contribute both to the development of the individual, and to the development of the social being. As individuals:

..... we have to assimilate our experiences and build them into our continuing picture of the world; as social beings we need to legitimate the world picture we are continuously constructing and maintaining. So we hold out to others - in talk - our observations, discoveries, reflections, opinions, attitudes and values, and the responses we receive in the course of these conversations profoundly affect both the world picture we are creating and our view of ourselves.

Martin et al., 1976, p. 15

The review of the literature on narrative language and children's narrative competence suggested six main

functions likely to be served by the telling of conversational narratives. These were:

- a) the provision of information,
- b) the opportunity for self-aggrandizement,
- c) the display of social solidarity,
- d) entertainment,
- e) the possibility of confronting and considering problems and issues of concern, and
- f) the opportunity to hold and dominate the conversational floor.

Analysis of the data quickly established that this was a general, broadly-stated, and incomplete list. The narratives produced by the three subjects of this study served all of the functions described above, as well as a variety of others. Some of these additional functions can be considered sub-categories of the six listed above, but others were qualitatively distinct and necessitated an expansion of the original list.

Table 21 presents, in summary form, a list of the functions served by the narratives that were recorded in this study.

T A B L E 2 1

FUNCTIONS SERVED BY THE CHILDREN'S CONVERSATIONAL
NARRATIVES RECORDED IN THIS STUDY

-
1. INFORMATIONAL
 - to provide information
 - to provide evidence of claims made, or confirmation of points raised
 - to provide counter-evidence; to disprove claims made
 - to supply an example
 - to instruct
 - to explain or justify one's behaviour; to present one's personal point-of-view
 - to defend oneself
 - to warn

 2. SELF-AGGRANDIZEMENT
 - to illustrate one's competence and independence
 - to impress
 - to announce one's successes
 - to 'top'; to engage in one-upmanship
 - to compensate for or counter a possible negative impression

 3. SOCIAL SOLIDARITY
 - to indicate/consolidate/affirm friendship
 - to participate
 - to share
 - to reassure
 - to exclude

 4. ENTERTAINMENT
 - to entertain
 - to amuse
 - to spoof
 - to 'trick'

 5. ADAPTATION
 - to explore and investigate the hypothetical, the

- possible, the probable
 - to explore the worrisome
 - to test other's reactions; to discover/test the limits of social acceptability
6. FLOOR-HOLDING
- to contribute/participate in the conversation
 - to dominate/control conversation
 - to gain and maintain other's attention
 - to provide time 'fillers'
7. TEASING
- to tease
 - to trick
 - to 'freak out'/frighten
8. RETALIATION
- to cast another in a negative light
 - to seek revenge
 - to embarrass
9. DIVERSION
- to defuse a tense or unhappy situation
 - to divert attention/change the focus of a conversation
10. TO GAIN SYMPATHY
-

The data contain numerous examples of narratives that fulfilled, or were intended to achieve, each of the functions that have been noted. The examples that have been presented throughout this report can readily be seen to serve many of the functions described, and certain of the form categories that have been distinguished are 'designed' specifically to accomplish particular functions.

Although it would be possible to provide examples from the data to illustrate each separate notation on the list, new examples will be presented only for those functions which have not yet been clearly represented by the narratives so far reported. The connections and relationships among the various narrative-form categories, and the functions achieved by those narratives, will be pointed out.

1) The Informational Function of Conversational Narratives

All of the narratives produced in conversation contribute information of one sort or another. Some are primarily intended to introduce new and interesting knowledge, however. The whole point of the presentation of several of the children's retellings of books and television programs was to inform the listener of something new and intriguing that had been learned recently. For example, the desire to share the rather startling discovery that "witches were real" prompted a lengthy retelling of a book read by the school librarian. This function was frequently signalled in the children's narratives by the introductory phrase "You know what?"

Narratives often served to provide evidence either for or against points raised or claims made during the course of the talk. For example, Kepmen playfully charged the driver with breaking his watch. This claim was countered

by Heather, who prefaced her description of what actually had happened to the watch in the following fashion: "She did not. I'll tell you the story." (November 7, 1983). The driver's comment that she didn't think Heather would be able to eat a whole banana split resulted in Heather citing her own past partial success as evidence to the contrary: "I had a whole one and I shared it with my Dad". As further proof that it was possible she reported her mother's accomplishment: "My Mum ate a whole banana split...She didn't get sick". Some of the children's narratives were offered as examples from their personal experience related to the topic under discussion. The subject of slippery shoes prompted Heather to describe her experience with slippery shoes: "You should've seen when I was dancing last time. I had these shoes on and I fell backwards on my bum." (April 18, 1984).

Other narratives were intended to 'instruct', and to enhance the status of the narrator in the process. Heather's attempt to share her grammatical awareness perhaps did not receive the appreciation it deserved:

- Heather: "Before I had a real bad habit, I kept saying 'me and Kepmen' and stuff, and 'me and Lee' and Mum taught me how to say 'Lee and I' and that's not the right English..'Lee and I'...'Lee and me'. I (.....?) really now."
- Bronwyn: "'I and Lee' or 'I and Kepmen'...'Kepmen and I'..."
- Kepmen: "No. Kepmen and Trina and Bronwyn, Heather and Lee..."

Bronwyn: "Hunky, bunky, bunky, bunky..."
February 20, 1984

A number of the narratives were offered as explanations of how something was done, so that the listeners could then do it for themselves. Others clearly were intended as warnings to the listeners, and bore all the marks of cautionary tales. The perils of hitchhiking were spelled out in an anecdote told by Heather about three boys who had never returned to their homes after accepting a ride from a stranger. She also concisely reported the risks of beachcombing: "D'you know what? Once I opened um..a shell, and a crab pinched my finger" (March 26, 1984). The experience of a cousin was used to alert the others to the likely results of putting elastics in a Barbie doll's hair:

Bronwyn: "You never should. You know why?"
Kepmen: "Why?"
Bronwyn: "It messes up your Barbie. I have a cousin, you know? She has a Barbie. She put lastics and everything on, and she had, it was, it came out all um yucky, and then you know what? She had to chop it off and she has strange short hair."

January 12, 1984

Narratives were also used to justify and explain the narrators' current behaviour. After a minor skirmish with Heather, Bronwyn protested: "You don't have any manners in the car!" Unperturbed, Heather recalled a previous

anecdote that explained why: "Remember Mum said I'm half monster!" (February, 20, 1984). Past negative experience was cited as the reason why Bronwyn was not prepared to let Kepmen again use her papers to make a new magic wand:

Bronwyn: "No...it's out, it's out of my own cardboard and you have to ask.
(Volume rising) You did that once and, my Daddy, I was angry and I told my Daddy and he had to get af...pay money and...for a whole big more piece, and you're not making any wands any more!"

December 12, 1983

Narratives played an important role in permitting the speaker to present his or her personal point-of-view on various topics, and to report an event the way it had appeared. This was one function served by many of the replays in the data, and is well illustrated by the two reports (the first delivered by Kepmen, the second, in rebuttal, by Bronwyn) of the dispute at Kepmen's birthday. Narratives offering personal perspectives on past events frequently served as a means of defence against what was judged to be an unfair or inaccurate representation of those same events by others.

The informational function was most directly realized via the anecdotes of personal and vicarious experience and with the print and visual media retellings.

2) Self-Aggrandizement and Conversational Narratives

A range of narrative forms were exploited in the interests of self-aggrandizement. Many of the children's personal anecdotes were related with the obvious intention of presenting the teller in a positive light. Personal anecdotes provided a platform for the proud description of past successes and many offered evidence of the narrator's increasing social competence and independence. For example, with great pride Heather revealed that she was "allowed to go across the street myself....And I'm allowed to go down the hill myself!" (September 23, 1983). She then went on to tell about the first time she had been permitted to do so when she was only four. Some of the anecdotes documented the narrator's victory over difficult circumstances or over temptation. For example, Heather described, with endearing honesty, her conflicting feelings when she had been asked if an article in the Lost and Found belonged to her:

Heather: "They shown me. (Pause) They asked me if it's mine and I said 'No'. (Pause) Can't trick em, cuz it really was nice -- I wanted to keep it so I said just 'No'. I wanted to say 'Yes' but that wouldn't be very nice if it was somebody's lunch...uh lunchbucket."

January 25, 1984

Some of the narratives served a one-upmanship function; several of the anecdote-series found in the data can be viewed as exercises in 'topping' (for example, the sequenced mock stories, p. 209). Heather's and Bronwyn's discussion of how many X-rays each had received serves as a brief illustration of this. Heather claimed to have had four X-rays; she was corrected by Bronwyn, who reminded her she had previously said the number was three. Heather accepted the correction: "Oh, yeah, three. I got three X-rays.." (January 25, 1984). Bronwyn then reported that she "had four X-rays" (January 25, 1984) and went on to tell about why they had been necessary. The child who can 'report-one-better', who can relate a scarier story, or tell of a "worser" happening wins the round.

Sometimes a narrative would operate as a form of compensation. For example, Heather's mother informed Bronwyn that her picture had won a prize at the local flower show. Both Bronwyn and Heather had entered the contest, and so Bronwyn immediately asked Heather if she had won as well. She hadn't, but reported an event equally noteworthy:

Bronwyn: "Heather, were you a winner? Heather?.."
 Heather: "'Cept I'm gonna be in the newspaper."
 Bronwyn: "What for?"
 Heather: "There was a lady who was going around the show and takin' pictures to be in the newspaper and I got in one of the pictures with that big animal...There was a big animal there."

Adult: "Well that's...I'm gonna hafta look at
that one."
Heather: "I kissed the big animal in the picture!"
(Heather giggles)

June 4, 1984

The tattle-tales functioned to simultaneously reflect negatively upon the offender and positively upon the teller - or at least that appeared to be the intention of the 'tattler'. By pointing out the unacceptable behaviour of others the narrators revealed their awareness of appropriate conduct and implied that they would never be guilty of similar offences. Tattle-tales also obviously served to achieve revenge.

The successful 'cons' increased the status and pointed to the skill of the narrator who had 'pulled-it-off'. The successful jokes also served to enhance narrator status for they guaranteed listener attention and were almost always rewarded with laughter.

3) Narratives as Facilitators and Indicators of Social Solidarity

The narratives frequently served, and were used, to consolidate and indicate bonds of friendship and closeness. This most obviously was accomplished by the recounting of past shared events, and these narratives would usually be introduced by means of a phrase such as "Remember when

we...?" Such recollections often also served as a suggestion or invitation to repeat the behaviour previously engaged in, as in the following request:

Bronwyn: "Heather, remember when we were in the car one day and we were making these funny faces to make real (?) so we made lots of different faces? We kept laughing! Can we do that?"

(March 26, 1984).

The relating of past shared events sometimes served to exclude, however. For example, two of the children, in the presence of the third child, would occasionally talk about something special or enjoyable they had both done together that had not involved the third child. Often the whole point of these narratives seemed to be to stress the alliance of the pair to the exclusion of the third. Kepmen had not been in the car when the girls had first played the game described above by Bronwyn. When he made overtures to join in the playing he was informed that he couldn't because "...you don't know what we played". Never one to give up easily, Kepmen made a demonstration funny face to prove his competence ("Like this?"), but he was again informed that "No, you weren't playing...Kepmen, you're not playing." (March 26, 1984).

The positive counter-part of the tattle-tale was the 'good report'. Sometimes one child would tell of kind or pleasant behaviour of another, and, if the subject of the

anecdote also happened to be a listener then such narration could only be interpreted as a friendly gesture. For instance, shortly after Kepmen joined the girls in the car he announced that "Bronwyn was nice to...Bron was as nice as anything. She let...yesterday...she let me go in front of her and everything." (November 25, 1983).

The children regarded their stories and the information contained in their anecdotes as a sort of commodity that could be shared or withheld. The decision to share or not indicated current alliances and friendship status. For example, just before arriving to pick up Kepmen, Heather told Bronwyn about an outing in the woods. As the car approached Kepmen's home, Bronwyn interrupted Heather's account:

Bronwyn: "Don't tell this to Kepmen."
 Heather: "And we um..."
 Bronwyn: "No, we...you better stop because we don't
 wanna tell Kepmen!"

December 5, 1983

The girls discussed whether Kepmen should or should not be informed. Heather finally decided that it would be all right to tell him because the anecdote wasn't true; it was a 'con'. Now that the 'con' was revealed, she was more than prepared to let Bronwyn join her in trying to work it on Kepmen.

The sharing of anecdotes was often happily anticipated, however. After hearing Heather tell all about her 'rainy-day-book', Bronwyn said "Let's tell Kepmen all about that, 'kay?" (January 18, 1984). Another time the driver began to tell the girls an anecdote about a discipline incident at school. Kepmen had not yet been picked up and Bronwyn interrupted the story with the following request:

Bronwyn: "No...ah...wait until Kepmen comes in the car."

Adult: "Why?"

Bronwyn: "Cuz he wants to hear."

February 1, 1984

Another way of sharing involved responding to a narrative with an account of matching or equivalent personal experience. Although it is possible to interpret such exchanges as efforts at one-up-manship, the tone of the narrators usually indicated that empathy rather than competitiveness provided their motivation. The following excerpt offers a brief example. Heather complained of a stomach ache, and the driver responded by noting that Bronwyn had been making the same complaint all week.

Kepmen: "This morning I had a sore stomach."

Adult: "You did?....I wonder what...maybe there's some bug or some germ going around that's giving everybody tummy aches...."

Kepmen: "<"I had a sore waist. Last night I had two sore legs."

Bronwyn: "Last night I had one sore leg."

Adult: "Yeah, you did."
 Kepmen: "And last night I had sore shoulders and um...and it hurt so so much last night I had to sleep the wrong way."
 Adult: "What?"
 Bronwyn: "I had to go to bed real early."
 Kepmen: "At the bottom...I had to sleep at the bottom of my bed where the blankets were."
 October 7, 1983

The desire to share in an activity, to work together to create something, to participate, is well reflected in the children's narrative collaborations, particularly in those they organized in advance. At the conclusion of one of the tellings of the 'Three Little Pigs' the driver made a complimentary remark. Bronwyn happily responded with "It was all of us", as if that explained why the story had turned out so well.

One way friendship was acknowledged and affirmed by the children was with a 'confession'. The children would share personal anecdotes that potentially left them vulnerable to teasing and humiliation should the revelation be abused. The sharing of such information signalled a willingness to trust. Sometimes, but not always, the listener reciprocated with a confession of his or her own. The data contain a number of these very personal anecdotes. It is worth noting, as the following example illustrates, that the children revealed themselves quite aware of the risk they were taking. This example involves reciprocal confessions. Bronwyn had told Heather and Kepmen about a

night-long ordeal with the flu. She had been violently ill and had accidentally "POOHED MY PANTS! (November 7, 1983). A week later, Heather hesitantly introduced an account of a similar experience:

- Heather: "Ahhh...I'm not gonna tell you, you'll hate it. (laughs) And you'll keep on sayin' it..(inaudible)..."
- Bronwyn: "I won't, Heather."
- Heather: (after slight pause) "Okay....You know that time you said you dirtied...you poohed your pants when you were sick?"
- Bronwyn: "Yeah."
- Heather: "Well I did really did that when I had diarrhea. I had diarrhea, I had the flu.. (inaudible few words)..I had to get up to the toilet in a hurry, I was downstairs and then, in the um.....I don't...I forget what...(inaudible)..the family room.."
- Bronwyn: "The living room."
- Heather: "I was in the living room...I tried to get the downstairs open but it was closed so now I, then I poohed my pants...."
- November 14, 1983

Despite Bronwyn's assurance that she wouldn't "keep on saying it", she responded by laughing and playfully chanting "You poohed your pants! You poohed your pants!". Heather had anticipated this reaction: "I thought you'd say (chanting) 'Heather poohed her pants! Heather poohed...". The chanting was cut off by the driver who denounced it as "a really unkind thing to do". Heather then pragmatically pointed out that "I would say it to you if you said it to me". She then launched into a practice round of tit-for-tat chanting. It is worth noting that the mood of

the children during this whole exchange was playful and friendly. Although the children regularly responded to confessions by teasingly threatening that they would 'tell', as far as is indicated in the data, they never did.

4) Narratives as Entertainment

Many of the children's narratives proved highly entertaining and they were intended as such. Their jokes and mock stories were obviously designed to amuse and many of the retellings of the traditional tales were offered as entertainments. The proof that the children viewed them that way lies in their acceptance of the offers to tell the stories and in their requests to have them repeated. For example, the following exchange prefaced Kepmen's telling of 'Old Yeller':

Kepmen: "Hey tell this story, okay Heather?
Tell the story. I can't remember any one
bit of it."
Bronwyn: "No, Kepmen, no Kepmen, tell um...tell um
'Old Yeller'".
Heather: "I want 'Old Yeller'".
Kepmen: "Okay."

November 7, 1983

Their original fictions and fantasies were clearly intended as a pleasant way to pass the time, and their reception and the willingness of the children to collaborate in their production indicates that they

succeeded in this. The 'cons' also served to amuse, and the children's delight in them was apparent from their willingness to play along and from their laughter and enthusiastic shouts of "We tricked you!" at the 'con's' unmasking. Many of the hypothetical narratives also served to entertain, particularly those that turned into the game-routines that involved the thwarting of offered solutions. A number of the replays were repeated precisely because of their entertainment value, and, as the introductions to several of the children's narrative jokes make plain, the reason for their presentation lay in an earlier favorable reception.

5) Adaptation

Narratives also afford the narrator and the listeners the opportunity to confront indirectly and to consider problems and issues that concern, distress, or intrigue (Abrams & Sutton-Smith, 1977; Bettelheim, 1977; Gardner, 1980). Situations can be faced in fictions which would be avoided, forbidden, or unlikely to occur in real life. Unsettling or misunderstood events and incidents can later be reported and discussed with peers and adults. The listeners' reactions, their reports of similar experiences, and their confirmation or rejection of the teller's interpretation of what happened, all serve to assist the

teller to reach a better understanding of the events and often can help to render them less threatening.

The hypothetical narratives created by the children permitted them to pose problems or sketch situations and then propose, and evaluate, possible solutions or ways of reacting to them. One of the earliest recorded hypotheticals was an unusually lengthy discussion in which all three of the subjects tried to imagine what would happen, and what they would do, if the driver ever failed to pick them up from school. This occurred at the beginning of the kindergarten year when both school and carpooling were new experiences. It is possible that the hypothetical narratives and the discussions they prompted helped to familiarize the children with behavioural options they might not otherwise have become aware of.

The hypothetical narratives also served a rehearsal function. In some, the children imagined different situations and subsequently the conversations likely to result from those situations. In others, the children described "what would happen" to them, and then planned their reactions. For example, Bronwyn described with as much detail and accuracy as she could manage an anticipated ear operation. This was definitely a worrisome prospect for her. In the discussion that followed the children worked through the issues of missing school, whether it would hurt, whether stitches would be required, if there

would be a scar, and what it would be like to stay in the hospital overnight.

Problems were regularly presented and confronted in the anecdotes. Common topics proved to be troubles on the school playground, disputes, accidents, and rule infractions. Disputes were also aired in the tattle-tales and sometimes resolved in the ensuing discussions. Events that had frightened or alarmed them were also reported. For example, all three of the children took turns telling about a newspaper story of a suspected child molester, and their sighting at school of a man they were convinced fit his description. Heather introduced the topic in the following way:

Heather: "Remember yesterday you didn't believe that that man was real?"
 Bronwyn: "What...what man?"
 Heather: "You know that man's going around hurting the little grade ones..."
 Bronwyn: "I did believe it."
 Heather: "It's in the newspaper, right?"
 January 25, 1985

The children shared all the information they had about the man, including a description of his car ("it looks like a ghost car but it isn't a ghost car"), and the fact that "He's wearing a ski mask". They then went on to describe their encounter with him:

Heather: "I seen him then..cuz he's..I saw a man wearing a ski mask."

- Bronwyn: "Yeah, we saw him. Well I sawn him."
 Heather: "I have too."
 Bronwyn: "He came into our class."
 Heather: "<He came into our class."
 Kepmen: "He came up to you."
 Bronwyn: "Yeah, he came up to Heather, cuz Heather had to stay..."
 Heather: (cutting in) "With pills in his pocket but he didn't talk at all because.. because.."
 Adult: "Well, how do you know he had pills in his pocket, Heather?"
 Heather: "Cuz...He was just staring at me with something in his hand...round things... and...and then he just stuck his hand in his pocket and pulled it out again."
 January 25, 1985

The report continued with the children explaining that Heather had been by herself in the classroom because she was staying inside for the lunch hour. Kepmen took over the narration of the next section:

- Kepmen: "And then he went into the grade two's classroom and Heather, I think, was very scared, cuz she walked out...out in the hallway and got..."
 Heather: (breaking in) "I was scared. So I walked out in the hallway."
 January 25, 1985

The discussion turned to consideration of what the best course of action would be in such a situation; having decided it would be best to report everything to a teacher, they then turned their attention to their plans for trapping the man. Bronwyn revealed that "Kristine and me got all these plans...and Miriam and Linnea...and we've got

plans". The plans consisted of stringing string across the playground at ankle level and then tying the molester up with it as soon as he tripped and lay tangled on the ground. It is difficult to know how much of this account was factual and how much was the product of their imaginations. The narratives were delivered with complete sincerity, and whether or not events happened exactly as described or not, the topic was one of concern to the children, and one that they wanted to talk about with each other.

The 'cons' and the original fictions and fantasies proved to be vehicles for testing the reactions of others to certain behaviours. The narrator ran no real risk of disapproval or punishment because the behaviours described had not really happened; they were fictions and fabrications. The narrators were consequently granted considerable licence to investigate the social consequences of almost any behaviour they could imagine and the listeners usually could be counted on to volunteer their reactions, interpretations and opinions. If the reaction was positive and approving, the narrator could choose not to reveal the 'con'; Heather won considerable respect from Kepmen and Bronwyn with her claims to have written the hard cover book. If the reaction was negative and critical the children could always announce that they were only teasing and that they hadn't really done what they had claimed.

Either way, a great deal of information is obtained about how certain behaviours will be received.

6) The Conversational Floor-Holding Functions of Narratives

Narration suspends the normal turn-by-turn rules of conversational exchange; a narrator is entitled to hold the floor until his story is finished (Sacks, 1974). By telling a story or recounting an anecdote the children established rights to the conversational floor and, in most instances, guaranteed for themselves the centre of attention.

The opportunity to dominate and control the flow of talk appeared to be one of the real attractions of the telling of narratives for the children in this study. Many of their stories were deliberately prolonged by means of repetition, by the addition of songs, and by the 'recycling' of whole plot sections. Often these techniques proved successful and acceptable to the listeners; just as often they were recognized as methods for dominating the conversation and were objected to.

Repetition, a technique for "making it last" (Keenan, 1977) that is mastered very early is evident in the following anecdote told by Heather about pushing a baby in a baby swing:

Heather: "....I hafta, I hafta um turn it, and turn it, and turn it, until it goes faster and faster . Hafta wind this thing, wind it, wind it and wind it and wind it and wind it ...till it, till it gets to go! Aunt Ginny said..Aunt Ginny said uh...I could use it cuz Justin just had his milk and he said a burp."

September 27, 1983

Recycling, or the repetition-with-slight-variation of entire plot sequences, is illustrated in the 'Saga of the Beastly Boys' by the addition of a second search: "Those naughty boys were so bad they wandered off....again" (December 3, 1984). The reluctance to complete a story, to have it end, is also apparent in the 'Saga'; after Bronwyn has announced 'The end', Kepmen adds a finale, and Bronwyn rounds it off with a dedication. The wish to have the story continue is also evident in Kepmen's attempt to add a sequel to the 'Three Little Pigs' by arranging for the miraculous survival of the wolf. Another way that the children extended their stories was by including songs. One version of 'Snow White' began and ended with several rousing choruses of the dwarves' 'Heigh-ho' song.

The children often used to compete with each other to be the one to tell a story or report a particular anecdote, and, if it became necessary, they would aggressively defend their rights to talk. One of Kepmen's retellings of a television program was particularly drawn out, and he blocked all attempts by the others to gain access to the

floor. Bronwyn, anxious to tell about a program she had seen, finally protested: "You never let me go on another turn, 'cept we never got any turns" (September 30, 1983). Heather supported the complaint: "Kepmen got to talk until we get into Duncan". When the driver intervened and suggested Kepmen should quickly complete his story, he objected that "there was a bunch of things to add!" As Kepmen by this time had resorted to describing the commercials that accompanied the program it seems fair to conclude that his concern lay more with holding the floor than with doing justice to the plot of the piece he was reporting.

Kepmen would frequently offer to retell familiar stories to the others, often before they had even climbed into the car. His offers usually were accepted and his stories well received. On those occasions when his offers were rejected, the rejection appeared prompted more by the others' reluctance to turn over the floor for an extended period of time (Kepmen rarely told short stories) than by any negative feelings about the story itself. Support for this point comes from the fact that Kepmen's first offer to tell a story was almost always accepted. Upon one story's completion, he would regularly offer to immediately tell another. The second stories were the ones most often turned down or the ones most likely to be subjected to listener 'sabotage' and playful interference. After a turn

as listeners, the others were ready to tell their own stories.

The children's narratives made it possible for them to contribute to, to expand, and to personalize the topic of talk. Often the attraction of story telling seemed to be simply that the narratives provided the children with a way of joining in and of becoming participants.

7) Narratives as Vehicles for Teasing

Narratives proved flexible and effective vehicles for teasing. One way the children teased each other was by threatening to tell about something said or done that they knew the other didn't wish repeated. The 'cons' were also a type of teasing, and they were identified as such by the children. The narratives that were told to frighten and 'freak-out' the listeners, despite their protests that they didn't wish to hear them, also served to tease and torment.

Teasing was sometimes accomplished by transforming a listener into a character in an original fiction. The driver was featured in a number of such stories, only one of which could be considered a flattering portrayal. The following excerpt is taken from a fiction collaboratively produced by Bronwyn and Kepmen:

Kepmen: "Um, there's once um ah um um ah a lit..
a big, big, big girl who was called

- Alison and she had thick..thick hair (laughs) and she washed it one day, and it was smelling beautiful. Just beautiful. Alison's hair was won... wonderful." (Sounds of whispers from Bronwyn. Kepmen laughs and continues on) "Right...strawberries and oranges."
- Adult: "In my hair?"
- Kepmen: (laughs) "Yeah."
- Bronwyn: < "Yep...And you had special shampoo in it."
- Adult: "Ah. Sounds nice."
- Bronwyn: (Voice high-pitched, tone exaggerated) "And once upon a time....How about we say it together? And then once upon a time (Kepmen echoes the phrase) she washed it again. She put in a different type of shampoo - white, purple sparkles!"
- December 12, 1983

As is readily apparent, this narrative serves to entertain, to confirm social solidarity (the children co-operate to tease the adult), and playfully to poke fun.

8) Narratives as Vehicles for Retaliation

An obvious function served by the tattle-tales was that of getting-even or seeking revenge. Tattle-tales were told both to cast the offender in a negative light, and in the hopes that the adult "would take the appropriate corrective action" (Umiker-Sebeok, 1979, p. 102). Kepmen bluntly stated that his motivation in creating the sad story of his death and burial was to "fix" the girls and make them feel "so sorry for themselves".

Towards the end of the data collection period, the children began to recognize and exploit the potential of narratives to embarrass. This point has been previously raised in connection with the 'confessions', and the employment of narrative to embarrass has been reported by Watson-Gegeo and Boggs (1977) in their study of the jointly created and 'publicly' performed narratives of young children. The intention to embarrass was directly stated in an exchange between Bronwyn and Kepmen that involved a playful discussion of whom they intended to marry. Bronwyn announced her plans to marry her 'bodyguard', an older boy from school that the grade one girls had taken to tracking at recess. Later in the discussion, Kepmen threatened to tell the boy a considerably embroidered version of what Bronwyn had said. Bronwyn replied that she didn't care because "I know where to hide...I got a good hideout" (November 2, 1984). Bronwyn then added "I didn't really mean it" and warned that she would tell Kepmen's mother if he told on her. Kepmen promptly decided on an indirect attack: "I think I'll tell another boy, then, embarrass him". The discussion continued with Kepmen playfully threatening that he would reveal the 'secret' to a variety of people. Although apparently all in fun, as soon as Kepmen was dropped off Bronwyn quickly assured the driver that all the things Kepmen had said were "lies" and that

"Nobody is as mean as Kepmen...he's poopy...he's mean and he's just terrible" (November 2, 1984).

9) Narratives Used to Divert and Defuse

On occasion, narratives were offered as a means of diverting attention from something causing unhappiness or unpleasantness. As previously reported, Heather once decided to tell an anecdote because she wanted to "try to make Bronwyn happy" (September 30, 1983). At the time Bronwyn had been crying because Kepmen had accused her of bossiness. Trying to join in, and perhaps make amends, Kepmen followed by suggesting a joke:

Kepmen: "I know what would make Bronwyn happy. If there was a slide outside the door and your Mum was driving she would be able to ru..get on the slide and... and go down, then she would be able to run around and get on the slide again!"
September 30, 1983

Unfortunately, the effort proved neither successful nor appreciated:

Bronwyn: (tearfully) "That's not a funny joke! I don't like that!"

Again, as already reported, the consequences of a tattletale could sometimes be ameliorated and a tense situation defused if the offenders defended themselves with

narrative accounts of what had happened that were funny or that rendered the events ridiculous (see the example quoted on page 161).

10) Narratives as a Means of Gaining Sympathy

Some of the narratives, almost always personal anecdotes, were told with the specific intention of obtaining the sympathy of the listeners. The narrator usually presented himself or herself in the role of victim, and documented events in which he or she had been unfairly treated or misunderstood. Whereas tattle-tales were usually delivered in angry tones, the narratives designed to gain the listener's sympathy frequently ended with the narrator in tears. At the beginning of the kindergarden year many of the anecdotes reported playground incidents in which the children had been pushed off the equipment by older and bigger children. The following example is fairly typical:

Bronwyn: "'Cept Mummy...."
 Adult: "Um hum?"
 Bronwyn: "One day Angus um, I was talking to Heather, and Angus pushed me down."
 Adult: "For no reason at all?"
 Bronwyn: "No."
 Adult: "What did you say to him?"
 Bronwyn: (becoming tearful) "And he's hit me right in the back and..it really did hurt."

October 3, 1983

Summary of Findings for the Functions of Narratives

Most of the narratives produced by the children served a variety of functions simultaneously, and many were deliberately employed in order to achieve specific ends. Table 22 presents a summary of the relationships among the various narrative form categories and the functions served by narrative language.

T A B L E 2 2

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG NARRATIVE FORM CATEGORIES AND THE
FUNCTIONS SERVED BY NARRATIVE LANGUAGE

F U N C T I O N F O R M - C A T E G O R Y

1. INFORMATIONAL

- Personal anecdotes
- Anecdotes of vicarious experience
- Print source retellings
- Visual media retellings
- Replays

2. SELF-AGGRANDIZEMENT

- Personal anecdotes
- Tattle-tales
- Replays
- 'Cons'
- Narrative jokes

3. SOCIAL SOLIDARITY

- Personal anecdotes
- Print source retellings
- Original fictions
- Original fantasies
- Narrative collaborations
- Narrative jokes

TABLE 22 (Continued)

4. ENTERTAINMENT

- Personal anecdotes
- Print source retellings
- Visual media retellings
- Mock stories
- 'Cons'
- Repeat performances
- Original fictions
- Original fantasies
- Hypothetical narratives
- Narrative collaborations

5. ADAPTATION

- Personal anecdotes
- Anecdotes of vicarious experience
- Tattle-tales
- Hypothetical narratives
- 'Cons'
- Original fictions
- Original fantasies

6. FLOOR-HOLDING

- All narrative forms

7. TEASING

- 'Cons'
- Original fictions

8. RETALIATION

- Tattle-tales

9. DIVERSION

- All narrative forms

10. SYMPATHY

- Personal anecdotes
 - Tattle-tales
 - Hypothetical narratives
-

5. Do the subjects reveal individual differences in terms of their narrative skills, styles of presentation, and/or their preferences for certain narrative forms over others?

The findings for this question will be presented in three parts. Individual differences in terms of the production of certain narrative forms and preferences for some forms over others will be discussed first. Differences in presentation style will be noted, and differences in the narrative skills displayed by each of the three subjects will be discussed.

In order to determine whether there were differences in the narrative forms favoured and produced by each of the three subjects all of the examples of the various narrative types found in the data were identified as produced by each individual. The proportion of each narrative category produced by each of the three subjects individually, and collaboratively, was then determined. For example, the total number of personal anecdotes recorded was tallied. Next the proportion or percentage of that total produced by each child was calculated. Also calculated was the proportion of the total number of personal anecdotes that were collaboratively recounted. The same procedure was followed for each of the narrative forms found in the data. Examination of these figures made it possible to compare

and contrast each subject's production of the different narrative forms. This information is presented in Figure 5.

<Insert Figure 5>

The data clearly indicate that there are individual differences in production. To cite the most obvious examples, Kepmen produced proportionately more tattle-tales, print and visual media retellings, and hypothetical narratives than the two girls. Bronwyn produced more repeat performances, replays, jokes, and mock stories than the other two subjects. Heather produced slightly more 'cons' than the others, and was the only one who failed to produce an original fantasy. Both the hypothetical narratives and the original fantasies proved more likely to be collaboratively than independently created. Only a minor difference in the distribution of the anecdotes of personal and of vicarious experience is apparent.

Figure 5 is based on all of the narratives that were recorded for the study. The children were not always all together in the car, however. Occasional bouts of sickness meant that sometimes only two of the three children would be present on a particular trip to school. As well, because Kepmen was the last to be picked up and the first to be dropped off it could be claimed that he had less opportunity than the girls to participate. Examination of the recordings, however, and of who was present when they

FIGURE 5 (Page 1)
 DISTRIBUTION OF EACH SUBJECT'S PRODUCTION OF THE VARIOUS NARRATIVE FORMS
 CALCULATED FOR THE TOTAL NUMBER OF NARRATIVES RECORDED

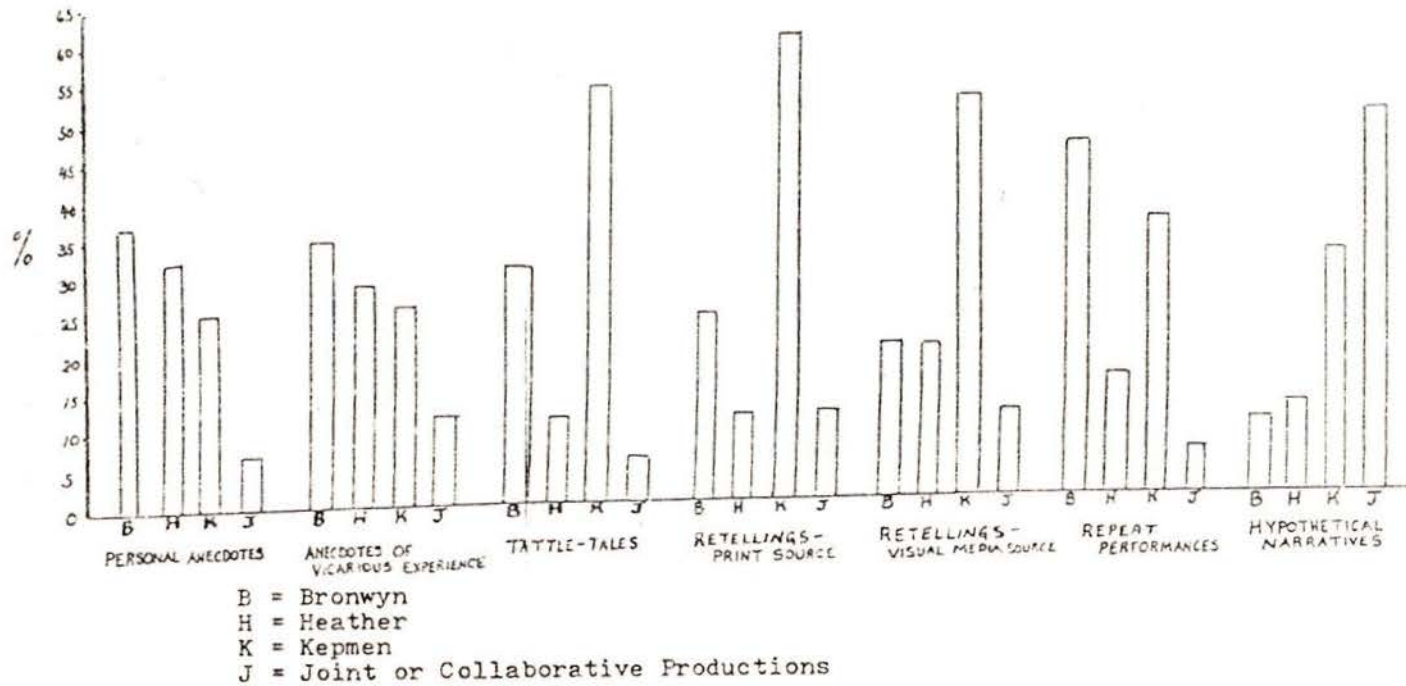
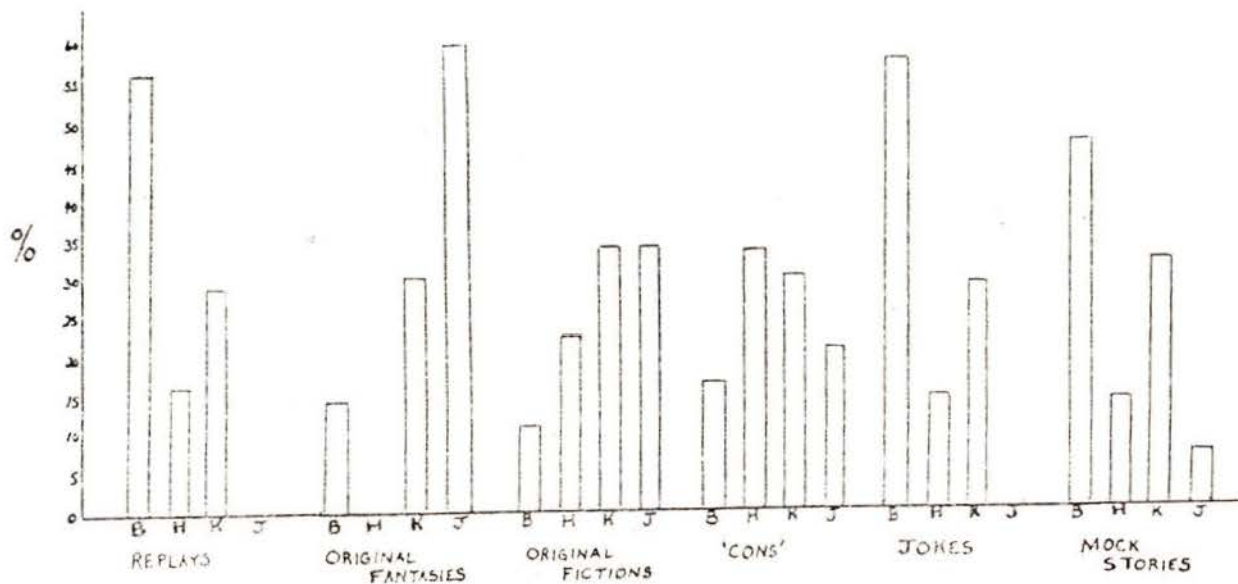


FIGURE 5 (Page 2)
 DISTRIBUTION OF EACH SUBJECT'S PRODUCTION OF THE VARIOUS NARRATIVE FORMS
 CALCULATED FOR THE TOTAL NUMBER OF NARRATIVES RECORDED



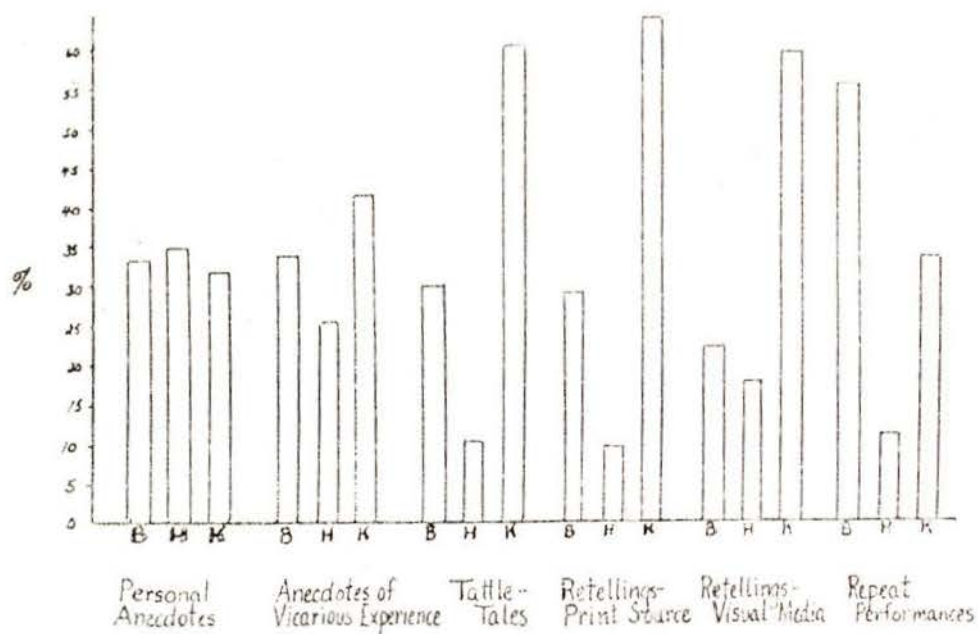
were made, showed that the differences due to absences and pick up points tended to balance out over the course of the study; all three children were recorded for approximately the same amounts of time. However, in order to ensure that the differences noted reflected differences in the children and not differences in the amount of time each child was in the car, or differences in the interaction dynamics between various pairings of the children, a second analysis was done.

For the second analysis, only those narratives produced when all three children were present in the car were included in the calculations. Further, only independently produced narratives were counted. Again, all examples of each of the various narrative types were examined to determine their distribution by narrator. The results of these calculations are presented in Figure 6. Narrative jokes were not included in the graph as only three (one related by Bronwyn, two by Kepmen) were recorded when all three children were together.

<Insert Figure 6>

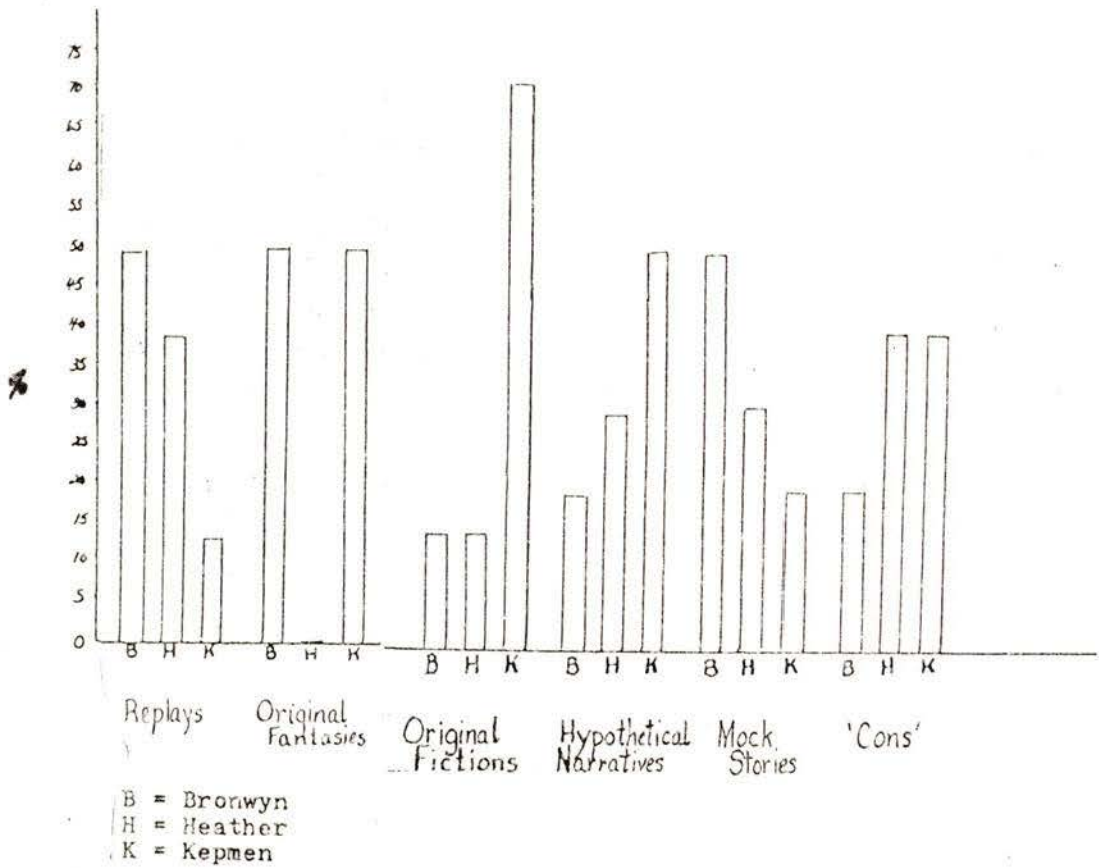
Comparison of Figure 6 with Figure 5 reveals some minor differences and adjustments of proportions. Individual differences are still readily apparent, however. Examination of Table 6 reveals almost no difference in the proportionate distribution of the personal anecdotes. This was a form of narrative language equally favoured and

FIGURE 6 (Page 1)
 DISTRIBUTION OF EACH SUBJECT'S PRODUCTION OF THE
 DIFFERENT NARRATIVE FORMS WHEN ALL THREE SUBJECTS
 WERE TOGETHER



B = Bronwyn
 H = Heather
 K = Kepmen

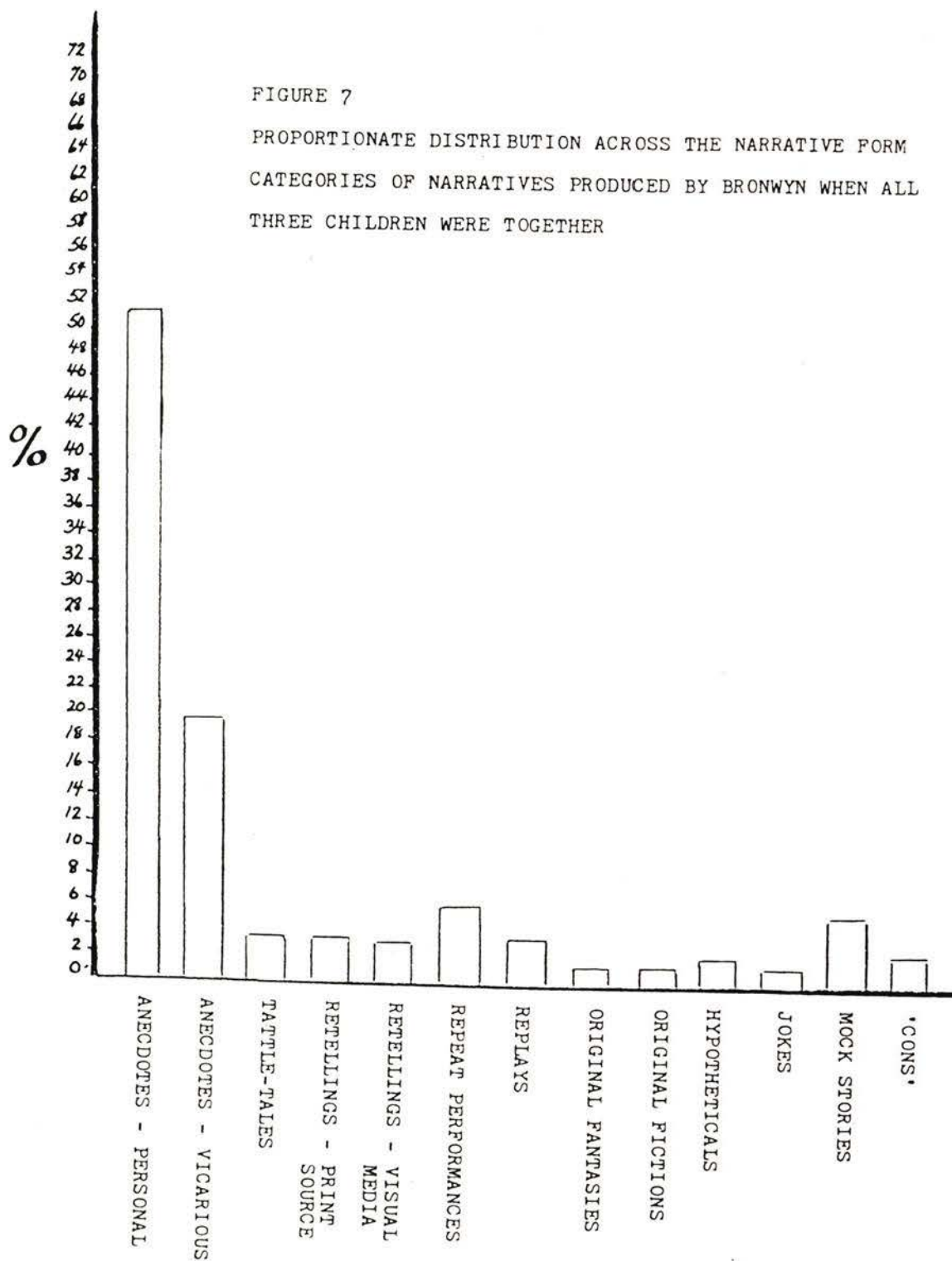
FIGURE 6 (Page 2)
 DISTRIBUTION OF EACH SUBJECT'S PRODUCTION OF THE
 DIFFERENT NARRATIVE FORMS WHEN ALL THREE SUBJECTS
 WERE TOGETHER

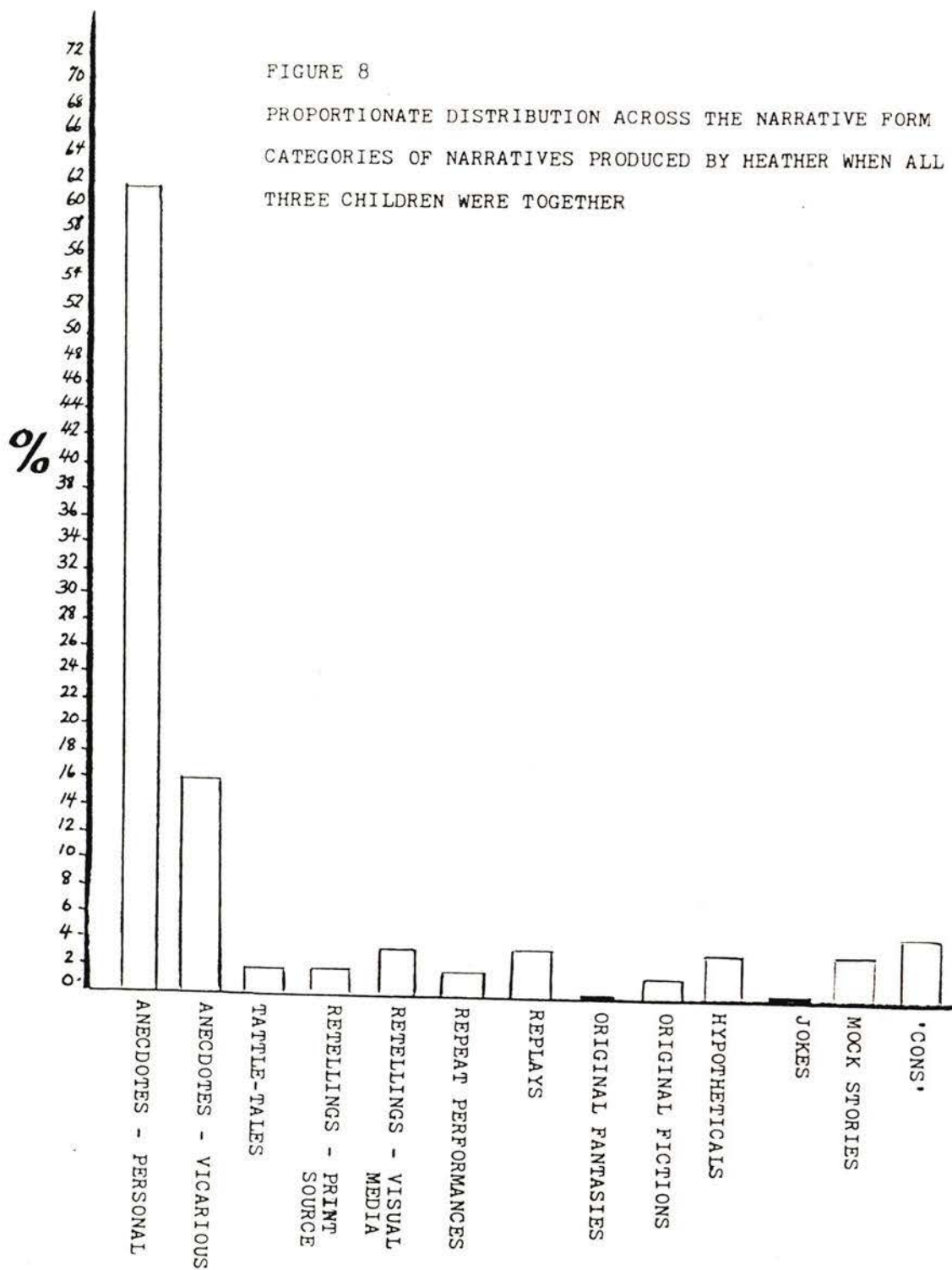


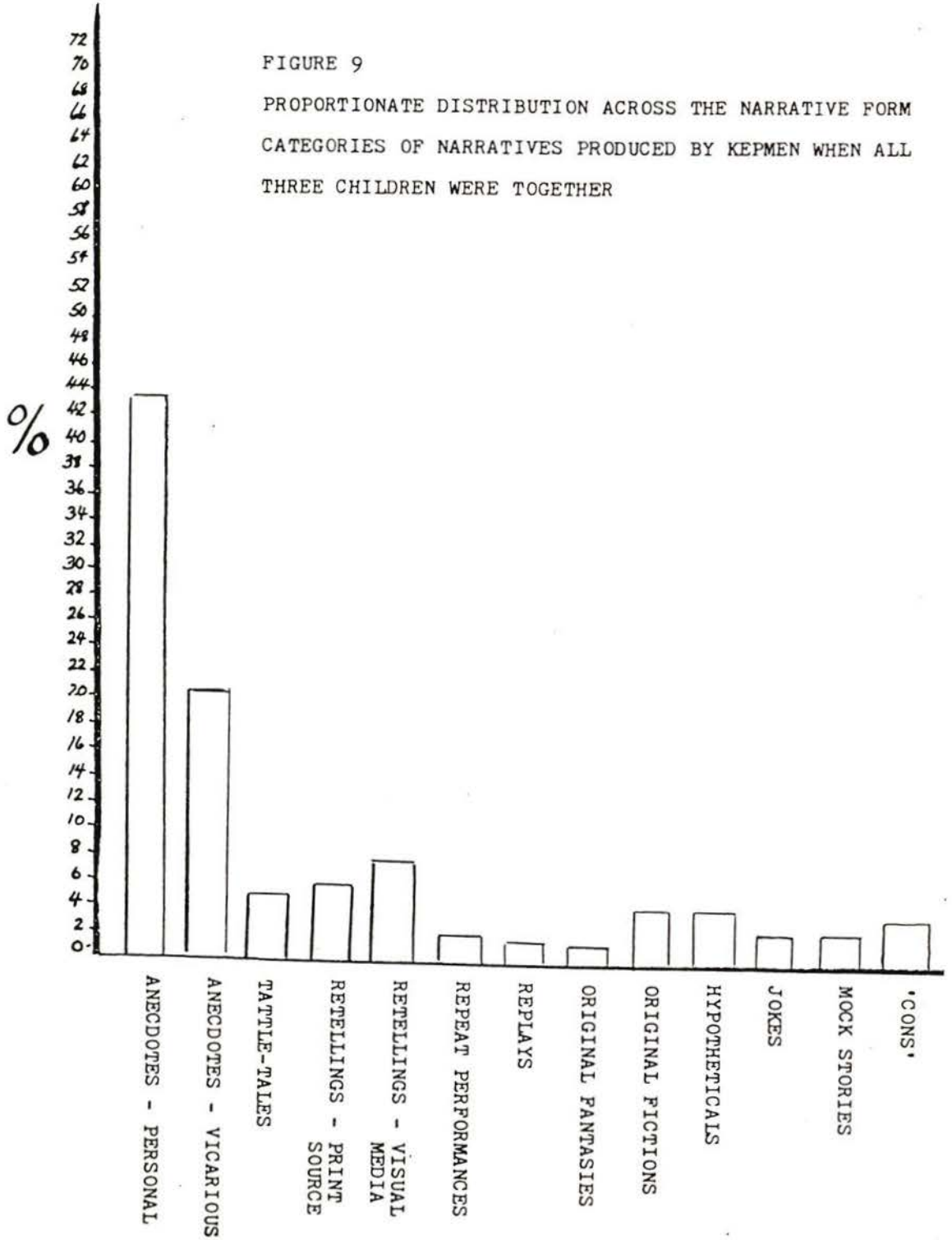
utilized by all three subjects. When all three children were together, Kepmen told the most anecdotes of vicarious experience, but Heather and Bronwyn also related many anecdotes of this sort. Marked differences are apparent in the distribution of tattle-tales; Kepmen told six times as many as Heather, and twice as many as Bronwyn. Striking differences are also apparent in the distribution of the print and visual media retellings, and of the original fictions. In all three cases Kepmen produced a far greater proportion than did the two girls. Bronwyn favoured repeat performances, replays and mock stories, and contributed a greater proportion of each narrative type than did either of the other two subjects. She also produced fewer 'cons' than Kepmen or Heather. Heather produced slightly more personal anecdotes than Kepmen or Bronwyn, and, like Kepmen, forty percent of the 'cons'. However, compared with the others, Heather produced the fewest tattle-tales, print and visual media retellings, repeat performances and replays. She was the only one not to create an original fantasy. It should be noted, incidentally, that Heather adamantly refused her turn to participate in the creation of the 'Saga of the Beastly Boys', and that on numerous occasions she rejected the suggestions and requests of the other two children that she tell particular fairy stories, or tell about movies they knew she had seen.

Although it would be possible to discuss the various distributions represented in Figure 6 at length, the point to be stressed is that they reveal striking individual differences in the production of the various forms of narrative language. All three subjects revealed themselves capable of producing many different types of narratives. Over the course of the study both Kepmen and Bronwyn produced examples of all fourteen narrative forms identified in the data, and Heather produced examples of thirteen of the fourteen. As the graphs make clear, however, all three subjects tended to favour different narrative forms and to produce some more than others.

In an effort to create a 'narrative profile' for each subject, the distribution across the narrative form categories of all of the narratives produced by each subject when all three children were together in the car was calculated. In other words, all of the narratives independently produced by Bronwyn in the company of Heather and Kepmen were studied to determine their distribution across the thirteen narrative types identified in the data. The same procedure was followed for the narratives produced by Kepmen and by Heather under the same circumstances. The distribution for Bronwyn is presented in Figure 7; the distribution for Heather is presented in Figure 8; the distribution for Kepmen is presented in Figure 9.







Examination of the three distributions again reveals individual differences. For all three subjects, however, personal anecdotes proved to be the dominant form, and anecdotes of vicarious experience also played an important role. Heather devoted a greater proportion of her narratives to personal anecdotes than did the other two children, and a smaller proportion than either of the others to anecdotes of vicarious experience. After the anecdotes, 'cons' proved to be the category that was most frequently employed by Heather. For Bronwyn, next to the anecdotes, repeat performances and mock stories were the forms most favoured. For Kepmen, if anecdotes are eliminated, visual media retellings proved to be the narrative form most frequently employed. The categories least likely to be employed by the three subjects also revealed differences. Heather produced no narrative jokes and no original fantasies when all three children were together. She was the only one of the three to have any of the narrative categories unrepresented. For Kepmen, replays and original fantasies proved to be the least utilized forms. For Bronwyn, original fantasies and fictions and narrative jokes proved the least utilized forms. It is significant that different children chose to exploit and employ their narrative competence in different ways. Although capable of producing a wide variety of narrative forms these subjects, when placed together in the

same situation, chose to produce some forms more than others.

It should be emphasized, nevertheless, that irrespective of individual differences anecdotes of personal and vicarious experience played a dominant and important role in the narrative language produced by all three children. Although all of the other narrative forms appeared in the data, none were employed with the frequency and consistency of the anecdotes. Personal anecdotes appeared to figure significantly in the subjects' efforts to understand, share, and interpret their experience. The narrative form that has received the bulk of research attention is the original fantasy. All three subjects revealed themselves capable of creating a range of different types of imaginative and well structured make-believe narratives. However, in the conversational interactions that were the focus of this study, original fantasies were striking in their rarity. In view of the frequency with which anecdotes appear to be employed in children's conversations, and considering the range of functions served by the narration of anecdotes, it seems sensible to suggest that anecdotes of personal and vicarious experience warrant more attention than they have so far received by those interested in the development of narrative competence.

Individual differences were also apparent in narrative 'style'. In addition to favouring different narrative forms, the three children presented themselves differently as narrators.

Kepmen was a keen and openly enthusiastic story-teller, ever ready to offer a story and quick to request one from others. As the interview with his mother made clear, this was as true at his home as it was in the car. During those periods on the recordings when all three children were together, Kepmen produced more narratives than either of the other two. Thirty-eight percent of the narrative examples recorded were related by Kepmen, compared to 32% by Bronwyn, and 29% by Heather. Chi square analysis found these differences not to be statistically significant at the .05 level ($\chi^2 = 5.071$). Frequency tallies rarely reflect the entire picture, however. Kepmen's narratives, particularly his print and visual media retellings, were almost always lengthy, and he regularly exploited narratives to gain access to and to hold the conversational floor. On occasion, in order to guarantee an opportunity to 'get a story in', he would make his offer of a story and begin to relate it as he was crossing the school parking lot, before he had even entered the car. His eagerness to tell stories, and his tendency to dominate the flow of talk by doing so, was recognized and commented upon by the two girls. Bronwyn once

justified her bid to have the first turn in one of their story-telling sessions with the observation that Kepmen "always does it first" (February 1, 1984). Quick to volunteer to start a story (those in his "Disneyland Books" were the most frequently offered) Kepmen was often reluctant to have his stories end, and he would prolong the telling by means of every device he could muster. He often continued his narratives long beyond the point where his listeners had lost interest, and sometimes he persisted in telling a story over the protests of his audience.

Kepmen was the only one of the three subjects to repeat print and visual media source retellings during the period that recordings were made. Some of these repetitions were the result of requests from the other children. Two versions of 'Old Yeller', two versions of 'Snow White', three versions of 'The Three Little Pigs' and three versions of 'Jaws III' were recorded. In his retellings, Kepmen strived to reproduce the literary language of the original texts. The influence of traditional folk and fairy tales were apparent in his own original fantasies and fictions as well; in his 'made-up' stories, Kepmen regularly introduced familiar fantasy characters, and his settings, props and plots were conventional. Magic, spells, and potions were frequently mentioned. When relating traditional tales or his own stories, Kepmen adopted a special storytelling manner: his

stories were announced, he informed his listeners that they were expected to sit quietly and attend, and he attempted to deliver them with dramatic flair. Examination of the content of Kepmen's narratives revealed that, consistent with the sex difference findings of Pitcher & Prelinger (1963), Ames (1966), and Sutton-Smith (1981), he was more likely than either of the girls to introduce violence, death, disaster, or horror. He was the only one of the three to tell 'scary' stories with the intention of 'freaking out' his listeners. Kepmen's narratives also revealed the influence of television. Interestingly enough, his family do not own a television set and Kepmen's exposure is limited to that which he sees at his grandparents' home on weekends and at the homes of his friends. Despite this, Kepmen told almost three times as many visual media retellings as either of the girls. Although some were of movies, almost all of these movies had been viewed on television. This finding is consistent with that of Botvin (cited in Sutton-Smith, 1981) who reported that boys' were more likely to include television content in their narratives than were girls. Kepmen was also more likely to produce hypothetical narratives than either of the girls.

As the findings to be reported for Question 6 will confirm, Kepmen exploited a wide range of narrative forms, and did so from the beginning of the period that data were

collected and throughout the eighteen months of the study. In the last three months that data were recorded, 10 of the 13 narrative forms identified during data analysis were represented in the narratives Kepmen produced. During the same period, Bronwyn produced seven different types of narrative language, and Heather produced only five. Kepmen was also a willing collaborator; he spontaneously contributed to the narratives related by others, and rarely ever refused an invitation to engage in a jointly-produced narrative of any type.

Bronwyn also was a keen narrator and she and Kepmen regularly jockeyed for access to the floor. Bronwyn tended to assume the role of organizer; on a number of different occasions story-telling sessions were initiated at her suggestion. She developed procedures for the facilitation and management of collaborative productions that were successfully implemented by she and Kepmen many different times. One of the most sophisticated and complex of the original fantasies that was recorded was produced collaboratively by Bronwyn and Kepmen. Like Kepmen, Bronwyn was quick to collaborate in the production of a wide variety of narrative forms. Although Bronwyn proved herself well able to produce all of the narrative types identified in the data analysis, the range of forms regularly exploited was not quite as wide as that employed by Kepmen, but wider than that produced by Heather.

Bronwyn's narratives tended generally not to be as long as Kepmen's; her language was often strikingly precise and concise.

When telling original fantasy and fictional narratives, or when retelling traditional ones, Bronwyn displayed a variety of presentational skills. Many of her narrations resembled dramatic performances; she exploited heightened and literary language, used vocal stress, timing, and expressive intonation to convey the sense and implications of the events reported.

Bronwyn almost always included motivational and causal links in her stories, and was the most likely of the three subjects to report the feelings and thoughts of the characters as well as their actions. This is readily apparent in her retellings of 'Never Cry Wolf' and 'Cinderella', and in the 'Saga of the Beastly Boys'. Awareness of the complexity of people's emotions was also reflected in many of her narratives, and is illustrated, in the 'Saga of the Beastly Boys', by her description of the boys' conflicting feelings as they contemplated running away. This focus on internal events, on emotions, thoughts and motivations, was evident both in the anecdotes Bronwyn related towards the end of the study, and in her response to anecdotes related by others. For example, she reported an incident at school in which a boy (a source of constant harassment to all three subjects) had been told off by a

teacher "in a really really tone of voice" (February 22, 1985). As well as describing the teacher's anger and quoting what had been said, the offender's emotional reaction to the encounter also was reported: "And he was so sad he was almost crying". Particularly towards the end of the study the focus of many of Bronwyn's anecdotes was not so much on what had happened, but on how those involved felt about what had happened. This focus is apparent in Bronwyn's response to an anecdote related by the driver. Shortly after picking the children up from school, the driver told the children about stumbling upon a fresh cougar kill during her morning walk. Bronwyn and Kepmen (Heather was not present on this particular occasion) both responded with questions. The focus of Kepmen's was upon the details of the event: exactly where had it occurred, was the deer that had been killed a doe, had the cougar been eating it? In contrast, Bronwyn wanted to know how the driver had felt upon making the discovery: "Like, were you a bit nervous?"; "Were you guys scared?" (February 22, 1985).

Bronwyn was quick to object to the telling of 'scary' stories, and the point of several of her visual media retellings appeared to be to confirm with the other two her judgement that the programs reported had in fact been frightening. She frequently revealed herself far more sensitive to frightening or sad material than either Kepmen

or Heather. As noted, Kepmen seemed to delight in horror, murder and mayhem, and although Heather did not produce 'scary' stories herself, she announced that she "loved scary movies" and never objected to Kepmen telling about them. Of the three, Bronwyn was the most likely to seek reassurance from the narrator that the events were "not real" and that the account was "just a story". Bronwyn also proved to be a keen but inept dissembler. Although quick to join in the collaborative 'cons', and the originator of several of her own, the pleasure of them for Bronwyn clearly lay in the "I tricked you!" announcement. Consequently, Bronwyn's 'cons' were always brief and usually consisted of little more than a bald assertion that was prematurely and laughingly unmasked as a deception.

When all three children were together, Heather told fewer narratives than either of the other two, and her narratives were usually briefer. Her 'narrative repertoire' was narrower than that of either Kepmen or Bronwyn; although able to produce a considerable range of narrative forms, she limited her productions primarily to personal anecdotes, anecdotes of vicarious experience, and 'cons'. She was the only one of the three who did not produce an original fantasy during the periods that data were recorded, and she rarely produced print source retellings.

Although happy to relate anecdotes, Heather would almost always categorically, and sometimes sullenly, refuse invitations from the others to take a turn at telling a known story, or to join in the creation of a make-believe one. On a number of occasions Heather would announce that she knew a story, but, when requested to relate it she would either say nothing, or claim to have forgotten it. This was a recurrent pattern. For example, not long after Kepmen told 'Old Yeller', Heather informed the others that "I know 'Old Yeller' now, the whole story of 'Old Yeller'. I watched the movie and I've got the book" (November 20, 1984). A few minutes later, when asked if she would tell the story, she replied "No, I...Bronwyn can". On a different day, despite impassioned pleas from the others that she tell the story of 'The Last Unicorn' as she was the only one that had seen the film, Heather again refused. Similarly, although present during the 'Saga of the Beastly Boys', and invited (although not expected) to join in, Heather chose not to take part. The decision not to take part does not appear to have been a consequence of lack of familiarity with the stories, or with creating make-believe stories. Interviews with Heather's parents revealed that Heather owned many books, was frequently read to, and that she had been exposed to the traditional folk and fairy tales mentioned by the other subjects. That Heather engaged in the making up of stories on other occasions was

revealed by her report of making-up stories with her mother: "She told me two stories and I told her a long one" (March 26, 1984). Although she collaborated in the relating of anecdotes and in the production of 'cons', in general she engaged in fewer collaborations than the other two children and was more likely to join forces with Bronwyn than with Kepmen. The interview with Heather's teacher revealed that, if given a choice, Heather would be more likely to choose to work independently than with other children. Heather's mother confirmed this observation. In contrast, parental interviews and the interview with the teacher established that both Bronwyn and Kepmen would choose to work with other children rather than independently. It should be stressed, however, that Heather was a keen and attentive listener; although she often chose not to join the others in the production of stories, she proved to be an appreciative audience.

Heather's imaginative narratives tended to be based on fact, but quickly moved into the area of fiction. Although she chose not to tell fantasies, she produced quite a few fictions, most of which featured familiar people in absolutely outrageous situations. Of the three subjects, Heather was the most likely to use narratives to explore and test the limits of social acceptability, and to include rude and scatological content in her stories. Although all three children delighted in occasionally introducing such

material into their narratives and into the general conversation, Heather did it more frequently than the others, and she would persist despite discouragement from the driver.

Although choosing to exploit fewer narrative forms than the other two, many of those that Heather did produce were complex and polished. When she wanted to she could create very lengthy narratives. For example, the first original fiction that was recorded was her account of an encounter she and a friend had with a fighting bear. The tale consisted of all sorts of action, and ran for several hundred words. The 'con' that centred on the hardcover book was executed over an entire thirty minute drive to school.

Heather's style of delivery tended to be less dramatic, and usually less effective, than that of Bronwyn and Kepmen. Often her stories would be rushed, and related in a high-pitched, fast-paced, almost 'run-on' fashion. However, she was without question the best at delivering the 'cons'. Of the three, she was the most successful at not 'giving-the-game-away' by laughing or smiling, and she was rarely intimidated or beaten by her listener's efforts to refute her 'evidence'. In many instances, Heather did not admit that a 'con' had been played; she was the only one ever to successfully get away with this. Her skill as 'con-artist' was acknowledged and respected by the other

children. For example, once she told Bronwyn, who had been absent, that the new substitute teacher was called Madame Minnie Mouse. Although skeptical, Bronwyn accepted the information. The following day, having checked with her classmates, Bronwyn announced that Heather had tricked her. With laughing admiration, Bronwyn informed Kepmen and the driver that "...was Heather...a ever a big fooler!" (January 12, 1984).

The three children in this study each revealed a considerable range of narrative skills. Each chose to deploy them in a different fashion. Differences are apparent in the types of narrative favoured, the nature of the content, and the manner of presentation. As the data make clear, narrative competence cannot be adequately assessed or reflected by single measures, or by the examination of a single narrative type. It seems fair to suggest that individual differences in the development of narrative competence is an area that merits further attention.

III. Developmental Patterns - Changes Over Time

6.1 Over the eighteen months during which data were recorded, are any changes apparent in terms of the variety of narrative types employed?

The intent of this question was to discover whether, as the children got older, they employed an increased variety of narrative forms or whether all the forms identified had been present in the data and utilized by the subjects from the beginning of the study. In order to answer the question two procedures were followed. First, the date of the first occurrence of each of the narrative forms was noted for each of the three subjects. The first collaborative production of each of the narrative forms was also noted. This information is presented in Table 23.

<Insert Table 23>

Examination of the dates reveals that 90% of the 'cells' in the table were represented in the data during the first six months of recording. Personal anecdotes, anecdotes of vicarious experience, tattle-tales, visual media retellings, hypothetical narratives, 'cons' and jokes all were recorded during the first month of data collection. Two of the remaining three cells were filled during the kindergarten year, and two of the cells in the table were never represented in the data. Kepmen did not

TABLE 23

DATES OF FIRST RECORDED OCCURRENCES OF EACH NARRATIVE FORM

NARRATIVE FORM	BRONWYN	HEATHER	KEPMEN	COLLABORATIVE
PERSONAL ANECDOTES	Sept. 23/83	Sept. 23/83	Sept. 23/83	Sept. 27/83
ANECDOTES - VICARIOUS	Sept. 23/83	Sept. 30/83	Sept. 23/83	Sept. 27/83
TATTLE-TALES	Oct. 14/83	Jan. 25/84	Sept. 30/83	Feb. 27/84
RETELLINGS - PRINT	Oct. 3/83	Jan. 18/84	Nov. 7/83	Jan. 18/84
RETELLINGS - VISUAL MEDIA	Sept. 30/83	Feb. 13/84	Sept. 30/83	Dec. 16/83
REPEAT PERFORMANCES	Jan. 12/84	Dec. 16/83	Jan. 25/84	Feb. 22/85
REPLAYS	Oct. 28/83	Nov. 7/83	March 26/84	June 25/84
ORIGINAL FICTIONS	Dec. 12/83	Oct. 14/83	Nov. 4/83	Nov. 28/83
ORIGINAL FANTASIES	Feb. 3/84	-----	Dec. 9/83	Dec. 9/83
HYPOTHETICALS	Sept. 30/83	Jan. 11/84	Sept. 30/83	Oct. 3/83
MOCK STORIES	Feb. 3/84	Feb. 1/84	Dec. 9/83	Nov. 7/83
CONS	Jan. 23/84	Sept. 30/83	Sept. 27/83	Dec. 16/83
NARRATIVE JOKES	Sept. 23/83	Dec. 5/83	Oct. 17/83	-----

produce a replay until March, 1984, and a collaboratively produced replay was not recorded until June, 1984. The latest cell to be filled was that for collaboratively produced repeat performances; an example was not recorded until February, 1985, the last month of data collection. No instances of collaboratively produced narrative jokes were recorded, and Heather did not produce an original fantasy during the period that the children's language was monitored.

Table 23 makes it clear that the three subjects of this study employed a wide range of different narrative language forms from the beginning of the period studied. During the first half of the kindergarten year, Bronwyn produced examples of all of the narrative form categories identified in this study. The full range of narrative types was produced by Kepmen within the first seven months of the study. Heather was several months later than the others in producing examples of a number of the narrative forms. Even so, Heather produced examples of all but one of the narrative form categories within the first six months of data recording. During the first six months of this study all three subjects were only five years old.

The second approach to the question consisted of a comparison between the range of narrative forms produced at the beginning of the study with those produced at the end of the period of data collection. The original intention

had been to compare the narratives produced during the first three months with those produced during the last three months that data were recorded. This plan did not permit a fair comparison, however, as the Christmas holidays interrupted data collection during the final three month period and fewer tapes were made. To rectify this imbalance the narratives recorded on the first 24 tapes (those produced in September, October, November, 1983) were compared with those recorded on the last 24 tapes (November 6, 1984 through February 26, 1985). The distribution of the narratives produced during the first three months (and recorded on the first 24 tapes) across the various form categories is presented in Table 24; the distribution for the last 24 tapes is presented in Table 25.

<Insert Tables 24 and 25>

Examination of Table 24 reveals that only two categories failed to be represented in the data recorded during the first three months of the study: repeat performances and original fantasies. The likelihood of a repeat performance occurring obviously increased with the passage of time as in order to be counted as a repeated narrative both the original telling and the repetition had to have been captured on tape. It therefore is not surprising that this category was not represented at the beginning of the study. Considering that children's

TOTALS

Personal Anecdotes
 Anecdotes of Vicarious Experience
 Tale- Tales
 Retellings - Print Source
 Retellings - Visual Media
 Repeat Performances
 Replays
 Original Fictions
 Original Fantasies
 Hypothetical Narratives
 Mock Stories
 'Cons'
 Narrative Jokes

BRONWYN	16	3	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	27
HEATHER	19	8	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	4	0	0	35
KEPMEN	16	3	1	1	5	0	0	1	0	1	0	3	1	1	32
JOINT	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	1	0	0	0	13
TOTALS	56	16	3	2	6	0	2	6	0	5	1	7	3	3	107

TABLE 24

DISTRIBUTION OF NARRATIVES ACROSS FORM CATEGORIES: NARRATIVES PRODUCED ON THE FIRST TWENTY-FOUR TAPE RECORDINGS (SEPTEMBER, OCTOBER, NOVEMBER 1983)

	Personal Anecdotes	Anecdotes of Vicarious Experience	Tattle-Tales	Retellings - Print Source	Retellings - Visual Media	Repeat Performances	Replays	Original Fictions	Original Fantasies	Hypothetical Narratives	Mock Stories	'Cons'	Narrative Jokes	TOTALS
BRONWYN	20	13	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	2	4	1	0	44
HEATHER	11	8	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	23
KEPMEN	18	4	4	2	5	1	0	1	0	2	3	2	0	42
JOINT	2	5	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	13
TOTALS	51	30	4	2	7	5	1	3	0	6	9	4	0	122

TABLE 25

DISTRIBUTION OF NARRATIVES ACROSS FORM CATEGORIES: NARRATIVES PRODUCED

ON THE LAST TWENTY-FOUR TAPE RECORDINGS (NOVEMBER 6, 1984 THROUGH FEBRUARY, 1985)

original fantasies have received a great deal of research attention in the literature on narrative competence, it is of some interest to discover that original fantasies were the only narrative form of the thirteen distinguished that was not represented in either the first or the last 24 recordings.

Examination of Tables 24 and 25 reveals that the anecdotes, both of personal and vicarious experience, were the most consistently represented; they were the only narrative form categories produced independently and collaboratively by all three subjects both at the beginning and at the end of the period data were recorded. Hypothetical narratives and original fictions were popular at the beginning of the study; they were produced collaboratively and by both Bronwyn and Kepmen. Although no repeat performances were recorded on Table 24, five were recorded on Table 25. Hypothetical narratives remained popular, but fewer original fictions, 'cons' and narrative jokes were recorded during the last part of the study. Only one mock story was recorded on the first 24 tapes; nine were recorded on the last twenty-four.

The range of narrative forms produced by each of the subjects during the beginning of the study was examined and compared with those they produced at the end of the study. During the first three months Bronwyn produced eight of the thirteen narrative types (62%), Heather produced five of

the thirteen (38%), and Kepmen produced nine of the thirteen (69%). During the last three months Bronwyn's range decreased slightly; seven of the thirteen (54%) narrative forms were identified. Heather's range remained the same, with five (38%) different narrative forms represented. Kepmen's range increased; he produced ten different types of narrative language (77% of the form categories were represented). There also was an increase of one category in the range of narrative forms collaboratively produced at the end of the study. This information is summarized in Table 26.

TABLE 26. COMPARISON OF RANGE OF NARRATIVE FORMS PRODUCED BY EACH SUBJECT DURING THE FIRST AND LAST TWENTY FOUR TRIPS

	FIRST 24 TRIPS		LAST 24 TRIPS	
	Number of Narrative Forms	% of Total Form Categories	Number of Narrative Forms	% of Total Form Categories
BRONWYN	8	62	7	54
HEATHER	5	38	5	38
KEPMEN	9	69	10	77
JOINT	5	38	6	46

Tables 24 and 25 each contain 52 'cells'. Fifty-two percent (27 of the 52) of these cells were represented in the data recorded during the first 24 trips; fifty-four percent (28 of the 52) of the cells were represented in the data recorded during the last 24 trips. Although some narrative forms proved more likely to occur at either the beginning or the end of the period during which data were recorded, in general no marked differences occurred in the range of narrative forms produced over the course of this study. Individual differences in range are apparent, however. Kepmen produced the greatest variety of narrative language types; Heather produced only half as many different narrative forms as Kepmen. Bronwyn's range fell in between that of the other two. In general it may be concluded that a wide variety of narrative forms were represented in the data from the beginning of the study and remained in the children's repertoire throughout the period of data collection.

- 6.2 Over the eighteen months during which data were recorded, are any changes apparent in terms of the structural complexity of the narratives told?

The children's personal anecdotes and their original fantasies and fictions were examined in an effort to detect whether any changes in their structural complexity occurred over the course of the study. As different scoring criteria were applied to the different narrative forms the findings will be reported separately for each of the three narrative types.

1) PERSONAL ANECDOTES

In order to determine whether any changes in the structural complexity of the children's personal anecdotes had occurred over the course of the study, a selected sample were 'scored' by means of the model of narrative structure developed by Labov and Waletzky (1967), and modified by Labov (1972). (See page 59 for a discussion of this model.) The presence or absence of the various 'evaluation' techniques described by Labov (1972) were also noted. Five anecdotes produced by each of the three subjects during the first three months of the study (September, October, November, 1983) were compared with a similar sample produced during the middle period of data

collection (April, May, June, 1984), and with a third sample produced during the last three months of the study (December, 1984; January, February, 1985). For these comparisons no attempt was made to collect the 'best' of the children's anecdotes; instead, the first five personal anecdotes that had been independently produced by each of the subjects during the three designated periods of data collection were selected for analysis. A total of 45 personal narratives were examined, 15 produced by each of the three subjects.

Each anecdote was analyzed to determine whether it possessed: a) an abstract, b) orientation information, c) a description of the complicating action, d) an evaluation, and e) a result. When narratives were found to contain 'evaluations' (i.e., the means by "which the speaker signals to the listener why he is telling it....why the events of the narrative are reportable"; Labov, 1972, p. 370) the specific evaluative techniques employed were noted. As well, the conversation in which each anecdote occurred was examined in an effort to discover if and how the anecdote was related to the on-going flow of talk. A copy of the data record sheet that was used is provided in Appendix J.

Examination of the 15 anecdotes produced at the beginning of the study revealed that all of them contained orientation information and descriptions of the

complicating action (i.e. what happened). In nearly every case the narrator spontaneously provided adequate information about who was involved, where and when the events took place. Only one of the fifteen anecdotes could be considered to contain a sketchy orientation. In one brief anecdote Heather reported only the location of events; the time and subjects involved ("we") were left unspecified. In one of Bronwyn's anecdotes the orientation and description of the events were elaborated as a consequence of interaction with Kepmen who sought clarifying information. All of Bronwyn's and Kepmen's anecdotes, and three of Heather's, contained evaluations and results. Abstracts were produced by each of the three subjects, and the abstracts prefaced six of the fifteen narratives.

Almost all of the 'early' anecdotes sampled proved to have been triggered by, or were thematically related to, the conversations in which they were embedded. Some were given in response to questions, some were offered as examples of, or comments on, the topic being discussed. For example, an anecdotal account by Kepmen of his encounter with bullies on the monkey bars was prompted by a discussion of the difference between play and 'real' fights; it was followed by Heather's report of being roughly pulled off those same monkey bars. On a different occasion Heather volunteered an anecdote about pushing a

baby in a swing after all three children had discussed a pulley-swing that they passed on the drive to school.

Those anecdotes which were not obviously connected to the preceding conversation often were prefaced with an abstract, a statement that served to "encapsulate the point of the story" (Labov, 1972, p. 363). For example, after talking about having lunch with a friend, Bronwyn related an anecdote about a school art project that accidentally had been ruined. As this had no obvious connection with what they had been talking about, Bronwyn introduced the narrative with a question and then provided an answer herself which summarized the incident: "Do you know why I made another one, Kepmen? Cuz my other one got...wrecked" (September 27, 1983). In somewhat similar fashion, Kepmen introduced a new topic of conversation and an anecdote about his "good clothes" with the exclamation "I weared my..the same clothes all week!" (September 30, 1983). It appears that the children added abstracts to the beginning of their narratives to signal the introduction of new topics into the conversation.

Labov (1972) distinguishes between external evaluation and embedded evaluation. External evaluation occurs when the narrator interrupts his narrative to explicitly inform the listener of the point of the anecdote. No examples of external evaluation were found in the 15 anecdotes selected from the data recorded at the beginning of the study. With

embedded evaluation the narrative is not interrupted. Rather the narrator conveys the point of the narrative by means of such 'devices' as gestures, expressive phonology, quantifiers, repetition, quotations, questions, comparators and explications, none of which overtly breaks the flow of the narrative.

The children exploited a variety of embedded evaluative techniques in the 'early' anecdotes that were sampled, but repetition proved the most commonly used. All three subjects made frequent use of repetition and vocal stress to emphasize their points. Both are evident in the following excerpt from one of Heather's anecdotes:

Heather: "I was four I went down the hill myself....That was my fourth birthday, when I went down..."
September 23, 1983

Kepmen used vocal stress and elongated vowels to heighten the impact of one of his accounts: "And then this girl, when I was trying to go a-cross, she goes and kicks me right in the face with her foot" (October 3, 1983). He also included a rhetorical question: "Would you like someone to make you fall...and hurt yourself?" As Labov (1972) points out, "overt questions that are not embedded in the dramatic action, but asked directly of the listener, have a direct evaluative function" (P. 385). In two of the five anecdotes examined, Kepmen made use of quotations to

better convey the flavour of what had happened: "They say 'We wanna be rough' so I say 'Nope, not coming to my place'" (September 27, 1983). He was the only one of the three subjects to use quotations in the first anecdotes sampled.

All of the anecdotes produced during the middle of the study (April, May, June, 1984) contained orientation information and descriptions of the complicating action, and almost all included results. In general, the orientation information was somewhat more complete than that provided by the earlier narratives. Two-thirds of the anecdotes contained abstracts. All of the anecdotes produced by Bronwyn and Heather were clearly linked to the ongoing conversation; three of Kepmen's were not related to the current conversation but all three were prefaced with an abstract. Again, the abstracts appear to have been used to alert the listener to a change in the topic of talk.

Nearly all of the anecdotes contained embedded evaluation; no examples of external evaluation were noted. Bronwyn and Heather employed a greater variety of evaluative techniques than they had in their earlier sample of anecdotes. Bronwyn added sound effects ("I went on a motorbike once I was runnin' the steerin' wheel! Grrr..brrrr!") and underlined dramatic and humorous content with exclamatory intonation and laughter ("fruit salad and um blackberries and spinach all mixed up

together!" <laughs>). She directed questions to her listeners: "He took one...You know the message from, to Marlana's birthday?.....He took it away!" She also used quotations to mark the high-point of one of her narratives: "I just said 'DAVID!' <laughs>, right Heather?".

In addition to repetition and vocal stress, Heather employed gestures, exclamations and laughter in her anecdotes to help make her points. She quoted the words of those involved in the events reported: "They were calling me names. They said 'Look at that poopey girl down there, I wish I could kick her when she goes up on the monkey bars!'". Kepmen added gestures to his evaluative repertoire:

Kepmen: (voice happy, animated) "I was dancing on the grass...I was like this..
(Bronwyn makes 'musical' sounds and Kepmen illustrates his moves)
..I was waiting for you and I thought I would dance!"

June 4, 1984

All of the fifteen anecdotes produced at the end of the data collection period were structurally well developed and skillfully and effectively delivered. All 15 contained orientations, complications, and evaluations. All that had been produced by Bronwyn and Kepmen contained results, as did three of the five produced by Heather. All 15 were thematically linked to the conversations in which they

occurred, which perhaps accounts for the fact that only four possessed abstracts.

A wide range of evaluative techniques was employed in the last anecdotes that were sampled, including repetition, vocal stress, exclamatory intonation, laughter, elongated phonology, quantifiers, rhetorical questions, quotations and gestures. In addition, all three children began more frequently to exploit figurative language in the telling of their anecdotes; Kepmen and Heather both made use of similes in their descriptions and Bronwyn used both simile and metaphor to convey her meaning. Kepmen reported on a trip to the dentist during which he had "smelled some really unusual smells" that "smelled like steam going up my nose". Heather used similes to dramatize her description of her baking skills:

Heather: "I made a cake once and I thought, 'Eugh, this looks terrible! It looks like a rocket ship, like a space ship', and it looked terrible".

January 15, 1985

Bronwyn described an incident with a horse in the following fashion:

Adult: "Did you tell Heather you nearly fell off last week?"

Bronwyn: "Oh yeah, my my...you know like when people skate in a rink?"

Heather: "Yes."

Bronwyn: "Well he was doing...he was doing a dance."

Heather: "The horse?"

Bronwyn: "Yeah! He started to dance. I started to scream. Yeah, I almost fell off cuz I had the English saddle on. The English saddle had no horn."

January 21, 1985

This example serves to illustrate several points discussed. In this case the orientation information was provided both in the preceding discussion about horseback riding and by the adult's question. It therefore was not repeated. The anecdote was introduced with a question directed to the listener that incorporated a simile designed to create an impression of the rider's feeling of unsteadiness. This was followed by the metaphoric description of the complicating action ("he was doing a dance") which was repeated for effect. The impact was heightened by the use of parallelism: "He started to dance. I started to scream." This was followed by a literal statement of the result ("I almost fell off") and a causal explanation for the incident ("..cuz I had the English saddle on"). Aware that Heather might not understand the implications of her reference to the English saddle, Bronwyn added a further explanation and vocally stressed the critical information: "The English saddle has no horn". Although brief, this anecdote is structurally complex and complete. In terms of its structure it does not differ significantly from the anecdotes produced by the other two subjects at this point

in the study. This is illustrated by the following anecdote which was produced by Heather:

Heather: "D'you know..I was really stupid once. It was..I was putting my gymnastics shoes on and they didn't look that like...one shoe was um.. out, inside out. I put them on and I said, 'Mummy, the bottom's missing on one of my shoes!'"
(Bronwyn, the driver, and Heather all laugh)
"And Mum said..and Mum looked inside and said 'Here it is! Here it is! They're on inside out!'" (Heather laughs)
January 15, 1985

This anecdote was prefaced with an abstract: "I was really stupid once". As Heather had been talking about getting ready for her gymnastics lessons before she introduced the anecdote, the necessary orientation information could be readily inferred by the listeners. The account included both a description of the events, and a result. Heather effectively used quotation to create a sense of immediacy, and a punch-line effect. She revealed herself aware of the informational needs of her listeners by her adjustment and elaboration of her description of the shoes: "they didn't look that like...one shoe was um...out, inside out". The end of the narrative was signalled both by the final quotation and by laughter.

Comparison of the personal anecdotes produced at the beginning of this study with those produced towards its end

reveal no major structural changes as measured by the presence or absence of the components described by the Labov and Waletzky (1967) model of narrative structure. The anecdotes produced by the subjects at the beginning of the study were found to contain all of the structural components identified by the model. Those changes that were detected reflect the elaboration of components, rather than their addition. Background, or orientation information, was generally more complete in the later anecdotes and the narrators appeared somewhat more aware of, and able to anticipate, the informational requirements of their listeners. Consequently background and clarifying information was more likely to be voluntarily provided and was rarely left to be elicited in response to the listener's questions. In general it seemed that the complicating actions were more skillfully and dramatically described. Although the children employed a variety of evaluative techniques from the beginning of the study, the range of these devices which were consistently and frequently used increased with the passage of time. In the early anecdotes repetition and vocal stress were the techniques most heavily utilized. In the anecdotes produced at the end of the study, the evaluative techniques routinely employed by all three children included repetition, exclamatory intonation, expressive phonology, rhetorical questions, quotation of self and others,

quantifiers, and syntactic parallelism. At the end of the data collection period figurative language was beginning to be exploited by all three of the subjects.

All three subjects revealed themselves quite capable of relating their personal experiences clearly and effectively from the beginning of the study. Changes in the structural complexity of their anecdotes over the eighteen month period that data were recorded were subtle rather than dramatic. In general, the information provided to the listener was found more likely to be elaborated in the anecdotes told towards the end of the study. As well, the range of linguistic techniques and evaluative devices exploited by the children to heighten the impact of their anecdotes was found to increase over the course of the study.

Two scoring schemes were used to determine whether any changes in the structural complexity of the original fictions and fantasies produced by the children occurred over the course of the study. All of the original fictions and the original fantasies were scored according to the four-level Maranda scheme (see Chapter 2, p. 44, for a summary), and by means of the seven-level hierarchy of narrative structure described by Botvin and Sutton-Smith (1977). A summary outline of this seven-level

classification of narrative structural complexity can be found in Appendix K.

2) Original Fantasies

Only seven original fantasies were recorded. Four were produced during the first six months of data collection, and the remaining three were produced during the fall term of the grade one year. Two of the fantasies were prematurely cut-off by the listeners. Three of the fantasies were scored as Level One stories because no attempt was made by the characters to deal with the situations in which they found themselves. One of these stories was interrupted, however, and the other two did not fit the basic premise of the Maranda scheme in that neither fantasy was organized around a problem situation. Nevertheless, the undeveloped nature of the stories justified the Level One rating. Another of the fantasies, also interrupted before it was completed, was scored as a Level Two story because the protagonist failed in his efforts to solve the problem. One brief and humorous fantasy, produced by Kepmen in December, 1983, was scored as a Level Three story because the character succeeded in finding the pot of gold he was seeking. A Level Four rating requires that the initial situation be completely transformed by the end of the story, and the threat utterly

vanquished. It is possible to argue that Kepmen's fantasy could support a Level Four rating because of his use of humour to transform the situation and render it ridiculous. The brevity of the account, however, resulted in the more conservative score.

The last two fantasies that were recorded were collaboratively produced by Bronwyn and Kepmen in October and December, 1984, and they contrast sharply with those that preceded them. They are far lengthier (one consists of over 700 words, the other of just under 1000 words) and both contain complex and fully developed plots. The first describes the plight of a boy left to feed and look after some foxes. The responsibility proved onerous, and the cost of the food eventually found the boy without "a penny left to feed em...they were starving". All the foxes had to exist on was the "rain <that> felled down into their dish". The desperate situation was then utterly transformed by magic. One day "instead of rain...it was hundreds of pieces of gold" that showered down. The gold was used to buy food and hay. The anticipated happy ending was delayed, however, because the gold continued to rain down until the weight of it caused the ground and everything on it to sink. After a lengthy interlude in which Kepmen and Bronwyn took turns listing everything that such an event would entail, the ground was raised "and they lived happily". This fantasy was scored as a Level Four

story because of the complete transformation of the problem situation, and the ultimate happy solution.

The last fantasy to be recorded is the one referred to as the 'Saga of the Beastly Boys' which is reproduced in Appendix H. It was also scored as a Level Four story because of the magical intervention in the search, the ultimate reuniting of the boys with their parents, and the attempted transformation of the story into a dream sequence.

When the fantasies were judged according to the hierarchy described by Botvin and Sutton-Smith (1977) two of the first four that were recorded were rated as Level Three stories, one was rated as a Level Two story, and one was scored at Level One. One was not rated as it did not fit any of the levels described. The first fantasy collaboration produced by Kepmen and Bronwyn was scored at Level Five, for it contained two well developed and coordinated episodes and each was internally elaborated. The 'Saga of the Beastly Boys' was scored as a Level Seven fantasy narrative because it contains subplots; the main sequence of events is interrupted by at least two subsequences (i.e., the encounter with the friendly fairy and the teacher's discovery of the sleeping boys in the classroom).

Both scoring systems clearly indicate that the fantasy narratives produced towards the end of the study were

structurally more complex than those which were produced earlier in the study. The two collaboratively produced fantasies are obviously more fully developed and elaborated than any of the independently created fantasies that were recorded. As only seven examples of this particular narrative form were found in the data it is necessary to be extremely cautious about drawing any conclusions from these findings. The data reflect performance; they do not comment on competence. It is quite possible that the subjects were more than capable of producing equally complex original fantasies independently from the beginning of the data collection period. None were recorded, however.

As well as being structurally more complex and elaborated, the two fantasy collaborations reflect development in a number of other areas. Most obviously, they were produced as a result of collaboration and in both instances the procedures to facilitate that collaboration were organized in advance. In addition to creating an original story, the narrators had to develop and maintain that story over each other's intervening turns as narrators. They had to co-ordinate their contributions to the developing narrative so as to achieve a coherent and thematically unified text that satisfied them both. That they were aware of this requirement, and proceeded accordingly, is revealed by the fact that each built on

material provided by the other, that each monitored the contributions of the other and vetoed anything thematically inconsistent, and that 'coaching' occurred. In the first story, for example, Bronwyn 'coached' Kepmen by suggesting that he perform actions to accompany her narration, and she later whispered that he should end the story at a particular point. In the second of their jointly produced fantasies, as soon as it became apparent that Kepmen was not going to pick up on her changing of the story into a dream sequence, she whispered "They were just dreaming...They were just dreaming" in an effort to get him to carry the narrative in the direction she had charted. The two children also developed a stylized and ritualized signal to indicate turn transition points. This orderly arrangement contrasts strikingly with the often ferocious jockeying for turns-to-talk that marked many of the interactions recorded at the other points in the study.

The two fantasy collaborations also reveal a complexity of a different sort. In the first five original fantasies that were recorded there is only one brief mention of the emotions felt by any of the characters and a single reference to an 'internal event'. One boy is described as being afraid and one character is reported to be pretending he is someone else. In all of these brief stories the focus is on the action, the actual external and observable events that occurred. In the last two fantasies

internal events, emotions, and the character's thoughts, are reported. For example, in the first of the two, the main character is described as bored and the reason for his boredom is explained. His wish to escape his situation is noted, and he is described as "thinking what he could do". In the 'Saga of the Beastly Boys' the feelings and thoughts of the errant boys and of the searching parents are described at length at several different points in the story. For example, the boys' conflicting feelings when contemplating their escape are noted: "But...what if Mother and Father hear us doing this? We get into trouble...Um, I'm gonna think about that. Oh, let's do it anyways". The parents are described as "really scared" and their worried thoughts are revealed: "They wondered and they wondered"; "What if they got eaten by a wolf? What would we do then?" In addition, Bronwyn attempted to transform the whole unhappy search into a strange dream. In this fantasy the events are presented from two perspectives: that of the boys, and that of the parents. On this basis alone this story would qualify for a Level Seven rating (the most complex) on the Stein and Glenn (1977) scoring scheme of story structure.

Additional evidence of the increasing structural complexity of the fantasy narratives produced by the subjects over the course of the study is provided by Kepmen's various versions of the traditional fairy tales.

As already noted, Kepmen was the only one of the three subjects to repeat print source retellings. Comparison of his first version of 'Snow White' (recorded on February 15, 1984) with his second which was recorded eight months later (October 16, 1984) reveals a number of differences. Both of these retellings have been reproduced in Appendix F.

In the first version, Kepmen required the assistance of the girls at several points. He asked for help with the "Mirror, mirror, on the wall.." refrain, and utterly garbled the words. He had recurrent problems with the literary language, and was obviously unsure of a number of the finer points of the plot. For instance, at her death, Snow White is shoved unceremoniously into a pit by the animals; it was the girls who introduced the Prince and thereby paved the way for her rescue. Once returned to life, Snow White simply said 'Goodbye' to "her friendly, friendly doorves" and the story ended with a lustily sung chorus of the 'Heigh ho' song.

In the second version more background information is provided. This time the story is set "in a very nice house", and the Good Queen is described as having "everything she wanted but a child". In this version the new baby is named. The literary language still caused Kepmen some difficulty but the "Mirror, mirror" chant had now been mastered. Although little is added to the basic events of the story, the events are more fully described

and internally elaborated. For example, in the first version the Stepmother was simply labelled as "harsh and cruel, mean and wicked". In the second version her unkind treatment of Snow White is detailed: "She made....Snow White spend her days washing floors, carpets, everything". The Stepmother's reaction to the Mirror's reply is reported as is the sad reluctance of the Dwarves to bury Snow White. Paralleling a change noted in the children's reporting of their personal anecdotes, in the second version of the story the words of the characters are directly quoted rather than paraphrased. This serves to heighten the dramatic impact of the telling. In the second version, transitions are more clearly indicated and a greater variety of temporal markers are incorporated into the account. As well as 'then' and 'once', phrases such as "all the time", "it took two days", and "night and day" are included to indicate the passage of time. Comparison of these two fantasy retellings indicate that considerable development had occurred between the telling of the first one, and the telling, eight months later, of the second.

3) Original Fictions

The children produced 18 original fictions over the eighteen months of data recording. As for the fantasies, each of these fictions were scored by the Maranda criteria

and by the seven-level hierarchy described by Botvin and Sutton-Smith (1977). According to the the four-level Maranda scheme, the majority of the fictions (10 of the 18) were scored at Level Three, for the characters succeeded in dealing with whatever problems or threats they encountered. Five of the 18 were rated as Level Four stories because the initial situations in each were completely transformed and the threats permanently nullified. Only one fiction was considered to merit a Level Two rating, and two were not scored as they did not fit any of the categories described.

It is difficult to reach any firm conclusions about changes over time in the structural complexity of these fictions as a result of the Maranda scoring. In almost all of the fictions the characters are portrayed as actively, successfully, and often humourously, dealing with the invented situations in which they are placed. Three of the five fictions which earned Level Four ratings were produced in the first term of the kindergarten year. The story with the lowest rating was produced during grade one.

The results of the application of the Botvin and Sutton-Smith (1977) seven level hierarchy also failed to indicate any distinct increase over time in the structural complexity of the children's fictions. Three of the fictions were rated as only Level One stories, and these were all produced during the fall term of the kindergarten year. However, the story which earned the highest rating,

Level Five on the hierarchy, was the very first fiction that was recorded. None of the six fictions produced during the last six months of the study were rated any higher than Levels Two and Three.

It is important to recognize that the interactional situation in which the children delivered their fictions exerted a considerable influence on the nature of those fictions. In most instances, the point of the fiction was not the creation of a story per se, but rather the creation of a vehicle which would permit the teasing or entertaining of the listeners. The story itself appeared to be a means to an end. Most of the children's fictions were not stories in the traditional folktale sense; rather they appeared to be playful exaggerations and distortions of familiar situations. Usually everyday situations were embroidered and rendered outrageous, and the narrators attributed preposterous and unlikely deeds to themselves and those they knew. It is noteworthy that although many of these fictions are structurally simple and undeveloped, they were used by the children in conversation with a fair measure of interactional sophistication. Most earned the teller the centre of attention and the delighted laughter of the listeners.

Analysis of the personal anecdotes and the original fantasies that were produced by the three subjects revealed

subtle rather than dramatic changes over the course of the study in the structural complexity of their narratives. No pattern of structural change was detected in the original fictions. For the most part development consisted of an increasing tendency to elaborate the information provided to the listener and to exploit a wider range of linguistic and expressive techniques to heighten the impact of the telling.

6.3 Over the eighteen months during which data were recorded, are any changes apparent in terms of the conversational/social functions served by the narratives produced by the three subjects?

A checklist consisting of all of the functions identified in the data (see Table 21, p. 267, for a summary of these functions) was developed. All of the narratives produced by the children during each of the months that data were recorded were then reviewed and the functions served by them noted on the checklist on a month-by-month basis. The range of functions exploited by each of the subjects was recorded separately, and the date of first occurrence of each function was recorded for each subject. The method of recording made it possible to compare and

contrast the range of functions revealed by the narratives produced by each of the subjects during each month of the study. A copy of the checklist can be found in Appendix L.

Ten major functional categories were identified. The children's narratives were found: a) to inform, b) to contribute to their self-aggrandizement, c) to contribute to social solidarity, d) to entertain, e) to assist in the exploration of, and adaptation to, the new and worrisome, f) to hold-the-floor, g) to tease, h) to achieve revenge and redress, i) to divert, and j) to gain the sympathy of the listeners.

Examination of the checklist revealed that although the children's narratives served a variety of functions from the beginning of the study, the range of functions expanded with the passage of time.

During the first month that data were recorded all three subjects used narrative language to inform and to contribute to self-aggrandizement. Two of the three used narratives to entertain, to explore hypothetical situations, and to tease. One child used narratives to gain sympathy, one used them to divert, one used them to seek revenge, and one used narration as a means of holding the conversational floor. The only major functional category not represented in the first month of the study was that of contributing to social solidarity. When the narratives produced by all of the subjects are taken into

consideration, it is apparent that narrative language was exploited for a wide range of functional ends from the beginning of the study. When the narratives produced by each of the subjects are examined separately, a somewhat narrower range of functions is revealed. During the first month of the study, the anecdotes produced by Bronwyn and Heather appeared to serve five of the major functions distinguished; those produced by Kepmen appeared to serve six.

Examination of the dates of first occurrence showed that by November, 1983 Kepmen had used narratives to serve all of the major functions identified. By the same date, Bronwyn and Heather had used narratives for nine of the ten major functions described. Heather did not use narratives for retaliatory purposes until January 1984, and Bronwyn did not use narratives to deliberately divert the listeners' attention from other matters until February, 1985.

Although all of the major functional categories were reflected in the data recorded during the fall term of the kindergarten year, a number of the sub-categories did not appear until considerably later. For example, the specific use of narratives as counter-evidence was not noted until January, 1984. The use of narratives to 'instruct' rather than simply to inform also did not occur until January, 1984, and was only ever evident in the narratives produced

by the two girls. The recounting of an anecdote for the purpose of defending oneself against claims made by another was not noted until the first month of grade one. The compensation function was not noted until the very end of the kindergarten year, and was employed by only two of the three subjects. Narratives were not used to deliberately exclude another until six months after the study began. Kepmen did not use narratives for this purpose until the beginning of grade one.

Although narratives were told with the intent to amuse from the very beginning of the study, they were not used to playfully spoof and mock until December, 1983. Narratives were found to be increasingly likely to be exploited for this function as the children got older.

'Cautionary tales', or narratives used to explicitly warn about the consequences of various behaviours, were also increasingly evident in the later months of the study. Kepmen was the only one to use narratives for the purpose of teasingly frightening the others. He did not begin to do this, however, until September of the grade one year.

From the beginning of the study all three children used narratives to report incidents that had upset them. In the early months these accounts usually documented physical mishaps and accidents on the school playground, and were primarily meant to inform and win sympathy. As time passed, the children were found increasingly likely to

use narratives not only to report worrisome events, but to explore and share their feelings about, and their reactions to, those events. Related to this shift is the finding that it was only during the last few months of data collection that the children began to use their narratives to explore sexually suggestive and 'taboo' topics.

At the beginning of the study, the retaliatory use of narratives consisted primarily of tattling. As the study progressed, the potential of narratives to embarrass was discovered. This potential was exploited in totally different ways; it was used to affirm friendship and to tease and threaten. Friendship and trust were affirmed through the sharing of information that would leave the teller open to ridicule and teasing if that information were to be revealed. Teasing was accomplished by threatening to reveal to others information which could potentially embarrass and humiliate. Both of these uses of narrative appeared in the later rather than the early months of the study.

In general, once narratives had been used to serve particular ends they continued to be used to serve those ends. Few of the functions that were noted 'dropped out' over the course of the period studied. Some appeared with decreasing frequency, however. For example, narratives were more often used to elicit sympathy at the beginning of the study than they were towards its end. Few such

narratives were found after April, 1984. Both Bronwyn and Kepmen routinely appeared to assume the role of narrator because it afforded them the opportunity to control the flow of talk. Although Heather also exploited narratives for this purpose in the early months of the study, she did so less and less often as the months passed. On many occasions she actually refused opportunities and invitations to relate narratives. The only other functional category found less likely to occur as the study progressed was tricking, or fooling; the majority of the 'cons' were recorded in the early months of the study.

Analysis of the data reveal that all three subjects used narratives for a variety of purposes from the beginning of the period studied. All ten of the major functional categories which were identified in the data were represented in the narratives the children produced during the fall term of their kindergarten year. The range of specific functions exploited by each subject increased over the course of the study, however. Many of the functions which were counted as subcategories of the major functional classifications were found only in the data which was recorded during the later months of the study. In other words, the ten functions as broadly defined and interpreted were evident across the entire data collection period. However, over the course of the study, the subjects demonstrated a growing capability to use

refinements of these functions in order to serve their conversational and social ends. In this sense, then, the narrative competence of the subjects increased in sophistication over the course of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary of Findings

This dissertation has focused upon the productive narrative competence of three young children as revealed in their spontaneously occurring conversations recorded over an eighteen-month period during their kindergarten and grade one years. The children's narratives, produced as they were driven to and from school, have been examined in terms of their form, their various functions, and their relationship to the conversations in which they were embedded. Developmental changes in each of these three areas were also traced.

The data consist of 131 separate audio-tapes and the transcriptions made from those tapes. Recordings were made an average of two times each week that school was in session; over the eighteen month period that data were collected, almost ninety hours of the children's conversations were recorded.

The study was organized around seven research questions. Findings will be summarized for each of these questions.

Review of the data revealed 599 examples of narratives that had been produced by the children, either independently or in collaboration with each other. The

subjects were found to routinely and regularly produce narrative language. Taking the average frequency of occurrence scores as an indicator, it appears that narratives played an increasingly important role in the children's conversations over the course of the study.

Eight narrative types were identified during the review of the literature. These were: anecdotes of personal and vicarious experience, original fantasies and fictions, retellings of books and accounts of visual media, mock stories and collaboratively produced narratives. Analysis of the data yielded many examples of each of these narrative forms. However, review of the transcripts necessitated the formulation of six additional categories: a) tattle tales, b) narrative jokes, c) repeat performances, d) replays, e) hypothetical narratives, and f) 'cons'. In all, fourteen different types of narrative were produced by the three subjects. A summary list of these form categories with the children's signal markers for each follows in Table 27.

<Insert Table 27>

For all three subjects anecdotes proved to be the narrative form most frequently and consistently used throughout the period studied. Three hundred and fourteen examples of personal anecdotes (52% of the total of all narratives produced) and 121 examples of anecdotes of

 T A B L E 27

 SUMMARY LIST OF NARRATIVE FORM CATEGORIES WITH THE
 CHILDREN'S SIGNALLING MARKERS FOR THOSE CATEGORIES

1. PERSONAL ANECDOTE
 Heather: "I'm gonna tell you what happened to me this morning."

 2. ANECDOTE OF VICARIOUS EXPERIENCE
 Kepmen: "You know what my Mum did?"

 3. TATTLE-TALE
 Kepmen: "Heather, I'm tellin'".
 Heather: "You always tattle."

 4. RETELLING - PRINT SOURCE
 Kepmen: "Okay, now I'll tell um...'Old Yeller'."

 Bronwyn: "We read that in a book, in a animal book."

 5. RETELLING - VISUAL MEDIA SOURCE
 Kepmen: "I'll tell you a scary, scary thing in a movie."

 6. REPEAT PERFORMANCES
 Kepmen: "I have heard of a snake - this was a good T. V., I've told you about it before....."

 Bronwyn: "Guys, remember when I was telling you Tom was singing with a bare tummy under his shirt?" (Bronwyn goes on to repeat her account of the incident)

 7. REPLAYS
 Adult: "That's a nice story, Kepmen, very nicely done."
 Bronwyn: "Now I'll tell you MINE."
-

REPLAYS

Bronwyn: "I'll say the 'Three Little Pigs' the way I say it."

8. ORIGINAL FICTION

Bronwyn: "And then once upon a time they went...then they woke up, then they still..went for a walk. And when Kepmen came (Kepmen laughs) back and...he couldn't find his family, they walked so far...they walked...from Duncan to Victoria."

9. ORIGINAL FANTASY

Kepmen: "My story now.....Santa Claus couldn't know where to find....could not find his reindeer!"

10. HYPOTHETICAL

Bronwyn: "How bout if...if ah..there was a cow and he was in the farm and then he..he..he took all their food was mi..um all gone, and so the farmer wasn't there, he was out for lunch... what will happen?"

11. JOKE

Bronwyn: "I'll tell you something funny."

12. MOCK STORY

Heather: "...our stupid stories."

Bronwyn: "D'you want me to tell you a really, really, fast story?"

13. 'CONS'

Heather: "I tricked you all about that." "I tricked you...cuz it's a joke. It's not really true what I just said."

14. COLLABORATIONS

Bronwyn: "How about we make up a story....You go first."

vicarious experience (20% of the total of all narratives produced) were identified in the data. Anecdotes of vicarious experience were more commonly used as the subjects got older; stated differently, over the course of the study, the children became increasingly likely to relate the experiences of other people.

Original fantasies, stories that tell of the actions and antics of fantasy characters, have received the bulk of research attention in the area of children's narrative competence. In the present study, however, only seven of the 599 narratives produced by the children were classified as original fantasies, and these fantasies were produced by only two of the three subjects. This category proved to be the only one of the fourteen identified that failed to be represented in the conversational narratives produced by all three children. Although rare in the data, one of the original fantasies that was collaboratively produced by Bronwyn and Kepmen proved to be complex and fully developed, and it earned the highest ratings possible on three different scoring schemes for narrative structural complexity (the Maranda scheme, the hierarchy model of Botvin and Sutton-Smith, 1977, and the story structure model developed by Stein and Glenn, 1977).

Although fantasy narratives as conventionally defined in the literature were produced only occasionally, the children created a variety of 'make-believe' narrative

forms. Eighteen examples of original fictions were identified in the data. In narratives of this sort the activities of familiar and 'real' people were fictionalized. On occasion the children would 'fictionalize' each other; they became characters in each other's stories. This particular narrative form was exploited by the subjects as a means of teasing, and of testing the limits of social acceptability.

'Cons' are original fictions which are intended to deceive or "trick" the listeners into believing that they are factual accounts. This narrative category is one of the six that emerged from the data analysis. Twenty-four 'cons' were produced by the children and the 'cons' invariably masqueraded as anecdotes. The point of the 'con' often appeared to be to see how much one child could 'put over' on another; the fun came in the announcement that a trick had been played and that the 'victim' had been deceived. The 'cons' provided insight into what the subjects considered to be the essential components of factual accounts. By examining what the children included in their narratives when they set out to convince their listeners that they were delivering a factual report, it was possible to discern much about their understanding of what constituted factual reporting. Analysis of the 'cons' revealed that all three subjects understood a great deal about what is required to 'tell a good story'.

A second category that emerged from the data analysis was that of hypothetical narratives. Although usually couched in the future rather than the past tense, the hypothetical narratives produced by the children contained most of the components of a conventional 'story': setting, characters, and a problem or sequence of events. The hypothetical narratives were found to be of two types. In the first the speaker would describe an imagined event, either realistically as it might legitimately be expected to unfold, or playfully by elaborating, exaggerating or introducing the preposterous and the fanciful. In the second type, the narrator would describe an imagined situation in which the characters were faced with a problem or dilemma. Rather than providing the solution, the narrator would ask the listeners to suggest "What would happen?". In game-like fashion, the narrator would then attempt to defeat all offered solutions by adding details to the scenario to render the proposals unworkable. Thirty-two examples of hypothetical narratives were found in the data; they appeared to be a means used by the subjects to explore the possible and the probable, and to test the behaviours appropriate in such imagined circumstances.

Another type of 'made-up' narrative produced by the subjects was the mock story. In narratives of this type the form, content, conventions, and/or manner of

presentation of stories were playfully spoofed and toyed with. Twenty-eight mock stories were found in the data, and they could be roughly divided into two categories: those which mocked the tale, and those which mocked the telling. Almost all of them represented a deliberate violation of one or more of the conventional expectations surrounding 'stories'. The mock stories created by the children are striking for the range of conventions and listener expectations that were toyed with; there is hardly an aspect of narrative or narration that was not the object of a deliberate and playful 'send-up'. A list of the features mocked by the children include content, characters, the conventions for beginning and ending stories, length, and story structure. Elements of presentation style that were mocked include introductions, volume, speed, pitch, and repetitiveness. Through their 'play' with story and story-telling conventions the subjects indicated their awareness of the conventions and their confidence in handling them.

It was found, during the data analysis, that the children repeated certain narratives. This necessitated the formulation of two additional categories: repeat performances and replays. Repeat performances occurred when the narrator repeated a narrative he or she had delivered on a previous occasion. With a replay, the narrator repeated a narrative previously related by someone

other than him/herself. Repetitions of this sort are of interest because they provide insight into what it is that makes a child consider a narrative worth repeating. In addition, the repetitions afford the opportunity for comparison of the same content delivered on different occasions by the same speakers. The majority of the repeat performances (70%) and of the replays (83%) were anecdotes of personal and vicarious experiences. Children's repetitions were prompted by a variety of reasons, including the desire to share the information with a new listener, to hear again something previously enjoyed or found interesting, and to improve or amend the original account.

The data analysis established that many of the narratives had been collaboratively produced. When these collaborations were categorized according to the fourteen narrative types identified in the study, only two categories, narrative jokes and replays, were found not to be represented. The make-believe or 'made-up' narratives were found to be the most likely of the narrative types to be co-operatively created. Over half of the original fantasies were joint productions as were almost half of the hypotheticals, a third of the original fictions, and a fifth of the 'cons'.

All three subjects in this study produced a variety of forms of narrative language during the conversations that

were recorded over the eighteen month period of data collection. Examples of all fourteen of the narrative types identified were produced by Bronwyn and Kepmen, and all but one of the fourteen forms were produced by Heather. Over 70% of the narrative language that was produced by the subjects during the drives to and from school took anecdotal form. Not surprisingly, most of their narratives were employed to describe 'what had happened' to them or those they knew. Although the other categories of narrative language did not appear in the data with the same frequency, they were found to play important and different functional roles in the children's interactions. The data clearly demonstrate that all three of the subjects were able to exploit and employ a variety of narrative forms in on-going conversations with competence and skill.

The collaboratively produced narratives were studied in an effort to discover the nature of the children's collaboration and how their joint-productions were initiated and maintained. The subjects were found to co-operate and support each other by contributing information to each other's narratives, by elaborating and corroborating the information given, by supplying unknown or forgotten details, by assisting with sequencing, and by confirming the accuracy of statements made and opinions expressed. Sometimes assistance took the form of helping the narrator gain and hold the floor. The children both

volunteered to collaborate and were invited to do so. Towards the end of the period studied the subjects revealed themselves aware of the need to plan and coordinate the telling of jointly-produced narratives. They therefore developed and implemented procedures to facilitate and 'manage' their collaborative efforts.

Also investigated in this study was the effect on the narratives of the reaction and interaction of the peer audience. The children responded to each other's narratives with close attention, genuine interest and careful monitoring of both content and the manner of delivery. During the review of the recordings it became apparent that the subjects acknowledged a set of general 'rules' or expectations for stories. These influenced their responses to the conversational narratives delivered in the car. The 'rules', stated and enforced by the three subjects, have been summarized in Table 20, p. 256. By the children's criteria, a narrative was required to be interesting and comprehensible. Further, all information included in the account was expected to be relevant or thematically related. The rules for the narration or telling of stories covered topics such as the need to gain the permission of the listeners before proceeding or before relating a story that involved them, restrictions on what sorts of narratives it was appropriate to repeat, the conditions under which repetitions were acceptable, and who

was entitled to report certain types of information. These 'rules' served, in many instances, to explain the subjects' reactions to each other's narratives.

The responses, comments, and questions of the listeners were found to have a considerable influence on the narratives that were produced, and there is little doubt that the children's interactions with each other contributed to the modification, expansion, increased coherence and complexity of their anecdotes and stories. The conversational context in which the narratives were delivered permitted the exchange of a great deal of information about listener requirements and expectations and appeared to contribute significantly to the development of the children's narrative competence.

A review of the literature suggested six main functions likely to be served by the telling of conversational narratives. These were:

- a) the provision of information,
- b) the opportunity for self-aggrandizement,
- c) the display of social solidarity,
- d) entertainment,
- e) the possibility of confronting and considering problems and issues of concern, and
- f) the opportunity to hold and dominate the conversational floor.

Although the narratives produced by the subjects of this study were found to serve all the functions described above, analysis of the data made it clear that the children's narratives served many other functions as well. Major functions added to the list that had been suggested by the literature review include: a) teasing, b) retaliation, c) diverting and defusing, d) and the seeking of sympathy. Altogether, ten major functional categories and thirty-eight sub-categories were distinguished. The additional functions identified have been summarized in Table 21, p. 267.

Most of the narratives produced by the children served a variety of functions simultaneously, and many were deliberately and skillfully employed to achieve specific ends. Certain of the form categories that were identified can be considered 'designed' to accomplish particular functions. The relationships among the different narrative form categories and the functions served by narrative language have been summarized in Table 22, p. 295. As is readily apparent from the Table, personal anecdotes were employed by the subjects to serve almost all of the major functions described in this study.

Individual differences in narrative competence, and in the development of that competence, have received very little attention in the research literature. Therefore, the narratives produced by the subjects were examined in

order to discover whether individual differences were apparent in terms of narrative skills, styles of presentation and preference for certain narrative forms over others.

Striking differences were noted in the production of the various narrative forms by the different subjects. Although all three subjects revealed themselves capable of producing many different types of narratives they each tended to favour different narrative forms and to produce some more than others. For all three children, anecdotes proved the dominant form. However, Heather devoted a greater proportion of her total narrative output to personal anecdotes than did either of the other two and she told proportionately fewer anecdotes of vicarious experience. Next to the anecdotes, 'cons' proved to be the narrative form most favoured by Heather; for Bronwyn, repeat performances and mock stories were the most popular form after anecdotes, while for Kepmen visual media retellings were the most frequently produced. No significant differences were found in the number of narratives produced by the three subjects when they all were together. However, it is significant that although capable of producing a wide variety of narrative forms, when placed together in the same situation, the three subjects in this study chose to exploit and employ their narrative competence in different ways.

Individual differences also were apparent in the way that the children chose to present themselves as narrators. Differences were noted in their willingness to volunteer to tell stories, in their 'performance' styles, and in their readiness to collaborate with each other in the production of narratives. As well, differences were found in the nature of the content each chose to report and in the tendency to focus on external rather than internal events (or vice versa). These findings of individual difference and variation suggest that a) narrative competence cannot be adequately or fairly assessed by means of simple measures or by the examination of a single narrative type, and that b) investigations of narrative competence cannot afford to overlook, or fail to take account of, individual differences in narrative production.

The study spanned an eighteen month period; the language produced by the three subjects was monitored throughout their kindergarten year, and through the first half of grade one. In an effort to determine whether any changes were apparent over the course of the study in terms of the variety of narrative types employed by the subjects, the narratives produced during the first twenty-four recorded trips were compared with those produced during the last twenty-four recorded trips. Although some narrative forms proved more likely to occur at either the beginning or the end of the study, in general no marked differences

forms produced over the eighteen month period. A wide variety of forms were represented in the data from the beginning of the study and they remained in the children's repertoire throughout the period of data collection.

A selection of personal anecdotes and all of the original fictions and fantasies were analyzed in order to determine whether any changes in the structural complexity of the children's narratives occurred over the time period monitored. The anecdotes were 'scored' by means of the Labov and Waletzky (1967) model of narrative structure, and examined for the presence of the 'evaluation' techniques described by Labov (1972). All five of the structural components identified by the model (abstract, orientation, complication, evaluation, result) were found in the anecdotes the children produced during the first several months of the study. Although the narrators employed a variety of embedded evaluative techniques to heighten the impact of their anecdotes, repetition proved the most commonly used. Almost all of the narratives were found to have been triggered by, or were thematically related to, the conversations in which they were embedded. Those anecdotes which were not obviously linked to the preceding conversation frequently were prefaced with an abstract; the children appeared to use abstracts to indicate a change in the topic of talk.

A comparison of the personal anecdotes produced at the beginning of this study with those produced towards its end revealed no major structural changes as measured by the presence or absence of the components described by the Labov and Waletzky (1967) model. However, the 'later' anecdotes were judged generally more complete; background and orientation information was more fully elaborated, and the complicating events were more dramatically described. The narrators seemed better able to anticipate and provide for their listeners' informational requirements. As well, the children exploited a wider range of evaluative techniques in the anecdotes produced towards the end of the study. In addition to repetition, all three subjects routinely employed exclamatory intonation, expressive phonology, rhetorical questions, quotations, intensifiers, and syntactic parallelism to heighten the effect of their narratives. Greater use of figurative language, particularly of similes and metaphors, was found in the 'later' anecdotes.

The structural complexity of all of the children's original fantasies and fictions was assessed by means of the four-level Maranda scheme and the seven-level hierarchical model described by Botvin and Sutton-Smith (1977). Both scoring systems clearly indicated that the fantasy narratives produced towards the end of the study were structurally more complex than those produced earlier.

It is worth noting that the two fantasy narratives which earned the highest complexity ratings were collaboratively produced. These particular collaborations were planned in advance by the two narrators involved. They discussed and developed procedures to ensure a coordinated effort, and to signal turn-transition points. Once proven successful, these procedures were employed again on different occasions; the turn-transition signal became ritualized with use.

As well as containing long and involved action sequences, the last fantasies that were recorded also included descriptions of the emotions, thoughts, and motivations of the characters. In this respect they contrast markedly with the fantasies produced earlier in the study. The most structurally complex of the original fantasies (the last one recorded) contained subplots, a dream sequence, and presented story events from two perspectives. Examination of the original fantasies produced by Kepmen and Bronwyn, and of Kepmen's various versions of several print retellings, clearly established that considerable development in the structural complexity of fantasy narratives occurred over the course of the study.

No conclusions could be drawn about changes over time in the structural complexity of the subjects' original fictions. The fiction which was rated highest in terms of

the Botvin and Sutton-Smith (1977) model was the first to be recorded. Few of the fictions proved to be structurally complex as judged by the measures used. They were, however, employed in the social context in which they were created with considerable interactional success. Seemingly intended not so much as 'stories', but more as a means of teasing and amusing the listeners, the fictions generated a great deal of laughter and usually earned the narrator audience approval and admiration.

The range of functions served by the narratives produced by the three subjects was examined on a month by month basis in order to discover whether any changes occurred over the course of the study. Although all three subjects were found to have exploited narrative language for a wide variety of purposes from the first months of the data collection period, the range of functions expanded with the passage of time. All ten of the major functional categories identified in this study were reflected in the data recorded during the fall term of the kindergarten year. However, quite a number of the sub-categories were not in evidence in the data until considerably later in the study. Over the eighteen month period during which their language was monitored, the subjects demonstrated a growing capability to employ narrative language for an increasing number of specific social and conversational ends.

For the most part the findings of this study are in agreement with those reported in the literature. In a number of areas they extend those reported in the literature. The findings are in accord with the general conclusions reached by Pitcher and Prelinger (1963), Ames (1966) and Sutton-Smith (1981) about the nature of the content of children's fantasy narratives. One point of disagreement merits mention. Ames (1966) found humour as an intentional theme to be lacking in the make-believe stories elicited for her study. This is clearly not true of the narratives produced by the subjects in this study. Although the number of narrative jokes recorded was not large, the deliberate employment of humour proved a frequent occurrence. Narrative language was regularly exploited by all three children for the purpose of making the listeners laugh. The difference in findings is no doubt attributable to the differences in the data-collection situations.

Umiker-Sebeok (1979) is one of the few researchers to have focused on the conversational narratives produced by young children. Her subjects were three- to five-year-olds. The findings of this study confirm many she reported. For example, she also found narrative language to be employed with increasing frequency as children got older. As in this study, anecdotes proved the dominant narrative form; only a few fictional accounts were produced

by her subjects. In contrast to Labov and Waletzky's (1967) observation that young children omit orientation information from their anecdotes, Umiker-Sebeok (1979) found orientation information in all of the anecdotes produced by her five-year-old subjects. Orientation information was never entirely omitted by the three subjects of this study; it was, however, more fully elaborated as they got older. Umiker-Sebeok reported age trends in the use of the different verbal techniques of evaluation; the older children were found to employ a greater variety of evaluative devices and to include them in their anecdotes more often. A similar conclusion was reached in this study. Umiker-Sebeok also noted the influence of peer-input on the form of the narratives produced by her young subjects; the responses, comments, and questions of the listeners were found to exert a considerable influence on the narratives produced by the three subjects of this study.

Watson-Gegeo and Boggs (1977) concluded that there was little "evidence that children tell stories to one another or to adult members of their families" (p. 70) between the ages of three and eight. This study suggests quite the opposite. Watson-Gegeo and Boggs credited the situation in which their data were recorded with stimulating the narratives that were produced. It is quite possible that the carpool situation in this study contributed to the

children's tendency to produce and share narratives. It daily provided them with regular periods of time which they spent together in a setting that limited their activity to little else but talk. Isolated in the back seat of the car, they were free of many of the distractions, interruptions, and comings-and-goings characteristic of settings such as playrooms and classrooms. Because of the carpool arrangements, the three children spent a considerable amount of time together and, over the course of the study, came to know each other well. Although almost always in the company of an adult, that adult was familiar, preoccupied with the driving, and generally a receptive and encouraging listener. All of these factors likely contributed to an environment favorable to the spontaneous production of narrative language. However, given such conditions, it is apparent that the three subjects in this study were quick to take advantage of them to produce a rich variety of narratives that served a wide range of personal, social and conversational ends.

This study adds to the existing literature in three main areas. First, it offers definitions and descriptions of the range of narrative forms produced by individual children. Six form categories not suggested by the literature review have emerged from the data analysis. Secondly, it delineates a broader and more specifically stated list of the functions served by the narrative

language produced by young children than that offered by the literature. Lastly it clearly illustrates the contribution peer-interaction appears to make to the development of narrative competence.

Further Research

Further research is warranted in a number of areas. It is clear the anecdotes related by young children have not received the attention they merit, and it is equally clear that measures must be developed which will adequately reflect the beginnings of children's ability to exploit narrative language to report "what happened".

By the age of five, the three subjects of this study revealed themselves already in possession of a range of narrative skills and a fair measure of productive narrative competence. It should prove informative, therefore, to conduct a similar study with younger children. Perhaps the spontaneously produced conversations of children being driven to and from preschool, for example, could be analyzed to determine the nature and the range of narrative forms produced, and the functions served by those forms.

Attention needs to be focused on the ways children begin to integrate narratives into on-going conversations both with their peers and with adults. The dynamics of

narrative production in interactional settings clearly warrant further investigation.

This study has demonstrated that young children can collaborate to produce a variety of narrative forms. The ways in which children contribute to the development of a narrative performance deserve close attention and further study. The effects of peer-audience input and reaction upon the narratives that children create and relate to each other also deserve close scrutiny and analysis.

The form and function categories identified in the language produced by the three subjects of this study should be tested against data produced by different children in similar, and in different, situations. Determination of the functions served by linguistic forms is often problematic for motives are not subject to inspection. It is desirable, therefore, that studies be conducted which permit the cross-checking of proposed functions by direct questioning of the subjects. For example, to confirm that a specific narrative had in fact been told in order to seek revenge, the narrative could be replayed for the subject who had produced it. The subject could then be asked to state the reasons why he or she told that particular narrative at that particular point in the recorded conversation. Such an approach has obvious limitations. However, if used in conjunction with other

analytic criteria, it might offer additional support for the narrative function categories identified.

Tannen (1982) has begun to examine the relationship between oral and written versions of narratives reporting the same events or content. To date her work in this area has focused on narratives produced by adults. It would be of interest to conduct a similar comparison with data produced by children. Orally produced narratives could be compared and contrasted with written versions on the same topic. The data ideally should include both spontaneously produced and elicited samples. As well, individual children's written narratives could be examined to determine whether the range of narrative forms identified parallels those they produce orally.

Many questions remain to be investigated. Bruner (1985) is correct in his claim that "we know very little about how narrative thinking develops in childhood" (p. 100). However, as the narratives produced and 'performed' by the three subjects of this study make plain, our understanding of the development of narrative competence stands to be greatly enriched if we are willing to pay close and careful attention to the 'stories' children share with each other.

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APPENDIX A

Dates of Recordings - Kindergarten Year

Date of Recording	Day of Week	Direction	Number of Narrative Examples
September 23, 1983	Friday	To	3
September 23, 1983	Friday	RT	3
September 27, 1983	Tuesday	To	7
September 27, 1983	Tuesday	RT	3
September 30, 1983	Friday	To	10
September 30, 1983	Friday	RT	9
October 3, 1983	Monday	To	6
October 3, 1983	Monday	RT	7
October 7, 1983	Friday	To	5
October 7, 1983	Friday	RT	2
October 14, 1983	Friday	To	2
October 14, 1983	Friday	RT	5
October 17, 1983	Monday	To	9
October 17, 1983	Monday	Rt	1
October 28, 1983	Friday	To	1
October 28, 1983	Friday	RT	2
November 4, 1983	Friday	To	2
November 4, 1983	Friday	RT	3
November 7, 1983	Monday	To	8
November 7, 1983	Monday	RT	4

SCHOOLS CLOSED FOR SEVERAL DAYS DUE TO TEACHERS' STRIKE

November 14, 1983	Monday	RT	3
November 25, 1983	Friday	To	3
November 28, 1983	Monday	To	2
November 28, 1983	Monday	RT	7
December 5, 1983	Monday	To	4
December 5, 1983	Monday	RT	4
December 9, 1983	Friday	To	2
December 9, 1983	Friday	RT	3
December 12, 1983	Monday	To	5
December 12, 1983	Monday	RT	3
December 16, 1983	Friday	To	4
December 16, 1983	Friday	RT	3

CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS

(Dates of Recordings - Kindergarten Year)

Date of Recording	Day of Week	Direction	Number of Narrative Examples
January 11, 1984	Wednesday	To	2
January 11, 1984	Wednesday	RT	3
January 12, 1984	Thursday	To	1
January 12, 1984	Thursday	RT	6
January 16, 1984	Monday	To	2
January 16, 1984	Monday	RT	2
January 18, 1984	Wednesday	To	3
January 18, 1984	Wednesday	RT	1
January 20, 1984	Friday	To	1
January 20, 1984	Friday	RT	3
January 23, 1984	Monday	To	5
January 23, 1984	Monday	RT	3
January 25, 1984	Wednesday	To	10
January 25, 1984	Wednesday	RT	3
January 30, 1984	Monday	RT	3
February 1, 1984	Wednesday	To	4
February 3, 1984	Friday	To	4
February 3, 1984	Friday	RT	2
February 6, 1984	Monday	To	5
February 6, 1984	Monday	RT	1
February 8, 1984	Wednesday	To	4
February 13, 1984	Monday	To	7
February 13, 1984	Monday	RT	3
February 15, 1984	Wednesday	To	7
February 20, 1984	Monday	To	5
February 27, 1984	Monday	To	3
February 27, 1984	Monday	RT	4
February 29, 1984	Wednesday	To	5
March 2, 1984	Friday		
March 5, 1984	Monday	To	3
March 5, 1984	Monday	RT	
March 7, 1984	Wednesday	To	1
March 12, 1984	Monday	To	
March 12, 1984	Monday	RT	
March 14, 1984	Wednesday	To	1
SPRING HOLIDAY BREAK			
March 26, 1984	Monday	To	15
March 26, 1984	Monday	RT	
April 3, 1984	Tuesday	RT	4
April 9, 1984	Monday	To	2
April 11, 1984	Wednesday	To	4
April 16, 1984	Monday	To	6

(Dates of Recordings - Kindergarten Year)

Date of Recording	Day of Week	Direction	Number of Narrative Examples
April 18, 1984	Wednesday	To	15
EASTER HOLIDAYS			
April 27, 1984	Friday	To	1
April 30, 1984	Monday	RT	
May 1, 1984	Tuesday	RT	
May 15, 1984	Tuesday	RT	2
BREAK IN TAPING DUE TO CHICKEN-POX			
May 28, 1984	Monday	To	0
June 4, 1984	Monday	To	15
June 4, 1984	Monday	RT	10
June 13, 1984	Wednesday	RT	3
June 18, 1984	Monday	To	1
June 18, 1984	Monday	RT	1
June 25, 1984	Monday	To	12

SUMMER HOLIDAYS

APPENDIX A

Dates of Recordings - Year One

September 4, 1984	Tuesday	To	First day of school. Bron by herself.
September 4, 1984	Tuesday	RT	
September 7, 1984	Friday	To	
September 10, 1984	Monday	To	
September 13, 1984	Thursday	To	
September 14, 1984	Friday	To	
September 14, 1984	Friday	RT	Kepmen & Bron
September 18, 1984	Tuesday	RT	
September 20, 1984	Thursday	RT	
September 21, 1984	Friday	To	
September 21, 1984	Friday	RT	
September 25, 1984	Tuesday	RT	
October 1, 1984	Monday	To	
October 5, 1984	Friday	To	
October 9, 1984	Tuesday	RT	
October 12, 1984	Friday	To	
October 16, 1984	Tuesday	RT	
October 25, 1984	Thursday	RT	
October 26, 1984	Friday	To	
October 29, 1984	Monday	To	Bron & Kepmen
October 30, 1984	Tuesday	RT	Bron & Kepmen
November 2, 1984	Friday	To	
November 2, 1984	Friday	RT	Bron & Kepmen
November 6, 1984	Tuesday	RT	
November 9, 1984	Friday	To	Bron & Kepmen
November 9, 1984	Friday	RT	Bron & Kepmen
November 13, 1984	Tuesday	RT	
November 20, 1984	Tuesday	RT	
November 23, 1984	Friday	RT	
November 26, 1984	Monday	To	Heather & Bron
November 30, 1984	Friday	To	
November 30, 1984	Friday	RT	
December 3, 1984	Monday	RT	
December 11, 1984	Tuesday	RT	
December 14, 1984	Friday	To	
December 14, 1984	Friday	RT	
December 17, 1984	Monday	To	
December 19, 1984	Wednesday	RT	
December 21, 1984	Friday	RT	Heather & Bron
January 11, 1985	Friday	To	First recording after Xmas holidays
January 15, 1985	Tuesday	RT	
January 18, 1985	Friday	To	Heather & Bron

(Dates of Recordings - Year One)

Date of Recording	Day of Week	Direction	
January 21, 1985	Monday	To	Heather & Bron
January 25, 1985	Friday	To	
February 18, 1985	Monday	To	
February 22, 1985	Friday	To	
February 22, 1985	Friday	RT	
February 26, 1985	Tuesday	RT	

APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

The recordings were transcribed into standard orthography.

Pauses were indicated by a series of dots, each dot representing one-half of a second. Lengthy pauses were indicated as follows: (Pause).

Overlapped speech was indicated with an angled bracket. For example:

Bronwyn: "And...I went to the back of the room and then we had to.."
 Kepmen: <"But we took the books back first."
 Bronwyn: "go out for recess."

Vocal stress was marked by underlining: "She was furiosus." Very emphatic stress was marked by CAPITALS.

Non-verbal behaviour, and notations of prosodic quality, were noted at the appropriate point in the dialogue in enclosed brackets. For example:

Kepmen: "No-o-o! (laughs) Mirror, Mirror...of a seer..Who's the fairest of the sall? All? Snow White. (Giggle from one of the girls)."

Inaudible utterances were indicated by: (inaudible). If the transcriber was not absolutely certain of the accuracy of the words transcribed this was indicated by enclosing the relevant words in brackets and including a question mark at the beginning and/or end of the utterance. For example:

Bronwyn: "Petranella was a...filing (? following?) smokestacks, with um smoke coming out of them."

APPENDIX C

Parent Questionnaire - Structured Interview

PRESCHOOL HISTORY

1. Did _____ attend preschool?
If yes, which one?
For how long?
At what age?
2. Do you consider this to have been a successful experience?

BOOK OWNERSHIP

1. Does _____ own any books of his/her very own?
2. If yes, approximately how many?
3. Are any of these books in French?
4. Source? Where have the books come from?
i.e., gifts?
5. If purchased, who usually buys them?
6. Are there any types of books that you consider it desirable or important for your child to be exposed to?
7. Do you subscribe to, or buy single issues of, any of the children's magazines?
If yes, which one(s)?
8. Do you obtain children's books from the public library?
If yes, does your child usually accompany you there?
How frequently would this occur?
weekly? monthly? once-in-a-while? rarely?
Who selects the books that are brought home?
9. Which would you consider to be your child's favourite book(s)?
At the present time?
In the past?

'STORY' EXPERIENCE/EXPOSURE

1. Does _____ enjoy having books read to him/her?

Does s/he ask to have books read?
 Are there any books that are requested over and over again?

Who would be most likely to do the reading?

When would this likely happen?

How regularly?

Is a bedtime story part of the daily routine?

If yes, who would usually read it?

If yes, from what age has this occurred?

4. Does _____ ever request that s/he be read to in French?
5. Does _____ enjoy having stories told to him/her? (i.e. with or without a book as focus)
 Does _____ ever request such stories?
 If yes, can you describe the sort of story that might be told?
 Who would likely be the teller of these stories?
 Is there any particular time when the telling of stories is most likely to occur?
 Does _____ ever request stories about when his/her parent(s) were little?
5. Does _____ offer or attempt to read stories to -
- either/both parent(s)?
 - his/her younger sibling?
 - friends?
 - grandparents/relatives/babysitters?
 - others?
6. Does _____ ever tell stories to -
- either/both parent(s)?
 - his/her younger sibling?
 - friends?
 - grandparents/relatives/babysitters?

If yes, what sort of story would _____ usually tell?

i.e., a factual account of past events...of what happened to him?

- a retelling of a story he knows, had heard, had read, or seen on T.V.?

- an original creation....with fantasy characters?

- an exaggeration involving people s/he knows?

TELEVISION

1. Could you list the television programs that _____ would be likely to watch in an average week?

2. Which of these would be considered a favourite?
3. Are there any programs that you encourage him/her to watch?
If so, which are these?
4. Do you in any way monitor or restrict T.V. viewing?
i.e. amount of time? types of programs?

MOVIES/VIDEOS

1. Does _____ ever go to see movies in the theatre, or see rented videos on the television?
2. Can you list the movies that you know _____ has seen?
3. Have you noted any reaction - either positive or negative - to any of these movies?

READING

1. When did _____ first display an interest in reading?
2. Did you do anything in particular to encourage or help _____ to learn to read?
If yes, what?
3. How does _____ seem to be progressing with reading in school?
4. Is _____ able to read stories to himself now?
Does _____ spend time by himself trying to read?
Does _____ read or attempt to read in French at home?
5. Does _____ consider himself able to read?
e If asked if s/he could read, do you think the answer would be 'yes' or 'no'?
6. How would you describe your child's reading ability?

GENERAL INFORMATION

1. How would you describe your child's nature and personality?
2. What do you see as particular strengths of your child?

- i.e. areas where s/he shines?
3. Are there any areas of weakness? i.e. is there anything about your child that has caused, or which causes you to anticipate, difficulties?
 4. How would you describe _____'s interactions and relationships with other children?
 5. How would you describe your child's sense of humour? Does _____ ever tell or play 'jokes'? If yes, could you provide an example?
 6. How would you rate your child in terms of imagination?
 7. Does (or did) _____ engage in a lot of pretend play? If so, what does _____ usually pretend to be? (i.e. are there favorite 'roles' or themes that are adopted?) Did (does) _____ pretend when alone? and/or with other children?
 8. Has _____ ever had an imaginary playmate?
 9. Does _____ have any particular interests?

APPENDIX D

Teacher Questionnaire

1. Could you briefly characterize _____ as a student?
2. How would you describe _____'s general verbal ability?
3. How would you describe _____'s reading ability?
4. How would you describe _____'s interactions with other children?
5. If given a choice, do you think _____ would be more likely to work alone or with other children on a school project, or volunteer activity?
6. Is _____ an active contributor to 'Sharing Time' or 'Show and Tell' sessions?
7. Does _____ tell 'stories' or anecdotes in class, or to you?
8. Does _____ enjoy/choose to write 'stories'?
If so, are these stories original fantasies, or factual accounts of events experienced?
9. How would you rate _____ in terms of
 - a) imagination?
 - b) sense of humour?

APPENDIX E

						DATE OF RECORDING
						WHO IN CAR - A K B H
						WHO TOLD NARRATIVE
						ANECDOTE - "PERSONAL"
						ANECDOTE - OTHER THAN SELF
						TATTLE-TALE
						RETELLING - BOOK
						RETELLING - T.V. or VIDEO MOVIE
						RETELLING - OF STORY PREVIOUSLY TOLD BY SELF
						RETELLING - OF STORY PREVIOUSLY TOLD BY OTHER
						ORIGINAL - PANTASY
						ORIGINAL - FICTION
						HYPOTHETICAL - / FUTURE PLANS
						JOKE
						MOCK STORY
						JOINT STORY
						CON
						WHO COLLABORATED?
						HOW INTRODUCED?
						AUDIENCE RESPONSE?
						EVALUATION? EXTERNAL? INT?

APPENDIX F

Retellings - Print Source

Two Versions of 'Snow White', produced by Kepmen

1. 'Snow White' February 15, 1984 Version 1.

The driver and Kepmen have been singing the 'Heigh ho, Heigh ho, it's off to work we go' song from the Walt Disney film of 'Snow White'. This appears to be what triggers the story.

- Kepmen: "I wanna do..the story of 'Snow White'."
- Adult: "Hey, did anybody notice the snow, speaking of snow, Kepmen? It's all on the mountains..."
- Bronwyn: "Close your eyes!"
- Heather: "Hey, I can't see anything." (said playfully)
- Kepmen: "Hey (laughs) I want, I want to tell the story of 'Snow White'."
- Adult: "Okay."
- Bronwyn: "Don't have enough time." (laughs)
- Adult: "Well, let him start...."
- Kepmen: "Once there was a little girl...no, once there was a Mummy, who wished for a baby with black hair, red lips...and at last the wish was granted...a little baby with black hair, red lips ...and...lips that...um...."
- Bronwyn: "Ah? Is that the end of the story?" (laughs)
- Kepmen: "...and fleece as white as snow.Then the queen died! Not...the king..."
- Bronwyn: "She didn't really, did she?"
- Kepmen: "No, it was just a story. Then...the queen died. ...It was...the king married another woman. She was harsh and cruel, mean and wicked. Every day she looked at at the mirror saying..ing..what is it, Bronwyn? Mirror, Mirror!....."
- Heather: "Who is the famousest one of all, and the mirror says: Cinderella!"
- Kepmen: "No-o-o! (laughs) Mirror, Mirror....of a seer.. Who's the fairest of the sall? All? Snow White. (Giggle from one of the girls) She asked her huntsman to take out her in the forest and get... get..."
- Bronwyn: "Kepmen..."
- Kepmen: "...her heart what she could..he could not do it. He had...but he knew the..."
- Heather: "I'm gonna be way up front."
- Bronwyn: (laughing) "He..Heather..."
- Kepmen: "...had..had her mirror, ut..."
- Adult: "Bron, I can't hear."

Kepmen: "...he cannot see, so he..."
 Heather: (protesting) "Bronwyn!"
 Adult: "Bron, don't."
 Kepmen: "...so he..sh...he killed a small animal instead, and brought it back to the queen. 'Mirror, Mirror of the sall, Who's the fairest of the w.. wall? ...Snow White'. She threw...."
 Adult: "Heather...Heather."
 Kepmen: "...the jewel box at the mirror, the mirror. She went down back in her, in a deep cave, and disguised herself as a wicked old witch, then.. and she..."
 (Whispers from the girls.)
 Kepmen: "got on the book...book..."
 Adult: "Bronwyn, I'm really trying to listen to this gorgeous story"
 Kepmen: "And then she got a book, book of magic spells. The duty of the apple? Yes! the duty of the apple. (Kepmen laughs, and Heather joins him.) Dipped it in a magic potion and brought it to Snow White."
 Heather: "There was something in there, right?"
 Kepmen: "Now...(voice becomes very theatrical)..Now beautiful princess. But she did not feel ascaresed at all...then...then she took a bit, she fell deadly on the...she...the animals pushed her, pushed her, they know know where a big, big, big hole was, where lots of people died...pushed her in there, and she never returned again."
 Heather: "Only if the king, only if the king kisses her, right?"
 Kepmen: "That..."
 Bronwyn: "No not the king, the prince."
 Kepmen: "Then the prince came along. He had hear-ed of lots...lots of people of her...kissed her on the cheek and she came alive...(laughs)..then she .. said 'Goodbye' to her friendly, friendly doorves (i.e. dwarves)....(Kepmen begins to sing lustily) Heigh ho, heigh ho (is now joined by the two girls) It's off to work we go, Heigh ho, heigh ho, heigh ho, heigh ho, It's off to work we go.."

2. 'Snow White' - October 16, 1984 - Version 2

Kepmen: "Okay, are you ready everyone?"
 Adult: "Yes."
 Kepmen: "Nice and quiet, now."
 Bronwyn: (Immediately begins making a loud noise..and laughing.) "Ah..ah...ah....ah!"

- Kepmen: "Now, once upon a time, in a very nice house, a queen had everything she wanted but a child. One day her wish was granted, a baby child was born to her...a lovely was she, how sweet...and full of love...love. They wanted to call her...call her Snow White."
- Adult: "I can't hear you, Kepmen love, the engine makes such a racket."
- Kepmen: "Oh. (Spoken more loudly) They wanted to call her Snow White, then. Well, her lips were as red as blood, her ebony was white, as white as snow, and her hair was as black as...um...ebony. (Pause) Now, one day...one day the queen died. The king got married to another queen but she was very beautiful also, but she was very cru...cruel to Snow White. She made...Snow White spend her days washing floors, carpets, everything...Oh, she...all the time she would say, she would ask her magic mirror who was the fairest of them..of us all. She wanted...one day...she uh...the mirror replieduh 'You are the fairest in this hall but Snow White is the fairest of us all.'" She was furios. She ran to her huntsman and said 'Take Snow White out and kill her'...so he said 'I will not kill you, you..but you must never come back to the castle'....so she he killed a wild pig on his way back to bring its heart...Now, she asked to her mirror 'Mirror, mirror on the wall, who is the fairest of us all?' 'Snow White', the mirror replied, 'You are the fairest in this hall, but Snow White is the fairest of us all'. So, she threw her mirror down onto the ground (this said very dramatically) shattering to pieces...went downstairs into her deep, deep cave and into her deep, deep cave...looking into her spelling book..... 'Apples are red...um um um...sleeping death.. that's it! The sleeping death! Ha!' She dipped a lovely, beautiful apple into some potion and put it into her basket. Disguised as an old woman then...."
- Bronwyn: (utters a squealing sound...rising intonation) "Ooooh..."
- Kepmen: "...it took two days for her to get there...she got there. Old woman asked 'May I please have a drink of water?'
- Adult: (Referring to thermos that has just been removed from her lunchkit) "Bron, don't let it spill."
- Bronwyn: "No, there's no chocolate milk in it..."
- Adult: "Sorry, Kep, carry on."
- Kepmen: "And...so, she goes 'Will you please try one of my apples?' The animals came racing to the..

the dwarves...dwarves..dwarves..."

(Rattling sounds can be heard...made by the lunchkit.)

Heather (?): "I'm leaning on the back of here."

Kepmen: "She should be spending her life as a dwarf. Now I'm at the end."

Bronwyn: "Will you please..."

Adult: "I can't ...sorry, Bron..I can't hear with you bashing around..Heather..Kepmen, you speak just a little bit louder cuz I'm hearing the engine more than I'm hearing you and it's hard for me. Carry on, okay?"

Kepmen: "Okay. Now..."

Bronwyn: "Yell!"

Adult: "No, not yell..."

Kepmen: "Um...there...the animals came rushing in to the dwarves. They came running, running...they were too late. Cuz Snow White had already been..had already been potioned by the Wicked Witch's apple....They couldn't, they couldn't..."

Bronwyn: "Louder."

Kepmen: "She was so beautiful they couldn't, they didn't want to bury her, so they made a glass, a glass, um, a glass cave...they put her in there and watched her night and day. Um, then, then a lovely prince came and kissed her on the lips. She's her...her eyelids opened and the seven dwarves waved goodbye to Snow White and the Prince. They visit sometimes. The End."

APPENDIX G

Print Source Retelling - 'Petranella', By Bronwyn

- Bronwyn: "Once upon a time...long ago in a country ...far, far away...there was a little girl called Petranella. She lived upstairs in her Grandmother's tall, narrow house. Her Grandma lived downstairs. One...um..her Father arrived home with a letter...um...Everybody gathered around the table in a circle..and um...'It's from Uncle Dus, Gus', Father said, and he had a new land in Canada that year, and uh... Petranella was a ...filing (? following?) smokestacks, with um smoke coming out of them...choked trees, and choking the flowers in the window boxes...'I wish I could go there', said Petranella. Then everybody twinkled with their eyes and her Father said: 'We are.' And...she could not believe her ears and Petranella says 'Can I have a chickens...and some...swings?' and Father said....l
- Adult: (interrupting) "Bron, I can't hear you... can you speak a bit louder?"
- Bronwyn: "We...we will put um a swing in your...the biggest tree!" (laughs) "Um, you will specially have chickens all for your own!" Come on, light. <This comment directed to the traffic light the car has stopped for.> And (coughs) um, um, um...that's the end."
- February 1, 1984

APPENDIX H

ORIGINAL FANTASY - COLLABORATIVE PRODUCTION

"The Saga of the Beastly Boys"

- Kepmen: "Oh let's...like Bronwyn like the one...like the one that we ..that we traded turns...like.. like I said...like I...like you said um.."
- Bronwyn: "Oh yeah, and then I point and then..."
- Kepmen: "Yeah."
- Bronwyn: "Okay."
- Kepmen: "Um...um..um..I go first. Um...Once upon there was a little house on the hill, and...and the Mum and Dad had a beastly little kid (Bron giggles)...the kids would run up and down the hill, all day where they were..when their Mum and Dad would call them in for dinner."
(Adult chuckles. Kepmen points to Bronwyn to indicate it is now her turn.)
- Bronwyn: "But...one day...when those kids after said.. ..asked if they could go outside, the answer that they got was 'No'. And they said 'Hmm', and they started shouting, saying 'Why can't we go outside?' 'You know why, you...when we called you in for dinner...that you really liked...that we made expecially...you started running up and down the hills and you are not going outside!"
- Adult: (after slight pause; the other two have indicated that it is her turn) "Heather, are you going to join in this one?"
- Heather: "No."
- Kepmen: "Well, why can't we go..go outside and play? 'Hey, go in your bedroom...now'. 'Hey...hey, look at the window - it's open. Don't you think we could go outside that way?' Um, um, bang! Boom! I broke the window, we can go outside now." (Kepmen points at Bronwyn)
- Bronwyn: "But...what if Mother and Father hear us doing this? We get into trouble...Um, I'm gonna think about that. Oh, let's do it anyways. ...Hey? What...what is that noise? ...be.. it sounds like 'bomb bomb bomb'...Well, Mother and Father went into the bedroom and saw they were...they broke the windows and they were not in the bedroom. They went out-side...they were really....they broke the windows..."
(Bronwyn points at Kepmen.)
- Kepmen: "Mother and Father went right out the door.

They called them and they called them. They started searching for them. They weren't running up and down the hills, they weren't doing anything. There was no sight of them. So, Mother and Father started getting really scared now. They searched all night, the next day they searched all day, the next day they searched all night, the next day they searched all day again, there was no sight of them.... until they find, found the first boy's pants laying on the grass, in a field....the second boy's glasses laying in the forest and then they saw both of the boy's tracks."

(Kepmen points at Bronwyn)

Bronwyn: "They got really scared. Those tracks went really deep into the forest. So deep in the forest. We were really scared. What if they got eaten by a wolf? What would we do then?... ..What if a wolf was attacking them? What if a bear came and was fighting with them? Ah... oh no. Hey, hey...it's time to wake up in our bed. Oh it's so good and toasty in my bed. Now, let's have a nice breakfast...."

(Bronwyn points at Kepmen)

Kepmen: "They ate really fast. They went right into the forest again. ... They walked, and they walked, and they walked..."

Bronwyn: (Whispering) "They were just dreaming....They were just dreaming."

Kepmen: "They walked and they walked and they walked and they walked until they came to a little cottage, a little nice cottage...a little good fairy opened the door, and....and said 'Come in and have some tea'. The fairy helped them search, search and search. With her magic wand they..she gave...she...they were very poor...."

Adult: (Inaudible couple of words..sounds like 'Bron, take your feet off' - i.e. the back of the car seat)

Kepmen: "They were very very very very very poor...so the fairy waved her magic wand and they rolled all over them...they walked to the city looking....searching and searching for the boys still, 'cept the tracks were long gone. They wondered and they wondered....maybe....maybe a..a bad witch took em off of the ground....but the trail...they couldn't even see of fairy magic..."

(Kepmen points to Bronwyn)

Bronwyn: "What if the bear...stopped right there, and ate them? There, that might be the answer we

- say.....because (voice very soft here - dramatic) the steps stop...their tracks are coming that way...wait a minute! I hear... where are they going? Let's go home...Mum... Dad...What was that voice? (This is said in a way that suggests faint voices calling in the distance) A-ll they came (?) to my...." (Bronwyn's voice fades out here...extremely difficult to hear). "But.....But....it was them. Come on home. When it was morning...."
- Adult: "I can't hear you, Bron."
- Bronwyn: "'Oh, did you have a good night sleep?' 'No, I had the strangest dr-ea-m.....'"
- Adult: "Oh ho!"
- (Pause....Bronwyn points at Kepmen)
- Kepmen: "Those naughty boys were so bad they wandered off..again. Their mother and father were so mad, they couldn't stand it, they were so mad. They weren't scared, they weren't nothing! They just sat at the table...just saying 'Oh those naughty boys....I will not go searching for them again...I've done it once, now they're bad and I don't care because they were bad, and if they're lost and they can't come home, I don't care any more.' The mother and father got scared after...after one hundred and fifty-five weeks....."
- Heather: "Alison, where's my other coat?"
- Adult: "Front seat, love."
- Heather: "Can I have it, please?"
- Kepmen: "The mum and dad were getting really old, they were getting really...s...sad..so they stopped on a new search. Just as they were going out the door, two racoon...two racoons and three good fairies were at the door...." (Kepmen points at Bronwyn)
- Bronwyn: "And the next day was a school day for those two boys. 'Hm, I wonder, I'm gonna write a note and say: Dear Yo'll...Dear You...I'm sorry we lost our children, I'm so sorry. They ran off right at the kitchen table..... (Adult laughs)...but, if you wanna know, they won't be at school tomorrow. Next day...the teacher came into the class and there were the two boys, sleeping in the classroom. The teacher quickly ran to the phone and phoned up, 743 - 6543. 'Your boys are sleepng on the floor of the classroom.' 'Oh!'.....'That is right.' 'I wanna see them right now!'" (Bronwyn points at Kepmen)
- Kepmen: "The boys were gone, they were s..scoot right

out the door as soon as the teacher picked up the telephone.....Well....they were gone for good now, and...."

(Bronwyn can be heard whispering to Kepmen in the background) "...theywill be sad. The mother wrote a note saying they shall return in two days, or I will kill the...and that is right. They never returned in two days. They returned in a hundred and fifty-five day..."

Bronwyn:

"The end."

(Adult laughs and is joined by Bronwyn and Kepmen)

Adult:

"That was a great story. I love that one."

Kepmen:

"The mum and dad.."

(Adult laughs)

Kepmen:

"..got killed and so did the boys."

(Kepmen half-laughs, and adult laughs)

Adult:

"Well..."

Bronwyn:

"For Julie, Rosie, Marian and Anna.....Love, Kepmen, Trina, Heather and Bronwyn."

Conversation lulls....Bronwyn starts to sing and Kepmen immediately picks it up and joins in. They co-ordinate their singing.

December 3, 1984

APPENDIX I

'CON'

The following example has been edited to the extent that intervening material has been omitted. In view of the fact that this 'con' is carried on over 58 turns of talk by Heather alone, this editing seemed prudent. All omissions have been indicated with a dashed line.

Heather has with her a large hard-cover book, a copy of Swiss Family Robinson. She also has a crochet hook which she manipulates as if it were a pen.

- Heather: "Oh yeah, gotta finish my book now. (With somewhat more force) Yes, I do."
 Bronwyn: "You do not."
 Heather: (angrily) "You don't even know!"
 Bronwyn: "I do so what you're doing...I know what you're doing."
 Kepmen: "Not so important."
 Heather: "You don't know what...I have to do this for."
 Bronwyn: "What do you hafta do it for?"
 Heather: "Well I won't tell...but now because you're mean...you say..."
 Kepmen: "I bet it's for grade one."
 (Pause)
 Heather: "No."
 Bronwyn: "It's for her house."
 Heather: "Uh uh."
 Bronwyn: "How bout we guess?"
 Heather: "It's my own dictionary."
 Bronwyn: "Dictionary?"
 (Pause)
 Kepmen: "Why d'ya hafta copy the words?"
 Heather: "I don't. I hafta finish the pictures. I made this dictionary.....(pause)....I looked up in the French and English dictionary and it stops here and the other half is um...all French."
 Bronwyn: (softly) "Heather did not make this dictionary."
 Kepmen: "She didn't....yeah."
 Heather: "I found the pictures...I...I um..."
 Bronwyn: "You ...you probably found the pictures, 'cept somebody probably typed them for you...right? and..."
 Heather: "I told Mum to help me a little bit..."
 (Pause)
 Kepmen: "Well, why you have to draw the pictures?"
 Heather: "Cuz I haven't finished off little touches in these stuff."

- Kepmen: (a trifle impatiently) "Oh abracadabra, Hocus Pocus, Bibbety Bobbety Boo!"
(Pause)
- Bronwyn: (referring to 'pen') "'Cept it doesn't...it doesn't make any colours."
- Kepmen: "Yeah."
- Heather: "I know, only black."
- Kepmen: (sing-song voice) "Abracadabra, hocus pocus, bibbety, bobbety, bibbety bobbety bibbety bobbety boo!"
- Bronwyn: "I got a headache, Mum."

- Kepmen: "You know why I have a headache too?"
- Adult: "Why?"
- Kepmen: "Cuz I'm tired of looking at Heather's pictures."
- Bronwyn: "No, I think it's (?)...I don't really think she made this. Mum, can you believe she made this?"
- Adult: (after slight pause) "Well...."
- Heather: "I found it with a little bit of writing and I added more writing to it."
(Pause)
- Heather: "But I...."
- Kepmen: (breaking in) "She can't do that good of... writing."
- Heather: "Yah, 'cept I told Mum to help me."
- Bronwyn: "She didn't type the words, did you Heather?"
- Heather: "No, because um I used a special pen we've got at home, and um...I wrote..and my Mum spelled (?) the words for me, I didn't know which ones...."
- Bronwyn: "Those are typing words."
- Heather: "Yep. It stopped here and then my Mum wrote the rest of that."
(Pause)
- Bronwyn: "I can't...."
- Adult: "Rain. Look at this..."
- Bronwyn: "I'm going to make a dictionary with....who... where did you get that cover?"
- Heather: "Um....I've got so many covers at home I made.. I made some other books, too."
(Pause)
- Kepmen: "Can I have one?"
- Heather: "No, Kepmen, because these are special books."
- Kepmen: "Those are special books...Well, gee, we should make one too."
- Bronwyn: "I am."
- Kepmen: "Well, we can't make it as good as hers!"
- Bronwyn: (this is said with a note of scorn) "Well you hafta ask your Mummy to help you!"
- Heather: "She only helped me a little bit, with the writing. 'Cept I wrote the rest of the book."
- Kepmen: "Oh...H...I got HeMan up here...In my book and

APPENDIX J
 ANALYSIS RECORD SHEET FOR PERSONAL ANECDOTES
 (Based on Labov & Waletzky's model, 1967)

PERSONAL ANECDOTE (Date; Speaker; Topic)	ABSTRACT What was this about?
	ORIENTATION Who, when, what, where?
	COMPLICATING ACTION Then what happened?
	EVALUATION So what?
	RESULT What finally happened?
	EXTERNAL EVALUATION
	EMBEDDED EVALUATION Repetition? Expressive Phonology? Gestures? Quantifiers? Quotations? Questions? Comparators? Explications?
	RELATIONSHIP TO ON- GOING CONVERSATION

A P P E N D I X K

Summary Description of the Seven Level Hierarchy Scheme of
 Narrative Structural Complexity Described by Botvin and
 Sutton-Smith (1977)

- LEVEL 1 - stories lack coherence and structural
 unity
 - series of events, linked only by
 association
- LEVEL 2 - one nuclear dyad
 - no elements occur between initial and
 final terms of the dyad
- LEVEL 3 - internal expansion; intermediate action
 elements included
 - elements interposed between initial and
 final terms of dyad
- LEVEL 4 - conjunction of 2 or more action sequences
 - structure marked by repetition
- LEVEL 5 - 2 or more well developed episodes
 - conjunction and coordination of elementary
 dyadic structures as well as the internal
 expansion of intermediate action elements
- LEVEL 6 - embedding; the beginning of subplots
 - the main action of the narrative is
 interrupted by a subsequence of action
- LEVEL 7 - subplots
 - the main sequence is interrupted by two or
 more subsequences

Data Analysis Sheet - Changes in the Functions Served by Narratives over Time

	BRONWYN	HEATHER	KEPMEN
1. INFORMATIONAL			
- information			
- evidence/confirmation			
- counter-evidence/disprove			
- example			
instruct			
explain own behaviour			
defence			
warning			
2. SELF AGGRANDIZEMENT			
- to impress			
- to announce successes			
- topping/one-upmanship			
- compensation			
3. SOCIAL SOLIDARITY			
- indicate/consolidate/affirm friendship			
- participate			
share			
reassure			
exclude			
4. ENTERTAINMENT			
- to amuse			
to spoof			
to trick			
5. ADAPTATION			
- to explore possible			
- to explore worrisome			
- to test other's reactions			
- test limits			
6. FLOOR HOLDING			
- participate			
dominate/control convers.			
- gain/maintain attention			
provide 'fillers'			
7. TEASING			
- to trick			
- to freak out/frighten			
8. RETALIATION			
- to seek revenge			
- to embarrass			
9. DIVERSION			
- to defuse tense or unhappy sit.			
- to divert/change focus			
10. TO GAIN SYMPATHY			

DATE: SEPTEMBER 1983

APPENDIX L

VITA

Surname: PREECE Given Names: ALISON

Place of Birth: ENGLAND Date of Birth: June 7, 1948

Educational Institutions Attended, with Dates of Entering and Leaving:

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA,

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UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA, B.C. 1973 to 1974

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B.A. 1969 University of British Columbia

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B. C. Government Scholarships, 1965/66 and 1966/67

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Title of Dissertation

THE DEVELOPMENT OF YOUNG CHILDREN'S PRODUCTIVE NARRATIVE
COMPETENCE IN CONVERSATIONAL CONTEXTS:
A LONGITUDINAL INVESTIGATION

Author



ALISON PREECE

September 29, 1985
