A STUDY OF THE ORAL NARRATIVE DISCOURSE STYLE OF YOUNG INDIAN CHILDREN IN A SCHOOL-RELATED ACTIVITY

by

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ABSTRACT

A Study of The Oral Narrative Discourse Style of Young Indian Children In A School-Related Activity

The purpose of this study was to consider the oral narrative discourse style of young Indian children in a Canadian school in a school-related activity. The rationale for the study was based on the potential mismatch of the oral narrative discourse style of Indian children and their teachers, and in the possible implications of this mismatch for the aims for Indian education in Canada (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972).

A working framework was derived from the studies of Michaels and Cazden (1986), Michaels and Cook-Gumperz (1979) and Michaels (1981). Modifications of the narrative context were made to make it more appropriate for the children in this study. Children's narratives in Kindergarten, Grade 1 and Grade 2 were evaluated as approximating a topic centred, topic associating or a third and different style of oral narrative discourse. The pattern of occurrence of styles, and the relation of gender, grade level and individual differences to narrative style were

examined.

A topic centred style was represented in 11% of the narratives and a third and different style in 78% of the narratives. Variation in narrative styles was apparent between individuals, but not according to gender or grade level, except possibly for particular narrative features. These results were discussed, in particular the possibility that the third and different style represented a cultural style of oral narrative discourse. Educational implications and suggestions for further research were discussed.

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Dedication

To the people of Akuse and Lac Seul, who so generously taught me what I didn't know there was to learn.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study is a consideration of the oral narrative discourse style[1] of young Indian children in a Canadian school. It is formed around the following four points: the recognition of a distinctive cultural background of Indian children; characteristics of Canadian schools and teachers relevant to Indian children in Canada; the role of language in interaction with children's sociocultural background and their school experiences; and the aims for Indian education in Canada, as specified by the National Indian Brotherhood (1972).

The purpose of the study is to examine the oral narrative discourse style of Indian children in Kindergarten, Grade 1 and Grade 2, within a working framework derived from the work of Michaels and Cazden (1986), and the

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[1]Oral narrative discourse and the following terms in this chapter are defined in the Glossary in Appendix A: Indian; lexical structures; discourse structures; representative, imaginative and regulatory language functions; narrative; language strategies; thematic focus; topic development; thematic cohesive devices; prosodic structures; pitch; loudness; Sharing Time; topic centred style of oral narrative discourse; topic associating style of oral narrative discourse; thematic cohesion; theme; referential relations; literacy; discourse strategies.

related studies (Michaels, 1981; Michaels & Cook-Gumperz, 1979). This framework was used to outline the parameters of the narrative context and the processes of narrative evaluation.

This working framework also provided the focus for the rationale behind this study. Studies in the framework suggested that children from different cultural backgrounds may be provided with unequal access to key learning situations, especially literacy-related activities. These studies suggested that this was related to a mismatch in oral narrative discourse style between children from different cultural backgrounds and white teachers. The predominance of white teachers of Indian children in Canada, suggests that a mismatch in discourse style could also be present in these school contexts. This possibility was considered to be of concern to Indian education in Canada, and this study attempts to address this concern by examining one aspect of this issue.

In the following sections, the focal points in the background to this study are reviewed. This is followed by a detailed description of the rationale behind this study, the research questions of the study, and finally, the limitations of the study.

Background Of This Study

To address the specific focus in this study the problem was more broadly examined. This was grounded in a conception of language which is twofold. First it is understood as an interactive component in the sociocultural context. Secondly, it is understood as varying along four dimensions: the language grouping (e.g., language groups, languages and dialects); the modality (i.e., spoken, written, productive, and receptive); the language structures (e.g., lexical and discourse structures); and the language functions (e.g., the representative, imaginative and regulatory functions described by Halliday in 1973). From this point of view, this study considers language in use as language strategies, which are interdependent with the sociocultural context in which the language is occurring.

A number of studies which have formed the background to this study have considered specific aspects of these four dimensions of language, in interaction with specific aspects of the sociocultural background. Within the sociocultural context, they focused on different socio-cultural or cultural backgrounds in relation to white middle-class North American language, in particular as found in schools. Schools as referred to in this study

are considered to be a middle-class, mainstream institution, and teachers are considered to represent this institution. Within the dimensions of language, a number of studies have focused on the use of the English language in the oral modality, at the discourse level, and used to relate personal past experiences termed narratives. From here on, this combination is referred to as oral narrative discourse. These investigations of cultural difference and oral narrative discourse have formed the background of this study.

Cultural Differences in Oral Narrative Discourse and Its Effects in School Settings

Researchers working with a sociocultural perspective have focused on how different cultural patterns of language socialization lead to significant differences in oral narrative discourse styles. Heath's (1983) seminal work depicted differences in the use of language and the language socialization of young children among three subcultures in three closely located communities. Heath illustrated the contrasting ways in which language and meaning emerge from the children's own sociocultural background and contribute to differing language strategies of the children in the different subcultures, including those of oral narrative discourse.

Heath (1983) called these three subcultures Maintown, Roadville and Trackton. These were distinguished by socio-cultural differences: "Maintown, represents mainstream, middle-class school-oriented culture; Roadville is a white mill community of Appalachian origin; the third, Trackton is a black mill community of recent rural origin" (Heath, 1982, p. 49). In the Maintown subculture, Heath (1983) described a preschool home environment in which routines surrounding language use paralleled those later met in classrooms, giving the children numerous opportunities to practice and refine a range of language strategies that would later be appropriate to school expectations. Not only did these children learn how to take meaning from books, but they also learned how to display knowledge about a subject through decontextualizing the information and expressing it in a form that could be termed explanatory prose. According to Heath's (1983) work, these practices form a base for successful transition to school-related literacy activities.

In contrast, experiences of children in Roadville and Trackton, while distinctly different from each other, were seen as relatively unsuccessful in providing a successful transition to school-related literacy activities. Heath (1983) emphasized that all three communities were literate communities but that the way children learned

to take meaning from print and the way children learned to manipulate and express knowledge orally formed qualitative differences in language use, and that these differences are a critical factor in success in school-related literacy activities. Heath traced these differences in language use directly to the different patterns of language socialization in the three subcultures.

A distinct model of oral narrative discourse has been described for several North American cultural groups. The description of black American speech (Erickson, 1984), North American Indian speech (Cooley, 1979) and Athabaskan narrative (Scollon & Scollon, 1981) all depict a unique model of oral narrative discourse in contrast to that of white middle-class North American speech. In particular these have focused on the unique cultural forms of thematic focus, topic development, devices used to establish and maintain cohesion (thematic cohesive devices), and the relationship of these aspects of discourse to cultural conventions.

Tannen (1985a) examined specific ways speakers from different sociocultural backgrounds differed in their oral discourse. She argued that meaning in oral discourse is not only contained within the lexical structures, but also within prosodic structures such as pitch, tone, loudness, pacing, and pausing. These devices are used to establish

and maintain the cohesion necessary in discourse. These devices are also seen as emerging from cultural conventions. Tannen emphasized that these differences promote cross-cultural miscommunication, which has been described as significant in cross-cultural school settings (Harris, 1985; Iglesias, 1985).

How these differences function in cross-cultural school settings becomes at least partly apparent in the work of Michaels (1981), Michaels and Cook-Gumperz (1979), and Michaels and Cazden (1986). This work was used to form the working framework in this study. These studies examine the oral narrative discourse style of children in the Sharing Time activity in Grade 1 and Grade 2 classes with children from black and white cultural backgrounds with a white teacher. They identified two different styles of oral narrative discourse that they termed topic centred and topic associating.

In the topic centred style, children typically developed a single topic with no shifts in time or place, and with a beginning, middle and end. Lexical structures were used to establish explicit referential, temporal and spatial relations. Prosodic and lexical structures established thematic cohesion. In the topic associating style, the topic shifted through a series of personal anecdotal episodes, with changes in time and place. No clear

beginning, middle or end was distinguished. However these episodes were contained within an overall theme. Thematic cohesion in this style relied heavily on prosodic rather than lexical structures. In Michaels and Cazden's (1986) study, the preferred style of oral narrative discourse described as topic centred was used by 96% of the white children but only by 34% of the black children, who more typically preferred the style the authors called topic associating.

In addition, a teacher's model of 'good' narrative discourse was also identified. This was considered to be an oral prose-like style with a literate bias (Michaels & Cook-Gumperz, 1979), and closely resembled the features used in the topic centred style. Teachers used the Sharing Time activity in which the narratives were collected to help children develop their oral narratives, but according to the teachers' topic centred model. More importantly, teachers were more effective in helping the children using the topic centred style because they could intervene to help the child develop a more complex, explicit and expanded oral narrative. With children using the topic associating style, teachers' interventions often seemed to be interruptive and ineffective in helping the child develop his or her narrative. In addition, children using the topic associating style appeared more likely to have their narratives judged negatively.

These studies examining cultural differences in oral narrative discourse suggest that children from different cultural backgrounds may use different styles of oral narrative discourse. They also suggest that when there is a mismatch in style between teacher and child, these differences may have a significant impact on teacher-child discourse and consequently on the quality of the child's school experiences.

The Significance of Cultural Differences in Oral Narrative Discourse: Effects on Oral Preparation for Literacy

Despite the complexity of the concept of literacy, according to Scollon and Scollon (1981), literacy is commonly identified as the narrow range of discourse strategies necessary for success in mainstream school settings and closely approximating written expository prose. Holdaway (1979) blamed the failure of many children to succeed in acquiring these literacy strategies on the fact that their cultural backgrounds are "at variance with the culture of those who have traditionally influenced the language of schooling" (p. 17). He argued that this language of schooling represents a unique subculture most closely approximating "the dialect of books" (p. 17). Michaels and Cook-Gumperz's (1979) description of the teacher's oral prose-like model of narrative discourse with a literate bias is one example of these school-related conceptions of

literacy, and Heath's (1983) work depicts the preschool preparation for this form of literacy in mainstream middle class homes.

Some researchers have focused on how these school-based literacy strategies are differentially acquired by children coming to school with different cultural backgrounds. Some studies have focused on the participation structures in teacher-child discourse. For example, in Au's (1980) work with Hawaiian children, the participation structures in teacher-child discourse used in reading lessons were altered to better approximate a typical cultural discourse style. Improved reading performance resulted from this program.

Michaels and Cazden's (1986) study examined how the oral narrative discourse style used by children affected participation structures. Their work illustrated how differences in oral narrative discourse style between teachers and children provide the potential for differential access to teacher interpretation and collaboration within literacy-related activities. They described how a mismatch between oral narrative discourse style of the teachers and children resulted in misassessment of the children's abilities to organize a narrative structure. The mismatch also resulted in the teacher being less able to intervene in the child's ongoing narrative. Consequently the teacher was less able to provide improved lexical and syntactic

explicitness to expand and develop the child's discourse style towards one that may be helpful in developing the written expository style typically required in school-based literacy activities. Children with an oral narrative discourse style that matched the teacher's, received more positive evaluation and more successful assistance in developing and expanding their oral narratives towards the expository prose model. Michaels and Cazden termed this process of intervention an oral preparation for literacy. It is added here that this is the school-related conception of literacy discussed by Scollon and Scollon (1981) and Holdaway (1979).

These studies suggest that literacy as defined in mainstream school settings consists of a range of discourse strategies that are more or less accessible to children depending on their cultural background. Specifically Michaels and Cazden's (1986) work suggested that if a mismatch is present between the oral narrative discourse style of teacher and children, it may provide these children with unequal access to what they termed the oral preparation for literacy, and in addition these children are more likely to have their narratives evaluated negatively.

The background to this study is described in more detail in Chapter 2. However the outline discussed here was used in conjunction with other factors in determining the rationale, as discussed in the following section.

Rationale

The personal reasons that led to pursuing this study originated in the six years I lived in Ghana, West Africa, a Third World developing country. There, social, economic and educational situations often made me question how successful competition with mainstream world societies could develop without massive sacrifice of traditional ways of life. These observations were sharpened and focused while living with the Lac Seul Indian Band in northern Ontario for two years, and teaching in the federal school there. I had many opportunities to consider how our cultures differed and in what ways curriculum designed for mainstream Canadian children seemed inappropriate for Indian children in Canada.

Numerous conversations with adults of the community, as well as exposure to oral and written versions of traditional stories and legends, led me to believe that language was serving different functions and was being organized and expressed in different ways than in mainstream Canadian culture even though English was the language in

both contexts. In particular, I came to question my encouragement of children to develop and comprehend story structure typified by topic introduction, topic development and topic conclusion, or a beginning, middle and end.

These experiences together with the studies questioning current conceptions of literacy used in school settings (Heath, 1983; Holdaway, 1979; Scollon and Scollon, 1981) suggested that it might be theoretically expedient to search for more appropriate ways to define literacy in the school setting.

However, it was assumed that any changes proposed by such studies of literacy in school settings would be likely to occur slowly, due to the institutionalized nature of schools in Canada. This assumption was considered to support the need for studies of how children coming to school with different cultural backgrounds are being affected in their acquisition of literacy strategies within the current conception of literacy in school settings.

Michaels and Cazden (1986) described how a mismatch between the discourse style expected by teachers and a culturally-related and different discourse style of children, provided unequal access to the process they termed the oral preparation for literacy, and an increased likelihood of negative evaluation of their narratives. In 1980, the Department of Indian Affairs

and Northern Development estimated that the proportion of Indian teachers working in federal schools with Indian children in Canada was approximately 25-30%, and was projected to remain at that level for some time (Indian Conditions, 1980). The other 70-75% of teachers in the federal schools are considered to be predominantly white. For Indian children in provincial schools in Canada, this proportion of white teachers is expected to be considerably higher. No clear relationship between discourse style and sociocultural background is claimed here. For example, Indian teachers may also expect topic centred narratives from Indian children. However it is assumed that white teachers are likely to reflect the expectations of the mainstream middle-class school system in general. This assumption is based in particular on the fact that teachers are successful products of this system.

Considering that Indian children in Canada come from a distinctive cultural background, this suggests the possibility of a mismatch between teachers' and children's styles of oral narrative discourse. Such a mismatch in turn suggests that these children could experience less than optimal access to the process termed an oral preparation for literacy. It also suggests that there is a possibility that these children would experience criticism and/or rejection of a cultural style of discourse. Both these possibilities would be in opposition to the aims for Indian education in Canada, as stated by

the National Indian Brotherhood (1972): "to reinforce their Indian identity, [and] to provide training necessary for making a good life in modern society" (p. 3).

In addition, it can be seen that there is a close approximation of story structure as prescribed by certain curriculum guidelines. For example, in a recent field draft for British Columbia curriculum guidelines for oral language for the primary grades (see Appendix B), a rating scale for telling or retelling of stories or anecdotes was included. This guideline included criteria for an explicit topic introduction, presentation of ideas in a logical sequence, use of lexical relations to provide connections in the narrative and an explicit ending. These are all features of a topic centred narrative. The fact that these provincial curriculum documents may be used as a standard of reference in schools with Indian children is considered to amplify the concern posed by the potential mismatch in discourse styles between Indian children and their predominantly white teachers.

These factors suggest that there is a need to recognize the possibility of Indian children, in Canada, coming to school with a distinctive cultural style of narrative discourse and to consider the implications of this at various levels in these school contexts, as these are seen to be of potential concern to Indian

education in Canada. Based on this rationale, this study attempts to address one aspect of the issue. The purpose of the study is to consider the style of oral narrative discourse used by Indian children, within the working framework derived from the work of Michaels and Cazden (1986) and the related studies (Michaels, 1981; Michaels & Cook-Gumperz, 1979).

The final aspect of the rationale behind this study relates to the responsibility for education of Indian children in Canada. It can be argued that it is the responsibility of mainstream teachers of Indian children to find ways to come to understand Indian culture and to modify their own practices to better match Indian children's background, according to the National Indian Brotherhood's (1972) policy for non-Indian involvement in Indian education. They stated that: "non-Indians must be willing to recognize the value of another way of life, to learn about Indian history, customs and language, and to modify if necessary, some of their own ideas and practices . . . [such that Indian children are not] strangers in Canadian classrooms" (p. 26). Barman, Hébert and McCaskill (1987) reiterated this stand, and stated that "the challenge of Indian education extends beyond Indian peoples to all Canadians" (p. 17). The assumption of responsibility as described by the National Indian Brotherhood and Barman, Hébert and

McCaskill is considered fundamental to this study.

Research Questions

This study addresses two major questions:

1. Can the narratives of this group of children be described as either the topic associating or topic centred style described by Michaels and Cazden (1986), or as a third and different style, and in what pattern of occurrence?
   (a) Can the thematic focus and topic development in the children's narratives be described as similar to that of the topic centred or topic associating styles? If not, how does it differ?
   (b) Can the devices used in the children's narratives to mark thematic cohesion be described as similar to those used in the topic centred or topic associating styles? If not, how do they differ?
   (c) Can the overall discourse style in the narratives be described as topic associating, topic centred or as a third and different style and with what features?
2. Can differences be distinguished between the narratives, in comparison to the topic centred and topic associating styles, and in what patterns of occurence:
   (a) among the three grade levels;

(b) between boys and girls;

(c) and among individual children?

(d) Are there factors in individual children's backgrounds that could account for this variation?

Limitations of This Study

1. It is recognized that the generalizability of the observations will be limited because narratives were collected from only one intact school population and do not represent a random sample.
2. The sex and individual characteristics of the researcher may have been a factor in the children's interpretation of the narrative context and in the narrative production.
3. Although the narrative context was relatively familiar to all children, the presence of a new adult in their school and the novelty of the particular features of the narrative collection activities may have affected the narrative production. This combined with the presence of the tape recorder, a very attractive aspect of the activity for all children, may have resulted in an interpretation of the narrative context different from that occurring with children in regular contacts with classroom teachers.

4. No non-verbal behaviour was recorded.
5. Narratives were collected by a white researcher with Indian children. As such, children's oral narrative discourse style as described here will be limited to this particular cultural combination.

Summary Of The Chapter

The background to this study suggested that processes of language socialization embedded in the sociocultural context formed distinctively different patterns of language use in the preschool years, and that children coming to school from different cultural backgrounds may use different styles of oral narrative discourse. However, schools seen as middle class and mainstream institutions, are seen as expecting a particular and narrow range of discourse strategies for success in literacy-related activities. Children may have more or less access to these strategies depending on the language socialization practices in their cultural backgrounds. In particular, mainstream middle class homes are seen as preparing children for success with this conception of literacy used by schools.

In the work by Michaels and Cazden (1986) and the related studies, the teacher's model of good oral narrative discourse provided an effective match with most white children, but only with a minority of black children,

in the process of teacher intervention with children's oral narrative discourse which they termed an oral preparation for literacy. There was a mismatch of styles with the majority of black children and these children experienced unequal access to the process called an oral preparation for literacy. It was also suggested that these children's narratives were more likely to be negatively evaluated.

Using this background, the rationale for this study considered the distinctiveness of the cultural background of Indian children in Canada, and the high proportion of white teachers working with Indian children, as well as curriculum documents that provide a standard of reference reflecting the mainstream school-related literacy strategies. It was considered that there was a possibility that Indian children might also come to school with a distinctive cultural style of oral narrative discourse and experience a mismatch of style with their white teachers and school expectations. Implications of this could be less than optimal access to activities designed as an oral preparation for literacy, and the possibility of negative evaluation of their narratives. Both of these possibilities were considered to oppose Indian aims for education in Canada, and as such were considered to be of concern to Indian education in Canada.

To address this concern, this study was proposed to explore one aspect of the issue. The purpose of the study is to consider the oral narrative discourse style of a group of Indian children within a working framework derived from the work of Michaels and Cazden (1986), Michaels (1981), and Michaels and Cook-Gumperz (1979). It asks whether the children's narratives can be described by the topic centred or topic associating styles of oral narrative discourse or by a third and different style, and in what pattern of occurrence. It also asks if differences in styles can be distinguished and in what pattern of occurrence, between boys and girls, among grade levels and among individual children, and if any factors in individual backgrounds can be seen to relate to these differences.

The results of the study are limited to this group of children and the parameters of the narrative context. This study is described in detail in the following chapters.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter the literature that has formed the background to this study is discussed. The background to this study involves an understanding of the role of language in interaction with children's sociocultural background and their school experiences. However this understanding assumes an underlying conception of language.

This chapter has three main parts. First is a discussion of the conception of language underlying this study. This focuses on the aspects that are relevant to the following discussion. Second, cultural differences in oral narrative discourse are discussed. Third, the significance of these cultural differences in oral narrative discourse in the context of the first years of school are discussed.

A Conception of Language

The conception of language underlying this study is twofold: language is understood as an interactive component of the sociocultural context; and language is understood as varying along four dimensions (i.e., language groupings,

language modality, language structures and language functions). The identification of language groupings with particular cultural groups is obvious. However, this perspective assumes that other dimensions also interact with the sociocultural context.

Some of the major influences contributing to this conception of language are outlined below. This is followed by a focus on discourse structures within this conception of language, as these are of particular concern to this study.

Major Influences Contributing To This Conception of Language

Language functioning as more than just a vehicle for describing the world was described in Austin's (1962) speech act theory. Austin's theory centred around the observation that "we cannot just concentrate on the proposition involved (whatever that is) as has been done traditionally. We must consider the total situation in which the utterance is issued - the total speech-act" (p. 52). From this perspective, Austin discriminated different functions served by different types of utterances. His observations shifted the focus of understanding of language from the sentence, to the production of language in the social context. From this perspective, essential elements of the linguistic unit can now be seen as containing "not only

sentences but also several components of the context of utterance and various thoughts of the speaker himself and about other components of the context" (Kasher, 1985, p. 238). Context as it relates to language in this way was defined by Keller-Cohen (1978) as including four components: "(a) situational behaviour, (b) perceptual properties of the material environment, (c) social properties of the speakers, settings and the interaction, and (d) the surrounding discourse" (p. 477).

According to Hymes (1986), speech act theory and Austin's account of it:

> . . . has played a vital part in extending the work of linguists beyond syntax and semantics to what it called 'pragmatics'. The study of pragmatics is considered equivalent to the study of a general theory of language use by many linguists, psychologists, philosphers, and others. (p. 52)

Pragmatics attempts to study speech acts within the context in which they occur and the way they contribute to the coherence of the text. In addition pragmatics attempts to make links between descriptions of discourse and their sociocultural origins (Ferrara, 1985).

Halliday (1973) developed this perspective of placing an understanding of language within a sociocultural context. He described language as a multi-functional part of human experience in which children from a very young age begin to form a complex of models of language,

based on the variety of purposes it can serve for children in their interactions with their environment. According to Halliday, language is always purposive, contextualized and of social significance.

This conception of language was further developed by Schieffelin and Ochs (1986). They discussed the notion of language socialization along the developmental continuum of the child and across the range of different cultural or social groups. According to Schieffelin and Ochs, language socialization is an interactive process of socialization through language, and socialization to use language. They attempted to describe the connection between children's capacities for discourse construction, the socialization process and the cultural communities in which the children are living. They argued that the individual involved in this process plays an active selective role, and that children bring to a verbal interaction a set of experiences and expectations that then affect "the nature of their participation, the interpretive procedures they employ and their understanding of these verbal interactions" (p. 170), and ultimately what Schieffelin and Ochs call their compositions of world views.

At the same time, Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) also argued for how forms and functions of language use convey information to children. This is accomplished through the

content of the discourse and also its organization. According to Schieffelin and Ochs, "members of a social group have tacit understanding of grammatical, discourse and lexical structures as tools for signalling particular social meanings" (p. 171). These are linguistic markers that are variable and that provide a context within which language events are interpreted. It is within this sociolinguistic context that children learn their knowledge of their own language or languages, at the same time acquiring their knowledge of the context itself. Schieffelin and Ochs stressed the powerfulness of such a view of language. They claimed that even within ordinary conversational discourse "crucial information concerning the organization of society and local knowledge is conveyed" (p. 172).

The conception of language underlying this study can be summarized as one in which language is a multi-functional entity within the sociocultural context, and its varied forms both in terms of content and organization are a reflection of its contextualized, functional nature. This conception of language represents "a shift in focus from text to context - or from text to communicative event" (Murphy, 1978, p. 128). From here on this conception of language will be referred to as language within the sociocultural context.

Discourse Structures and The Sociocultural Context

The study of discourse, although still not clearly defined, is generally understood as the study of "the organization of language above the sentence, or above the clause" level (Stubbs, 1983, p. 1). The basic information carrying unit in human discourse is the clause (Givon, 1983). Discourse can then be seen as a subset of language and similar arguments have been made supporting its study within the same sociocultural context as for language more generally.

Gumperz (1982) stressed the need for discourse strategies to begin with an understanding of the sociocultural context. He specified that this knowledge needed to include information at the levels of cultural, subcultural and situational specificity to permit interpretation. Similarly, Duranti (1985) argued for the sociolinguistic point of view of discourse understood within a broader perspective of the social organization and the world views of the speaker. He argued that an appropriate study of discourse required more than a text; it required an "ethnography of discourse" (p. 196).

Rooted in an understanding of the functioning of the sociocultural context, Hymes (1986) issued a strong warning regarding the interpretation of discourse strategies. He argued against attempts to find universal dimensions of

description in the study of discourse. Not only did he attempt to illustrate how the sociocultural conventions interact with styles of discourse, but he also depicted an historical parameter of the sociocultural context. The context, according to Hymes, always includes the possibilities of ongoing change. Hymes stressed that although one may describe a style chosen by a community within the socio-cultural context in the past, that in the present there is also a "relation between convention and choice [which] is constantly subject to modification and dislocation" (p. 87). From this perspective, Hymes advised that:

> . . . simple models . . . in discourse, while seeming to clarify experience, actually may obscure and mystify it . . . Their real power, however seems to be that of a yin to a yang. Rational choice . . . and the like are not models from which to predict the movement of participant-particles but half of a dialectic between convention and choice. (pp. 87-88)

In summary, the conception of language underlying this study is a foundation for considering the role of sociocultural and/or cultural context in the emergence and use of language in young children. This is the basis for the remainder of the discussion in this chapter.

Cultural Differences In Oral Narrative Discourse

The sociocultural context as a perspective for understanding language raises questions regarding

language socialization processes, their relationship to culture and cultural differences in the emergence and use of language. The implications of such differences for various settings could be significant, particularly in a world in which cross-cultural communication has become a common component of daily affairs. The focus here is on cross-cultural communication in educational settings, although not without the awareness that these settings exist within larger spheres of economic, social and political influence.

The specific focus is on young children that come from different cultural backgrounds, but all speaking English as their first language. The particular form of language focused on is oral narrative discourse. Although discourse was discussed generally in the sociocultural context in the preceding section, the specific elements of discourse and also the features of narrative as relevant to this specific focus are discussed in this section.

This discussion begins with a depiction of how cultural patterns of language use emerge in general from the sociocultural context. This is followed by a description of specific narrative genres, their features[2] and

[2]Features of narrative and the following terms in this chapter are defined in the Glossary in Appendix A: recount; account; eventcast; narrative repertoire; topic; speech community; topic continuity; thematic continuity; unit; section; intonational contour; stress; rhythm; closure.

their relationship to the sociocultural context. Adult models of oral narrative discourse that are culturally-related are described, followed by a discussion of the specific structures of discourse that appear important in discussions of cross-cultural oral narrative discourse.

Trackton, Roadville and Maintown Exemplify How Cultural Patterns of Language Use Emerge From The Sociocultural Context

The recent work of Heath (1983) has provided substantial evidence for the dependency of the patterns of language use significant in later school contexts, on the cultural background of young children and the modes of language socialization practised within these sociocultural contexts. The impact of this work is heightened by the fact that the three groups described by Heath (i.e., Trackton, Roadville and Maintown) represent three subcultures in a region in the south-eastern United States, all within close geographic proximity of each other and all speaking English.

Heath's (1983) ethnographic accounts of the three communities are based on almost ten years of recording the wide range of activities surrounding language, language learning and language use. In particular, Heath focused on "the effects of the preschool home and community environment on the learning of those language structures and uses which were needed in classroom and job settings" (p. 4).

She argued that the ways children learned to use language in interaction with their social environment are "interdependent with the habits and values of behaving shared among members of that group" (p. 11).

Heath (1983) described the white mill community of Roadville, the black mill community of Trackton and the white and black middle class town-oriented community of Maintown. She focused on details of the daily network of communication of each child by attempting to describe the social and physical context in which communication occurs, the patterns of language use available to the children in the different contexts, and the values and significance of different patterns of language use for the children's activities. In addition, Heath described details of each community's social history and its current sociocultural-economic context. Finally she followed these children into their schools and made descriptions of their language use there, similarly including details of "boundaries, limits and features of communicative situations, and the significance of choices among language users" (p. 7).

It seems invalid to attempt to generalize from the breadth and depth of detail Heath (1983) described, much of it being in essence a social historical account, in which context and time cannot be divorced from the observed behaviours. However a sense for the differences

in language socialization practices and uses of language is found in comparisons and contrasts of some details from Heath's ethnographic account. The three communities differed in their sense of responsibility for their children and their social and language development. In Roadville, parents believed the total responsibility for the child lay within the family until school entry. In Trackton, parents expected to meet their children's physical needs but young babies were quickly integrated socially into the entire community. Maintown parents, although adopting responsibility for children's early learning, created pre-school situations for children's continued learning in settings where parents did not participate (e.g., preschools, Sunday school and swimming lessons).

Heath (1983) contrasted Roadville and Trackton's approaches to language learning as "teaching how to talk" (p. 113) and "learning how to talk" (p. 73) respectively. Children in Trackton were described as not being information givers or question answerers, whereas in Roadville and also in Maintown there was a high frequency of asking questions to elicit information already known by the adults.

Trackton children's oral language is heavily context-ualized. As one Trackton adult put it, "Whatcha call it ain't so important as whatcha do with it. That's what things'n people are for, ain't it?" (Heath, 1983, p. 112).

Trackton children compare and connect ideas across settings, not by labelling of specific details, but by finding similar patterns in the one situation and connecting them to the other. Heath called this view of a situation a gestalt, in which specific attributes are never separated out from their context.

By contrast, for Roadville children, attending to the names and features of items is given primary importance. For Maintown children, there is the same focus on labelling objects and events but within a more complex interaction. Adults are described as focusing children's attention on a particular scene, then on particular objects or events, indicating those to be labelled, providing a turn-taking discourse strategy and a narrative description of the entire scene. Heath (1983) called this process a freezing of scenes by parents for children's mutual observation and verbal practice. She described this process as assisting the child in a decontextualizing of items and events which is later recalled for comparison purposes with other similarly decontextualized information.

A sharply defined contrast in how language and its uses are differentially socialized is in the stories of the three communities:

> 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-fictive 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". (Heath, 1983, p. 158)

In Trackton, the only recognized story is a work of creative fiction usually based on a real event:

> The content varies widely, and there is 'truth' only in the universals of human experience. Fact is often hard to find, though it is usually the seed of the story. Trackton stories often have no point - no obvious beginning or ending; they go on as long as the audience enjoys and tolerates the storyteller's entertainment. (Heath, 1983, p. 68)

For Maintown families, there is wide variation in the use of fantasy stories. Children's use of fantasy in their narratives is reinforced as long as it is structured in a story format. In addition, narratives are often requested from Maintown children and are often subject to expansion by adults.

These glimpses into the three subcultures are indicative of the influence of the sociocultural context on the emergence and usage of patterns of language usage, and the degree to which this can vary, even among subcultures closely connected in space and time, and sharing the same language. The following section focuses on narratives

as a pattern of language use. Specific genres of narrative and their relationship to the sociocultural context are described. In addition, the significance of this focus on narrative and particular genres is discussed.

Genres Of Oral Narratives In The Sociocultural Context

Heath (1983) described the varying parameters for the judging of 'good' stories in the communities of Trackton, Roadville and Maintown. However as her discussion illustrates, a wide range of other narrative contexts exist. Stories are only one form of narrative, or extended discourse as it is sometimes called. Heath (1986) defined narratives as:

> . . . verbalized memories of past or ongoing experiences. In all societies, one or several speakers can create narratives, and members of each sociocultural group recognize and produce narratives in predictable, coherent, organized patterns of structure and content. In some societies, narratives occur only in oral form; in others, written narratives appear in a wide array of genres, ranging from literary forms to accident reports. (p. 85)

As Heath (1986) also indicated, much attention has been paid to stories. However a common element in many school situations often contributing to evaluation decisions is children's ability to 'simply' talk about or tell about objects, events and relationships, as well as increasingly more complex concepts. As Heath also indicated, little

attention is paid to the variant of language socialization in the definition and role of the different types of narrative use, in particular this school-related narrative task. This narrative task is a fundamental unit in primary programs. It is the basic pattern for Sharing Time or Show and Tell periods. It is also frequently the common pattern for early writing tasks, as well as for many informal interchanges between teacher and child. In addition, it forms a pattern for much work within a language experience or whole language approach.

Heath (1986) distinguished four universal narrative genres-- stories, recounts, accounts and eventcasts. The recounts, accounts, and eventcasts could all belong in this talk about or tell about narrative context. A recount is a request for a verbalization about a common past activity in which the child may have participated, read or heard about, or observed. Heath stated that generally across societies and cultures, this genre is structured as a series of information units, with few explicit logical connections or evaluative or conclusive components. She notes that it is "perhaps the most common genre of school performance, but it may be the most uncommon form in early language socialization outside mainstream, school-oriented families" (p. 88).

Heath (1986) claimed that in mainstream, school oriented communities adults shape recounts so that causal

or temporal relations significant to the group are expressed explicitly through lexical means. For children in Roadville, recounts were the predominant genre in preschool experiences and were tightly scaffolded by the adult with whom the event was shared. By contrast, Trackton children, despite their multi-faceted experience with other genres, had had little experience with recounts before school entry. However, some of their first interactions in the school environment included evaluative situations involving a request to recount an event as demonstrated by the evaluator, or to repeat instructions.

An account is the genre that seems to be generally preferred by young children in which they volunteer ideas about their own experiences and thoughts. Generally adults are not seen as providing explicit structuring for a good account, leaving children to internalize the norms through observation and experience. However, an account requires some internal and culturally determined structure to allow listeners to recognize and anticipate the progression of ideas. Children from mainstream families are invited to give accounts as early as two years of age. Trackton children also had substantial experience with accounts early in language learning. However, Roadville children had considerably fewer opportunities to give accounts before they entered school.

Eventcasts are descriptions of events that are part of the present focus of attention or part of a planning process for future action. These narratives are frequently interrupted by problems with the flow of thought and then exhibit metalinguistic or metacognitive commentary. This characteristic of stopping and holding of the thought flow to reconsider it, Heath (1986) said is encouraged in school, and necessary for school success with literate tasks. Eventcasts were common elements in the narrative experiences of mainstream and Trackton children, but were more restricted elements of the Roadville children's language socialization environment.

Genres of oral narratives in sociocultural contexts and their significance. Heath (1986) emphasized the dependence of primary programs on these three narrative genres. She also emphasized that knowledge about the "extreme variation in children's access to different types of narrative genres" (p. 93) needs to be considered by educators concerned with language assessment and development. Heath's discussion also makes evident that stories, the fourth of her four universal narrative genres, and the term commonly used in primary classrooms for much narrative discourse, both oral and written, are distinctly different from these other narrative genres. Heath's work also makes apparent, that while stories have been the

dominant focus of attention of research into children's narratives (Preece, 1985), these other genres make up a substantial and highly significant proportion of the language context of young children. These observations support the contention made by Preece (1987), that more attention needs to be paid to the anecdotal narrative forms than has previously occurred. Scollon and Scollon (1981) also supported the importance of a focus on narratives of these types. They argued that narrative is a child's preparation for the "social construction of reality" (p. 6). They presented various viewpoints identifying narrative as a central component in the communication process.

A wide variety of patterns of language use related to the sociocultural context could be focused on in studies of cross-cultural educational settings. However the discussion of narratives here suggests that narratives of the talk about or anecdotal forms may occupy an important place in a consideration of cross-cultural patterns of language use in the early school years. The remainder of the discussion in this chapter focuses only on narratives of these types as a pattern of language use.

The variety of narrative events embedded in various narrative contexts provides an appropriate opportunity to discuss the issue of similarity and difference in human language. The ability to use narrative to describe human

experience is widely accepted as a universal of humanness (Collins, 1985). That young children may share similarities in their narrative repertoires (Wolf, 1985) is not surprising. Focusing on human similarities versus cultural or individual differences is an issue of deep philosophical import. The position assumed here is that differences and similarities maintain a mutual dialectic existence. By focusing on one it reflects on the other. At the same time, focusing on differences in human language may help illuminate shared qualities. The focus on differences seems appropriate considering conceptions of language that until recently have dominated western academic culture. This conception of language as a transparent medium (Cazden, 1988) and transparent to fact (Gee, 1985) demands more attention.

One particular point regarding differences in narratives needs to be clarified. Although the focus in this study is to purposefully exclude the narrative genre of stories and to concentrate on those of the talk about or tell about group, it has been observed that cultural forms of narrative structuring run deeply enough to carry over into other genres, even into new languages (Hymes, 1982). Scollon and Scollon's (1981) discussion of the discourse strategies and devices leading to miscommunication within English discourse, between speakers of Athabaskan and non-Athabaskan origin is a concrete example of the depth to which the

narrative discourse strategies reach.

Adult Models of Oral Narrative Discourse

The impact of cultural variation in language socialization becomes apparent through some of the adult models of oral narrative discourse, which have been described for several different cultural groups in North America. Although the particular narrative genre being examined varies, in all cases these models depict at least some aspects of oral narrative discourse that contrasts to that of white middle-class North American speech in a comparable narrative context.

Erickson (1984) focused on black, male adolescent speech. He analyzed a transcript of one such group discourse, focusing around a white leader. He identified the topic development and turn-taking throughout the conversation. In particular he examined ways thematic cohesion was established and maintained. In summarizing this analysis he said that:

> . . . one could regard the whole conversation as a disordered succession of tangentially related topics, all of which were inadequate as answers to the leader's questions, because the succession of topics did not follow logically from the leader's comments. (p. 126)

However he also described another perspective from which to view the discourse and its thematic cohesion. From this perspective, Erickson (1984) described a series

of anecdotes with very few connecting, explicit, lexical relations. The point of each anecdote was also not stated explicitly. Framing statements were not used to state explicit logical connections between a concrete example and the point being made. Instead of these devices of thematic cohesion expected in middle-class discourse, the use of commonplaces, rooted in shared social history were the means by which the thematic cohesion could be understood. An example discussed by Erickson of the role of the commonplaces was a metaphor of vermin infestation common in black neighbourhoods in the 1960s. The term "rats 'n roaches" was used metaphorically to mean "how hard things are here". Accordingly, a comment referring to the rats in the alley being the largest in the city, metaphorically meant that this was the worst off part of the city. These commonplaces repeated throughout the narratives helped provide thematic cohesion. In addition, sequencing was related to dramatic effect, an emphatic strategy appropriate to the oral mode. Erickson stated that, to this speech community, this strategy has "greater rhetorical value than do considerations regarding the linear kind of logic, that is characteristic of western Europe literate discourse" (p. 132).

A similar contrast in cohesion between Western listeners and members of the speech community is described by Jarrett

(1984). He described the lyrics of blues music as belonging to the Afro-American speech community, and appearing incoherent and of random order to the American listener. Jarrett also observed that similar observations have been made for North American Indian narratives.

Cooley (1979) and Cooley and Lujan (1982) analyzed public speeches made by North American Indians. They also focused on topic development and the devices used to provide thematic cohesion. Cooley, and Cooley and Lujan suggested that these narratives could be seen as having a central subject or theme around which the speaker offers the audience "a series of different perspectives on the subject". Although topic changes are sometimes marked in these narratives, there is no explicit relationship between these topics, although they all relate implicitly to the central theme. A similar form of organization is used within the topics in which points of information are presented but with little or no explicit relationship. However thematic cohesion is established through the pronounced use of referential devices, mostly pronouns that are coreferential with nouns and pronouns.

Cooley (1979) and Siler and Labadie-Wondergem (1982) described a rhetorical model for these North American Indian narratives, based on the understanding of the culture of the speakers. According to Cooley, there is no

intertopic relationship as it is not part of the speaker's intention to provide it. Instead it is the audience's role to make connections and interpretations about the subject. This narrative context, Cooley claimed, is congruent with North American Indian cultural concepts of the role of the speaker.

Cooley and Lujan (1982) emphasized that although North American Indian speeches seem unorganized and rambling to white North American listeners, that in fact they are organized, but according to different principles. These principles were further described by Siler and Labadie-Wondergem (1982) who stressed the origins of differences in the Indian and Western narrative styles as lying in the differences in cultural norms. The perception of disorganization in North American Indian oral narratives is in fact rooted in the white listener's "lack of awareness of an unfamiliar structural foundation" (Scafe & Kontos, 1982, p. 251).

Scollon and Scollon (1981) also described narrative style in North American Indian discourse, in this case of members of the Athabaskan language group. They described characteristics of inexplicitness, and conceptual organization of discourse into four units, rather than the three typical in North American white narrative discourse. They argued that these features of Indian narrative style

conflict with the non-Indian's expectations. They also described contrasts in prosodic devices and pausing,between the two sets of expectations. In addition Scollon and Scollon interpreted the style of narrative in relation to the cultural context. According to them, the values inherent in this context require that knowledge be expressed as personal experience or as stories of the experiences of others. The effect of this approach they said, was that what is suggested by the speaker is essentially themes which the audience interprets within the context of their own experience.

This description of the contextual demands on Indian narrative closely resembles one recorded by Johnston (1982), an Ojibway Indian, in his attempts to preserve some of the Ojibway ceremonial heritage. In the ceremony entitled by Johnston, 'The Council', is a description of the tribal orator:

> An orator, he took hold of his listeners, first with his eyes and then with his presence. For Mino-waewae it was an easy thing to do; he had command of the language, command of the history, and above all, he had command of himself. He lived by, and thus reflected, the first principle of credibility and trust: Talk not too much. When Mino-waewae stood to recount the history of the Anishnabeg [the Ojibway people] he was dealing with "truth" - the core of history and the proper subject matter of speech.
>
> In all his years, Mino-waewae had never abused either the truth or his listeners. He spoke what he knew, and that was enough.

> He did not presume to go beyond his knowedge or to stretch or bend or warp it. . . . In all his speeches, Mino-waewae upheld the essential facts; he did not once belabour them, or bury them with the sounds of words . . . everyone could agree that: "He talks directly," and "He speaks the truth," and "He is eloquent". (p. 162)

Heath (1983) described how language socialization practices in different cultural backgrounds led to distinctly different patterns of language usage. She also extended this to include particular genres of oral narratives (1986). The models of adult oral narrative discourse described here are supportive of Heath's observations. Together they suggest that young children from different cultural backgrounds may be developing distinctive cultural patterns of oral narrative discourse.

Focal Elements Of Discourse In Cross-Cultural Studies Of Oral Narrative Discourse

Although the study of discourse ranges over a variety of structures involved in written and oral language, the description of discourse in the adult models above, and also in other cross cultural narrative discourse studies have focused on thematic focus and topic development and the thematic cohesive devices used to mark the thematic continuity. As these features are the focus in the detailed studies described in the following section, they are described in more detail here.

Givon (1983) suggested that a thematic paragraph could be seen as "a string of clauses whose main/primary topic remains the same" (p. 9). He claimed that a thematic paragraph (or section) must by definition be about the same theme and that usually continuity of topic, participants and action is also maintained, although not necessarily all three. This concept of topic and its role in discourse is similarly summarized by Deese's (1983) idea of a single topic dominating a section of discourse although it may require several propositions, and similarly a group of propositions cannot be defined as discourse unless they are dominated by a single topic. Seen in this way, topic is itself an essential component of thematic continuity and meaning. According to Givon topic and topic continuity are critical in the study of thematic continuity in discourse. "Thematic continuity is the matrix for all other continuities in the discourse" (Givon, p. 8). As such, thematic meaning can be understood as the speaker's focus on the relation of a particular utterance of discourse to the length of discourse as a whole (Lee, 1986). The term thematic focus is used here and encompasses concepts of thematic continuity, cohesion and meaning.

Cross-cultural discourse studies illustrate that there are distinctly different patterns for structuring topic continuity in different cultures. One of the most

global depictions of how topic organization varies cross-culturally is Clyne's (1981) five discourse structures: (a) an English linear style of discourse, (b) a Semitic parallel construction of ideas, (c) an Oriental circular style of topic development, (d) a Romance style permitting digressions and inclusion of extraneous material, and (e) a Russian style as a variant on the Romance structure.

Gee (1985) examined the relationship between topic organization in a young black girl's narrative in contrast to that typically expected in the school system. He described her mode of organization as:

> . . . an open set of contrasting and relating themes, themes which develop through time but which eventually take on the characteristic of a set of intricately related points held in a tension in a multidimensional space. (pp. 25-26)

Although Gee's own analysis found a thematic focus, he observed that this narrative was judged by the child's white teacher as "incoherent . . . inconsistent, disconnected and rambling" (p. 25). The term topic development is used here to encompass both continuity and organization of topics within a single thematic focus and/or organization of a single topic within a single thematic focus.

Not surprisingly, the devices used to establish and maintain the thematic focus have also been emphasized in studies of cross-cultural discourse. These thematic cohesive devices show relationships between different units

and sections in the discourse. Such devices include lexical structures, here referring to both syntactic and semantic meaning, and prosodic struetures. Prosodic structures include pitch levels and intonational contours, changes in loudness, stress (usually a combination of changes in pitch and loudness), variations in vowel length, phrasing or pacing and shifts in pitch register over an entire phrase (Gumperz & Kaltman, 1980). In addition, Gee and Grosjean (1984) included pausing as a prosodic structure, although this might be considered an aspect of pacing. Some of these cohesive devices have at times been discussed under the heading of paralinguistic devices, but for purposes here they will all be termed prosodic cohesive devices.

Attention to prosodic structures has been considered particularly significant in cross-cultural discourse studies (Gumperz, 1982, 1983; Gumperz, Kaltman & O'Connor, 1984). In particular, they identified intonational contours along a line of discourse and prosodic structures such as changes in pitch, stress and rhythm, as important in establishing and maintaining the thematic focus. Combinations of these structures have been shown to vary in cultural usage, for example, in the signalling of main and background information and possibly in prediction of new information (Gumperz, Kaltman & O'Connor, 1984).

Tannen (1985a) also emphasized the importance of such prosodic devices for interpretation of oral discourse, in particular the cultural specificity of prosodic cohesive devices, and the potential for misunderstanding and miscommunication in cross-cultural discourse.

In summary, studies of differences in cultural narrative discourse have suggested that children from different cultural backgrounds may be developing distinctive cultural patterns of oral narrative discourse. These studies have tended to focus on certain features of discourse that appear to exhibit cultural differences in oral narrative discourse. These features are referred to here as thematic focus and topic development and thematic cohesive devices. The significance of these differences in oral narrative discourse in school settings will be examined in the following section.

Significance of Cultural Differences in Oral Narrative Discourse In School Settings

The distinguishing of culturally related differences in children's use of language in school settings was broadly described by Heath (1983). A more specific examination of how such differences function in a particular narrative situation was made by Michaels and Cook-Gumperz (1979), Michaels (1981), and Michaels and Cazden (1986). This

work formed the working framework for this study. They focused their observations around the Sharing Time portion of Grade 1 and 2 classes in which there was a mixture of black and white children and examined the oral narratives of the children and also the participation structures of the teacher throughout the activity.

The Classroom Narrative Context

The Sharing Time contexts in primary classrooms are designed to help 'teach' children narrative skills. The children's narrative task is twofold: to choose what to say from the range of possibilities, and to present this information in such a way that is comprehensible to an audience (Michaels and Cook-Gumperz, 1979). In the class studied by Michaels and Cook-Gumperz, children had the opportunity to describe a chosen object but were strongly encouraged to talk about a past experience. This second type of sharing was considered to be oral narrative discourse by the researchers, although defined as specific to this particular narrative context. It is considered here that any of Heath's (1986) recounts, accounts or possibly eventcasts would be appropriate in this talk about or tell about context.. However it seems that recounts would appear to be the most likely genre to be used. One notable feature of this particular narrative context

is that the speaker's role is clearly defined by the nature of the activity and the teacher 'holding the floor' for the child.

From their examination of the teacher's interactions with the children's narratives, Michaels and Cook-Gumperz (1979) argued that the teacher was using a model of 'good' narrative discourse with the following features: (a) explicit naming of objects even when clearly visible, (b) use of explicit references for time, and space, for example nouns, not pronouns, (c) tightly organized discourse that focuses on and around a single topic, and (d) topic shifts with explicit lexical references so as to maintain thematic coherence. Michaels and Cook-Gumperz summarized this model as one of simple descriptive prose involving a de-contextualized approach to a clearly defined and explained topic. This feature of decontextualization was further described by Michaels (1981) as requiring the minimum of shared background knowledge and context to be assumed.

Topic Associating and Topic Centred Oral Narrative Discourse Styles

Michaels and Cook-Gumperz (1979) examined the children's narratives, in particular focusing on differences and similarities to the teacher's model. They concluded that there were distinct different oral narrative discourse

styles and that these styles varied in a significant way in interaction with the teacher.

Michaels and Cook-Gumperz (1979) described the style of most white children as "tightly organized, centering on a single topic or series of closely related topics, a discourse style we have called 'topic centred'" (p. 154). They described the style of black children's, especially black girls' narratives, as topic chaining. Using this style the children changed topics frequently but without the use of lexical references to provide cohesion across topics. Instead, Michaels and Cook-Gumperz argued that prosodic devices, in particular intonation, were used to provide the thematic cohesion. The overall effect was described as giving "the impression of having no beginning, middle, or end, and hence no point at all" (p. 657). Michaels and Cook-Gumperz argued that it was the narrative discourse style, not the choice of content that produced this effect. (See Figure 1 for a summary of key features of these styles, and Appendix C for examples of narratives in these two styles).

Michaels (1981) in discussing the same study, further elaborated on the thematic cohesion in the topic centred,

TOPIC ASSOCIATING	TOPIC CENTRED
Thematic Focus and Topic Development	
Focus Shifts	
1. theme focus shifts through a series of personal anecdotal episodes but all contained within an overall theme	1. theme focus shifts through tightly organized aspects of single topic
2. not judged as having a beginning, middle and end	2. begins with theme statement (beginning), moves to theme restatement and elaboration (middle), then to a "punchline sort of resolution" (p. 143 (end)
Specific elements of topic	
3. frequent shifts in time, place, character and theme focus	3. no major shifts in time or place
Thematic Cohesive Devices	
4. implicit relations between episodes linked by prosodic devices new episodes often begin with a lexical temporal marker	4. explicit relations between sections linked by lexical devices prosodic devices used to highlight the established thematic cohesion
5. few lexical relations	explicit lexical relations for referential, temporal and spatial information explicit lexical relations using nominal and anaphoric chains

Figure 1. Key Features Chart for topic associating and topic centred styles of oral narrative discourse.[3]

[3]Adapted from, "Teacher/Child Collaboration as Oral Preparation for Literacy", by S. Michaels and C. Cazden, 1986, in B. Schieffelin and P. Gilmore (Eds.), The Acquisition of Literacy: Ethnographic Perspectives (pp. 132-154). Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

and what she termed topic associating instead of topic chaining styles of discourse. The topic centred style she described as exhibiting few temporal or spatial shifts, explicit lexical cohesion through frequent repetition of key items, and reference of key items to a specific cultural routine, all as contributing to topic continuity. These devices are all aids to the perception of thematic cohesion in this style.

Michaels (1981) described thematic development and cohesion in the topic associating style as depending on a quite different structure. The implicit association of a series of personal anecdotes about loosely connected commonplace events is the basis for this structure. The series of temporal and spatial anecdotes also includes frequent temporal and spatial shifts. In spite of the appearance of frequent changes between unconnected topics, Michaels argued that these anecdotes were linked together in a thematic focus but one never explicitly stated, requiring inference on the part of the listener. However Michaels argued, the thematic shifts were marked, but prosodically, and not in such a way as to aid in the perception of thematic focus by the teacher.

Michaels (1981) described the contrast in prosodic marking of thematic continuity in the two styles: In the topic centred style, sharp rising and falling intonational

contours marked the beginning, middle and end. In the topic associating style, rhythm and pausing, level tones and vowel elongation marked the subanecdotes. Michaels also described how easily misinterpretation of these prosodic structures could occur, in particular around the markings of closure.

Michaels (1981) extended her interpretation of this style of oral narrative discourse by relating it to what she argued was a similar style seen in other narrative situations including black children's fictional stories, Erickson's (1984) description of discourse in black male adolescents, and Cooley's (1979) description of the oral discourse of Native American student speakers.

Michaels and Cazden (1986) described further studies of the Sharing Time narratives. Within four Grade 1 and 2 classes they found similar patterns of narrative style associated with black and white children as in Michael's (1981) and Michaels and Cook-Gumperz's (1979) previous work. Among the four classes, variation of the following types were described: (a) class size, from 16 to 28, (b) proportions of black and white children, from 85% white and 8% black, to 52% white and 34% black, (d) three classes with a white teacher and one class with a black teacher, (d) Sharing Time led by the white teachers and led by the children with the teacher absent

in the black teacher's class, and (e) participation of children, varying from children can but rarely do participate, to children question and comment. Despite this range of variation in all classes, the preferred style of narrative of black children was topic associating. The preferred style for white children was topic centred. White children used the topic centred style about 96% of the time and black children used it only 34% of the time, while black girls used it only 27% of the time.

Narratives of the topic centred style described in these studies apparently closely resembled the teacher's model of good narrative discourse or descriptive prose. In discussing the nature of narratives of the topic associating style, Michaels and Cazden (1986) found strong support for their findings in Heath's (1983) descriptions of Trackton children's stories and also in Smitherman's (1977) description of English speakers. They concluded that "black children's ST [Sharing Time] narratives fall within a highly developed narrative tradition and that these children are approximating a well-formed adult standard" (p. 149).

Children's Oral Narrative Discourse Style In Interaction With The Teacher's Model

These studies of Michaels and Cook-Gumperz (1979), Michaels (1981), and Michaels and Cazden (1986) suggested

that black and white children exhibit culturally-related and distinctively different oral narrative discourse styles in the same narrative context. They also examined the teacher's patterns of interaction with the children throughout the narratives, as the teacher attempted to assist the children in developing his or her narrative according to the teacher's model of good narrative discourse.

In interaction with the teacher and her underlying model for good narrative discourse in this context, the teacher had difficulty collaborating with the black children. Her questions could have been seen as interruptive by the children, and her comments conflicted rather than collaborated with the children's narratives. As a result the activity did not allow the teacher to help the black children in expanding and using increased lexicalization to better approximate her model of good narrative discourse. However with the white children, the teacher's collaborations were more effective in helping children to practice using the discourse structures appropriate to her model of good narrative discourse.

Michaels (1981) elaborated on the interaction between the teacher's model and the children's model of oral narrative discourse. In one 'sharing' episode with a child using a topic-centred style, the teacher interjected questions following the closure markings and these did not

seem to be interruptive. The teacher was able to manipulate the specificity of her questions to match the child's ability to respond appropriately to the question, and the teacher's input built on the child's contributions. In this way, the teacher was able to help the child produce a more complex, lexically explicit and coherent narrative than the child was able to produce spontaneously.

In an example of the interchange of the teacher with a child using the topic associating style, the teacher's questions did not occur following closures in the narrative, but rather mid-clause. The questions did not match the theme development of the child's narrative and according to Michaels (1981), they "seemed to throw the child off balance, interrupting his or her train of thought" (p. 434). Michaels explained that the teacher sometimes referred to these narratives as filibusters, and often asked the child to stop before being finished. Finally, Michaels suggested that this conflict in narrative style may be the reason why little improvement was seen in oral discourse ability for a child using the topic associating style, even though the same child showed good improvement in other skills.

Michaels (1981) stressed that the child's teacher was genuinely concerned with her pedagogical responsibility and she excluded factors of incompetence or prejudice as

possible reasons for this problem. Instead the teacher was unaware that she was assuming that all the children understood how to relate narratives in the way she expected (i.e. topic centred narrative discourse). In addition this teacher's interpretation, that children using the topic associating style were lacking in their planning or topic development in their discourse, was the same interpretation made by other middle-class white listeners. Michaels labelled this conflict an unintentional mismatch between teachers and children's structuring of oral narrative discourse and their use of prosody in these narratives.

Michaels and Cazden (1986) also played taped versions of the two types of narratives to black and white adults. These versions imitated the intonational contours and rhythm, but substituted Standard English for Black dialect and other sociocultural clues. White adults mostly found the topic associating stories difficult to follow and also predicted that the narrator was likely to be a low achieving student. Black adults however seemed able to appreciate both topic centred and topic associating narratives and were not likely to consider the children as potentially weak in school.

Finally Michaels and Cazden (1986) argued that the collaborative exchange as a process of oral language

learning typified by the Sharing Time programs also occurs in other class activities (for example, small group reading lessons and individual writing conferences). It is also likely that this is an approach used by many teachers for developing and recording the 'dictated stories' or 'group story' in language experience or whole language approaches. This argument would suggest that the impact of the collaborative exchange and the mismatch that can occur within it may extend across more of the school program than just the Sharing Time segments.

Other studies are supportive of Michaels and Cazden's (1986) hypotheses. Harris (1985) argued that global discourse conventions rooted in the sociocultural background of American Indian children can result in inappropriate school assessment of children's English language performance. She described a need for normative data on North American Indian language use in order to eradicate the cultural and linguistic biases prevalent in current standardized tests. Clay (1985) discussed the need for programs for new entrants in the New Zealand school system that are particularly designed for oral language development. She observed that there appears to be "some kind of difference in the communication of Maori children and teachers" (p. 34), and advocated that what was needed was not programs in linguistic exercises or formal language

programs, "but more opportunity for one to one conversation with native speakers on any topic" (p. 33). Clay would appear to be focusing on the same collaborative exchange events that Michaels and Cazden identified as a vulnerable point in communication between teachers and children in cross-cultural school contexts.

Iglesias (1985) discussed the issue of mismatch between school and home communication skills in broad terms. He discussed the need for a teacher to not just match a child's present communication style, but to find ways of preparing children to cope with a variety of communication demands in the future years. Iglesias concluded that black children use a distinctly different narrative style and that their style has significant impact on the quality of the collaborative exchange structure in Sharing Time and across other parts of the school day. This conclusion would suggest that cultural differences in discourse styles may be of considerable significance in school contexts. Finally Gee (1985) argued that within the type of situation described by Michaels (1981), Sharing Time not only depended on middle-class conventions for success, but simultaneously excluded from success precisely those children it is designed to help.

The studies discussed here suggest that young children from divergent cultural backgrounds may come to school

using oral narrative discourse styles that differ from that of their white middle-class teachers and the school expectations. It would appear that this mismatch in styles may have serious implications for effective intervention by teachers. It would also appear that this mismatch provides increased likelihood of negative assessment of children's narratives.

Significance of Cultural Differences in Oral Narrative Discourse Style: Effects on Oral Preparation For Literacy

The possibility of children from different cultural backgrounds experiencing a mismatch in oral narrative styles with teachers was discussed above. The significance of this mismatch is discussed here. However this requires a preliminary consideration of current conceptions of literacy.

Conceptions of literacy. Recent studies of the nature of literacy have frequently focused on the literate modality in contrast to the oral modality. Ong (1982) argued that the technology of writing is so pervasive that it restructures the consciousness of the culture, involving a deep interplay of structures within the society. Olson (1977) called the basic units of orality, utterances; and the basic units of literacy, texts. He distinguished between these two units on three levels-- meaning, truth and function.

However, other studies have suggested that literacy and orality do not exist as such a dichotomy, and that the issue is considerably more complex than this. Heath (1983) and Tannen (1985b) both provide evidence for the concept of language repertoires in which individuals at any one time have access to various combinations of literate and oral strategies. Heath also argued that there is no such thing as an oral or a literate style. Instead, she argued that there are many different literate and oral strategies, and that these are deeply rooted in cultural conventions. The children from the communities of Trackton, Roadville and Maintown all came to school with experience with literate strategies, however all of different types, and notably, only one of which, Maintown's, was destined to provide a good base for school success.

Duranti and Ochs (1987) in their study of a Samoan community also found a repertoire of strategies available to an individual. They found that acquiring literacy also meant acquiring a whole new set of social and linguistic interactional knowledge. However, this particular interactional frame was associated with, and only used in school and work, or generally literate settings, and individuals returning to the more traditional context shifted this interpretive and linguistic frame back to one based on traditional socialization patterns.

Cazden (1982) discussed the difference between the contexts in the mind that children bring to school and the contexts in the classroom provided by schools to help foster children's language development. She emphasized that success in literacy activities in school required the recognition of both these elements and that they must work together.

Another perspective on literacy is concerned more with the process by which the individual child comes to literacy. Smith (1984) argued that the writing process for a child is not a representation of experience, but in fact is the experience. He portrayed the acquisition of literacy as coming to use the written form to facilitate what he described as the essence of learning, the constructing of worlds and a creative process. This creative learning process is ongoing in the child and will absorb the literate strategies being demonstrated by the surrounding society. Frawley (1987) also explained this notion of the individual, creative, constructive process via the use of text within the social context.

These brief excerpts from some current explorations in literacy are indicative of the complexity of the concept in human thought and language. However there is another conception of literacy that is likely to be highly prevalent and is dramatically different from the directions indicated above. The significance of this definition will become apparent below.

Scollon and Scollon (1981) described a model of language they called essayist prose. They argued that this model has become the model of literacy around which a number of educational issues are oriented. According to Scollon and Scollon, this model of literacy is heavily based in the discourse strategies and the sociocultural conventions these imply of the English speaker. They also argued that within this culture, literacy can be essentially complete before school entry. This is founded in their understanding that the conventional ability to read and write is based on ways of taking meaning from the world, organizing it in respect to oneself, expressing it in language and orienting to the written form.

Holdaway (1979) has also described a similar conception of literacy as it is practised in schools. He calls this the language of schooling and says that among language styles, it most closely resembles that of books. Holdaway also stressed that there are a number of children coming to school for whom this language of schooling is foreign. McCutcheon (1987) specified the linguistic task in school writing, ultimately the predominant mode of productive language in schools. This task she said required a) the writing of extended discourse and b) the development of variation in written forms with decreasing emphasis on narrative forms, and increasing emphasis on expository

writing style.

In Heath's (1983) study of Trackton, Roadville and Maintown language, all three groups of children had developed a repertoire of oral/literate strategies, but only the Maintown strategies would prepare them for the language dominated activities in school and ultimately, school success. Literacy as seen in these school-related conceptions could be defined as a narrow range of discourse strategies necessary for success in mainstream middle-class school settings, with predominantly white middle-class teachers and closely approximating written expository prose.

Unequal access to oral preparation for literacy. The relationship between children's ways of using language, those required by the school and school success or failure has been identified by a number of researchers (Genishi, 1987; Halliday, 1973; Heath, 1983, Wells, 1985). However particular mechanisms by which this occurs are less clear. One area of such research has focused on how differences in the oral discourse style that children bring to school and the potential mismatch with teacher style and expectations can provide differential access to the teacher-child interaction in key learning situations in the school.

Some studies have focused on how the participant structures in oral discourse styles can be modified to

better match that of the participant children and the linkage to improvement in the learning situation, for example the studies of Philips (1983), with Warm Springs Indian children, and Erickson and Mohatt (1982), with Ojibway Indian children. Similarly, Au's (1980) examination of the discourse strategies used in small reading groups with Hawaiian children showed that a teacher could modify the discourse style of this school speech activity to more closely approximate cultural strategies familiar to the children. It was concluded that this adjustment "probably serves to promote the occurrence of a greater number of propositions or idea units in the lesson" (p. 11) and to promote "the willingness of the children to continue to participate in the lesson, even when they have made mistakes or are not sure of the right answers" (p. 112). These children showed long term improvement in scores on standardized reading tests. In a discussion of this same program, Kawakami and Au (1986) concluded that children could focus on the reading activity rather than on the appropriate style of oral discourse. It is assumed that such changes in the activity for the participant children improved their access to learning opportunities.

The work of Michaels (1981), and Michaels and Cazden (1986) also focused on the mismatch in teacher-child discourse. However they focused on the oral narrative

discourse style as a cultural variant and its role in a particular classroom communicative activity. Michaels (1983) reported that Sharing Time was a time in primary classrooms for the practising of oral discourse skills that are required by the "implicit literate standard" (p. 72) of mainstream schools. Michaels (1985) argued that teachers working in accordance with this literate standard appeared to feel that children "first need to gain control over simple, 'topic-centred' forms of discourse as a transition to literacy; only then can they proceed to tackle more complex rhetorical and literacy texts" (p. 52). Michaels and Cazden (1986) termed this an oral preparation for literacy. These same observations were also supported by Collins (1982, 1985) and by Michaels and Collins (1984).

Michaels (1983) also reported the potential for inequality of access to teacher intervention in the practising of these discourse skills, based on teachers' misinterpretations of the children's discourse style. She emphasized that it wasn't the children's particular narrative style that was necessarily hindering the acquisition of literate discourse strategies, but instead:

> It is clear that a child's use of a discourse style that is at variance with the teacher's expectations (and the narrowly defined literate standard of the school) decreases the quality of interaction in key classroom activities, such as Sharing Time, which then interferes with his or her development of a prose-like oral discourse style. (p. 84)

In summary not only are children from cultural backgrounds different from those of mainstream schools likely to have the structuring of their oral narratives misassessed, and negatively, but they are also likely to have less than optimal access to teacher assistance in the kind of literacy skills likely to be important for future school success. Michaels and Cazden (1986) concluded:

> If these extended discourse activites are truly key situations influencing children's access to literacy instruction, then in the service of equity and improved educational practice, we must try to understand and improve conversational engagement and collaboration between teachers and children of all backgrounds. (p. 153)

Summary Of The Chapter

An understanding of the role of language in interaction with children's backgrounds and their school experiences requires an underlying concept of language. In this study, this conception of language can be summarized as multifunctional and interacting within the sociocultural context. This is reflected in both the content and organization of language. From this perspective, differences in cultural background can be considered significant to the emergence and use of language.

Heath's (1983) work exemplifies how different cultural patterns of language use emerge from the sociocultural context, and adult models of oral narrative discourse in

several North American cultural groups support her findings. The studies forming the working framework in this study (Michaels & Cook-Gumperz, 1979; Michaels, 1981; Michaels & Cazden, 1986) examined cultural differences in oral narrative in young children in a particular school activity. Their studies identified two different styles of oral narrative discourse termed topic centred and topic associating oral narrative discourse, and used predominantly by white and black children respectively.

The significance of these cultural differences in the school setting was also suggested by these same studies. They indicated that the teacher used a model of good narrative discourse that matched the topic centred style allowing for effective teacher intervention in assisting children to further develop their narratives according to this model. However children using a topic associating style experienced a mismatch in style which provided them with unequal access to this process of intervention described as a process of oral preparation for literacy. In addition these children were more likely to have their narratives evaluated negatively.

Although literacy is understood as complex, the concept of literacy referred to in these studies is a school-related conception of literacy. This is considered to be a narrow range of discourse strategies with a literate

bias, which are necessary for success in the mainstream middle-class school setting.

CHAPTER THREE

STUDY DESIGN AND PROCEDURES

The purpose of this study was to consider the oral narrative discourse style of a group of Indian children in a Canadian school within a working framework derived from Michaels and Cook-Gumperz (1979), Michaels (1981), and Michaels and Cazden (1986). In this chapter there is first a description of the children, and their community and school. This is followed by a description of the parameters of the narrative context,[4] the piloting process and the procedures used to carry out this study and to evaluate the narratives that were collected.

Description of Community, School and Children

Narratives in this study were collected from a single intact school population. The discussion of these narratives is limited to this group of children. A description of the children, their school and community is provided here.

[4]Narrative context is defined in the Glossary in Appendix A.

The Community

This study was carried out in a community in the northern interior of British Columbia. The people of this community are Carrier Indian. The Carrier are part of the Dene tribe and of the Athabaskan language group. Although this language group extends to the Navajo and Apache peoples in southwestern United States, the Carrier are a distinctly different people in language, history and customs from much closer neighbours, such as the Tsimshian and Bellacoola peoples.

The true name of the Carrier people is a word meaning navigators. Navigating rivers as well as lakes was central to the traditional Carrier lifestyle. This was the means of providing a substantial part of their diet which was fish, and was the chief means of trade, as well as the route by which all important access to their lives was made (Munro, 1945).

Alexander Mackenzie in 1793 was the first white man to explore this country, although there is reason to suspect that brief Russian contact had occurred previously. This began the massive impact that the white man was to make on the lives of these original people. Following in Mackenzie's path came the fur traders, gold seekers, smallpox, the transcontinental telegraph, the Catholic Church, and white settlers' governments, laws and education.

Although the impact of these socioeconomic influences on traditional Indian culture and lifestyle can readily be understood, less obvious is the accompanying ethnocentrism of the white man regarding the Indians. (Although ethnocentrism no doubt affected the Indian's judgement of the white man, this is not directly related to this study.) Closely related to this ethnocentrism was the white man's belief in his right to superimpose his ways and value systems on those of the indigenous peoples. Munro's (1945) work provides evidence of this attitude. It was based heavily on Father Morice's ideas and his time spent with the Carrier people. He could be considered an early authority on the Carrier and one sympathetic to their ways. Apparently Munro also believed himself a sympathetic historian. However there are numerous references reflecting white ethnocentrism and assumptions of superiority. For example, Munro refers to the 'vice' of the potlatch and to "savages . . . still clothed in wild beasts' skins" (P. 74). He described how Father Morice was responsible for teaching the Indians "the way they should act toward their fellow men" (p. 137).

Today the band to which the members of this community belong, has a population of 1071 status Indians scattered over several locations. The particular community in this study has a population of 450 and the school population

includes another nearby community with a population of 84 people.

The major employer in the community is the band-owned timber company, while other employment is in the band office, school and other logging enterprises. In addition more employment is provided by trapping, the clinic, garage, laundromat and odd jobs. Otherwise, social assistance and unemployment insurance are depended upon for income. Marked reliance on traditional lifestyles is generally limited to one group of families, although hunting and fishing for food is still widespread.

The family unit today appears to be quite variable. There is a tendency towards an ongoing shifting of the family unit. For example a child could be shifted from a single parent to an extended family, which may then incorporate the parent again at a later date. Within the Kindergarten population over the academic year of 1987/88, it was estimated that 50% of the children had moved in or out of the school at some time. However within the primary grades this tendency was less evident.

Language. Carrier was described as a rich but difficult language by Munro (1945), who compared it to European languages in terms of contrasting syntactic structures and conceptual expressions. Carrier was an unwritten language until the late 1800s and information about

the culture of the Carrier people was embedded within their oral tradition. Much of Munro's work is based on the tellings of one Carrier chief:

> This old chief, who has accompanied me on many journeys throughout the Carrier region, is the main source of information regarding Carrier legends. He has a good memory and deliberate, clear delivery. His knowledge of ancient tribal beliefs is very sound. (p. 92)

Munro described the narrator as holding the floor, with the audience only supplying interjections of encouragement and interrogation, but not interruption.

Early contacts with Europeans included both English and French languages. However, many Carrier families had greater fluency in French than English for many years, and words of French derivation can be found in the present day Carrier language. Initially, fur traders and Indians communicated using the trade language of Chinook. It was the Catholic priests who first learned Carrier, in particular, Father Morice, who first went to the region in 1885. Father Morice also developed a system of Dene syllabics which were apparently learned by many of the Indians at that time.

In spite of the oral tradition, Munro's (1945) account gives evidence for the rapidity of adoption of written forms of language and the value placed on these forms. Munro described the enthusiasm with which the

small monthly paper Father Morice printed in syllabics, was read and circulated, and that carefully preserved copies could be found fifty years later. Munro also claimed that the written modality came to be used prolifically:

> By the end of the last century, the Indians were expressing their ideas and notions in a variety of items that they printed on logs, blazes made in trees, on birch bark and on paper. They carved, marked and engraved on almost any surface that would hold a message. (p. 89)

Today, in the community described here, the Central Carrier dialect is still spoken in some homes, but more commonly among those over age thirty. Young parents are not seen by teachers in the area as encouraging Carrier at home and children do not speak Carrier as a first language. Instead, English is the first language with a passive vocabulary of Carrier, which is occasionally used within ongoing English usage.

Food. Traditionally the Carrier depended heavily on the annual salmon migration up the Fraser River. The farming of garden crops and especially potatoes was introduced to the area as early as 1810. Potatoes became part of the traditional diet and the Carrier word 'lematak' is derived from the French "la patate'. Although a number of other items from the white diet have become incorporated into the modern diet of the Indians of the

interior of British Columbia (Interior British Columbia, n.d.), it is in hunting and fishing that they still prominently retain some of their traditional ways of life.

Salmon fishing and moose hunting still supply a large part of the diet in the community described here. For example it was estimated that in the one family group whose lifestyle was most traditional, that they might kill a moose for food every couple of weeks.

The School

The elementary/secondary school located in this community had an enrollment of 135 children from nursery through to grade 9. It was located within two buildings, the older primary school comprised of the Nursery/Kindergarten (two separate half day programs for four and five year olds respectively), and the Grade 1, 2 and 2/3 programs. It included separate rooms for a Native Language program and a library. A newer building contained the other grades, and included an art room, a shop, a science lab, and a home economics room, but no gym. These facilities were used by all classes. The school was spacious, well supplied and very well maintained. The new school, completed in 1983, was particularly attractive, being built of local woods and with a display of local native painting on the wood surrounding the entranceway.

The school at the time of this study was about 90% under band control, with the exception of standardized testing, telephone bills, freighting, and staffing which were controlled by the Department of Indian Affairs. The curriculum was primarily that of the Ministry of Education, British Columbia, with some input from the education committee.

School personnel. Department of Indian Affairs supplied the school with one principal, one vice-principal and seven full time teachers. At the time of this study all staff was white except one teacher who was native but not a member of this band. The Band employed the Nursery/ Kindergarten teacher along a reasonably similar salary and benefits scale as the Department of Indian Affairs teachers. The Band also employed three teacher aides, one Home-School Coordinator, one half-time secretary, one Native language teacher, an education committee of six members, three custodians and one bus driver, who were all band members.

At the time of this study, of the full time teachers and principals, there were four males and seven females and the average age was 38. All had their degree except one, but in-service upgrading had been limited. About half have been trained in British Columbia, and the other half elsewhere in Canada. Three teachers had had between 20 and 30 years experience; two

with 10 to 16 years and five with 1 to 5 years experience. Overall, the majority of this experience had been in native schools. (See Appendix D for summary of teachers and aides of children in this study, cultural background, training and experience.)

Among the full time teachers and principals, there were differences in philosophy, but not related to either age, sex, or grade taught. They had had diverse experiences, both personally and professionally. However, according to my observations, these differences were being well handled by the school administration and were not causing friction within the school's operation. At least in the primary school which I observed, staff exhibited enthusiasm in their teaching. This was also supported by the Program Progress Report of February, 1988.

The Vice Principal had worked in native schools for 30 years and for a number of these in this community. She was well liked and highly respected in the community. The principal who was new to the school had worked closely with her and they seemed to have formed a productive working relationship with the education committee and the community. This was also the opinion of the district superintendent.

As none of the full time teachers and principals were band members, their living conditions varied from those of

the community. Some had living accommodation provided in the community, mostly of the same high quality and maintenance as the new school. Some lived in the town about 60 kilometres away, and commuted daily, which was by personal choice. They all had ready access to the town and to a larger city further away. This was not considered an isolation posting by the Department of Indian Affairs. According to my observations, the working and living conditions were adequate for staff from outside the community to perform their job without unnecessary difficulties.

Programs. The general philosophy of the elementary school was to attempt to establish and maintain consistency in curriculum and to focus on basic skills in Language Arts and Math. Specific descriptions of programs were given in the Program Progress Report. (See Appendix E for descriptions of Kindergarten, Grade One and Grade Two programs.) According to my observations, these reports gave a reasonably accurate description of the ongoing class programs. However, it should be added that while the Kindergarten program represented a well-balanced curriculum, the teacher was focusing more on the socio-emotional development and children's adjustment to school.

According to my observations, the Grade 1 and 2 programs also represented well-balanced curriculums. Although variation in emphasis was evident, all three programs were well within the range of typical primary programs.

The Native Language Program has been taught in the school since 1977-78. All primary children were participating, although the Kindergarten children only since February, 1988. The Grade 1 and 2 classes went to the separate Carrier classroom in small groups, while the teacher came into the Kindergarten classroom. This was a daily program, and at this level was oral and used no specially designed materials.

According to More's (1985) survey of projects and programs of Indian education, this community did appear to have a slightly greater number of such programs than other communities of the Athabaskan language group. This is based on the number of programs listed for each community and also the number of More's descriptors covered by this program. According to More's descriptors, these programs do not represent any unusual range of such projects, but a slightly greater selection of them. However this difference alone may not have had a significant impact on the community as factors of quality and consistency of administration of the programs would also be important.

Children

Information about children was collected that might have directly affected their participation or evaluation in this study. This information was volunteered verbally by teachers, native aides and the Native Language teacher. The information was organized around two summary sheets. One summarized any information about each child that may have had an unusual effect on their language development. (See Appendix F for a sample of this summary form.) The other summarized information about children's experiences with food at school and at home. (See Appendix G for a sample of this summary form.) In addition, general information on children's ages, gender, grade and siblings was summarized.

There were 9 Kindergarten, 13 Grade 1 and 14 Grade 2 children who participated in this study. This represented the entire pupil registration for each class with the exception of one Kindergarten child who was absent for most of the time. Each child was assigned a pseudonym and all references to individual children and their narratives, throughout this study, use these pseudonyms.

The total number of children in the study was 36, with 20 boys and 15 girls. Their distribution of ages in years and months was summarized in Table 1. However children

Table 1

Distribution of Children's Ages in Years and Months

Grade	Age range	Median age
Kindergarten	5:6 to 6:3	5:8
Grade One	6:5 to 7:11	6:8
Grade Two	7:4 to 9:5	7:1

were grouped according to grade, not age. This was based on the fact that the narrative task was more likely to be related to developmental than chronological age and be accordingly reflected in school-related activities and progress. A summary of children's age, gender and grade is in Appendix H.

Of the 24 family units represented in this study, 46% were based on a nuclear family with a mother and father at home. Other family units were based on grandparents, single parents or an extended family. The mean number of siblings in the 24 families was 3.88. The distribution, number and gender of siblings in each family unit are summarized in Appendix I.

Language. Information about each child's use of native language at home and at school was collected. This was provided by the Native Language teacher. She indicated whether each child experienced 'lots', 'some' or 'none' at home. At school she indicated whether the child was learning 'well/quickly', 'OK' or 'slowly'. This information is summarized in Appendix J.

Information about the family and parental background and any unique personal characteristics of each child that might have affected language development was collected. This information was judged as apparently average, or a possible weakness. This information is summarized in

Appendix K.

Teachers' ratings of language proficiency for the children in their class were also collected. This rating was made separately for oral language, excluding articulation, and for small group or individual participation only. Grade 1 and 2 teachers also rated the written language proficiency as seen in story or journal writing, but excluding spelling and neatness. These ratings are summarized in Appendix L.

Food. Children's experiences with food at home reflect many foods available in Canadian supermarkets. For example, the Kindergarten children's snacks were often peanut butter sandwiches, cookies, apples, bananas, oranges, and boxes of juice. However traditional foods still formed part of their diet also. For example, Kindergarten children also brought blackberries in bear grease or bannock to school. The term traditional diet as used here follows that listed by Health and Welfare Canada in the Native Food Guide for Interior British Columbia (Interior, British n.d.). This includes such items as potatoes and bannock, which although originally introduced to the traditional diet by Europeans have been a staple for some time.

Nutrition and cooking activities had been a part of each class program. This included experience with non-traditional foods which the children may also have known

from home. For example, the Kindergarten children were able to identify cherries, lemons, peas and beans among others. Information on children's experiences with food at home and school is summarized in Figure 2.

In summary, when reference is made to the group of children in this study, it is with the understanding that it refers to the particular group of children and the school and community forming the sociocultural context in which they live, as they have been described above.

Parameters of the Narrative Context

The working framework of this study was used to define the context in which the narratives would be collected. The parameters of the narrative context are described in detail here. These parameters formed the broad structure of this study within which the specific procedures used to collect the narratives were determined.

Parameters of the Narrative Context In The Working Framework

The contexts within which the narrative samples were collected in Michaels and Cazden's (1986) work, and in the studies they incorporated (Michaels, 1981; Michaels & Cook-Gumperz, 1979), can be described as having the following consistent features:

Figure 2. Summary of children's experiences with food at home and school.

General Experience With Food At Home

Traditional Diet	Non Traditional Diet
Lots	
- fish-dried and fried, fresh boiled - moosemeat - meat, soup, hamburgers - bear - meat, grease - potatoes, bannock and mush (porridge)	
Some	
- beaver - rabbit - berries	- salad (common vegetables) - oranges, apples, bananas - peanut butter and jam - bread, cornflakes, popcorn - candy, chips, pop - weiners, hotdogs - canned beans, noodle soup - onions, carrots, cauli-flower, broccoli, corn on the cob - ice cream, popsicles - spaghetti

Family Exceptions to General Experience

Family Unit	
C, E, T, V:	more exposure to variety of foods
B, I:	more emphasis on traditional diet, especially moosemeat and fish

Experiences With Food At School

Kindergarten	Grade One	Grade Two
- making bannock, mush, cookies, rice crispie squares - icing a cake - tasting common fruits for sour and sweet - 4 food groups	- making butter from cream	- raw vegetable tasting & identifying--common types - making cookies on Valentine's & special occasions

1. Narratives occur within the Sharing Time activities in Grade 1 and Grade 2 classrooms in which one child tells the rest of the class about something.
2. Children had the opportunity to either tell about an object they had brought to school or tell about a personal past experience. (However only the descriptions of experiences were classified as narratives.)
3. Sharing Time was clearly observed by the children to be a distinct school activity, as indicated by their use of an intonational pattern reserved for this activity only.

These three features represent three parameters of the narrative context-- the roles of the speaker and audience, the narrative task, and the situation within which the task is performed. The consistent dimensions of these parameters in Michaels and Cazden's (1986) study in conjunction with the dimensions of variation were used to define the narrative context in this study.

The role of the speaker and audience. Considered essential to the role of the speaker and the audience was the notion that the speaker was comfortable with his or her role. In this study, a child was considered likely to be comfortable in a speaker's role if some familiarity with the role could be found within the child's sociocultural

context -- the community and/or school. One limitation of this working definition is that it assumes that a familiar role is also a comfortable one.

The central features of the speaker's and audience's role in Michaels and Cazden's (1986) study involved a child telling the rest of the class and the teacher about an experience. While it is not clear from their work, it seems likely that there were a number of children who were comfortable with this feature of the narrative context. The number of primary programs incorporating a Sharing Time, and Heath's (1983) accounts of requests for children's oral performances by adults in the early years of all three groups of children in Roadville, Trackton and Maintown were considered to support the idea that these children were comfortable with this speaker-audience role.

The relation between speaker and audience such that children are comfortable with it was considered to be the first critical dimension of this parameter of the narrative context. Beyond this, a considerable degree of variation in this parameter was apparent in Michaels and Cazden's (1986) work, including the presence, absence and ethnicity of the teacher, class size and ethnicity mix, participation of the audience in the ongoing narrative and the nature of teacher interaction with the ongoing narrative.

The narrative task. In the narrative task, the common

pattern seemed to resemble what Preece (1985) called in spontaneous narratives, a personal anecdote, or a report of some personal experience in the past. Although some children began their narratives with an object to describe, they often shifted into a personal experience with the object. The narrative task could be summarized as a telling about some personal past experience.

For this study, the narrative task defined as a telling about some personal past experience was considered as a critical parameter of the narrative context. Beyond this, it could again be argued that there was a considerable degree of variation in this parameter in the studies of the working framework. Children probably differed in their perception of the degree to which information was being elicited or volunteered, based on teacher interactions throughout the narratives. It could probably also be argued that there was considerable variation in the degree to which information being related was also shared with some portion of the audience. The cultural routines around which some of the children's narratives centred were familiar ones, at least within the same cultural group, and often with the teacher. Also in my experience, many children's anecdotes focus around activities with friends, who are often in the same class in school.

Although children no doubt used this opportunity to talk

about unusual experiences, many of their 'special' experiences may have been familiar and/or shared with at least some of the audience.

The setting of the narrative context. The situation in which the narratives were related was marked by several unique features: a) the floor being held for the speaker, and b) the speaker not being required to relate their narratives to other ongoing conversation. In addition it was a clearly marked period temporally as seen in its alternate names -- Sharing Time or Circle Time, and often spatially-- Rugtime or Circle Time, and by its occurrence in a school setting.

The marking out of this situation using monologic, spatial and temporal cues probably distinguished this activity as a discrete school-related activity, rather than an incidental one occurring in the course of a day-- in or out of school. This was claimed to be the case by the researchers. This marking of a discrete school-related situation is considered to be the third critical parameter of the narrative context as described by Michaels and Cazden (1986).

The parameters of the narrative context within the working framework were summarized as follows. The role of the speaker and audience allowed the speaker to feel comfortable within the role. The narrative task was a telling about a personal past experience. Finally the

setting of the narrative context was marked by a discrete school-related situation.

Parameters of the Narrative Context In This Study

The three parameters as defined above were used for this study, but with modifications appropriate to the group of children. In addition, control of features of the narrative context was considered so that all children's experiences with the narrative context would be approximately the same. The control of the topic of discourse followed that used by Michaels and Collins (1984), in their further examination of hypotheses regarding the nature of children's discourse strategies and prosodic devices in school-related narrative tasks. These hypotheses had been derived from the ethnographic descriptions of narrative and narrative context in the Sharing Time studies.

The role of the speaker and audience. The critical dimension of this parameter was defined as one of comfort for the child. Heath's (1983) work makes it clear that the comfortable narrative context for children from different cultural backgrounds will vary. Scollon and Scollon (1981) indicated that for Athabaskan Indians, oral performance in a public context may be considered "dangerous to the spiritual, mental and psychological well-being of a child" (p. 8). A context including oral performances was

also considered inappropriate for North American Indian children by Harris (1985).

However, Indian children do have experience with a speaker -- audience relation with white teachers in which they are requested and encouraged to relate information, ideas and experiences. Personal experience indicated that upon Kindergarten entry, Indian children were hesitant to interact verbally. However, by Grade 1 and 2, they were extremely comfortable with narrative context with their white teachers, frequently seeking out these opportunities, although still notably unwilling to 'perform' verbally in a group of their peers. It was considered here that Indian children can quickly learn that a narrative context with a white teacher is a different context from that with other Indian children and/or adults, and will produce narratives comfortably within this context. Based on this assumption, the narrative context in this study was designed to include only the child and myself, a white adult whom the children would see as a teacher.

The possibility of using the children's own white teachers was excluded in order to control for variance in the audience role, both in interactional strategies during narrative collection and in the differing past experiences in the teacher-child relationships. In addition, a familiarization time was built in to allow children time to

become familiar and comfortable with me, as another white teacher, and also the narrative context.

The narrative task. In order to control the topic of the narratives, an activity was designed for the children to tell about. This spanned the two days preceding the narrative collections. This activity, the planning and cooking of moosemeat soup, was drawn from information collected about children's experiences with food both in and out of school. This information ensured that the activity centred around a familiar preparation of food but also that some different ingredients could be added to make the activity worth telling about, or to have the reportable quality described by Preece (1987). In collecting the narratives, children were asked if they would like to tell about this activity.

The setting of the narrative context. In this study, the narrative context was marked as discrete and school-related in several ways. It was marked spatially in that all narratives were collected in the same 'special' location, one often used for withdrawal reading purposes. It was marked temporally in that each child had to wait for his turn. It also involved the same monologic features which distinguished the Sharing Time context. In addition, in this study the topic of the narratives was a school experience in which their regular teachers

participated, although controlled by me. This activity also included a literacy-related component, as narratives were written down as well as being audio-recorded.

In summary, the parameters of the narrative context for this study were based on those in the working framework. However modifications were made based on the group of children participating in this study. In addition, the topic of the narratives and the setting of the narrative context were controlled. These parameters formed the broad structure of this study within which specific procedures were determined.

Piloting

Based on the parameters of the narrative context, a set of procedures was determined. Some aspects of these procedures were piloted to help eliminate possible difficulties. The procedures for the cooking activity, the narrative collection and the transcription and prosodic analysis stages of the narrative evaluations were piloted.

Piloting was done with two Causasian children, girls aged five and a half years. A cooking activity -- chocolate chip cookies-- was chosen based on parents' information about children's interest. The children participated in the cooking activity. They helped to plan a recipe that I recorded in pictures and words. They helped in the cooking

itself, and after they were baked they sampled the cookies.

The next day I returned and asked the girls if they would like to tell me something about their cooking. I recorded their narratives in writing and also tape recorded them, using a portable Sanyo recorder, Model MW 710. Using the audio recordings and the dictated narratives, I completed the written transcriptions and the prosodic analysis of the narratives.

Three notable features emerged from this piloting. First, the occurrence of something unique in the activity, in this case the children being allowed to crack and open the eggs was stressed in one of the narratives. The tape recording figured highly in the other narrative. These features were interpreted as being of the different, or special, or reportable type, emphasizing their significance in the experience, but also providing evidence that an experience based in a familiar activity could provide this reportable quality.

Secondly, although both narratives began with signs marking this as different from their ongoing conversation, one girl slipped back into a conversational style which was marked prosodically. Although the piloting procedure was not marked as school-related, it was decided that in this study children's attention should be specifically drawn to the dictated aspect of the context, to help mark the

setting as a discrete school-related activity. Finally, in making the written transcripts and the prosodic analysis from the audiotapes, noise on the tape was found to be disturbing. It was decided that tape with low noise should be used in the study.

In summary, the piloting did not attempt to test the entire set of procedures for this study. Although limited, it did confirm that the narrative task was likely to be suitable. It also indicated that two points in the procedure needed modification.

Procedures

The parameters of the narrative context in conjunction with the piloting were used to determine the procedures in carrying out this study. These are described here.

Establishing and Maintaining A Comfortable Atmosphere

This process began by considering features of the community making it seem appropriate to approach regarding the carrying out of this study. It included consideration of a number of features during the time spent in the community, and also the provision of a follow up upon completion of the study. The concern with establishing this atmosphere was amplified by the fact that I was a white researcher in an Indian community. Based on personal experience, I knew that this

situation might be disapproved of by some members of the community.

Preliminary contacts. The decision to approach this particular community was largely influenced by the school district superintendent (also Indian), who reported that the school was running quite smoothly, that the community was stable and that the school-community relations seemed quite positive and constructive. The initial approach to the school was made through the superintendent who emphasized that both the school and the community had to indicate that they were interested in this study being carried out in their community.

The initial contact with the community was made through the principal, who had indicated his support and interest in the study, to the education committee. I then contacted the band education administrator and explained the study more precisely. Upon her request, I followed this up with a letter containing the same information. Teacher contacts were initially made through the principal and I then discussed the study with them by phone and followed this up with written documentation describing the study. Further checks on the community's response to the proposed study were made by the superintendent. The nature of this process was followed to help establish a non-threatening and informed atmosphere. It was considered essential that

it was understood by all concerned, that the needs and interests of the community, school and the children had the highest priority.

In the community. I drew heavily on my experience in living in an Indian community, as well as other multi-cultural experiences, to attempt to maintain a comfortable atmosphere. This included consideration for and communication with the children, the white and Indian teachers, aides and other school personnel and also the larger community. This was done partially through contacts during school hours in the school and band office. In addition one of the teachers had offered me accommodation in her home in the community for the duration of the study. Consequently I was able to accompany her when she visited other parts of the community after school and on weekends, meeting children, parents and other members of the community and school staff.

For the children involved in this study, a specific familiarization process was determined. This is described in the following section as part of the narrative collection sequence. Before leaving the community, a follow-up process was established by which the information determined from this study could be provided to the school and community. Throughout the time spent in the community, I attempted to maintain a non-threatening and informed

atmosphere with the priority being the children's and community's needs and interests, as in the preliminary contacts.

The Narrative Collection Sequence

With each of the three classes, the following sequence was carried out, maintaining the same procedures and sequences, and using the same materials, rooms and time. However due to the human characteristics of the different classes, it is acknowledged that some differences would have occurred, but it is the assumption here that these would not make a critical difference to this study. Although a weekend intervened between the familiarization stage and the three day sequence, this three day sequence was over three consecutive days for all three classes.

Familiarization. The days preceding the three day narrative collection sequence were used for familiarization of the children with myself and the narrative context. I worked with each class approximately the same amount of time during this stage.

Initially, I was introduced by the regular teacher to each class as a visiting teacher. I then worked in the classes, assisting the teacher and sometimes taking over portions of the class for her. Using checklists, I made contact at least once with each child in each of these

visits. I used these opportunities to work in a one to one situation with each child.

After several days, I took the tape recorder into these sessions. As it was portable and ran on batteries, it easily fitted into the children's different activities. I replayed portions of the tapings in each class, as this was of interest and enjoyed by both teachers and children.

The last session of this familiarization stage was a close approximation to the formal narrative collection activity. However the narrative task differed. I asked if they would like to tell me about one of several past experiences depending on what I knew about the children's recent activities-- what he or she did last night after school, yesterday during Phys Ed or yesterday in town. I told them that I would tape and write down what they said. To emphasize the school and literacy-related aspect of the activity, I asked them to choose what colour I should write their narrative in. As an audience, I offered verbal prompts such as "Oh", "Yeh", "Anything else" and "Sounds like fun".

Prior to the beginning of the familiarization period, permission was obtained for children's participation in the study. Throughout the familiarization period, information on children's language usage at school and home, and of their experience with food at school and home

were completed. Other information describing the community and school was also collected during this stage. In addition scheduling of the cooking and narrative collection sequences were made within the ongoing programs.

Day One. This stage was an activity with myself and the whole class. It took place in the discussion/story area in each class with children sitting on the rug, and myself on a low chair. It took about half an hour.

This activity consisted of a discussion about food followed by the story Stone Soup (McGovern, 1968). This was modified in several places to remove any references considered unfamiliar to the children. For example, the word barley was changed to rice. This book was already present in the class libraries. This was followed by a planning session to make moosemeat soup the following day. This entire activity followed a precise script (see Appendix M). However,in other ways it was designed as a 'typical' lesson in a primary class, integrating knowledge of nutrition and literacy-related activities in preparation for a cooking activity where the participating children would use this knowledge.

The choice of making moosemeat soup was based on the background information about children's experiences with food at home and school and also on the nutritional value appropriate to Indian diets according to the Native Food Guide, Interior B.C. (Interior British Columbia,

n.d.). The method of preparation as outlined on the recipe chart was described by one of the mothers, also a native aide in the Kindergarten.

The recipe chart (see Appendix N) was prepared ahead of time and the words added as the items were discussed. Initially the whole chart, which was fixed to the blackboard, was covered with chart paper held in place with magnets. In order to introduce a new item, I slid the paper down until it was visible on the chart. As the children identified each item, I pulled out the object or item of food, or a picture of the item to show the children. Then I recorded the name of the item on the chart. If it was food, I then added an arrow to show that it was going into the pot.

Day Two. This stage consisted of a review of the recipe chart, the cooking activity, a brief waiting period while the soup cooked and finally eating the soup. Like Day One, a script was followed (see Appendix O). The entire activity took about one and a half hours. The activity was organized and controlled by me, but the classroom teacher participated throughout.

The activity took place in a large room in the school, used sometimes as a staff room. It contained a sink, microwave oven, hot plate, long table and chairs. The recipe was put up on a blackboard clearly visible to the

children working at the table. To streamline the activity, certain preparations were made ahead of time. The first two steps in the recipe, preparing the broth, were completed the previous night. In addition the vegetables were precleaned and chopped into manageable portions for children to cut up. A place was prepared for each child at the table, with a chair if necessary, heavy paper towels for a cutting board and a blunt knife.

After reviewing the recipe, children were encouraged to refer to the recipe to find what vegetable should be chopped up next. Each child was given a piece of each vegetable to cut up in the same order as on the recipe. After chopping they added their portions to the pot. In addition each child had a turn adding some rice, and some of the frozen vegetables to the pot.

As some children finished earlier than others, the waiting period before eating the soup was variable. A collection of books was provided for children to look at in this period. Some children had more time than others with the books. After it was cooked, all children had an opportunity to eat the soup, and all at least tried it. Those who wanted more were given second helpings.

Day Three. This last stage of the sequence was the narrative collection. It also followed a script (see Appendix P). This activity closely matched the children's

previous experience with telling me about an experience and having it narrated. The same room, tape recorder and writing materials were used. The tape recorder was the same Sanyo Model MW 710 used in the piloting. TDK low noise, extended high end tape was used.

However,this time the narrative task differed. The children were asked if they remembered how we talked about and made the soup. Then they were asked if they could tell me something about it. As the audience this time, I provided no verbal prompts, only what Collins and Michaels (1979) called listenership cues, such as smiling, and nodding. With prompts, some children may have been able to provide more extensive narratives more easily. However as there was no way of controlling for their interactive effect, they were excluded from the context in this stage.

The only exception to this exclusion of prompts was made based on the children's first narrative tellings in the familiarization stage. In this activity many children appeared to have difficulty either determining a place to stop narrating, or in signalling this information to me. Using various cues such as long pauses, changes in concentration to other objects in the room, signs of physical restlessness or facial expressions, I asked them if they were finished. Usually,at this point,they then replied "Yes." Consequently in the Day Three narrative

collection I included this single prompt in the narratives, where the non-verbal cues observed in the familiarization stage were again observed. In some cases, children did indicate that they had more to say, and they were allowed to finish. In each case, the fact that the narrative was completed was confirmed by asking if they were finished.

Children were always given the opportunity to hear a portion of their taped narratives afterwards. This provided an ongoing check on functioning of the tape recorder. It was also used to complete or check ambiguities in the dictated transcripts, as in the previous narrative collection this was found to be difficult to do later. In a few cases, children's articulation of words were left as uncertain if after two or three requests for clarification, it was still unclear. This process was also considered part of the follow-up, adding to children's interest and enjoyment of the activity.

Incidental and Anecdotal Recording

Within the time spent in the community, a number of conversations provided comments relevant to this study. This information was either recorded immediately, or if appropriate, recorded later as an anecdotal note based on memory.

Follow Up

Children were given an opportunity to hear portions of their taped narratives immediately. The dictated narratives were photocopied and the originals left with the teachers for their use in follow-up activities. In addition, copies of the tape recordings were made and sent back to the school. The information from this study and the manner of preparation preferred was discussed with the education committee representative. This information will be made available to the community and school when complete.

Effectiveness of Procedures In Establishing A Comfortable Atmosphere

Implementing of the procedures in this study was considered to be carried out as planned and as described above. However establishing and maintaining a comfortable atmosphere could not be carefully controlled or the effectiveness carefully evaluated. This effectiveness is discussed here.

In general, it was considered that these procedures were effective. This is based on several observations. Both the band manager and band education administrator, as well as the chief, were helpful in facilitating the obtaining of parent permission and offering any assistance that I required. The Kindergarten teacher remarked that her

native aide was very relaxed with me, as were the children. The children responded with enthusiasm and interest to my participation in their classes and the activities I suggested. Finally, the teachers were invariably helpful in working out schedules and making adjustments in their routines to accommodate the activities of the study.

However, more specifically, some of the Kindergarten children were considered noticeably less comfortable with some activities in the study, than the Grade 1 and Grade 2 children. For example, the room used for narrative collection still appeared distracting to the Kindergarten children, even after the familiarization task. Some asked for information about the writing process while relating their narratives. Also some were uncertain about leaving the room during the familiarization stage. One child thought he might be going to have a needle as this was what happened the last time that the children had been withdrawn individually from their classroom. None of the above responses were observed with Grade 1 or Grade 2 children, with the exception of several interjections by children regarding the writing process.

Although one factor here may have been the younger age of the Kindergarten children and their shorter experience with the school context, they had also had more erratic attendance than the Grade 1 and Grade 2 children.

Similarly the Kindergarten attendance throughout the time period of this study was erratic in comparison to the Grade 1 and Grade 2 children, who had almost 100% attendance in this time period. Only seven of the ten Kindergarten children attended all three days of the narrative collection sequence and more had been absent during the familiarization time period.

As the parameter of a comfortable narrative context was not judged to have been effectively implemented with the Kindergarten children, their narratives were excluded from the consideration of oral narrative discourse style in this study. However they were considered in the individual factors affecting variation in the narratives.

Narrative Evaluation

The dictated copies and the audiotapes were used to make the narrative evaluations necessary to address the questions considered in this study. This involved three processes --transcribing of the oral narratives, prosodic analysis of the narratives and assessing the oral narrative discourse style of the narratives. These processes will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

Summary Of The Chapter

The narratives in this study were collected from a single intact school population. The community, school and individual factors in children's backgrounds affecting language development have been described. In addition, general information on children's ages, gender, grade level and siblings was summarized.

The community was in the northern interior of British Columbia and the people were Carrier Indian. The first language of the children in this community was English. Traditional ways of living were mixed with ways of mainstream Canadian society. At the time of this study, the school was under joint control by the Band and the Department of Indian Affairs but it had a predominantly white teaching staff. There were 36 children who participated in this study in the Kindergarten, Grade 1 and Grade 2 classes. All discussions of narratives within this study are in reference to this particular group of children and their sociocultural context.

Before determining the specific procedures for collection of narratives, the parameters of the narrative context in the working framework were defined. These described the role of the speaker and audience, the narrative task and the setting of the narrative context. These

parameters were used but with modifications made for the children in this study, and control of the narrative context for all children.

Specific procedures for this study were determined that included the time preceding the narrative collection in the community and a follow-up subsequent to completion of the study. Central to these procedures was the consideration that the needs and interests of the community and children had the highest priority. These procedures consisted of making preliminary contacts, a familiarization stage in the community, the narrative collection activity sequence and a follow-up. Finally the processes for evaluating the narratives were also derived from the working framework.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The purpose of this chapter is first, to describe the processes used to evaluate the narratives, and second, to summarize, describe and compare the narrative evaluations in order to address the two major questions in this study. The process used to evaluate the narratives was based on the working framework of this study, as drawn from Michaels and Cazden (1986), Michaels (1981) and Michaels and Cook-Gumperz (1979). This process consisted of three stages. The first two stages were the transcription and prosodic analysis of the narratives. The third stage consisted of assessing the style of oral narrative discourse of the prosodically analyzed transcriptions.

The narrative evaluations were summarized and described to address the first major question in this study. This question addressed the approximation of the narratives to topic centred, topic associating or to a third and different style of oral narrative discourse. Thematic focus/topic development was considered first, then thematic cohesive devices and third the overall style of oral narrative discourse. The patterns of occurrence of discourse

styles in the narratives were then examined.

The summaries and descriptions of the narratives were then used to make the narrative comparisons in order to address the second major question of this study which considered differences in narrative discourse style among grade levels, individual children and between boys and girls. Differences in oral narrative discourse style and the patterns of occurrence of the differences were examined.

Processes of Transcription, Prosodic Analysis and Assessment of Style of Discourse of Narratives

The narratives as collected from the children consisted of the dictated narratives and audiotapes of the oral narratives. The particular processes of narrative evaluation were derived from the working framework. These processes of transcription, prosodic analysis and assessment of discourse style are described in the following sections.

Narrative Transcription

In the working framework, all lexical elements of the oral narratives were transcribed. This included all the clausal elements, and also false starts, repetitions and non-clausal elements such as "um". No additions or changes were made to the oral narratives in the written transcriptions.

The dictated narratives as written transcriptions excluded false starts, repetitions and non-clausal elements. In addition, they included approximations of conventional English grammatical style, such as periods, capitals, and commas. (See Appendix Q for samples of the dictated narratives.) This is the usual practice in these activities and the 'stories' were to be left with the teachers for later classroom use.

Using the copies of the dictated narratives and the audiotapes, written narrative transcriptions were made that included the false starts, repetitions and non-clausal elements, and excluded the additions or changes made according to conventional English. The written transcriptions now included all the syntactic and semantic information of the oral narratives without any modifications or additions, as in the working framework.

Prosodic Analysis of Narratives

Prosodic Analysis in the Working Framework

The process of prosodic analysis in the working framework was described by Michaels (1981) as follows:

> Initially speech is chunked into tone groups[5] (i.e. segments with a single continuous intonational contour). These units are then designated as major tone groups (ending with some indication of closure) or minor tone groups (signaling 'more to come'). Second, points of intonational prominence are located: the primary peak of the tone group being the nucleus with peaks of lesser prominence identified as secondary heads. Third, pitch contours (rising, falling, level, rise-fall, fall-rise etc.) are indicated on the tone group nucleus, and pitch levels indicated for the heads (either high or low). One then systematically examines the use of prosody within and across clauses, looking for relationships between tone chunking, nucleus contour and clausal (syntactic and semantic) structure. In doing this kind of prosodic analysis, grammarlike consistency or unity of meaning cannot be assumed. Rather one looks for general patterns in the use and functioning of prosodic cues within and across speakers, in relation to particular discourse tasks. (pp. 441-442)

Other elements identified in this process were shifts of the entire tone group to a high or low pitch register, pausing, vowel elongation, speech rate, loudness and rhythm.

As specified in this framework, the approach to analysis included the search for prosodic patterns within

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[5]Tone groups and the following terms are defined in the Glossary in Appendix A: intonation, nucleus, head, pitch contour, nucleus contour, register, nominal, anaphoric, series of narrative units, parallel units, weighted units, unweighted unit, varied unit, pitch jump, pitch glide.

and across speakers. As such, the framework of analysis was open-ended and anticipated the generation of patterns that might be unique or specific to a particular population. This process, resembled the circular process described by Cruttendon (1986) for identifying tone groups which incorporated both external and internal criteria:

> We establish some intonation groups in cases where all the external criteria conspire to make the assignment of a boundary relatively certain; we note the sort of internal intonational structure occurring in such cases and this enables us to make decisions in those cases where the external criteria are less unambiguous. And in some difficult cases we take grammatical or semantic criteria into account, i.e. when regular correspondences between intonation and grammar/semantics have been established, in cases where boundary assignment is clear, we may lean heavily on such correspondences when assigning boundaries in the difficult cases. (p. 36)

Prosodic Analysis In This Study

Based on the process prescribed in the working framework and Cruttendon's (1986) description of a circular approach, the prosodic analysis of each narrative was made using the transcribed written narratives and the audiotapes. The method used can be summarized as follows:

1. The entire narrative was listened to for a general sense of the prosodic patterns.
2. Written transcriptions were retranscribed in their approximate tone groups, and including

all pauses, syllable separations where pitch accents occurred, and other transcript segments.

3. The nucleus, heads and nuclear contour in each tone group were identified.
4. Loudness, syllable elongation and speed were marked relative to the individual overall use of them.
5. Measurable pauses and those between tone groups were timed.
6. Identification of tone groups was refined if the further analyses had changed the original interpretation. This especially included judgements of minor and major tone groups.
7. Listening to the complete narrative again provided 'proofreading', line numbering and additional notes on rhythm.
8. Any additional notes that were considered potentially significant were added.
9. This entire process was repeated. The first cycle was used to illuminate distinctive prosodic patterns which were then used in the second cycle to help refine the analyses.

After the first cycle of analysis was completed for all narratives, several distinctive attributes of prosodic elements which had not been part of the working

framework. These were then added to the framework and used to make the more careful analyses in the second cycle. (For some narratives, this process was repeated several more times.) These additions are discussed below.

A distinctive intonational contour emerged in the majority of the narratives and marked the majority of tone groups. From here on this will be referred to as the common intonational contour. It was most distinctively characterized by a fall-rise over the final syllables of the tone group. The characteristics of this contour were used in the more careful analyses of the second cycle of prosodic analysis. (A more detailed description of this contour as typically seen is provided in Figure 3.) In order to reflect this particular contour, marking of the entire nuclear contour was added to the framework.

Several other particular attributes of prosodic structures not included in the original framework had to be added to accommodate prosodic patterns of the narratives in this study. The structures and their attributes used to make the prosodic analysis in this study and their notations of transcription are summarized in Appendix R. This summary also includes any necessary notations of transcription for lexical structures. Their sources are indicated accordingly.

Figure 3. Description of typical common intonational contour

Overall

- marks tone groups in conjunction with following pause
- repetition of contour provides rhythmic effect
- a contrast between beginning syllables and ending syllables

Beginning Syllables	Ending Syllables
Pitch Contour	
- contains secondary stress markings but infrequently - markings of secondary stress approximate a pitch jump not a pitch glide - starts about midrange, falls slightly, and fall may be sustained over first syllable or just first sound; rises again to approximately mid-range; continues as almost a monotone	- contains nucleus and nuclear contour - nucleus and nuclear contour are pitch glides Nucleus and Nuclear Contour - nuclear contour is fall-rise over last syllables marked as ✓ - rise may be step-like over last few syllables marked as ✓ - if nucleus is only one syllable and last syllable, syllable contains whole contour - rises may be high or extreme high - sometimes no fall preceding rise, but usually this coincides with the indications of a minor tone group - sometimes only a rise but preceding syllables lowered so as contour begins as a low rise

Other Structures

- uneven pacing with frequent pauses	- even flow of sounds and words
- little or no elision	- elision occurs
- slower speed	- seems to accelerate, but may be effect of pitch glide
- vowel elongation and increased loudness may occur	- elongation and increased loudness often mark nucleus as well as pitch accent

Standardization of Prosodic Analysis In This Study

In order to do the prosodic analysis, working definitions of all terms were standardized. Working definitions were based on those of the working framework and where necessary, further details were drawn from Cruttendon (1986). However it was sometimes necessary to also clarify criteria for certain prosodic structures, as found in this study. For example, the common intonational contour marked tone groups in many of the narratives. Since rising tones ended all tone groups in these narratives, the definitions of major and minor tone groups as used in the working framework needed to be further clarified. Consequently definitions of major and minor tone groups in this study were based on variations in the common intonational contour. Less pronounced rises in pitch at the end of a tone group, followed by a less clearly marked beginning of the following tone group was considered to mark the preceding group as minor. These criteria, specific to the structures in this study, are included in the definitions of the structures in the Glossary in Appendix A. The sources of the definitions are indicated accordingly.

In summary, the prosodic analysis included the structures designated in the working framework and particular attributes generated by it. After this process was completed, the transcribed oral narratives included

semantic, syntactic and prosodic information. (These transcripts are contained in Appendix S.)

Assessing of Style of Discourse of Narratives

The last stage in the process of narrative evaluation was assessing the style of discourse of the transcribed narratives to determine whether and in what way they approximated the topic associating, topic centred or a third and different style of oral narrative discourse. In addition to the studies used in the working framework, topic centred and topic associating styles of discourse have also been discussed by Collins and Michaels (1979), Gee (1985), Michaels (1983), Michaels (1984) and Michaels and Collins (1984). These sources were also used to provide further information in the working framework regarding the particular features of these narrative discourse styles.

Assessment of Narrative Discourse In The Working Framework

The features of discourse focused on in the working framework are those of thematic focus/topic development and the thematic cohesive devices. These features as they relate in general to studies of cross-cultural communication were discussed in Chapter 2. Discussed here are the particular attributes of these features as used in the

working framework, and their occurrence in the topic centred and topic associating discourse styles. A comparison of these features and their particular attributes in the two styles of oral narrative discourse was summarized in the Key Features Chart in Figure 2. (See Chapter 2, p. 54.)

Thematic focus topic development. The particular aspects of thematic focus/topic development that were part of the working framework for this study are discussed here. Theme is an overall common element of the entire discourse with which the topic or topics interrelate. A topic is that which dominates a segment of discourse, although the exact balance of the components of time, place, participants and focus may vary. For example in both topic centred narratives in Appendix C, the focus of the topic can be seen to shift but the topic continues to dominate. In the first example the topic is the bad dream and the focus shifts from identifying the dream, to telling how she felt about it. In the second, the topic is the cookie making, and the topic shifts from the preparing of the cookies to eating the cookies. A single thematic focus may contain a single topic focus but may also contain more than one topic focus. In addition, a single thematic focus may be organized into sections that all reflect the thematic focus, but in different ways. As such, thematic continuity can be effected in more than one way.

In topic centred discourse as described in the working framework, theme and topic may appear synonomous, as this style of discourse typically contained a single topic. Time and place remained constant, while participants and focus might vary, but in some closely connected manner. Frequently there was a formulaic introduction consisting of time, then focus, then place. Typical topic development in the topic centred style of discourse could be seen as having three thematic sections. These conveyed a sense of differential weighting similar to the literary notion of introduction, plot development and climax. These sections were a beginning (often a theme statement), which was followed by an elaboration (which might include a theme restatement, as well as complicating action regarding the theme). Finally there was an ending, which was some type of resolution regarding the theme, and could often be described as a type of punchline. This type of topic development provided a linear thematic continuity.

The topic associating discourse style as described in the working framework contained more than one topic, and time, place, and focus shifted frequently. Connections between these shifts were not explicitly stated and to a listener expecting a topic centred discourse style, there appeared to be no overall thematic focus. However these topics were all linked, but implicitly, and the thematic

focus was never stated explicitly. Thematic continuity was accomplished through anecdotal association rather than a linear progression. In this style of discourse, typical thematic continuity occurred over several sections, each focusing on a different topic. However these did not conform to notions of a beginning, middle and end as found in the topic centred style.

Thematic cohesive devices. Thematic cohesive devices, which are pertinent to the working framework in this study, are discussed here. They consist of both lexical and prosodic structures, and as discussed in Chapter 2, it has been emphasized that the prosodic structures are particularly important in cross-cultural communication.

Prosodic cohesive devices are those in which the meaning of the structure as it relates to the discourse and its thematic continuity is contained in non-lexical characteristics of speech. Information provided prosodically in discourse is considered implicit information. Those prosodic structures that help mark overall implicit thematic continuity, the component sections and the narrative units that compose these sections have been the major focus in the working framework used in this study.

In the studies contributing to the working framework, discourse in both the topic centred and topic associating styles used a particular intonational contour specific to

the narrative context, and was called a Sharing Time intonational contour. This contour was described as a sharp rising tone, or sometimes a sharp rise-fall, marking the end of a tone group and indicating 'more to come'. It was not used in other language contexts during the school day by any of the children. However the use of the intonational contour over the entire narrative varied between topic centred and topic associating styles of discourse. Topic centred discourse was described as using this Sharing Time contour throughout the discourse until the end of the narrative, where lowered pitch and falling tones were used. The interpretation was that the repetition of the contour marked continuity until the end, which was then marked by the change in intonation. Some topic centred turns were described as more elaborate prosodically. In these, "sustained rising tones were used to establish the scene or perspective. Changing tones (both rise-falls and fall-rises) were used to elaborate on the topic and low falling tones were used in closing" (Michaels & Collins, 1984, p. 224). In general, the intonational contour was the major prosodic element describing the topic centred style.

The topic associating style of discourse was also described as using the Sharing Time contour, but with shifts in the pitch contour marking ends of narrative

sections. As such, Sharing Time contours were used to mark continuity over the entire narrative in topic centred discourse, but to mark points of discontinuity between narrative sections in topic associating discourse. Topic associating discourse was also described as using falling contours and lowered pitch to mark the completion of the narrative. In addition to the intonational contour, other prosodic elements were important in describing the topic associating style. Rhythmic chunking and pausing both helped mark shifts in topic between the narrative sections.

Lexical cohesive devices are those in which the meaning of the structure as it relates to the discourse and its thematic continuity is contained within the word or words, and as such , can be found in a dictionary. In this study, these include what are commonly known as syntactic and semantic information provided lexically in discourse as explicit information, although it may vary in its degree of ambiguity. The working framework in this study has focused on lexical elements that provide information about temporal and spatial relations and also referential information, particularly between nouns, or between nouns and pronouns.

In descriptions of topic centred discourse, lexical elements were used to provide thematic continuity. In particular nominal chains of nouns, or nominal-anaphoric chains of nouns and pronouns all relating to a common

cultural event, often provided cohesion throughout topic development. In general, topic centred discourse provided tightly structured, lexically explicit referential, spatial and temporal relations. However in descriptions of topic associating discourse, lexical elements were seldom used to provide explicit information about relations within the discourse.

These concepts of thematic focus/topic development and thematic cohesive devices formed the portion of the working framework used to assess the discourse style in the narratives. They were summarized in the five points of the Key Features Chart (Figure 1). These Key Features formed the basis for assessing whether the narratives in this study more clearly approximated the topic associating, topic centred or some third and different style of oral narrative discourse.

Assessing Narrative Discourse In This Study

The assessments of discourse in each narrative were made using the prosodically analyzed transcriptions. Each narrative was assessed for each of the five points as approximating topic centred, topic associating or some other third and different style of discourse.

The process of assessment was cyclical, similar to the process of prosodic analysis. In the first cycle,

patterns were looked for and some features were identified. The second cycle used the patterns that emerged from the first to standardize terms used and to refine the assessments. As such, the process of narrative assessment, like that of prosodic analysis, used the working framework with additional attributes based on the narratives in this study. These additions are discussed below.

Topic development as found in this study, frequently included formulaic closures. These were added to the framework of thematic focus/topic development as it was thought that they may be significant to the narrative style for this group of children. In addition, particular attributes of features in the framework were also added. The key features and their attributes used to make the assessments of oral narrative discourse style in this study are summarized in Appendix T. This summary includes those features from the working framework and those attributes added to it for the purposes of this study. Their sources are indicated accordingly.

Standardization of Narrative Assessments In This Study

In order to do the narrative evaluations, working definitions of all terms were standardized. As for terms in the prosodic analysis, working definitions were based on those of the framework, but it was often necessary to

establish criteria for certain attributes of the key features. These criteria are included in the glossary with the definitions, and their sources indicated accordingly.

In summary, the entire process of narrative evaluation involved the component processes of transcription, prosodic analysis and assessment of overall discourse style. Through these processes narratives were evaluated as approximating topic centred, topic associating or a third and different style of oral narrative discourse for each of the five points on the Key Features Chart. Where a third and different style was indicated on a particular feature, a description was made using standardized terminology of the particular attributes of this feature. Through this process, a set of composite evaluations of the narratives was formed. These evaluations are contained in Appendix U. These composite evaluations were used to summarize, describe, and compare the narratives in order to address the two major questions in this study.

Summary and Descriptions of Narratives

The composite evaluations were summarized and described to address the first major question in this study. This question asked whether thematic focus/topic development, thematic cohesive devices and the overall oral narrative discourse style could be described as approximating topic

centred, topic associating or a third and different style. It also asked in what ways a third and different style could be described, if it were present, and what the patterns of occurrence were for the style identified in the narratives.

In addressing this question, first, summaries and descriptions were made of the thematic focus/topic development and thematic devices of the narratives. Second, a summary and description of the overall oral narrative discourse style was made, in conjunction with the patterns of occurrence of the identified styles.

Summary And Description of Topic Development and Thematic Cohesive Devices

The composite evaluations of the narratives were sorted, grouped and ordered according to similar features. The composite evaluations are summarized in Table 2. Separate summaries were then made for the features of thematic focus/topic development and for the features of thematic cohesive devices. For each set of features, narratives were summarized as approximating topic centred, topic associating or a third and different style. Groupings emerged according to which style or combination of styles the narratives approximated. These summaries and groupings are shown in Table 3, in which the overall discourse style summaries are also included. Descriptions of the different

Table 2.

Summary of grouped composite evaluations

Grade	Child*	Points of Evaluation from Key Features Chart								
		1		2		3		4		5
2	Katy	TC[1]	TC	TC	0	TC	X[4]	TC	0	TC
2	Peter	TC	TC	TC	X	TC	X	TC	O	U[5]
1	Jonathan	TC	TC	TC	O	TC	X	TC	O	U
1	Mary	TC	TC	TC	O	TC	X	TA	X	U
2	Sylvia	TC	O[2]	O	O	TC	TC	TA	X	U
2	Tom	TC	O	O	O	TC	X	TA	X	TC
2	Joe	TC	O	TA[3]	O	TC	X	TA	O	TC
2	Carol	TC	O	TA	O	TC	X	TA	X	U
1	Roger	TC	O	TA	X	TC	X	TA	X	U
2	Bruce	TC	O	TA	X	TC	X	TA	X	U
2	Michael	TC	O	TA	X	TC	X	TA	X	TC
1	Kelly	TC	O	TA	X	TC	X	TA	X	U
1	Penny	TC	O	TA	O	TC	X	TA	X	U
1	Darryl	TC	O	TA	O	TC	X	TA	X	TC
2	Dick	TC	O	TA	O	TC	X	TA	X	TC
2	Buddy	TC	O	TA	X	TC	X	TA	X	U
1	Benjamin	TC	O	TA	O	TC	X	TA	X	U
1	Trevor	TC	O	TA	X	TC	X	TA	X	U
1	Andrew	TC	O	TA	O	TC	X	TA	X	U
2	Philippa	TC	O	TA	O	TC	X	TA	X	TC
2	Juliette	TC	O	TA	O	TC	X	TA	X	U
1	Nicola	TC	O	TA	X	TC	X	TA	X	U
1	Patrick	TC	O	TA	O	TC	X	TA	X	U
2	Norman	O	O	TA	X	TA	X	TA	X	TC
1	Rebecca	O	O	TA	X	TA	X	TA	X	U
1	David	TC	U	TC	X	TC	TC	U	O	U
2	Sandra	O	U	TA	X	TA	X	U	U	U
	N = 27									

Note. *All children's names are pseudonyms. 1 = Topic centred; 2 = Other; 3 = Topic associating; 4 = Feature not present; 5 = Unclear

Table 3

Summary of narrative discourse style for features of thematic focus/topic development, thematic cohesive devices and overall discourse style

Grade	Child	Thematic Focus Topic Development	Thematic Cohesive Devices	Overall Discourse Style
2	Katy	Group 1 (19%)	Group A (11%)	Topic Centred (11%) Narratives
2	Peter			
1	Jonathan	TC[1]	TC	
1	Mary		Group B (82%)	Unclear (4%)
2	Sylvia	Group 2 (70%)		TC-TA-O (7%)
2	Tom	TC-O[2]		
2	Joe		TA[3]	
2	Carol			
1	Roger			
2	Bruce	TC-TA-O		
2	Michael			
1	Kelly			
1	Penny			
1	Darryl			
2	Dick			Narratives of a Third and Different Style (78%) TC-TA-O
2	Buddy			
1	Benjamin			
1	Trevor			
1	Andrew			
2	Phillippa			
2	Juliette			
1	Nicola			
1	Patrick			
2	Norman	Group 3 (11%)		TA-O (7%)
1	Rebecca	TA-O		
1	Sandra	Group 4 (7%)	Group C (7%)	Unclear (7%)
2	David	U[4]	U[1]	
	N = 27			

Note. 1 = Topic centred; 2 = Other; 3 = Topic associating; 4 = Unclear

groupings of thematic focus/topic development and thematic cohesive devices are discussed in detail in the following section.

Thematic Focus/Topic Development

The features of thematic focus/topic development were considered in combination in summarizing the narrative evaluations according to topic centred, topic associating or some other style of oral narrative discourse. However the added feature of closures was found to be variable but in no fixed relation to other features (with the exception of narratives with topic drift and/or changes in narrative style). It was not included in making these summaries. Instead it is discussed in conjunction with the comparisons of narratives. Four groups emerged from this summary. Group 1, was identified as having only topic centred features; Group 2 as having topic centred, topic associating and other features; Group 3 as having topic associating as well as other features; and Group 4 as unclear.

Group 1. This group consisted of four (15%) of the narratives. They approximated the topic centred style with the exception of the formulaic introduction which was excluded in all of these narratives. In all the narratives, thematic focus was on a single topic, and the topic development followed a topic centred pattern of a variety

of units with varying roles in the narratives which formed at least two of, a beginning, middle and end. Finally, there were no shifts in time or place.

Group 2. This group consisted of 19 (70%) of the narratives. These narratives were characterized by a mixture of topic centred, topic associating and other features. Two narratives, Sylvia's and Tom's (Appendix S-V and VI), could be considered a 'more topic centred' subgroup, especially Sylvia's which contained a topic centred formulaic introduction. Neither contained any topic associating features. Their topic development although judged as other, was different from the remainder of this group and from each other's. Sylvia's narrative was organized as a series of parallel weighted units that provided a temporal but not thematic beginning, middle and end. Tom's narrative was organized as a series of parallel unweighted units providing a thematic beginning, but a sequential elaboration and no ending.

The other narratives in Group 2 all exhibited: the same pattern of a thematic focus on a single topic; topic development of a series of parallel unweighted units, no apparent beginning, middle and end; and no shifts in time or place.

Group 3. This group consisted of two (7%) of the narratives. These narratives were characterized by a

mixture of features but excluded those of the topic centred style. Both followed the same pattern.

Thematic focus drifted over several topics. Topic development was a series of parallel unweighted units with no apparent beginning, middle or end, and both narratives contained shifts in time and place.

Group 4. This group consisted of two (7%) of the narratives, These have been grouped separately as they both showed transitions in style of topic development within the narrative. Sandra's narrative (Appendix S-XXVI) most closely resembled Group 3, being a mixture of topic associating and other features. The theme drifted over several topics. Topic development began as a series of parallel weighted units, continued as two topic centred patterns of varied weighted units, and was followed by two series of varied weighted units. There was no apparent beginning, middle and end, and there were a number of shifts in time, place and theme focus. Sandra's narrative was also unusually long.

David's narrative (Appendix S-XXVII) most closely resembled Group 1, being mostly topic centred, the exception being the unclear topic development. The thematic focus in his narrative was on a single topic. Topic development began with a series of varied weighted units, followed by a series of parallel unweighted units. There were no shifts

in time or place and there was a formulaic introduction of character, focus and place.

Thematic Cohesive Devices

The use of explicit or implicit patterns marking thematic continuity was the only cohesive device that was used to judge the overall approximation to topic centred, topic associating or other discourse styles. Variation in explicitness of lexical relations was observed in no fixed relationship to other features. Like the closures, this feature was not included in the summary of discourse style but was discussed in conjunction with comparisons of narratives. Three groups emerged from this summary. Group A was identified as having a topic centred style; Group B as having a topic associating style; and Group C as unclear in that both these narratives used a mixture of styles.

Group A. This group consisted of three (11%) of the narratives. They all approximated a topic centred use of cohesive devices through some lexical explicitness and a combination of intonational contours described as characteristic of topic centred narratives highlighting the topic development. These contours consisted of rising tones followed by a falling contour marking the beginning; varied tones marking the middle, and finishing with a falling

contour; and a falling contour marking the ending.

However all three narratives also contained a feature of uniform, slow, even pacing of words which was not described as characteristic of topic centred discourse in the working framework. Other occurrences of this feature in this group of narratives were also in Sandra's and David's narratives in Group D and in Joe's narrative in Group B (Appendix S-XXVI, XXVII, and VII.)

Group B. This group consisted of 22 (82%) of the narratives. They all exhibited a use of cohesive devices that approximated a topic associating style. No lexical relations between narrative units were provided. However a clearly identifiable prosodic pattern could be seen, termed here because of its frequency, the common prosodic pattern, and incorporating the common intonational contour. This pattern consisted of the repetition of the common prosodic pattern in each tone group with only minor variation. The repetition of syntactic/semantic structures in many of the tone groups added to the rhythmic effect. This repetitive, prosodic pattern was considered here to implicitly highlight the parallel unweighted structure of topic development used in all but one of the narratives using this prosodic pattern. It was considered to provide implicit relations between the units which were not readily apparent through the lexical information alone.

In the 21 narratives, only one individual case of variation in the prosodic pattern occurred. Joe's narrative (Appendix S-VII), although following the common prosodic pattern in all other ways, used a uniform, even pacing of words like that used with the topic centred prosodic patterns.

Group C. This group consisted of two (7%) of the narratives. These two narratives, David's and Sandra's, were again grouped separately and judged as unclear, as a transition between two styles was exhibited throughout the narratives.

Sandra's narrative (Appendix S-XXVI) used the rhythmic repetition of the intonational contour in those sections of her narrative that were organized as a series of units, but those sections approximating a topic centred topic development were marked by an approximation of the topic centred prosodic pattern. When using this prosodic pattern, she also used the uniform, slow, even pacing of words that was used in the narratives in Group A.

David's narrative (Appendix S-XXVII) used the characteristic topic centred intonational contour for the formulaic introduction. However the remainder of his narrative with different topic organization contained the rhythmic repetition provided by the common intonational contour and syntactic/semantic structures. He also seemed to use the slow, even pacing of words throughout his entire narrative,

although less markedly in the section marked by the common prosodic pattern.

The two sets of groupings that emerged from the summaries of thematic development and thematic cohesive devices partially overlapped. These overlapping groupings were used to summarize the overall discourse style.

Summary and Description of Overall Oral Narrative Discourse Style

The overlapping groupings as summarized in Figure 3, formed the basis for identifying narratives as belonging to a particular discourse style. The presence of patterns of particular features as indicated by the working framework and/or by repetition of patterns of features were the critical factors in designing narrative styles.

Topic Centred Narratives

Three (11%) of the narratives were identified as topic centred, as they had been identified as topic centred in both thematic focus/topic development and thematic cohesive devices. The only deviation from this designation as found in the working framework, was in the inclusion of the even pacing of words. All three showed the same pattern of single thematic focus, topic development of a topic centred pattern, a beginning, middle and end, no shifts in time or place, no formulaic introduction and a

topic centred prosodic pattern that differentially marked linear topic development and thematic continuity in the narrative.

Narratives of A Third and Different Style

Another 21 (78%) of the narratives were designated narratives of a third and different style. Two subgroups were included in this group, one with more topic centred features (Sylvia's and Tom's narratives, Appendix S-V and VI), and one with no topic centred features (Norman's and Rebecca's narratives, Appendix S-XXIV and XXV). However, all these narratives were designated as narratives of a third and different style due to the presence of two shared features, the pattern of topic development and the pattern of prosodic marking. These features were not evident in the topic centred narratives and were not described in the working framework.

All 21 narratives shared a common pattern of topic development of a series of parallel, unweighted units. The only exception to this was Sylvia's narrative, which was a series of parallel weighted units, but judged as a very close approximation to the topic development of the other narratives in this group. All 21 narratives also shared the common pattern of prosodic marking of their narratives, which although technically topic associating,

had distinctive attributes not described in narratives in the working framework. From here on this will be referred to as the common style of oral narrative discourse in this study.

Narratives of Unclear Status

Mary's narrative (Appendix S-IV), designated topic centred for topic development and topic associating for cohesive devices, was judged as unclear in overall discourse style; as were those of Sandra and David (Appendix S-XXVI and XXVII), which exhibited mixed characteristics of topic centred and topic associating discourse within, rather than across features.

Summary of The Oral Narrative Discourse Styles and Their Patterns of Occurrence

In Table 3, the percentages of narratives approximating the designated discourse styles were summarized. The distribution of these styles of discourse are discussed here.

Overall, topic centred narrative discourse was only clearly identified for 11% of the narratives. However the composite evaluations of these three topic centred narratives revealed a uniform pattern of features across all three narratives. One marked addition to the topic centred style, as described in the working framework was the

slow, even pacing of words that accompanied all usages of topic centred prosodic patterns, but only occurred in one case with other prosodic patterns.

There is some indication that the topic centred style may have been more prevalent than was indicated by the number clearly identified as topic centred. Those narratives of unclear status, Sandra's, David's and Mary's (Appendix S-XXVI, XXVII and IV) all included topic centred features. Sylvia's and Tom's narratives (Appendix S-V and VI), although designated to the mixed features group, contained more topic centred features than the other narratives of this group. Finally, only two (7%) of all narratives contained no topic centred features.

There was also an indication that topic centred discourse was more prevalent in thematic focus/topic development than in cohesive devices. Mary's narrative was clearly topic centred in its topic development but topic associating in its use of cohesive devices. Similarly the other narratives which exhibited some signs of topic centred discourse in thematic focus/topic development (with the exception of Sandra's and David's), showed no signs of topic centred discourse in their use of cohesive devices. In summary, a clearly defined topic centred style only occurred in 11% of the narratives, but there were indications of it being incorporated less clearly in the

thematic focus/topic development features of another 82% of the narratives.

The topic associating style was not identified as the overall oral narrative discourse style for any of the narratives, although within the framework the topic associating feature of no apparent beginning, middle and end was identified for 75% of the narratives. However the pattern of topic development used by these same narratives was judged as belonging to a third and different style and was a series of parallel unweighted units. It was considered that this pattern might counteract the presence of a beginning, middle and end. This possibility was suggested by the fact that some of the narratives seemed to have a beginning theme statement, but one not clearly indicated. Consequently for this feature the framework's identification of a topic associating style may not have been an accurate interpretation for this group of narratives.

A topic associating style was also identified in 82% of the narratives in the use of cohesive devices. The use of implicit prosodic rather than explicit lexical structures that aided in providing thematic continuity was the basis for this identification as a topic associating feature. However the common prosodic pattern used by these narratives was different from that described for topic associating narratives in the working framework. Neither the rhythmic

repetition of the intonational contour, or of syntactic/ semantic structures were described for the topic associating style in the working framework. In addition the same pattern was also used partially in the 7% of narratives judged as unclear. Only the topic centred narratives did not exhibit this pattern in their narratives, although Jonathan's (Appendix S-III) closure also showed the intonational contour characteristic of this common prosodic pattern. In summary, features designated as topic associating within the working framework, could instead have been part of a third and different style but one that shared these same features with the topic associating style described in the working framework. Again, the framework's identification of a topic associating feature may not have been an accurate interpretation for this group of narratives.

Narratives of a third and different style were designated on the basis of their uniformly shared features of topic development and thematic cohesive devices. These made up 78% of all narratives. All but two of these 21 narratives (Norman's, and Rebecca's narratives, Appendix S-XXIV and XXV), also exhibited topic centred features of single topic thematic focus and lack of shifts in time or place. With the exception of Sylvia's and Tom's narratives (Appendix S-V and VI), none exhibited an apparent beginning, middle or end. To summarize, of the 78% of

all narratives identified as a third and different style, 63% of these exhibited exactly the same pattern of features of discourse within the framework used in this study. The remaining 15% shared the same features of topic development and thematic cohesive devices.

In summary, the description of narratives in this study indicated that there are two predominant patterns of discourse style in this group of narratives -- a topic centred style representing 11% of the narratives and a third and different style representing 78% of the narratives. This style was termed here the common style of oral narrative discourse. Although some features were designated topic associating as defined by the working framework for this study, this identification appears uncertain for this group of narratives.

Comparison of Narratives

In addressing the second major question in this study, the summaries and descriptions of oral narrative discourse styles described in the previous sections formed the basis for making the narrative comparisons. Comparisons of narratives were made between boys and girls, and among grade levels. Each of these comparisons considered differences between the groups being compared, and also looked for patterns of interaction between membership in the

group and oral narrative discourse style. In addition, some individual factors that might be related to differences in discourse style were considered.

Kindergarten narratives were excluded from all other descriptions and comparisons but were included in the discussion of individual narratives. (Reasons for excluding these narratives were discussed in Chapter 3.) The features of closure and lexical explicitness excluded from the discussion of discourse style were included in all the comparisons. Although these features had not been considered to vary in any consistent pattern in relation to oral narrative discourse style, it was thought that the variation in these features may be dependent on some other factor.

Comparison of Oral Narrative Discourse Style Between Boys and Girls

The oral narrative discourse styles of boys and girls was compared using the summarized descriptions of the styles. Narratives were sorted into boys' and girls' groups and the distribution compared according to thematic focus/topic development, thematic cohesive devices and overall style. In addition, the use of closures and explicit as compared to unclear lexical relations was also compared. However in 70% of the narratives, it was

considered that an assessment of lexical relations had to be left as unclear. This raised the possibility that the description of lexical relations as used in these assessments was not an appropriate index of features of oral narrative discourse style, at least for the group of narratives in this study. This factor was a limitation on the comparisons of lexical relations. These comparisons are summarized in Table 4.

Comparison of Features of Narrative Discourse Style

In comparing the distribution of boys and girls in each of the groups of narrative discourse style, the small and unequal numbers in this group limited the generalizability of the comparisons. General trends, although tenuous, could however be seen. For the group of narratives in this study, there appeared to be no clearly visible differences between boys and girls for thematic focus/ topic development, thematic cohesive devices or for overall style of narrative discourse. The distribution of boys and girls in all groups was similar considering the greater number of boys, except in those groups where there were only two narratives, and in these, there was always one boy and one girl.

Table 4

Comparisons of oral narrative discourse style between boys and girls

Thematic Focus/ Topic Development		Thematic Cohesive Devices		Overall Discourse Style	
Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Group 1		Group A		Topic Centred	
2	2	1	2	1	2
Group 2		Group B		Unclear	
1	1	8	12	1	
6	11				
Group 3		Group C		Narratives of a Third and Different Style	
1	1	1	1	7	12
Group 4				Unclear	
1	1	1	1	1	1

Closures		Explicit Lexical Relations	
Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
7	8	2	6
64%	50%	18%	38%

Note. Total number of girls = 11; total number of boys = 16

Comparison of Closures and Lexical Explicitness

In the use of closures, a percentage for all girls (64%) compared to all boys (50%), suggested there might be a tendency for girls to use closures more than boys. However it did appear that there might have been a stronger tendency for closure to appear in girls' narratives that had more topic centred features. Considering the narratives of Katy, Peter, Jonathan, Mary, Sylvia and Tom (Appendix S-I-VI), the girls' use of closure represented 27% of all closures used by girls, but the boys represented only 12% of all boys' use of closures. In the use of lexical explicitness as a thematic cohesive device, there was a visible difference between boys and girls usage in this group of narratives. Boys' narratives were judged as lexically explicit 38% of the time, but girls' only 18% of the time.

To summarize, narratives of boys and girls showed no apparent difference in narrative discourse style. There might have been a tendency for girls' narratives, with more topic centred features, to use more closures than boys' narratives, with more topic centred features. There did appear to be a tendency for boys to use more lexically explicit cohesive devices than girls, but this appeared to be related also to grade level. Only one of the boys, and none of the girls' lexically explicit narratives were

Grade 1 narratives.

Comparison of Oral Narrative Discourse Style Between Grade Levels

The comparisons between grade levels also used the summarized descriptions of narrative discourse style. Narratives were sorted into grade levels and the distribution compared according to thematic focus/topic development, thematic cohesive devices and overall style. In addition, the use of closures and explicit, as compared to unclear lexical relations were compared but with the same limitations as for boys and girls. These comparisons are summarized in Table 5. The number of children in Grade 1 was 13, and in Grade 2 was 14. This closeness in number makes these comparisons somewhat more tenable than those between boys and girls.

Comparisons of Style of Oral Narrative Discourse

In comparing the distribution of Grade 1 and Grade 2 narratives, the small number in this group of narratives again limited the generalizability of comparisons. However, again general trends, although tenuous, could be seen. There appeared to be no clear visible differences in the distribution of Grade 1 and Grade 2 narratives in thematic focus/topic development, thematic cohesive devices or overall style. As for the comparisons between boys and

Table 5

Comparisons of oral narrative discourse style between grade one and grade two narratives

Thematic Focus Topic Development		Thematic Cohesive Devices		Overall Discourse Style	
Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 1	Grade 2
Group 1		Group A		Topic Centred Narratives	
2	2	1	2	1	2
Group 2		Group B		Narratives of a Third and Different Style	
9	2	11	11	10	11
Group 3		Group C		Unclear	
1	1	1	1	2	1
Group 4					
1	1				

Closures		Explicit Lexical Relations	
Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 1	Grade 2
7	8	1	7
54%	57%	8%	50%

Note. Total number of Grade One children = 13; total number of Grade Two children = 14

and girls, where there were only two narratives in a group, there was always one in each grade.

However it did appear that there were more topic centred features in Grade 2 narratives. Considering those of Katy, Peter, Jonathan, Mary, Sylvia and Tom (Appendix S-I-VI), four were in Grade 2 and two in Grade 1. In addition, Joe's (Appendix S-VII), also in Grade 2, used the same slow, even pacing as the other topic centred narratives.

Comparisons of Closures and Lexical Explicitness

The distribution of use of closures was almost identical over the two grades, occurring in just over half of all narratives in each case. However considering narrative styles, it appeared that more of the narratives with more topic centred features also contained closures. Considering those of Katy, Peter, Jonathan, Mary, Sylvia and Tom, five out of the six all contained closures, as did Joe's narrative which used the topic centred prosodic pattern of the remaining narratives.

Lexical explicitness showed a marked contrast in usage between Grade 1 and Grade 2 narratives. Only one Grade 1 narrative was judged as lexically explicit, while seven (50%) of the Grade 2 narratives were judged as lexically explicit. However this distribution appeared to

show no pattern according to narrative style, but it did according to gender. The single Grade 1 narrative and five of the Grade 2 narratives were by boys.

To summarize, Grade 1 and Grade 2 narratives showed no apparent differences in oral narrative discourse style. However there did seem to be a tendency for more topic centred features to appear in Grade 2 narratives. Lexical explicitness, a topic centred feature, was more evident in Grade 2 narratives, but more so in boys. In any Grade 2 narratives with more topic centred features, there also appeared to be a tendency to include more closures, although the overall frequency of closures was about the same in both grades.

Factors Specific To Individuals and Oral Narrative Discourse Style

Within this group of narratives there appeared to be a common narrative pattern, represented in 78% of the narratives, with only a small amount of variation. As discussed above, grade level and gender appeared to have some effect on some features of discourse. However differences in overall discourse style did not appear as predominantly related to either of these factors.

In this section, comparisons in information about individual children as related to their language development

were used in comparing styles of oral narrative discourse. Atypical factors that might be seen as related to differences in discourse style were considered.

Children With Topic Centred Discourse Style

The three children whose narratives were judged as topic centred were considered for possible atypical factors relating to their less common discourse style. The description of personal and family factors possibly affecting language development as described in Chapter 3 was used, and also any of the specific information on children's background not included in the general summaries. Only factors less than common, or atypical were included in this consideration.

No clear patterns emerged for these three children. Mostly they appeared to have a similar background to other children, with the exception of Peter, whose background was considered a possible weakness. He also had no younger siblings, and had had no exposure to native language at home and was doing poorly in this class in school. Another atypical factor was Katy's age being considerably more than the median in her grade.

There were wide differences in their language proficiency ratings. Jonathan was considered the most proficient in the class in oral language but only fifth highest in written language. Katy was considered fifth highest in

oral language proficiency but twelfth in written language, while Peter was considered tenth in oral language and second in written proficiency. However such inconsistent ratings seemed quite typical of the whole group of narratives.

None of this general information seemed to indicate any clear relationship to these children's narrative discourse style. However some specific information used in compiling the general background summaries was referred to for other atypical factors possibly related to discourse style.

Jonathan was described as having an unusual role model in his father. His father apparently strongly encouraged traditional lifestyles but also had a strong interest in books, read extensively and encouraged the children in this direction. An incidental observation was made during this study of Jonathan in the U.S.S.R. time period in the Grade 1 class. He was observed with a large group of children round him and one of the class' favourite story books. He was 'reading' it to the group, such that it sounded like fluent reading, but in fact it was a 'reading-like' story telling, turning the pages and cueing the story to the pictures. His intonation resembled that of 'story reading' and that of the elaborate topic centred prosodic patterning. This incident was remarked on by his teacher who commented on his oral proficiency.

Peter was judged as having possible weaknesses in his personal background. One of these factors was changes in his home. However as part of these changes, he had been living for the four months preceding this study with Jonathan's family and presumably was exposed to both Jonathan's father as a role model and also Jonathan and his siblings. Katy had spent the previous year at the school in town. However other children had also attended school elsewhere, particularly the Kindergarten children, and it wasn't expected that this would represent any unusual experience. Complete information on this factor was not collected.

In summary the following atypical factors were all found as possibly related to children with a topic centred style: a 'literate' role model; a 'traditional life-style' role model; a school experience in a town school; an older than median age; lack of younger siblings; instability in family background; and lack of exposure to native language. Small numbers precluded drawing any definitive conclusions.

Narratives of Unclear Status

The narratives of Mary, Sandra and David were all designated unclear. Once again no clear patterns were apparent in the general background of these children. The only markedly

different characteristic was the fact that Sandra was the oldest child in Grade 2--being 9 years and 5 months while the median was 7 years and 11 months. There was one unique factor in her family background. She and her siblings were being raised by her grandmother and as the grandmother represented a different generation, her home experience may have been different from those of other children, all of whom had at least one parent or adult of their parent's generation in the home.

Like Peter, David had no younger (or older) siblings, and also had no exposure to native language at home and was doing poorly in school in the Native language class. Mary had a twin but no younger siblings. Otherwise, there were no other apparent atypical factors in Mary's or David's backgrounds.

In summary, the following atypical factors were associated with children using unclear oral narrative discourse styles: being of an older age; unusual family circumstances; no younger siblings; and no exposure to native language at home combined with slow progress in this class at school. There was no clear indication that any of these features were in fact related to these children's unclear style, just as there was no clear indication that the atypical factors and topic centred style were related.

Narratives of the Common Discourse Style

Among the children judged as using the common oral narrative discourse style the atypical factors noted above occurred for the following children. In Grade 1, Penny and Patrick were considerably older than the class median. Patrick, Benjamin and Rebecca in Grade 1 had no younger siblings. In Grade 2, Tom and Joe were twins but had no younger siblings. Trevor in Grade 1 and Michael in Grade 2 were considered to have no native language at home and were learning slowly in this class at school. Dick and Andrew, as Sandra's siblings, shared her family background. Kelly as Mary's twin also had no younger siblings. In addition, it was stressed that Joe, Tom and Bruce all had parents who were especially interested in them and who provided more experiences and of more variety for their children. Their parents were also more involved in school and community affairs, one being a teacher's aide and one on the school committee.

In general, children using the common oral narrative discourse style appeared to have fewer atypical factors in their background and it was also possible that a factor of more active parent interaction may have been involved with this group of children. There were four narratives judged as using the common style but with minor variation. It was assumed here that among children using the same style,

that some variation would occur. This was judged to be the case with these four narratives. Again no definitive conclusions can be drawn relating individual factors and style of oral narrative discourse.

Kindergarten Narratives

These narratives were excluded from the summaries, descriptions and comparisons above due to factors of attendance and their reaction to the narrative context, as described in Chapter 3. However they were also evaluated in the same way as the Grade 1 and 2 narratives, and the transcripts and evaluations included in Appendices S and U respectively. These evaluations are summarized in Table 6. They are discussed here in conjunction with atypical background factors.

Rosanne's narrative is excluded from this discussion as she was inadvertently refocused in the narrative task. Pierre's was also excluded as it was considered doubtful whether he understood the narrative task.

Christopher's, Fiona's and Laura's narratives (Appendix S-XXX, XXXI and XXXII) all showed the same pattern of thematic focus/topic development as Norman and Rebecca, with narrative drift, no beginning, middle and end, and no shifts in time or place. However their pattern of topic development was a series of varied units rather than

Table 6

Summary of composite evaluations for kindergarten narratives

	Points of Evaluation From Key Features Chart								
	1		2		3		4		5
Felicity	TC[1]	O	TA[2]	O[3]	TC	X[4]	TA	TA	TC
Paul	TC	O	TA	X	TC	X	TA	TA	U[5]
Christopher	O	O	TA	O	TA	X	U	U	U
Fiona	O	O	TA	X	TA	X	U	U	U
Laura	O	O	TA	X	TA	X	U	U	U
Pierre	TC	O	TA	X	TC	X	TA	TA	U
Rosanne	U	O	TA	X	U	X	U	U	U

Note. 1 = Topic centred; 2 = topic associating; 3 = other; 4 = feature not present; 5 = unclear

parallel units, providing no apparent thematic focus. In addition their cohesive devices provided little or no consistent pattern to aid thematic cohesion.

Factors possibly implicated in their narrative discourse style were their age, grade level and the narrative context. In addition, Fiona was Sandra's younger sister and shared the same family background. Christopher was Jonathan's younger brother and shared the same role models of emphasis on traditional lifestyle and literacy. Laura appeared to have no particularly atypical individual factors in her background.

Paul and Felicity (Appendix S-XXVIII and XXIX) exhibited a narrative style like that of the common style of oral narrative discourse. It was stressed in both children's cases that their parents provided especially good homes. In addition both parents were active in the community. Felicity's home was said to provide her with more varied experiences, while Paul's provided him with more extensive exposure to traditional lifestyle than the average home in the community. In addition, Felicity was the oldest child in the class and had no younger siblings. She was also judged by her teacher as being the most proficient child in the class in oral language.

Only five Kindergarten narratives were discussed. Of these, two were judged as the common oral narrative discourse style and three as of unclear status. Some similar atypical factors occurred in the Kindergarten children's individual backgrounds as in the backgrounds of children in Grade 1 and Grade 2, as related to narrative discourse style.

To summarize, atypical factors in this group of children's individual backgrounds appeared more prevalent among children who used an oral narrative discourse style other than the common style. The presence of a literate role model occurred only in children using the topic centred style. The presence of opinions judging homes as 'better than average' in some way occurred only for children using the common style of discourse. Other atypical factors occurred in individual backgrounds using different discourse styles. No clear relation is suggested here between these factors and discourse style. However they are included to add possible insights to discussion and further research.

Summary of Chapter

The dictated narratives and audiotapes collected in this study were evaluated using processes derived from the working framework. These were processes for making the written transcriptions, the prosodic analyses and the

assessments of style of oral narrative discourse, as compared to the topic centred and topic associating styles in the working framework. These processes included using structures and features described in the working framework and adding any others specific to this particular group of children's narratives.

The narrative evaluations were summarized and described including the patterns of occurrence of different styles of oral narrative discourse. It was found that 11% of the narratives could be described as topic centred and 78% as a third and different style, termed here the common style of oral narrative discourse. No narratives were identified as topic associating and the identification of features as topic associating within the framework was considered uncertain.

Narratives were also compared between boys and girls, between the Grade 1 and Grade 2 levels, and among individual children. Generally no differences between boys and girls or between grade levels were apparent in overall style. However some tendencies did appear for particular features. Among individual children, some atypical factors were considered as possibly related to differences in overall style of oral narrative discourse. All results as discussed here were considered suggestive, as small numbers precluded drawing any definitive conclusions.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter is a summary of the study and a discussion of the conclusions drawn from it. This discussion includes the limitations and implications of these conclusions. It also includes possible directions for future research.

Summary of The Study

Summary of Background

The purpose of this study was to examine the oral narrative discourse style of Indian children, in a Canadian school, in Kindergarten, Grade 1 and Grade 2 in a school-related activity. It addressed two major questions. First, it asked if this group of narratives could be described as topic centred, topic associating or a third and different style of oral narrative discourse, and in what pattern of occurrence, using the framework described by Michaels and Cazden (1986), Michaels and Cook-Gumperz (1979) and Michaels (1981). Second, it asked how variation could be described within the narratives collected and in what pattern of occurrence, between boys and girls, and among grade levels and individuals.

The background for this study provided an understanding of the role of language socialization in young children. In particular, Heath's (1983) work illustrated how young children from different cultural backgrounds, through different language socialization experiences, developed different forms of language use, while all speaking the same language. These forms in turn were seen to be differentially effective in school-related literacy activities.

Heath's (1983) work described the development of a broad spectrum of language usage. The study described here focused only on young children's style of oral narrative discourse. Some studies have suggested that, among adults, styles of oral narrative discourse could be described for particular North American cultural groups (Cooley, 1979; Erickson, 1984; Scollon & Scollon, 1981). However Michaels and Cazden's (1986) work and the related studies (Michaels & Cook-Gumperz, 1979; Michaels, 1981) provided the specific background for this study. They described styles of oral narrative discourse of children from different cultural backgrounds in a school-related activity in their early years of school. In their work, white children preferred an oral narrative discourse style called topic centred. Although some black children also used this style, they generally preferred a discourse style

called topic associating.

In summary, Michaels and Cazden's (1986) work and the related studies suggested that children from different cultural backgrounds may use different styles of oral narrative discourse in school-related activities. It also suggested that in such activities there may be a mismatch in discourse style between the school's and the teacher's discourse style and that of the children. Finally, it suggested that this mismatch could have a significant impact on the quality of communication between teacher and child. Consequently, compared to children using a topic centred style, these children would have unequal access to teacher's assistance in activities designed as an oral preparation for literacy, and a greater likelihood of negative evaluation in these activities.

This background provided the focus for this study. The rationale for the particular investigation carried out centred around the present high proportion of white teachers of young Indian children in Canada, and the existence of curriculum documents, such as those used by the school in this study, which suggest story development and evaluation according to a model resembling topic centred narrative. In addition, studies (Cooley, 1979; Scollon & Scollon, 1981) supporting the likelihood that the children in this study would also be coming to school with a style of oral

narrative discourse different from that of their white middle class teachers supported the rationale. The work of Michaels and Cazden (1986) and the related studies (Michaels, 1981; Michaels & Cook-Gumperz, 1979) provided the parameters of the working framework for the study.

Summary of Design, Analysis and Results

The children in this study were Carrier Indian in a community in the northern interior of British Columbia. They were in the Kindergarten, Grade 1 and Grade 2 classes in the federal school on the reserve, a school partially controlled by the Department of Indian Affairs and partially by the band. Their first language was English, and their knowledge of Carrier limited.

A narrative context was designed approximately equivalent to that in the working framework, with modifications made to suit the children in this study. Although the Kindergarten children participated in the narrative collection activities, it was judged that the requisite parameters of the narrative context were not present for these children. Consequently their narratives were excluded from the final summaries, descriptions, and all but the individual comparisons of narratives in this study. The narrative task centred around the same shared activity-- the cooking of moosemeat

soup, which children were asked to tell something about the following day.

Their narratives were written down as 'stories' and also tape recorded. In addition, any background information that might have affected individual children's language development was also collected. The narratives were evaluated according to processes derived from the working framework. These included processes of transcription, prosodic analysis and assessment of oral narrative discourse style of the narratives.

It was found that 3 (11%) of the narratives could be described as uniformly topic centred, 3 (11%) as unclear in style, and 21 (78%) as narratives of a third and different style, and termed in this study the common style. Within this 78%, there were also two subgroups making up 14% of the narratives. These represented minor variations of the style. The other 64% used the style in a uniform pattern. This third style was typified by a distinctive pattern of topic development and prosodic cohesive devices.

Comparisons between boys' and girls' narratives showed no apparent differences across these styles, but did suggest that more boys might be using lexically explicit relations, although this also appeared to be confounded with grade levels. Comparison of grade levels also showed no overall differences. However there appeared to be a

tendency for Grade 2 narratives to include more topic centred features, and lexically explicit relations appeared in more of the Grade 2 boys' narratives. Finally factors in individual children's backgrounds were compared and any atypical factors occurring in conjunction with particular discourse styles were summarized.

Conclusions

There were two major conclusions to this study. These corresponded to the two major questions in this study. These conclusions are discussed below in conjunction with other work in the field. The limitations of this study which restrict these conclusions are reviewed in the summary of this section.

The Description of Oral Narrative Discourse Style In This Study

The first conclusion was that within the limitations of the narrative context and the group of subjects in this study, it appeared that two different styles of oral narrative discourse were identifiable. The first of these, topic centred narrative discourse, characterized 3 (11%) of the narratives. As evaluated in this study these were the same style as the topic centred narrative style identified in the working framework of this study. The second, termed the common style of narrative discourse,

characterized 21 (78%) of the narratives. As evaluated in this study this style was different from both the topic centred narrative style in this study and from the topic centred and topic associating styles described in the working framework. The other 3 (11%) of the narratives were designed as unclear in narrative style.

The description of discourse style in this study can be discussed in conjunction with other work in the field. This discussion focuses on two points. The first is a consideration of the possibility that the common narrative discourse style described in this study represents a cultural style of narrative discourse. The second is a consideration of how narrative style, in this study, relates to that in the working framework.

At times in this discussion, other narrative genres are included, in particular the genre of stories. However, story is a term often used synonomously with narrative, and a particular level of genre distinction cannot be assumed. These references are included with the understanding that characteristics of one genre within a speech community may transfer over into another, as discussed in Chapter 2. However, it is understood throughout, that this lack of clarity regarding genre adds an additional degree of tenuousness to points made in the discussion including these terms.

The Common Narrative Style In This Study As A Representative Of A Cultural Style

The conclusions of this study were limited to the particular group of subjects within the limits of the narrative context. Consequently, it cannot be claimed in any decisive way that the narrative style described here as the common narrative style is also a representation of a cultural style of narrative discourse. However, other work in the field was used to consider the possibility of such a relationship. This is discussed in the following sections.

Language, socialization, culture and narrative style. As described in Chapter 2, processes of language socialization suggest the possibility that children from a different cultural background could have a different style of narrative discourse. Heath's (1983) work indicated that different cultural styles of language socialization contributed to the forming of such differential patterns of language use. This work suggests that the children's narrative style in this study might also be culturally influenced. If the narratives in this study had appeared more variable, it would be more likely that individual factors were involved. However the appearance of only two styles of narrative, and with little variation among narrators using each style, would suggest that these

children's narrative styles may also have been influenced by some factor above the individual level. However it is also possible that this factor could have been school experience or an interaction of cultural background and school experience.

Cross cultural narrative, genre and narrative discourse style. Heath (1986) described the universal genre of recounts, which was the genre most closely approximated in the narrative context in this study. Heath described how recounts across many societies and cultures are structured as a series of units with few explicit logical connections, evaluations, or conclusive components. However in mainstream school-oriented communities, adults shape or coach recounts to include explicit, lexical relations between ideas. Heath described this as a process of scaffolding.

The narratives of the common style, as found in the narrative context, and for the subjects in this study, appear to more closely resemble the recounts that Heath (1986) described across many societies or cultures, than those of a mainstream school-oriented community. This is congruent with the nature of the community to which the children in this study belonged, since it is unlikely that this community would be considered mainstream and school-oriented. This congruence with Heath's description of narrative genre and cultural background combined with the

predominance of this style of narrative in children in this community was supportive of the possibility that these narratives might have been representative of a broader cultural style of narrative.

North American Indian styles of narrative. Some descriptions of North American Indian narratives were suggestive of some narrative features as found in the common narrative style in this study. Cazden (1988) provided a description of Arapaho storytelling. These were described as serial and having no clear ending, features also observed in the narratives of the common style in this study. Another reference to a serial attribute of North American Indian narrative was made by Harkin (1988) in describing a Heiltsuk narrative (a subgroup of Kwakiutl Indians on the Northwest coast).

Although the description of oral narrative discourse of North American Indians, referred to in Chapter 2, is of more complex structures, some similarities to the narratives in this study can be recognized. These narratives were also described as lacking explicit relations between points of information presented within a topic. The perception of disorganization referred to by Cooley and Lujan (1982) might also be made for the narratives of the common style in this study by a white listener, as they do not approximate the topic centred style of narrative, described as being used by mainstream children. These

similarities also supported the possibility that the common style of discourse may have represented a cultural style.

Poetic descriptions of North American Indian narrative style. In the common narrative style found in this study, the combined effect of the serial topic development, and the rhythmic repetition of both syntactic/semantic structures and the prosodic pattern appeared to myself and two others, who were relatively uninformed about the purpose of this study, to more closely resemble a poetic than a prosaic style. Although this interpretation can be made in listening to the narratives, it was also considered apparent in the transcribed narratives with the patterns emerging from the prosodic analysis.

Some descriptions of North American Indian stories, while discussing a different genre of narrative and considerably more complex structures, have also described poetic features of these oral narratives. Tedlock (1983) described and discussed a poetic quality of Zuni Indian narratives when related in the Zuni language. Hymes (1982) described how similar qualities were also present in Indian narrative spoken in English, and he also said that these patterns, while most marked in myths, were also present in personal narratives.

Considering the limitations of this study and the narrative context, it cannot be claimed that the sense of

a poetic rather than a prosaic style in the narratives of the common narrative style in this study, shared the poetic qualities and significance described by Tedlock (1983) and Hymes (1982). However the similarity provoked consideration of the possibility of a poetic quality in these narratives and its relationship to the cultural background of the children.

Commentary on the common narrative style in this study by Indian adults. One final reflection on the common narrative discourse style in this study and its cultural background was not based on other work in the field, but rather was provided first hand. It was considered to resemble Johnston's (1982) description of the Ojibway orator as described in Chapter 2. Throughout the course of this study I was asked on two occasions by Indian adults, who were informed about the nature of the study, for descriptions of the children's narratives. Their responses were similar. Both indicated that they recognized my description. Both then qualified their recognition with further comments. The male, an Indian but not Carrier, responded by saying that the children were simply "telling it as it was" with no additions or elaborations. The female, a member of the band to which the children in this study belonged, said that the children's way of recounting their experience resembled how her father and other adults of that generation talked.

She said that:

> My dad tells a lot of stories . . . always when you go for lunch . . . over and over the same thing. He puts in all the details . . . what they used to do long ago . . . all the specific details. That's where I learned a lot. All my aunts and uncles and the elders all tell stories this way . . . comparing then and now all the time and a long time ago.

A common element in both of these adults' description of Indian narrative appeared to be the lack of an evaluative component. Instead the adults appeared to be recognizing a 'reality' in the style of story telling. Their descriptions seemed reminiscent of a personal case history that emphasized relating of all the details that happened without evaluative components, and without an explicit goal or point to the narrative. As such these two Indian adults' descriptions of Indian narrative styles could be seen as similar to that of the common style used by the children in this study. Certainly these two adults themselves appeared to believe that they recognized my description of the children's narrative style as an Indian way of narrating. It was considered that these opinions of the children's narrative style also supported the possibility that the common style represented a cultural style.

In summary, the common style of discourse cannot be identified within the limits of this study as representative

of a cultural style of oral narrative discourse. However this possibility was supported by the descriptions of the discourse style and its occurrence as related to other work in the field, and to one primary source. This possibility was considered in discussing implications for this study.

Narrative Discourse Style In This Study and In the Working Framework

Again the conclusions of this study are limited to the subjects and narrative context used in this study. However comparisons of different styles of discourse can be made within these limitations.

Occurrence of styles. In Michaels and Cazden's (1986) work and the related studies of Michaels and Cook-Gumperz (1979) and Michaels (1981) topic centred narratives were predominantly associated with white children, although also used by some black children. The majority of black children used the topic associating style of discourse. The topic centred style has been described as the style of discourse expected and necessary for school success, and fostered in the children in mainstream, usually white, middle class school-oriented communities. If one assumes the community in this study was non-mainstream, the distribution of discourse style was not dissimilar to that in the working framework. A small minority of the

Indian children in this study used the topic centred style, just as a minority of black children used this style, and the majority of Indian and black children used a different style.

However the majority of Indian children in this study were considered to be using a third and different style rather than the topic associating style used by the majority of black children. Cazden (1988) suggested that narrative style of Native Americans resembles the topic associating, or episodic style as it has come to be called. However Cazden, referring to Arapaho stories, qualified this comparison and said that "what seems similar about black and Arapaho stories is probably only their contrast with the topic centred stories told primarily by white, middle class children" (p. 12). Cazden also indicated that more detailed analyses of stories from children of different cultural backgrounds was likely to further clarify this point, and differentiate among episodic or topic associating narratives.

The designation of the narratives of Indian children in this study as a third and different style corresponds to Cazden's (1988) interpretation of the relationship between topic centred and topic associating narratives and to her suggestion of the likelihood of further differentiation among topic associating narratives. This correspondence of the particular styles of discourse and

their occurrence to the narrative styles in the working framework also supported the possibility, discussed in the previous section that the common oral narrative discourse style represented a cultural style. This correspondence was also considered in presenting implications based on this study.

One additional point needs to be noted about the topic centred narratives in this study. They all contained a prosodic element not mentioned in the topic centred narrative descriptions in the working framework. This was the slow, even pacing of words which with one exception, occurred only in topic centred narratives, or the topic centred sections of narratives, among those designated unclear. There was no apparent information about differences between the two contexts that could account for this prosodic element in this study.

Limitations of the working framework as used in this study. The limitations applying generally to this study will be reviewed in the summary of the conclusions. However those specific to the working framework are discussed here. Although it was attempted to make the narrative context in this study approximately equivalent to that of the working framework, several limitations were still present. First, the combination of white middle class teachers and non-white children was repeated in this study, and the conclusions are specific to this

particular combination. However the combination of a white teacher with non-white children from different cultural groups may not be equivalent, depending on the particular characteristics of the group's relationship with white middle class society. This possible factor was not accounted for in using the framework.

However, one modification of the narrative context was made in order to approximate the narrative context in the working framework, according to an understanding of cultural features of this cultural group. Although this modification was made, it was still uncertain whether the two contexts were equivalent.

The processes of narrative evaluation, as taken from the working framework incorporated an open-ended component allowing for the generation of culturally unique patterns. However the exact value of these elements and features described for this group of subjects, and not present in the working framework, was uncertain. In addition, it is possible that factors significant to interpretation of oral narrative discourse style for these subjects were not included in the working framework (e.g. no non-verbal behaviour was recorded).

In summary, within the limitations of this study, the first conclusion was that two styles of narrative

discourse style could be distinguished in this study. These were a topic centred oral narrative discourse style (11% of all narratives) and a common oral narrative discourse style (78% of all narratives). No conclusive statements could be made regarding the possibility that the common narrative style as identified here, represented a cultural style of discourse. However consideration of other work in the field and one primary source, as related to this common narrative style, are suggestive of this possibility. This possibility was considered in making implications based on this study.

Although also only tentative, there appeared to be a correspondence in the occurrence of styles of discourse in this study with the occurrence of those in the working framework and the related interpretation. This correspondence, also helped support the possibility that the common style of discourse found in this study represented a cultural style. This correspondence was also considered in discussing implications based on this study.

The Comparisons of Oral Narrative Discourse Style In This Study

The second conclusion in this study was that within the limitations of the study, variation in discourse style occurred between individual children's narratives, but was

not apparent between boys' narratives and girls' narratives, or between Grade 1 narratives and Grade 2 narratives. However certain tendencies appeared to occur between and within these groups, and/or in interaction with features of discourse styles.

The variation between individuals is discussed further. However the tendencies towards variation between and within groups as particularly tentative, will not be discussed further here. Instead they will be included in consideration for further research.

Variation Among Individual Children

This variation will be discussed according to style of discourse, and related to the atypical factors associated with individuals as described in Chapter 4. As the collection of this background information on children was of a general nature, and limited to a few factors, the following discussion is considered speculative and limited in its scope.

Among children using the topic centred style of discourse, only one point was apparent for purposes of the discussion here. Of the three children, two were associated with an atypical factor not shared by other children in the study. This was the 'literate' role model provided by the father. This role model could resemble the description of the role of parents in

molding school-oriented patterns of language use typified by topic centred narrative discourse.

Among individuals using the common narrative style, considerable variation was exhibited. However no single factor appeared to differentiate them from children using the topic centred discourse style. However this group did appear to exhibit fewer atypical factors in their background than those individuals using other discourse styles, including those designated as unclear. Although narratives of Kindergarten children were excluded from the general descriptions and comparisons in this study, an examination of their narrative evaluations and individual factors in their background suggested that they might also have followed a similar pattern to those individuals in Grade 1 and Grade 2. Although tentative, it could be suggested, based on these patterns, that the common oral narrative discourse style represented a norm within the group of students and other narrative discourse styles represented variations on the norm, due to factors in their individual backgrounds. Although this suggestion was supported by the proportion of narratives in each style, it is stressed that it can only be considered as a hypothesis and again limited to the narrative context and subjects here.

In summary, within the limits of this study, the second conclusion was that variation in oral narrative

discourse style occurred between individual children but not between boys and girls or grade levels, although some tendencies did appear for particular narrative features. In examining individual factors that might account for these differences, only one atypical factor occurred associated with a style of oral narrative discourse - the literate role model of one father related to two of the three topic centred narratives. The only other tendency among individual factors was that there appeared to be fewer atypical factors represented among children using the common style. A possible hypothesis regarding the norm and variation of narrative discourse style within the group of subjects and narrative context was suggested. The possibilities suggested by the examination of individual factors as discussed here will be included in considerations for further research.

In general the conclusions in this study must be considered as tentative due to the limitations of the study. It was carried out in a single intact school population and as such did not represent a random sample. The conclusions of this study are limited to this single group of subjects. The gender and individual characteristics of the researcher were also not controlled and represented another limitation in the conclusions of the study. Finally the factors specific to the use of the particular

working framework used in this study, as discussed earlier in this chapter, also acted as limitations to the study. The implications drawn from this study, as discussed in the following section, are made with full acknowledgement of the limitations discussed here.

Implications Of This Study

While acknowledging the limitations of this study, implications were drawn from the possibilities suggested by it. Theoretical implications were drawn from the first conclusion in this study, its relation to other work in the field and Indian aims for Indian education in Canada. These were used to make the practical implications.

Theoretical Implications

The first theoretical implication drawn from this study was based on the first conclusion of the study and the related work in the field. Within the working framework, the style of oral narrative discourse differing from the topic centred style and seen as related to the children's cultural background was also associated with a mismatch with white middle-class teachers and school expectations. This mismatch was then associated with unequal access to teacher intervention in literacy-related activities. In this study, the predominant style of discourse also

differed from the topic centred style and may also be related to the children's cultural background. From this, it is possible to suggest that there may also exist a mismatch between the narrative style of at least some Indian children and that of white middle-class teachers, with consequences for teacher intervention in literacy-related activities and evaluation of narratives. Such a mismatch would also extend to curriculum documents as in Appendix B, in which topic centred discourse is used as a standard of reference for teaching and evaluation.

The second theoretical implication is based on the first implication, in combination with the National Indian Brotherhood's (1972) aims for education of Indian children in Canada. These include both optimizing Indian children's opportunities for success in Canadian mainstream schools and protecting and nurturing their Indian identity. The possibilities of a mismatch between Indian children's narrative style and teacher and school expectations, could be seen as affecting not just school success, but also their cultural identity in the school system.

Practical Implications

The following four practical implications are based on the theoretical implications from this study.

They involve teacher and/or school awareness, understanding, implementation, evaluation and valuing.

1. The role of awareness, understanding and implementation. Michaels and Cazden (1986) concluded that:

> If these extended discourse activities are truly key situations influencing children's access to literacy instruction, then in the service of equity and improved educational practice, we must try to understand and improve conversational engagement and collaboration between teachers and children in all backgrounds. (p. 157)

To their emphasis on understanding and implementation, I would add the prerequisite of awareness of the possibilities of such mismatches between discourse styles of Indian children and Canadian schools and teachers, as have been suggested here.

2. The role of understanding, implementation and evaluation. The use of curriculum materials in which topic centred discourse is used as a standard of reference, should be considered along with the possibility of a mismatch as suggested here, between discourse style of Indian children and the standards of reference by Canadian schools and teachers.

3. The role of understanding and implementation. Considering the possibility that Indian children may bring to school a style of discourse that is part of their cultural background, consideration of how this could be involved in school activities needs to be made. This might

include particular consideration of the value of the 'natural text' (Montgomery, 1982). Montgomery, discussing the teaching of Native American languages, claimed:

> The best argument for the use of a natural text, that is language produced by the native speaker, with or without mediation by a linguist, lies in its inherent capacity to motivate students to fix their attention, and to maintain their interest. When a text artificially assembled so as to employ all and only the syntactic considerations which have been previously taught and is dependent upon a similarly controlled lexicon, no real language experience can result. The context of the artificial text must, in fact, be rejected by the student. With a natural text, however the content of the text can be safely retained as cultural information. Not only are language forms presented, but the sociolinguistic context for the use of that language is accessible to the student. (p. 257)

In other words, ways of working with the children's 'natural' language or their cultural narrative style and facilitating of language learning in school activities should perhaps be given special consideration. One of the earliest advocates of such use of the 'natural' text and language experience was Sylvia Ashton-Warner (1963), whose commitment to this practice was developed with children from the Maori culture in New Zealand. The value of whole language or language experience approaches might be given special consideration as approaches for Indian children in mainstream school systems.

4. The role of understanding and valuing. If the

natural text as referred to above, were considered appropriate, a consideration beyond the usual realm of language experience or whole language approaches might also be considered. Hymes (1982) considered conventional transcriptions of Indian stories to conflict with their meaning. He said:

> For dozens of years we have presented such texts in blocks of prose. There were lines, of course, but these were lines dictated by typesetting and margins on the page. It is not possible to understand what these stories do, and what they are, when you see them that way. I don't rule out the possibility that there are people with minds so subtle and fine that they could actually do it. However even with languages that I've worked with for twenty years, I can't discern what the stories do and are when they are presented in prose form, so I don't think it's very likely others can. One cannot see the proportions and weighting of the material. One cannot see the relationship among the story elements that show them to be an implicit logic of expressive and of literary form. (p. 122)

Tedlock (1983) argued similarly, that translations of Zuni narratives had suffered for a long time from prosaic short story type transcriptions. He claimed that the poetic and dramatic literary conventions are more suitable for transcriptions of these narrative translations. (See Appendix V for a comparison of two methods of transcription: two of the narratives in this study written as dictated 'stories' in the conventional manner, as they were in this portion of the narrative collection activity and before seeing the results of this study; and for purposes of

comparison, copies of the written transcriptions of the same two narratives made in the narrative evaluation process.)

In summary, these practical implications are suggestions based on the possibilities suggested by this study and the theoretical implications drawn from it. They are offered here as suggestions for consideration.

Further Research

Suggestions for further research, as provided here, are based: on the discussion of the conclusions of this study; on the relations of these conclusions to other work in the field; and on the implications suggested by this study. Personal opinions and values have also influenced these choices.

1. An exploration of the wider speech community, including both adult and children's narratives in different contexts would provide a background for understanding the cultural relationship of children's narrative style as used in school-related activities. This exploration should consider the particular factors that may affect individual variation in narrative styles within the speech community. It could also include the parameters of gender and grade level discussed in this study.

2. The possibility that a cultural narrative style may affect teacher-child participation structures in literacy-related activities and evaluation of narratives needs to be explored with Indian children. The means by which such an impact might occur needs to be included in such an examination.
3. As a continuation of the second suggestion above, the effect of the interaction between the cultural style of discourse, and teacher interpretation of discourse style on success in literacy-related activities could be investigated. This would provide critical information for those involved in Indian education, in particular if the means of effectiveness could be identified.
4. The value of using language experience or whole language approaches and in particular, the conventions of transcription suggested by Hymes (1982) and Tedlock (1983), need to be explored with Indian children. Both the possible means of using these approaches in literacy-related activities and their effectiveness need to be considered.
5. The National Indian Brotherhood's (1972) aims for education in Canada need to be explored further. For example, this study illuminates a fundamental

conflict with these aims as currently stated. A child's use of the style of oral narrative discourse closely related to success in schools would appear to counter the valuing and development of a style inherent in his or her cultural background. These general aims for Indian education need to be better understood and more specifically stated, in order for those involved in Indian education to more directly address them both in research and in practice.

Summary

The study described here has attempted to address an issue which personal experience and work in cross-cultural education suggested could be critical to Indian children in Canadian schools. The conclusions must be considered as limited to the subjects and the context of this study. However it is argued here that the possibilities and implications generated by this study should be given critical consideration. If white teachers and the school system they represent are going to accept the responsibility towards Indian education indicated by the National Indian Brotherhood (1972) and Barman, Hébert and McCaskill (1987) as described in Chapter 1, such possibilities and implications need to be addressed.

However, such a commitment assumes a fundamental valuing of cultural identity, similar to the valuing of individual identity. It is perhaps with a consideration of the meaning of this valuing that considerations such as those discussed and suggested in this study should really begin.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Glossary

*The following description of the terms is specifically as used in this study.

account	a narrative genre in which ideas about one's own experiences and thoughts are volunteered (Heath, 1986)
anaphoric	use of word referring to or replacing an earlier word (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1982), *for example pronouns replacing nouns
closure	*a structure indicating the completion of a narrative, for example, 'they lived happily ever after'
discourse strategies	*discourse structures understood as serving a particular function of the discourse, for example an intonational contour indicating more to come and preventing interruption
discourse	"the organization of language above the sentence, or clause" level (Stubbs, 1983, p. 1)
eventcast	description of events that are part of the present focus of attention or part of a planning process for future action (Heath, 1986)
features of narratives	*the presence/absence and characteristics of particular discourse structures that exhibit variation across different narratives of the same genre; for example formulaic introductions are typically used in topic centred narratives and are typically time, then focus, then place, as in 'once upon a time there was a little girl who lived in the woods far away'
head	*the second most prominent pitch accent in a tone group
imaginative language function	"using language to create [his or her] environment; not to learn about how things are but to make them as he feels inclined" (Halliday, 1973, p. 15)
Indian	*the aboriginal people of North America, north of Mexico and excluding the Inuit people
intonation	"the occurrence of recurring pitch patterns, each of which is used with a set of relatively consistent meanings, either on single words or on groups of words of varying lengths" (Cruttenden, 1986, p. 9)

intonational contour	*the pattern of intonation used over a tone group
language strategies	*language structures performing particular functions in the sociocultural context
lexical structures	*syntactic and semantic structures in discourse
literacy	ability to read and write (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1982)
loudness	changes within one syllable or relative loudness in successive syllables (Cruttenden, 1986)
narrative	either oral or written relatings of past or ongoing experiences (Heath, 1986)
narrative context	*the sociocultural milieu in which a narrative occurs
narrative repertoire	*the collection of narrative formats familiar to an individual, both the structural and functional components
nominal	of or like a noun (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1982)
nucleus	the most prominent pitch accent in a tone group, but its identification is essentially a judgement, and apparently based on cultural factors; other factors such as length, loudness, lexical value and rhythm may all be implicated (Cruttenden, 1986); *occasionally judged as the syllable with most stress but not holding a pitch accent and stress being accomplished only through loudness or length
nucleus contour	the part of the whole intonational contour that starts at and follows from the nucleus (Cruttenden, 1986)
oral narrative discourse	*the organization of language above the clause level of a narrative related orally; a style of oral narrative discourse is a particular combination of narrative features recurring in some predictable way
parallel units	*narrative units following a pattern such that they are close structural approximations of one another, i.e. the opposite of varied units

pitch	the varying height of the voice over one or successive syllables (Cruttenden, 1986)
pitch accent	the "obtrusion of pitch at the point of accent" (Cruttenden, 1986, p. 48)
pitch contour	*changes in pitch over syllables
pitch glide	*changes in pitch along a continuum
pitch jump	*sharp changes in pitch without sliding along a continuum
prosodic structures	*non-lexical components of verbal communication, for example intonation, pausing and stress
recount	a requested narrative about a past event or activity (Heath, 1986)
referential relations	the indicating of the relationship between different pieces of information in discourse
register	"the overall shifting of the whole pitch range within which a speaker is speaking" (Cruttenden, 1986, p. 56)
regulatory language function	"the use of language to regulate the behaviour of others" (Halliday, 1973, p. 12)
representative language function	language used as "a means of communicating about something, of expressing propositions" (Halliday, 1973, p. 16)
rhythm	patterns of prominent and non-prominent syllables or stressed and non-stressed syllables forming rhythmical effects in connected speech (Cruttenden, 1986)
section	*the component parts of a completed length of discourse, for example a beginning, middle or end
series of narrative units	*narrative units following one another without any apparent larger organizational structures, for example in a temporal or causal sequence
Sharing Time	*a typical activity in many primary classes in which children have the opportunity to share their ideas and/or experiences about something with the rest of the class; the roles of speaker and audience are usually carefully defined

speech community	*a group of people sharing a similar sociocultural context and related conventions of discourse
stress	the prominence of some syllables over others, due to pitch, length and loudness in some combination; length is the duration of one or more successive syllables relative to their duration at some other point (Cruttenden, 1986)
theme	see thematic focus
thematic cohesion/ continuity	the establishing and maintaining of thematic focus within discourse
thematic cohesive devices	*discourse structures providing thematic cohesion
thematic focus	the subject on which one speaks, writes or thinks (Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1982); *often an event or action but not necessarily, for example it could be an affective focus such as 'I liked making the soup'
tone group	chunks of speech with "a single continuous intonational contour" (Michaels, 1981, p. 441); defined by both external and internal criteria: external a) pausing - at a major constituent boundary such as between clauses b) marking of the beginning of the next tone group, for example by speeding up over the first few syllables c) final syllable elongation d) changes of pitch on unaccented syllables as otherwise pitch changes most frequently occur on accented syllables internal a) must contain at least one stressed syllable involving some change in pitch level (Cruttenden, 1986); *occasional exceptions a) tone groups contain a stressed syllable not marked by a pitch accent but exhibiting characteristics of other tone groups in the discourse b) one word responses such as 'Yeh', "No' or "OK" considered as separate tone groups even though monotonic

	c) if narrative interrupted causing break in the flow of the narrative unit, previous tone group considered terminated and separate from next tone group even if no pitch accent had occurred
topic	*synonomous with thematic focus unless theme focuses on several interrelated sub-focuses, in which case these sub-focuses are understood as topics
topic centred style of oral narrative discourse	narratives with a beginning, middle and end consisting of "tightly structured discourse on a single topic, with lexically explicit referential, temporal and spatial relationships" (Michaels & Cazden, 1986, p. 142)
topic associating style of oral narrative discourse	narratives composed of a series of episodes across which there are frequent shifts of time, place and focus, but which are implicitly linked to an overall thematic focus through prosodic but not lexical structures (Michaels & Cazden, 1986)
topic continuity/ development	*the ongoing relationship of a topic or topics to the thematic focus
unit	*a tone group in a narrative understood as containing lexical (syntactic and semantic) and prosodic information
unweighted units	*narrative units structured to function the same way within the narrative, i.e. the opposite of weighted units
varied units	*narrative units following different patterns such that they do not resemble one another in structure, i.e. the opposite of parallel units
weighted units	*narrative units structured to function differently within a narrative, for example beginning and ending narrative units, i.e. the opposite of unweighted units

APPENDIX B

4. SAMPLE RATING SCALE: TELLING OR RETELLING A STORY/ANECDOTE

NAME: DATE:			
Told ☐ or Retold ☐ Story ☐ or Anecdote ☐ Approx. length ____			
Context:			
Topic:			
Criteria: 1 Only evident with continuing prompts and support. 2 Evident with occasional prompts or assistance. Moving toward independence. 3 Independently and voluntarily; no prompting necessary.			
A. Generated ideas for the story (from experience, imagination or information.	☐	☐	☐
B. Identified topic or situation explicitly at the beginning.	☐	☐	☐
C. Presented ideas in a logical sequence (e.g., time order).	☐	☐	☐
D. Used connectives to assist listeners in following the sequence and seeing relationships (e.g.. "then" "because," "after that," "also.")	☐	☐	☐
E. Brought story or anecdote to an explicit conclusion. __	☐	☐	☐
F. Attempted to respond to audience reactions (e.g., answered questions, provided clarification, adjusted volume.)	☐	☐	☐
Summary Comments:			

Note. From "Enhancing and Evaluating Oral Communication in the Primary Grades" (Field Test Draft, p. 9-16). 1987. Victoria: British Columbia Ministry of Education.

APPENDIX C

Samples of Topic Centred and Topic Associating Narratives

Topic Centred Narratives

#1 I had a bad dream last night // I dreamt that I was sinking in the mud // I hated having a bad dream / but I liked waking up // cause the dream would end //

#2 we cracked the eggs // and / we put in the butter / kay and we put in some water // and then we put them in the oven // and then / we had one // there // that's all //

Topic Associating Narratives

#3

Last / last / yesterday / when / my father / in the morning/
and he / there was a hook / on the top of the stairway /
and my father was pickin' me up / and I got stuck on the hook /
up there / and I hadn't had breakfast /
he wouldn't take me down until I finished all my breakfast
'cause I didn't like oatmeal either //

and then my puppy came / he was asleep / and he was - he was /
he tried to get up / and he ripped my pants / and he dropped the oatmeal all over him /
and / and my father came / and he said "did you eat all the oatmeal?" he said "where's the bowl?" //
he said "I think the do-" / I said "I think the dog took it" //
and so I didn't leave till seven / and I took the bus //

Note. Example # 1 was the narrative of a six and a half year old girl from a white mainstream family. It was judged as topic centred as she used the topic centred prosodic pattern and the topic was developed through a beginning, middle and end. Example # 2 was collected in the piloting in this study. The narrative was by a five and a half year old girl from a white mainstream home. Although it had no clear beginning, it was judged as topic centred due to its apparent middle and end , and its use of the typical topic centred prosodic pattern. Example # 3 is an excerpt from a narrative identified as topic associating by Cazden (1988, p. 10-11).

APPENDIX D

Teachers and Aides of Children In This Study: Cultural Background, Training, and Experience

Position	Employer[1]	Cultural Background	Formal[2] Training	Experience (as of June 30, 1988)
Teachers				
Nursery/ Kindergarten	Band	East Indian	B.Ed. (U.B.C.)	1 year
Grade One	D.I.A.	white	B.Ed. (U.Vic.)	2 years
Grade Two	D.I.A.	white	B.Ed. (S.F.U.)	10 years
Aides				
Nursery/ Kindergarten	Band	Indian (Band member)	None	1 year
Grade One/ Two	Band	Indian (Band member)	1 year aide's training	13 years

Note: 1. D.I.A. = Department of Indian Affairs; 2. U.B.C. = University of British Columbia, U.Vic. = University of Victoria, S.F.U. = Simon Fraser University

APPENDIX E

Descriptions of Kindergarten, Grade One and Grade Two Programs

Kindergarten

The Kindergarten program although experiencing progress contends with the same short-comings as the Nursery. The main reasons being that we use the same physical setting and learning equipment. Hence we experience similar problems. In spite of the shortcomings, we have been successful in establishing a routine and structure in our present program. Following is a brief discription of a kindergarten day.

a. Children arrive/ wash-up/ bathroom/ get ready for the group time.

b. Group Time: Conversation time whereby children share their previous day experiences, etc. with the class. This is followed by attendance taking, opening songs, calendar updating, weather changes and discussion.
Review colors/shapes occassionally.
Numbers/alphabet recognition.
Story time (read by teacher, recorded, or a resource person) Also, teacher - directed teaching of a particular theme being studied, would also be explored and discussed at this point. This would be followed by an activity project that is relevent to what is being studied at that time.

c. Free Play: Centers open gradually: House, toys, blocks, reading, puppets, art, writing, listening and math are just seome of the centers in our class.

d. Clean-up/snack/ brush teeth/ rest time.

e. Recess: often combined with P.E.

f. Group Time: Review/ conclude the days activities. Storytime / drama / creative movement as well as singing songs, poetry and finger-plays are carried out here. Please note that sometimes we do one/or a combination of the above activities.

g. Children get ready for home.

Since September, we have explored the following units: Body hygiene and parts, colors, shapes, time (calendar), five senses, dental hygiene, earth and weather changes in Fall/ Winter, special holidays (Thanksgiving, Hallowe'en, Christmas, Valentine). Presently, we are working on numbers and alphabet letters concurrently.

Grade One

Language Arts:

READING: We are using the Ginn 720 Reading Program in combination with a Whole Language approach.
Level 4 - 6 children
Level 3 - 3 children
Level 2 - 3 children

WRITING: Based on Writing to Read/ Whole Language activities.

Mathamatics:

We are using a combination of many different programs in our math program.

- the actual math lessons and games are taken from the EXPLORATIONS series.
- seatwork is from the MATHQUEST series.
- the math centre activities are from the "MATH THEIR WAY" Program.

We have covered the following areas as prescribed in the B.C. Curriculum Guide:

Sorting
One-to-one Correspondence
Patterning
Numbers to 20
Measurements
Addition and Subtraction to 5.

Spelling: We are using the "Spelling Through Phonics" developed by Robert & Marlene McCracken.

P.E.:

- 75% of program taught by Mr. Brown* (high school teacher/ my prep time)
  - classroom games/floor hockey/ball skills.
- 25% of program conducted by myself
  - classroom games/cross country skiing/ice skating.
- primary school ice rink very useful and well used.
- also recent purchase of 12 new sets of skiis, poles, and bindings will be very helpful when additional boots arrive, so whole class will be able to ski at one time.

Social Studies: We are using the EXPLORATIONS Social Studies program. We have covered: - Families are People.
- Families have needs.
- Families share.

Science: STEM
Have covered: - Animals
- Distance
- Space for things

Mr. Brown (my prep. time) is responsible for teaching them: - solids, - liquids, - air.

Music, Drama Art: Activities used from the Fine Arts Curriculum Guide.

P.E.: Mainly rely on: (a) Outside activities such as
- skating, skiing, or sliding.
(b) Classroom games.

There are no adequate P.E. facilities so we are unable to implement a complete P.E. program.

Grade Two

Language Arts: Reading: Ginn 720, -Level 6 Unit 6 - 9 students.
-Level 5 Mastery Test - 6 students.
-Level 5 Unit 1 - 1 student
-readers, skilpaks (work assigned)
-studybooks (individual rate of completion)
-Ginn Word Enrichment Program phonics workbooks used as homework for 12 students who voluntarily requested additional work.

-supplementary materials being used:

-Magic Circle books (Ginn)

-Read - It - Yourself Tales (Ladybird)

-Once Upon a Time Tales (Ginn)

Writing: Writing to Reading

Whole Language activities

Speaking: Whole Language activities

informal conversations

Listening: SRA Listening Program.

Math: Math Their Way/ Mathquest lessons used to facilitate curriculum based on B.C. Provincial Curriculum guide.

Social Studies: Explorations 2

- Exploring our School and Neighbourhood.
- Exploring a Space Community.
- Exploring Prince George.
- excellent curriculum materials.

Science: STEM 2

- covering units prescribed in the B.C. Curriculum guide.
- interesting & informative program
- booklet units copied from PCRC are proving to be excellent classroom materials.

Computer Literacy: hardware 2 Apple IIe computers

software "The Friendly Computer".

Music: Kodaly - Level 1 (locally ** - developed program)

- lessons primarily for enjoyment and self-expression improvement, though skills are taught.

Note. Program descriptions are extracted from the school's Program Progress Report of February, 1988.

* Teacher's name is a pseudonym.

** Modification to original to preserve anonymity.

APPENDIX F

Children and Language

Child: Age _____ Pseudonym: _____

a) his/her use of native language in the hcme and in school

b) his/her placement within the order of children in the family

c) the number of male and female siblings and their approximate age group

d) structure of family (e.g., how many siblings at home, extended family in home)

e) roles of family in band structure

f) any unique characteristics of this child that might be related to language use (e.g., hearing loss)

APPENDIX G

Children and Food

Class _____

1. food, cooking nutrition as part of program over the past year and what foods included

2. children who may have missed a substantial amount (more than25%) of the activities in these portions of the program

3. children's experiences with different foods at home

4. any children with experiences with food in school or at home different from the other children's

5. any allergies to particular foods

Children's Age, Gender and Grade

Kindergarten			Grade One			Grade Two		
Name	Age	Sex	Name	Age	Sex	Name	Age	Sex
Nicholas*	non-participant		Jonathan	6:11	M	Buddy	8:2	M
Christopher	5:7	M	David	6:11	M	Bruce	8:1	M
Barry	6:1	M	Roger	6:5	M	Dick	8:6	M
Paul	5:8	M	Darryl	7:2	M	Michael	7:6	M
Robert	5:7	M	Trevor	6:5	M	Joe	7:4	M
Pierre	5:6	M	Andrew	7:4	M	Tom	7:4	M
Rosanne	5:6	F	Patrick	7:10	M	Peter	7:5	M
Felicity	6:3	F	Benjamin	6:8	M	Norman	9:1	M
Fiona	5:8	F	Mary	6:7	F	Juliette	7:10	F
Laura	5:9	F	Kelly	6:7	F	Sandra	9:5	F
			Penny	7:11	F	Carol	7:8	F
			Nicola	6:6	F	Philippa	8:0	F
			Rebecca	6:5	F	Katy	9:2	F
						Sylvia	7:8	F

Age: years : months

Sex: M = male F = female

* All names are pseudonyms.

Note: Mary and Kelly are twins.
Joe and Tom are twins.

Family units, and Distribution, Number and Gender of Siblings

Family Groups	Distribution of Siblings					
	Pre-School	Kindergarten	Grade 1	Grade 2	Elementary	Grade 8 and Up
A	Non Participant					
B		Christopher	Jonathan		3	2
C		Barry				
D	3	Paul		Sylvia		
E		Robert			1	2
F	1	Pierre	Penny	Katy	1	
G		Rosanne			1	
H		Felicity			1	2
I		Fiona	Andrew	Dick, Sandra	1	
J	1	Laura				
K			David		1	
L	1		Roger		1	2
M	1		Darryl		1	
N	1		Trevor	Carol		
O			Patrick		4	
P			Benjamin	Philippa	3	
Q			Mary, Kelly	Juliette	1	
R	1		Nicola			
S			Rebecca	Buddy	1	2
T	1			Bruce		2
U	1			Michael	3	
V				Joe, Tom	1	
W				Peter	2	
X	1			Norman		2

Note: Mary and Kelly are twins.
Joe and Tom are twins.

Kindergarten			Grade One			Grade Two		
Name	Home	School	Name	Home	School	Name	Home	School
Nicholas	Non Participant		Jonathan	0	+	Buddy	0	+
Christopher	0	+	David	-	-	Bruce	-	+
Barry	+	+	Roger	+	+	Dick	0	+
Paul	0	-	Darryl	-	0	Michael	-	-
Robert	0	-	Trevor	-	-	Joe	0	+
Pierre	0	-	Andrew	+	+	Tom	0	+
Rosanne	+	+	Patrick	0	+	Peter	-	-
Felicity	0	+	Benjamin	+	+	Norman	0	+
Fiona	+	+	Mary	0	+	Juliette	-	+
Laura	-	+	Kelly	0	+	Sandra	0	+
			Penny	0	+	Carol	-	+
			Nicola	0	+	Philippa	0	+
			Rebecca	0	+	Katy	0	+
						Sylvia	-	+

Home: + lots
0 some
- none

School: + well/quickly
0 OK
- slow

Kindergarten Name	Personal	Family	Grade One Name	Personal	Family	Grade Two Name	Personal	Family
Nicholas	Non Participant		Jonathan	0	0	Buddy	-	0
Christopher	0	0	David	0	0	Bruce	0	0
Barry	o	0	Roger	0	0	Dick	0	0
Paul	0	0	Darryl	0	0	Michael	0	0
Robert	-	0	Trevor	0	0	Joe	0	0
Pierre	-	0	Andrew	0	0	Tom	0	0
Rosanne	0	0	Patrick	-	0	Peter	-	-
Felicity	0	0	Benjamin	0	0	Norman	-	0
Fiona	-	0	Mary	0	0	Juliette	0	0
Laura	0	0	Kelly	0	0	Sandra	0	0
			Penny	-	0	Carol	0	0
			Nicola	-	0	Philippa	0	0
			Rebecca	-	0	Katy	0	0
						Sylvia	-	0

0 = Average
- = Possible weakness

APPENDIX L

Teacher Ratings of Oral and Written Language

Rating	Kindergarten	Grade 1		Grade 2	
	Oral	Oral	Written	Oral	Written
14				Philippa	Sandra
13		Trevor	Andrew	Bruce	Dick
12		Mary	David	Michael	Katy
11		Roger	Trevor	Buddy	Michael
10	Pierre	Andrew	Darryl	Peter	Tom
9	Nicholas	Benjamin	Mary	Sylvia	Philippa
8	Paul	Patrick	Patrick	Norman	Carol
7	Robert	Kelly	Kelly	Carol	Juliette
6	Laura	Penny, Nicola	Roger	Dick	Buddy
5	Fiona		Jonathan	Katy	Joe
4	Rosanne	David	Rebecca	Joe	Norman
3	Christopher	Darryl	Benjamin	Sandra	Sylvia
2	Barry	Rebecca	Nicola	Juliette	Peter
1	Felicity	Jonathan	Penny	Tom	Bruce

1 = highest level of proficiency

14 = lowest level of proficiency

APPENDIX M

Script for Day One

Materials

recipe chart and markers
Stone Soup
big pot and spoon
knife, grater, frying pan
moosemeat,
potato, carrot, turnip, celery, onion
pictures of beans, peas, and corn
butter, rice and salt

Location

story/discussion area of class

Preparation

recipe chart on blackboard covered up with other paper

Teacher/Researcher	Children Respond
[Teacher's name] tells me you have learned about foods that are good for you. Can you tell me some? ---->	
I have a story about a boy who needs some food to eat, but he makes something rather strange. Would you like to hear it? ---------->	
It is called Stone Soup. READ BOOK. Did you enjoy the story? ---------->	
What was the best part? ---------->	
Have you ever made soup before? ---------->	
Would you like to make some soup. We could make soup tomorrow if you like. ---------->	
What kind could we make - stone soup? ---------->	
How about moosemeat soup? ---------->	
OK. Let's write a recipe for our soup making. I've started one. Nancy* [one of the teacher's aides] told me how she makes moosemeat soup. SHOW CHART TITLE. This says soup Can you read it with me? ---------->	read soup
What do we need to make soup? SHOW-POT-AND-SPOON-ON CHART. ---------->	pot and spoon
Here they are. SHOW REAL POT AND SPOON. And I'll write the words on the chart. WRITE POT AND SPOON ON CHART BESIDE OR IN OBJECTS	

Teacher/Researcher	Children Respond
What else do we need? ---------->	food
Yes we need food. Here are some. SHOW REAL FOODS AND PICTURES.	
What else do we need? Can we put the food in the pot like this? ---------->	knives, etc.
Yes we need tools to help us. Here are some. SHOW REAL TOOLS.	
Now we have what we need to begin. What do we do first? SHOW FIRST STEP ON CHART. ---------->	cut up moose-meat
Yes Nancy says we start with the moosemeat and cut it up. ADD WORDS TO CHART What do we next? SHOW NEXT PICTURE. ---------->	use butter and fry meat
Yes Nancy says that's what we do. ADD WORDS TO CHART. What do we do next? SHOW NEXT PICTURE. ---------->	add water and cook it
Yes Nancy says that's what we do. ADD WORDS TO CHART. What do we next? SHOW NEXT PICTURE. ---------->	cut up potatoes and put in the soup
Yes Nancy says we can add some vegetables like potatoes and others too. ADD WORDS TO CHART AND DRAW ARROW TO SHOW ADDITION TO THE POT.	
REPEAT PROCEDURE FOR ALL VEGETABLES AND FOR RICE AS ON RECIPE CHART.	
Is there anything else we should add to make our soup good? SHOW SALT ON CHART. ---------->	salt
Yes. ADD WORD TO CHART AND DRAW ARROW INTO POT.	
What do we do now? ---------->	cook it
ADD WORD TO CHART. What do we do then? ---------->	eat it
ADD WORD TO CHART. So tomorrow will you all be ready to make the soup and eat it? ---------->	
See you tomorrow.	

* Pseudonym.

APPENDIX N

Recipe Chart

food	tools	
moosemeat	knife	spoon
meat	frying pan	
butter	tap	
water	knife	pot
potato	grater	
carrot	knife	
turnip	knife	
onion	knife	We cook it.
celery	knife	We eat it.
green beans		
peas		
corn		
salt		
rice		

Note. This represents the finished chart. Words were left blank to begin.
Pictures were coloured to match real objects.

APPENDIX O

Script for Day Two

Materials

recipe chart from Day One
foods to make soup
tools to make soup
1 blunt knife per child
paper towel cutting boards for each child
hot plate
bowls and spoons for each child

Location

staff room with large table around which all children can fit
separate place for hot plate

Preparation

prepare recipe up to broth stage as takes long time
put up recipe chart where clearly seen by all children
prepare vegetables for easy cutting, i.e. clean and chop into portions for individual children to chop up
place all tools where needed

Teacher/Researcher	Children Respond
Do you remember our soup recipe? ---------->	
Let's look at it again. USING PICTURES AND WORDS HAVE CHILDREN REPEAT SEQUENCE IDENTIFYING ALL INGREDIENTS AND TOOLS. ---------->	
Today we're going to make our soup. I started it last night because it would take too long in school to wait for everything to cook. I took the moosemeat and chopped it up and fried it in butter. Then I added water and cooked it. FOLLOW THESE INSTRUCTIONS ON CHART. Now it's cooking on our hot plate over there. Today you're going to do the rest. What will we add first? --> potato	
There's a piece for each of you to cut up and then you can put it in the pot. DISTRIBUTE PIECES OF POTATO. When you're finished you can have a turn putting it in the pot. CHILDREN CHOP POTATO AND PUT IN POT.	
What goes in next? ---------->	carrot (If necessary, look at chart.)

Teacher/Researcher	Children Respond
What will you do with the carrot? ---------->	grate it
You can all have a turn grating the carrot while the others are cutting up the other vegetables. What goes in next? ---------->	turnip
There's a piece for each of you to cut up and put in the pot. CHILDREN CHOP AND PUT IN POT.	
REPEAT PROCEDURE FOR ALL VEGETABLES DOWN TO THE GREEN BEANS.	
We couldn't get fresh beans and peas and corn. These ones are frozen, but you can all have a turn putting some in the pot. At the same time you can take a turn adding some rice. What else do we need to add? ---------->	salt
Yes. I'll add some since we don't need very much. There are books to look at until you have a turn adding the frozen vegetables and rice and while we wait for the soup to finish cooking.	
CHILDREN TAKE TURNS ADDING REMAINING INGREDIENTS AND READ BOOKS WHILE WAITING FOR SOUP TO FINISH COOKING. WHEN FINISHED ALL CHILDREN CALLED BACK TO TRY A BOWLFUL AND GIVEN SECONDS IF THEY REQUEST IT.	

APPENDIX P

Script for Day Three

Materials	Location
tape recorder and tape paper and markers	withdrawal reading room

---

Teacher/Researcher	Children respond
Would you like to talk on the tape recorder again? ---->	
I'm going to write it again. What colour would you like me to use? ---------->	
Do you remember how we talked about and made the soup?---------->	
Could you tell me something about it? ---------->	
CHILDREN'S NARRATIVES ARE TAPED AND WRITTEN DOWN. NO VERBAL INTERJECTIONS; ONLY NON-VERBAL ENCOURAGEMENT - SMILING AND NODDING HEAD	
IF SIGNS OF BEING FINISHED=AS OBSERVED IN FAMILIARIZATION - Finished? ---------->	
Would you like to hear some of it? ---------->	
CHECK FOR ACCURACY OF WRITTEN TRANSCRIPTION WHILE REPLAYING AND ALSO COMPLETE ANY AMBIGUOUS PORTIONS.	

APPENDIX Q

Samples of Dictated Narratives

XXIV Norman

I liked the soup where we made it. I liked eating it. It tastes good. I liked the books that you had. I saw you writing letters - it's secret. At recess me I skipped with the rhyming book. Then me and Michael were playing not to go on to the steps or else they're going to be the alligator. Then us we went to the monkey bars. Then Michael got down. Then the bell rang. Me I had to go in and do my corrections and Skilpak. Then I had to come to the room by myself Then us I read books. Then -

XI Michael

I liked the meat and beans and potatoes. We cut the green beans. We cut the yellow beans. Turnip. I like the turnip. And the juice in it. I ate half of it. I like the onions, and I liked the carrots. And I liked the cabbage.

APPENDIX R

Structures of Prosodic Analysis and Notations of Transcription for Prosodic and Lexical Structures

Notations of Transcription	Prosodic and Lexical elements
tone groups, pauses and other transcript segments	
/	partial closure (like a comma), indicating more to come; a minor tone group
//	full closure (like a period); a major tone group
. . .	brief pause indicating a break in regular timing
. . . .	measurable pause * greater than 4 seconds; approximate number of seconds indicated above notation
* ( )	interjection by audience; transcribed in conventional English grammatical style
* [ ]	other information concurrent with narrative
syllable and word transcription	
* between words	triple spacing
* be tween syll a bles	single spacing (on words containing a pitch accent)

Note: Adapted from the working framework for this study (Michaels, 1981; Michaels & Cazden, 1986; Michaels & Cook-Gumperz, 1979); additions made in this study are marked by preceding asterisk.

markings of intonation

(Note: The horizontal line indicates the mid-level of the speaker's range and corresponds to the type baseline in the narrative transcriptions.)

primary stress - pitch contours on the nucleus

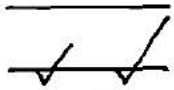

low fall

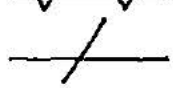

high fall

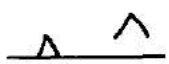

low rise


high rise

* 
extreme rise

* 
syllable begins falling and finishes rising

* 
syllable rises from low through mid range to extreme high

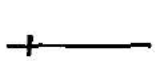
* 
rise-fall over same syllable

* NUC
level tone on nucleus; primary stress indicated by other features of stress

* pack age of them
nuclear contour

secondary stress


high pitch on head


low pitch on head

* SEC
level tone on head; secondary stress indicated by other features of stress

other markings of stress


shift to overall high pitch for entire tone group


shift to overall low pitch for entire tone group

length, loudness and speed

:(after syllable)	vowel lengthening resulting in syllable elongation	
CAPITAL LETTERS	extra loudness	
℘	extra softness	
acc	faster speech rate	over 2 or more words and to end of tone group unless otherwise indicated
dec	slower speech rate	

Additional Notes

1. Descriptions of rhythm contained in additional notes of transcripts

2. Vowel elongation followed by a pause judged as having less stress than vowel elongation followed by ongoing flow, as often seemed to serve purpose of giving time to think

3. Nucleus and heads on level tone marked by loudness and /or elongation are apparent exceptions to definitions of nucleus and heads

4. Heads and nucleus differentiated by pitch accent, less loudness on heads, a pitch jump rather than glide on heads and a glide on the nucleus

Note: The following terms are defined in the Glossary: prosodic, tone groups, intonation, pitch contour, nucleus, nuclear contour, pitch, head, stress, loudness.

Note. Adapted from the working framework for this study (Michaels, 1981; Michaels & Cazden, 1986; Michaels & Cook-Gumperz, 1979); additions made in this study marked by a preceding asterisk.

APPENDIX S

Transcripts of Oral Narratives With Prosodic Analysis

Unless otherwise stated, for all the following narratives, rhythmic pacing is of the following description: begins slowly, often with pauses, accelerates towards end, followed by a pause before beginning next tone group.

All narratives are identified by pseudonyms and Roman numerals.

I Katy

1 I like the /soup: // 1

2 and it's taste /good: // 4

3 I ate some of \it // 4

4 and . . . we went /BACK up\stairs // 2

5 we went and /DRINK wa\ter // 1

6 and /I went back down\stairs // 3

7 and /I eat some more . . . it a\gain // 3

8 bye bye

9 that's the 'end of the sto/ry

Additional Notes

1. uniform slow, even pacing over all words in each unit, excepting pauses and with little or no elision

II Peter

1 'I like it when we cut it //

2 'we . . . we . . . eat it when it is /cooked: // 3

3 'when it's /cook ing /

4 we read books // 9

5 um . . . then . . . we go back /up stairs /

6 and get /rea dy to /go home // 5

7 some peo/ple like to stay to help to clean up //

Additional Notes

1. uniform, slow, even pacing over all words in each unit, excepting pauses and with little or no elision

III Jonathan

1 we cooked . . .7. . moose /meat: soup // 7

2 and . . . . . we . . .12. . 'put all the . . .6. . vege ta bles / 3

3 and 'cut it \up // 5

4 and then . . .14. . we . . .5. . /cut the vege ta bles /

5 and /put it in the pot // 19

6 that's all we √did //

Additional Notes

1. uniform, slow even pacing over all words in each unit, excepting pauses and with little or no elision

IV Mary

1 we: . . . colored: //

2 I mean /

3 uh . . . we: cooked: // 3

4 um: . . . and . . . we: . . . . and we cut up meat//

5 I mean // 4

6 and . . . . and . . . we: . . . put it in the pot: //6

7 and . . . we: . . . . cut up things: /

8 and then put it in the pot // 12

9 and: we: . . . we: . . . . um . . . . then we cooked it // 7 [background noise from here to end]

10 and: . . . we ate it // 4

11 that's all //

V Sylvia

1 First you . . . we . . . um you made meat at your house: // 10

2 and uh . . . . and us we made the other stuff // 11

3 then we we read books: // 4

4 and after that we ATE: // 8

5 then we . . . went back upstairs // 10

6 that's all //

VI Tom

1 um . . . we made meat /soup // 1
2 and we . . . um made it //
3 and it was /good //
4 and I ate two pack: age of them // 1
5 'two um two . . . um two . . . two √soups: // 1
6 two scoops of /soup // 1
7 two um two bowls: of soup // 4
8 um . .[10]. . um and: it was 'good the √soup: // 1
9 um . . . and I had a 'knife and I chopped um . . .
cel er y up/
10 and I put it in the √bowl: //
11 and you you called: me // 1
12 and I put it in the √pot: // 1
13 then I got um something /else /
14 that I don't /know / 1
15 I um . . . that I don't √know: // 1
16 and I just chopped it /up //
17 and I put it in the √bowl: //
18 and you um . . . you called me a√gain: //
19 and I 'came with the √bowl /
20 and I put it in the um . . . /soup // 1
21 and. . . um Ka/ty /
22 and √Bruce /
23 um didn't like the √soup //

Tom /

24 and I liked /it //

25 and . . . I: . . . um . . . um 'ate um Rod/ney's soup //

26 and he didn't like the /soup //

27 just Bruce liked his um . . . /meat: // 2

28 um . . . um . . . and: //1

(Finished?)

29 huh

(More to say?)

30 yeh . . . and: . . . Joe liked: /it // 1

31 and I liked: /it // 1

32 me and . . . me and Joe/

33 um: . . . we . . . we had um two bowl:/fuls// 1

34 and . . . 5 . . um

VII Joe

1 um I liked the √soup // 2

2 it was /good: // 2

2 I had two bowls of √soup // 7

3 it was . . .made out of √corn: // 7

4 and: . . 6 . . and . . .√meat: // [another child opens door, looks in and shuts it again] 7

5 and: . . . a pos tro pher // 1

6 a pos tro pher /

7 I mean (acc) the one like √that [demonstrates shape of apostrophe in air with finger] // 1

8 so (acc) you don't need to say and and and and and]// (Ohhh. OK.) 5

9 and /meat: //

10 and . . 21 . √beans: // 3

11 and . . .√peas: // 1

12 that's all

Additional Notes

1. uniform, slow, even pacing of words except for pauses, with little or no elision

VIII Carol

1 the soup was /good // 6

2 I ate the vege/ta bles //

(I ate?) 6

3 and . . . I liked the /books: // 7

4 um . . . I ˌlike ded the moose:/meat // 9

5 who ˌgave it to /us // 12

6 who ˌgave us the moose:/meat //

(Bill) 16

7 that's it //

IX Bruce

1 I: liked the soup // 21

2 _____ ? _____ //

(I don't know.) 22

3 I liked the moose:/meat // 10

4 and the /corn: // 13

5 the . . . tapa tapa tapa-ts ta pat:/tos //

(Potatoes.) 14

6 was /good // 19

7 I liked ˈit when we cut the vege/ta bles //

X Roger

1 we ˈput . . . moose meat in there // 2

2 and uh: . . . po TA toes: // 5

3 and: . . . CAR rots // 5

4 and um . . . . BEANS: // 8

5 and uh . . . . vege TA BLES // 5

6 then the . . . . CORN: //

XI Michael

1 um . . . um . . . I liked the meat: // 6

2 and beans: // 4

3 and po TA toes // 3

(And potatoes?) 4

4 and . . . we cut the green: beans // 9

5 and . . . we . . . cut the YEL low beans // 10

6 um . . 6 . . tur nip /

7 I like the tur nip // 6

8 and the juice: in it // 5

(Juice in it?) 4

9 um . . 5 . . I ate half: of it // 6

10 um . . 5 . . um 5

(Finished?) 5

11 um . . . and I like the . . 6 . . um . . 6 . . the ON ions // 4

12 and I liked the . . . CAR rots // 2

13 and I liked the . . 17 . . cab: bage //

XII Kelly

1 we just cut the ON/ions // 3

2 just cut the on/ions // 4

3 and . . . we . . . then we eat/ it // 7

4 we played /it // 8

5 you make us cut car/rots //

XIII Penny

1 we put tur:/nips in there // 7

2 and: . . . we: . . . put car:/rots in there // 6

3 we: . .[5]. . put . .[9]. . on:/ions in the pot // 6

4 then we put . .[5]. . in: the 'pot . .[7]. . /CORN: / 4

5 and . .[10]. . /meat: // 26

6 and . . .⌈I⌉ don't know⌋ //
acc

(Finished?)

7 /no // 11

8 and: . . . we put in the 'pot . . . lots /peas: // 5

9 and . . . we put . . . po/TA toes in the pot // 27

10 there //

XIV Darryl

1 boiled: WA:/ter //

2 boiled: . . . WA . . . A/ter /

3 wa/ter // 1

4 we . . . 'PUT . . .[9] . . b green: beans: . . . .

uh . . . um . . . . . those /THINGS: //

5 those green /THINGS: /

6 that are /long: // 1

7 they're long: and they're /SOFT: //

8 and uhhh . . .[21] . . CAR/ROTS // 1

9 'CUT car:/rots // 37

(Finished?) 2

10 we: . . . put: . . . in . . .[45] . . what 'WAS it that we put in /NEXT: //

(Hmmm.) 28

11 those small hard /things: //

(Uh huh.) 15

(Finished?)

12 they all: 'WHITE all o:/ver / 1

13 those: . . ./THINGS //

(Uh huh.) 35

14 s s/SALT: //1

15 'salt: . . .salt. . . t // 23

16 that's all //

XV Dick

1 I likeded the soup: best // 1

2 and I likeded the meat: // 7

3 and . . . I likeded to cook and read the new books of yours: // 12

4 and I likeded the book with the Stone Soup: // 11

5 and I likeded to . . . eat the soup: // 11

6 I likeded the . . . carrots and ONions // 2

7 the onions just about made me cry: // 1

8 that's the end //

XVI Buddy

1 um . . . I . .[5] . . I cut . .[6] . . car:rot //

2 and cut ONion //

3 and . .[7] . . po TAtoes // 6

4 and . . . TURnip // [lots of background noise begins] 3

5 and . .[22] . . and . . . I cut . .[35] . . and I cut . . . CARrots // 6

6 and . . . . beans: // 12

(Finished, Buddy?) 1

7 and: we boiled it // 6

8 and . . . we: . . . looked at books: // 12

9 and after we looked at books we . . . we ate soup // 12

10 and . . . we went back upstairs and went home: //

XVII Benjamin

1 uh . . . we we put uh vege ta bles in // 2

2 the pot //

3 and we put car rots in //

4 um . . .put those things //

5 uh . . . . that's all //

XVIII Trevor

1 we . . . we make corn: // 4

2 we make . . . we make . . . them we make them lit tle things ? // 3

3 we make . . . we make uh . . . rice: // 2

4 we make . . . we make um . . . make meat: // 2

5 we make . . . um . . . car rots // 3

6 we make . . . vege ta bles // 4

7 ? // 8

8 and: . . . um . . . and . . . and . . . um . . . that THING: //

9 that you put . . . put cheese: on // 11

10 we make um . . . we make: . . . the THINGS . . . in the bag: // 8

11 and: . . . and . . . the things ? / 1

12 those things //

XIX Andrew

1 we ate: it // 7

2 then the bus: come // 12

3 and: . . . we . . . we put lots of things: in // 4

4 then we read a book: // 10

5 the bus come and we ate: it // 4

6 we . . . we . . . we take home: // 11

7 we went home: //

8 the end //

XX Philippa

1 um . . . I cut po TA: toes // 5

2 and . . . we cut . . .[6] . . those: . . . ON ions // 8

3 car: rots // 4

4 and . . . we cut . . . those . . . yel: low things // 13

5 those green: things and long: things // 3

6 and . . .[6] . . that's all

XXI Juliette

1 I liked um . . . how the soup TAS ted // 15

2 and . . . I was too full /

3 so I gave mine to Tom: //15

4 and I liked reading those books: //

5 I liked putting the . . . the food in the pot // 15

6 that's all //

XXII Nicola

1 we . . .

[phone rings] (Just a minute.) 1

2 cut up meat: // 6

3 put car:rots in there // 10

4 those green: things // 8

5 hmmm . . . on/ions // 32

6 /rice: // 1

(Hmm?) 1

7 /RICE: // 17

8 and those yel:low things //

XXIII Patrick

1 uh . . .[11] . . cooked some car:/rots // 7

2 carrot um . . . ON/ions // 7

3 po TA/toes // 13

4 um . . . ON/ions // 3

5 ⌈write on/ions⌉ // 2
acc

6 ⌈is this on/ions right there⌉ //
acc

(Uh huh.) 14

7 uh cut . . . um . .[10] . . um . . . we EAT: /it // 5

8 and . . . that's all //

XXIV Norman

1 I liked the /soup: /

2 where we made: it //

3 um . . . I liked eat: ing it /

4 it taste good: // 1

5 and I liked I liked the books /

6 that you HAD: // 1

7 um . . . . um I saw you writing let/ters /

8 it's SE: CRET // 2

9 um . . . um . [13] . . um at recess me I um . . .
/skipped: /

10 with the rhy: ming book // 5

11 and then: um . . . me and Mich/ael /

12 us we were playing not um to go on . . . go on
to the /steps: //

13 or else they're going to be the all: i ga tor //
acc.

14 then us we went to the uh MON key bars //
acc

15 then . . . then Michael got down /

16 then the bell rang: // 4

17 um me I had to go /in /

18 and do my cor rec: tions //

19 and my . . . my . . . um SKIL/pak //

20 and . . . and and . . . then I had to come to
the room with my/self: //

21 then um . . . then . . . us we read books: //

22 then . . . um. . . um

XXV Rebecca

1 we: . . . 'put . . . um po TA: toes in it // 6

2 and: . . . we: 'PUT . . . car: rots in it // 6

3 and: . . . we: 'PUT . . . ON ions in it //

4 and we: 'PUT . . . that um . . (10) . . um . . (13) . .
[someone opens door to pick up coat] PUT . . . um . . . the
long green things: // 7

5 and we 'PUT um . . . CORN: in it // 7

6 and: we: 'PUT: . . . . PEAS: in it // 3

7 then we 'PUT in . . (8) . . in: . . (5) . .
tur: nip in it // 6

8 and we 'PUT . . (5) . . um . . . we cook: it // 5

9 and we ate . . . eat . . . .um . . . we . . . we goed in
the bus: // 7

10 and: . . . we: . . . . and: we: came: to: school: //3
dec

11 and: we: . . . play with the com pu: ter //

12 and do our work: // 12
acc

13 and: . . . we: . . (6) . . we do our . . . wri: ting// 3

14 and our draft: //3
acc

15 and we play at the math: cen tre // 4
acc

16 and we: . . . and we: . . . we have lunch: // 4

17 and we play out side: // 7

18 and: we come back in: // [extra noise in hall outside] 6

19 and: . . . we: . . . read books: // 4

20 and: . . . we: . . (11) . . and: . . . we . . (6) . . we have

Rebecca /

p./e.: // 4

21 and we: . . . have /art: // 3

22 and we have . . 6 . . and we have: . . 5 . .
um . . . go /home: // 4

23 and we get on the /bus: // 4

24 and we come to /school: // 7

25 and: we: . . . do our /work: // 4

26 and: . . .we: . . . play out/side: // 4

27 and we go to Car:/rier // 13

28 and we: 'GO to Car:/rier // 4
dec

29 and we: . . . come back /up /

30 and we do our /work: //3

31 and: we play out/side: // 2

32 and we: . . . come back /in: // 11

33 and: . . . we: 'PLAY at the math:/cen tre // 2

34 and: . . . we: do our wri:/ting // 2

35 and we 'do: . . 7 . . uh . . 7 . . um . . 5 . . and we
'do: . . . com pu:/ter // 4

36 and we 'do: . . . um . . . all: . . 5 . . . play out side// 5

37 and we 'do: . . . prin:/ting // 3

38 and: we: . . . play: . . . a/round: //2

39 and we play: . . . um . . . um . . . um . . . . /house //

XXVI Sandra

1 'First we had to cut them /up // 18

2 then we put them . . . then we put them . . . then they put them in the /pot // 10

3 then they had to cook /it // 7

4 we were looking at /books // 11

5 then they called /us // 6

6 then . . . then Anne . . . said to . . . if you. . . you are /called //

7 you could find your /own // 8

8 own bowl of /soup // 6

9 and then . . . we ATE /it // 3

10 and I had TWO ~~bowls of~~ soup // 9

11 then we went. . .[5]. . back up/stairs // 6

12 and . . . and Anne was cooking /chi\cken // 10

13 she . . . put it . . . in the o:ven // 2

14 and then she ~~/COOKED \~~ it /

15 un/til thir ty min/utes // 3

16 and we 'had to ~~/take~~ our meal / 2

17 then took our \lunch //

18 and we went to take our \coats / 2 acc.

19 and went to put acc on our /shoes / 3

20 and we went 'outside to wait for the \bus // 3

21 and Miss ~~/White. . .~~ said / 2

22 'we . . . are acc faster than the \bus // 5

Sandra /

23 then the /bus came / 3

24 and /we got on it /

25 and /went home // 2

26 and 'we were /home //

27 and we /ate /

28 and then we played/out side / 1

29 and . . /we: had lots of fun / 1

30 then we 'fixed . .[12]. . our . . ./play:house // 3

31 then . . .we: had /lots of fun // 1

32 and Dick was really slop/py // 8

33 and: we: went... up... the hill: // 1

34 and then we went home: // 4

35 and then we . . . then we fixed our 'bed and watched . .[6] . . t: v // 1

36 and . . . and then we:, went to: bed and grand:/pa / 3

37 woke 'up the first: one // 5

38 then gran:/ny woke up // 8

39 and Dick woke up // 1

40 and Bob by woke up // 6

(Bobby?)

41 Bob/by // 6

42 and then An/drew woke up //

43 and then me I woke up //

44 and then Fi/o/na woke up //

45 we all /ate: // 18

46 'ate rolled: oats // 5

Sandra /

47 and then we got ready for ∫school /

48 and then we played for a little while // 2

49 and then we: ∫went / 1

50 the bus ∫came: //

51 and then the bus ∫came /

52 and we went: on it //

53 and then we went to ∫school: // 20

(Finished? No?)

54 and then we went to ∫school /

55 and . . . and then we: . . . we: . . . sat . . . 'down and:

Miss White put stars up for us // 1

56 and then . . . we said our 'prayers /

57 and then they they did their CA∫len∫dar // 1

58 and then we did our sto ry // 24

59 and then we . . .went down . . . to do our ∫work // 1

60 board∫work // 4

61 and then Miss White we . . . then we . . . went to

do our level sev∫en book // 5

62 and . . . then we . . . went . . . DOWN ∫stairs // 4

63 to Miss . . . iss . . .[11] . . WILL∫iams // 4

64 to learn our . . . LAN∫guage // 4

65 then it was RE∫cess // 6

66 we: played until the bell∫went // 6

67 and: we: went IN∫side // 1

Sandra /

68 and: we: was called by ∫Anne: // 7

69 and then we went in here and . . . ∫looked:
. . . Anne's // 7

70 and Anne said to tell us about the ∫soup: // 10

71 and she asked . . . and she writed it asked me
what ~~co~~ lour // 6

72 to . . . ∫use: //

73 and I said ∫brown: //

74 and I write a . . . I told her a ∫LOT of things // 2

75 and . . . I . . . was . . . sit∫ting / 4

76 a fun∫ny way // 4

77 and . . . I my I my ∫voice: / 5

78 was . . . going . . . to . . . the tape re COR∫der // 1

79 and . . .[6] . . I was . . . going . . . to get . . .
real∫ly shy // 5

80 and . . . we: . . . are going to eat
cup∫cakes at lunch: / 1

81 after ∫lunch: //

Additional Notes

1. slow even pacing for l. 12-17, l. 18-25; similar pacing but less regular l. 74-81

XXVII David

1 /I: / 2

2 and Shei:/la / 3

3 ,make /soup: // 2

4 /down: / 2

5 \stairs: // 5

6 with . . . /Anne: / 3

7 Darr yl / 4

8 Tre/vor / 4

9 Pen/ny / 4

10 An/drew / 5

11 um . . . RO ger / 5

12 Jon A:/thon / 6

13 umm . . . JUS/tin // 7

14 we . . . 'cut . . . po TA/toes // 7

15 car/rots // 7

16 Ma: ry / 3

17 Kel ly // 9

18 um . . .[7] . . wes: . . . LOOK at it // 8

19 /cook // 7

20 /root // 17

21 car/rots //

Additional Notes

1. uniform, slow, even pacing l. 1-5 ; similar but less regular pacing in l. 6-21.

XXVIII Felicity

1 we um we put po TA/toes // [overlaps with audience's request for narrative] 3

2 and we put car:/rots // 2

3 and we put CEL/e ry // 3

4 and we put po TA/toes // 3

5 we put that . . . um . . .[11] . . uh that ON/ions // 5

6 those . . .[6] . . and /peas: // 4

7 um . . . those little /stuff // 7

8 those long /peas: // 8

9 um . . .and/ the/ rice/ and/ the/ /rice/ // 2

10 /SALT // 10

11 that's all //

XXIX Paul

1 /GOOD: // 6

2 um . . .[18] . . pep:/per // 6

3 green pep/per: // 16

4 um . . .[24] . . I don't /KNOW //

(Hmmm?)

5 I don't /KNOW // 21

(Do you remember when we made the soup yesterday Paul? Downstairs? Do you remember when we made the soup? Can you tell me a bit about it?) 7

6 they's po TA/toes //

(Uh hm.) 8

7 on:/ions // 4

8 CAR/rots //

XXX Christopher

1 CAR: rot // 3

2 a car: rot // 3

(Uh huh.)

3 ba LO: ney // 1

4 I eat baloney in my SOUP // 3

5 I put it with the LUNCH // 8

6 what it says: // 1

(Rereads lines 1-5.)

7 um . . . . I went to school . . . to eat the snack // 2

8 what it says // [pointing to name on paper] 5

9 ? Christopher Wal ters // 2

10 what it says //

(I'll read it to you afterwards, OK?)

11 OK // 6

(Finished?)

12 NO // 1

13 I think in my head . . . bout swim: ming // 12

14 it says ? . . . I we . . . I went swimming in my head: //

(Nods head.) 1

15 oh // 2

16 playing with the ra di o // 9

17 um . . . playing with TOYS // 7

Christopher /

18 uh . .[8] . .playing with TY pe wri ter //

19 ? type wri ter // 7

20 ? ty pe wri ter or PLAY ing //

(Um huh.) 3

21 uh . . . play ing with: . . . um . . play ing with HOUSE: // 5

22 playing out side: // 11

(Finished?)

23 no // 1

24 I went back home // 8

25 sitting down: watch ing t v // 13

26 playing cars: // 17

27 watching news: // 6

28 that's: all //

XXXI Fiona

1 the soup different COlours // 1

(OK) 6

2 I put this down // [Laura put her kleenex on floor] 2

3 I been to . . . I been to town: with dad dy and mum my and Bon ny Ger al dine // 11 [Bell ringing from this point to end of narrative.]

4 it was different COlours // 1

(It was different colours?)

5 ? ? ? ? ? // 7

6 buy RUNners /

7 and pants and shirt: /

8 and two PANTS // 15

9 I buy um a ? ? ? ? //

XXXII Laura

1 we: . . .we put /CAR ~~rots in~~ \there // 2

2 then: . . . we STAR~~ted to~~ EAT ~~it when it's~~ done: // 3

3 then we /BRUSHED our \TEETH: /

4 and we had a OR: ange // 3

5 then it's time to go out: . . . play out side // 3

6 now: . . . ~~WE:~~ nue get to . . . go home: /

7 then we go /home dec we ? // 2

8 get our /snAcks /

9 then put on our /boots / 1

10 then usss . . . we: got . . . we got to bring: . . . the thing home and it's . . . in my house: ? . . . the thing: . . . a\BOUT // 1

11 um: . . . . then: us . . . we went to /TOWN: . . . me and gran/ny and gran/pa // 5

12 and \THEN: . . . we went . . . somewhere: with my acc MUM/ma // 1

13 my mumma's at /TOWN: // 6

14 and THEN: . . . we went . . . we went back /home: with my mum/ma //

15 then . . .we left um Dar: lene //

XXXIII Pierre

1 what's /THIS //

(Pierre, think you can remember and tell me about the soup?)

2 /SOUP: //

(Yeh. Soup.) 1

3 what's this /FOR //

(That's for after, OK?)

4 after I watch +/N //

(Um, Pierre, do you remember when we made the soup?)

5 /SOUP //

(Uh huh. Downstairs. Do you remember?)

6 down /STAIRS //

(Uh huh. Can you remember? Can you tell me about it?) 1

7 bout /SOUP: //

(Yeh. About the soup.) 3

8 I eat /SOUP // 1

(Yeh.) 3

9 I eat um chi/cken // 2

(uh huh). 1

10 and um . . . and ? ? // 2

11 and . . . and SAND/wich //

12 and um . . . I eat pork /ANDBEANS // 2

13 and eat uh . . 5. . ? ? //

XXXIV Rosanne

1 egg: // 1

(Pardon.)

2 EGG: //

(Uh huh.) 1

3 and um . . . and um . . . ON ion // 3

4 how come that man ? never came in here // 3

(I don't know.)

5 who's is this one // 3

(This is Felicity's.)

6 where's the the other ones // 3

(They're not finished yet. Could you tell me about your cooking Rosanne?) 1

7 um . . . po TA to // 1

8 and um . . . and um ice: cream // 3

9 and um . . . ap: ple // 3

10 orange // [this word treated as one syllable] 3

11 and um sau: sage // 2

12 and um ap ple juice // 3

13 and WA ter // 4

14 and um . . 5 . . um gar: bage // 4 [giggles]

15 what this says // 3

(Rereads last few lines. Rosanne can you tell me anymore about how you made soup?) 2

16 and um . . 13 . . MEAT //

APPENDIX T

Key Features As Used To Make Assessments of Oral Narrative Discourse Style

This format follows the outline of the Key Features Chart in Figure 1 (Chapter 2, p.54) and designated features as TC (topic centred) TA (topic associating) or O (other). When two sets of features were present, the dominant one was designated as distinguishing this feature in the narrative. If no clear dominance could be distinguished, this feature was judged as U (unclear). Clarification and/or standardization of terms necessary for this group of narratives have been added and an asterisk precedes these portions of the descriptions of features.

TOPIC ASSOCIATING	TOPIC CENTRED	OTHER
Thematic Focus/Topic Development		
Focus Shifts		
1. theme focus shifts through a series of personal anecdotal sections but all contained within an overall theme	1. single topic limited to cooking activity with me	1. topic drift topic drifts into another topic
	*single extended topic extends from cooking activity to going home as it followed directly from the termination of the activity	
	*variety of weighted units forming a sequence (complex sequence), and forming narrative sections (formulaic closures excluded)	*series of parallel weighted units forming a simple sequence (has a sense of beginning and end)
		*series of parallel unweighted units with no apparent sequence (no sense of beginning or end)

TOPIC ASSOCIATING	TOPIC CENTRED	OTHER
2. no apparent beginning, middle and end	2. a beginning theme statement, a middle and an end	2. *beginning, middle and end of a temporal/action sequence *closure formulaic closure included (e.g., 'that's all)
Specific Elements of Topic		
3. shifts in time, place, focus	3. no major shifts in time, or place formulaic introduction of time, then focus, then place	
4. implicit relations between narrative sections * interpreted here as between largest organizational structures of the narrative; for narratives using this TA feature, this was typically the narrative unit	4. explicit relations between narrative sections *implicit relations between narrative sections using the topic centred prosodic pattern highlighting the topic development	4. *pacing of words atypical feature
5. few lexical relations *interpreted here as ambiguous	5. explicit lexical relations for referential, temporal and spatial information; nominal and anaphoric chains	

APPENDIX U

Composite Evaluations Of All Narratives

I Katy

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic

   TC: a topic centred pattern of a variety of weighted units (with complex sequence)

2. TC: has a beginning theme statement (l. 1-3), an elaboration of a temporal/action sequence (l. 4-6) and a resolution type ending (l. 7)

   O : has 2 closures (l. 8-9)

3. TC: no major shifts intime or place

4. TC: prosodic devices of the topic-centred intonational contour highlight narrative sections also formed lexically through topic organization
   some lexical relations between units provided by 'and'
   O : pacing of words uniformly slow and even;
   some rhythmic repetition of syntactic/semantic structures

5. TC: explicit lexical relations, for example, 'it (L. 2, 3, & 7) refer to 'soup' (l. 1), with no possible ambiguity

II Peter

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic

   TC: a topic centred pattern of a variety of weighted units

2. TC: has a possible beginning theme statement (l 1), an elaboration of a temporal/action sequence (l. 2-4) and a possible resolution type ending (l. 5-7)

3. TC: no major shifts in time or place

4. TC: prosodic devices of the topic centred intonational contour highlight narrative sections also formed lexically through topic organization

   O: pacing of words is uniformly slow and even

5. U : some ambiguous lexical relations - 'it' (l. 1, 2 & 3)

III Jonathan

1. TC: theme focuses on a single topic

   TC: a topic centred pattern of a variety of weighted units (with complex sequence)

2. TC: has a beginning theme statement (l. 1), an elaboration of a temporal/action sequence (l. 2-5), but no inherent end

   O: has a closure

3. TC: no shifts in time or place

4. TC: prosodic devices of the topic centred intonational contour highlight narrative sections also formed lexically through topic organization;
   some lexical relations between units provided by 'and'

   O : pacing of words is uniformly slow and even;
   some rhythmic repetition of syntactic/semantic structures

5. U : some ambiguous lexical relations - 'it' (l. 3 & 5)

IV Mary

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic

   TC: topic centred pattern of parallel weighted units (with complex sequence)

2. TC: has a beginning theme statement (l. 3), an elaboration of a temporal/action sequence, and a possible resolution type ending (l. 10)

   O: has a closure (l. 11)

3. TC: no major shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour and syntactic/semantic structures) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units
   some lexical relations between units provided by 'and'

5. U: some ambiguous lexical relations - references to 'things' (l. 7), 'it' (l. 8, 9 & 10) are ambiguous

V Sylvia

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic

   O : a series of parallel weighted units (with complex sequence)

2. O : a beginning (l. 1), middle (l. 2-4) and end (l. 5) of a temporal/action sequence

   O : has a closure (l. 6)

3. TC: no major shifts in time and place;
   introduction of time, focus and place (l. 1)

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units; most lexical relations between units provided by temporal markers 'first' (l. 1), 'then' (l.3), 'after' (l. 4) and 'then' (l. 5)

5. U: some ambiguous lexical relations - downstairs at school and next day (l. 2) are implicit information, and reference to 'stuff' is ambiguous

VI Tom

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (with complex sequence)

2. O : has a beginning theme statement (l. 1), an elaboration of 2 cycles of the temporal sequence with 2 different action sequences (l. 2-8 & l. 9-34), and no inherent end

   O : has a closure

3. TC: no major shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units; some lexical relations provided by 'and'

5. TC: explicit lexical relations

VII Joe

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic

   O: a series of parallel unweighted units (with no apparent sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end but possibly a beginning theme statement (l. 1)

   O: has a closure (l.12)

3. TC: no major shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of intonational contour) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units; some lexical relations provided by 'and'

5. TC: explicit lexical relations

VIII Carol

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic

   O: a series of parallel unweighted units (with no apparent sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end but possibly a beginning theme statement (l. 1)

   O: has a closure)l. 7)

3. TC: no shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units

5. U: one occurrence of ambiguous lexical relations - 'us' (l. 6)

IX Bruce

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (with no apparent sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end but possibly a beginning theme statement (l. 1)

3. TC: no shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units

5. U : one occurrence of prosodic marking of lexical relations — 'it' (l. 7) refers to vegetables

X Roger

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (with simple sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end but possibly syntactic complexity of first line marks a beginning; and temporal marker of last line marks an end of a temporal/action sequence

3. TC: no shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour and some syntactic/semantic structures) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units
   lexical relations provided by 'and'

5. U: one occurrence of ambiguous lexical relations - 'in there' (l. 1)

XI Michael

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (with simple sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end

3. TC: no shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units; some lexical relations provided by 'and'

5. TC: explicit lexical relations

XII Kelly

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic (one line is unclear in its focus)

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (no apparent sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end

3. TC: no shifts in time or place (with possible exception of one unclear line)

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units

5. U: one occurrence of ambiguous relations - 'it' (l. 3)

XIII Penny

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (with simple sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end

   O : has a closure (l. 10)

3. TC: no shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of intonational contour and syntactic/ semantic structures) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units;
   some lexical relations provided by 'and'

5. U : some ambiguous lexical relations - 'in there' (l. 1&2)

XIV Darryl

1. TC: theme focus on single topic

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (with simple sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end

   O : has a closure (l. 16)

3. TC: no shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of intonational contour) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units

5. TC: explicit lexical relations

XV Dick

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (with simple sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end but possibly a beginning theme statement (l. 1)

   O : has a closure (l. 8)

3. TC: no shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour and syntactic/ semantic structures) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units;
   some lexical relations provided by 'and'

5. TC: explicit lexical relations

XVI Buddy

1. TC: theme focuses on a single extended topic

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (with no apparent sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end
   (possibly 'going home' is an end)

3. TC: no shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of intonational contour and some syntactic syntactic/semantic structures) provide implicit parallel relations

   lexical relations between units provided by 'and'

5. U : one occurrence of ambiguous lexical relations

XVII Benjamin

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (with simple sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end

   O : has a closure (l. 5)

3. TC: no shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour and syntactic/semantic structures) provide implicit parallel relations

5. U: one occurrence of ambiguous lexical relations - 'those things' (l. 4)

XVIII Trevor

1. TC: theme focus on a single topic

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (with no apparent sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end

3. TC: no shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of intonational contour and syntactic/semantic structures) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units

5. U: some ambiguous lexical relations - 'them things' (l. 2), 'things' (l. 11 & 12)

XIX Andrew

1. TC: theme focuses on single extended topic

   O: a series of parallel unweighted units (with simple sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end, but possibly an ending (l. 7) of a temporal/action sequence

   O: has a closure (l. 8)

3. TC: no major shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour and some syntactic/semantic structures) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units

5. U: some ambiguous relations - 'it' (l. 1 & 5), 'things' (l. 3)

XX Philippa

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic extended topic

   O : series of parallel unweighted units (with a simple sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end

   O : has a closure (l. 6)

3. TC: no shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour and some syntactic/semantic structures) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units
   some lexical relations between units provided by 'and'

5. TC: explicit lexical relations

XXI Juliette

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (with simple sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end

   O : has a closure (l. 6)

3. TC: no shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour and some syntactic/semantic structures) provide implicii parallel relations between narrative units

5. U : one occurrence of ambiguous lexical relations - 'those books' (l. 4)

XXII Nicola

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (with simple sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle or end

3. TC: no shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour and some syntactic/semantic structures) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units;

5. U : one occurrence of ambiguous lexical relations - 'in there' (l. 3)

XXIII Patrick

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (with simple sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end

   O : has a closure (l. 8)

3. TC: no shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the 'common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour and some syntactic/semantic structures) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units

5. U : ambiguous lexical relations - 'it' (l. 7), referring of ingredients (l. 2, 3 & 4) to cooking (l. 1) is implicit

XXIV Norman

1. O : theme drifts over several topics

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (with simple sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end

3. TA: shifts in time and place and focus

4. TA: prosodic devices of the 'common' intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units

5. TC: explicit lexical relations

XXV Rebecca

1. O : theme drifts over several topics

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (with simple sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end

3. TA: shifts in time, place and focus

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour and syntactic/semantic structures) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units;
   lexical relations provided by 'and'

5. U : ambiguous lexical relations in topic focus on soup making — 'it' (l. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7 & 8); explicit lexical relations in rest of narrative

XXVI Sandra

1. O : theme drifts over several topics

   U : a series of parallel weighted units (with complex sequence) (l. 1-11)
   2 topic centred patterns of varied weighted units (with complex sequence) (l. 12-17 & 19-25)
   2 series of varied weighted units (with simple sequence) (l. 26-73 & 74-81)

2. U ; no apparent beginning, middle and end

3. TA: shifts in time, place and theme focus

4. U : (l. 1-11 & 32-73) prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units
   (l. 12-17 & 18-25) prosodic devices of the topic centred intonational contour highlight narrative sections also formed lexically through topic organization; uniform slow even pacing of words
   (l. 26-31) shifting from topic centred to common intonational contour to mark ends of narrative units
   (l. 74-81) combination of topic centred and common intonational contours mark ends of narrative units

   change in use of prosodic devices also marks changes in topic focus
   some lexical relations provided by 'and then', 'and' and 'then'

5. U : ambiguous lexical relations in soup making focus (l. 1-11) - 'them' (l. 1 & 2), we (l. 1, 2 & 4), they (l. 2, 3 & 5)
   explicit lexical relations in rest of narrative

XXVII David

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic

   U : a series of varied weighted units (l. 1-5)
   a series of parallel unweighted units (with simple sequence) (l. 6-21)

2. TC: has a beginning theme statement (l. 1-5) and an elaboration of an action sequence (l. 6-21)

3. TC: no shifts in time or place

   TC: introduction of charater, focus place

4. U : (l. 1-5) prosodic devices of the topic centred intonational contour highlight the beginning theme statement formed lexically through the topic organization
   (l. 6-21) prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour and syntactic/semantic structures) provide implicit parallel relations between remaining narrative units; uniform slow even pacing of words (l. 1-5) and less uniform (l. 6-21)
5. U : some ambiguous lexical relations - 'it' (. 18); subject and/or action is implicit (l. 19-21)

XXVIII Felicity

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (with simple sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end

   O : has a closure (l. 11)

3. TC: no shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour and some syntactic/semantic structures) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units

5. TC: explicit lexical relations

XXIX Paul

1. TC: theme focuses on single topic

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (with simple sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end
   but possibly a beginning theme statement

3. TC: no shifts in time or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour and some syntactic/semantic structures) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units

5. U : ambiguous lexical relations - referring of cooking ingredients to cooking activity is implicit

XXX Christopher

1. O : theme drifts over several topics

   O : a series of varied unweighted units (with no apparent or possibly a simple sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end

   O : has a closure (l. 28)

3. TA: shifts in time and place

4. U : prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and falling tones at end mark narrative units, but lack of clear pattern in markings adds to lack of clear thematic focus formed lexically in topic organization

5. U : ambiguous lexical relations - referring of ingredients to soup (l. 1 & 2) is implicit; subject of action (l. 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 25, 26 & 27) is implicit

XXXI Fiona

1. O : theme drifts over several topics

   O : a series of varied weighted units (with simple sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end

3. TA: shifts in time and place

4. U : prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and falling tones at end mark narrative units, but lack of clear thematic focus formed lexically in topic organization; some lexical relations provided by 'then'

5. U : ambiguous lexical relations in soup-making topic focus - 'in there' (l. 1), 'it' (l. 2);
   explicit lexical relations in rest of narrative - 'thing' (l. 10)

XXXIII Pierre

1. O : theme drifts over several topics

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (with no apparent sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end

3. TC: no shifts in time, or place

4. TA: prosodic devices of the common intonational contour and rhythm (repetition of the intonational contour and some syntactic/semantic structures) provide implicit parallel relations between narrative units

5. U : explicit lexical relations but topic development is too simple to judge value

XXXIV Rosanne

1. U : theme focuses on single topic and with some fictitious interpretations

   O : a series of parallel unweighted units (with no apparent sequence)

2. TA: no apparent beginning, middle and end

3. U : no shifts in time or place

4. U : prosodic devices mark units but in no consistent pattern except rhythm based on repetitive syntactic/semantic structures
   some lexical relations provided by 'and'

5. U : ambiguous lexical relations - referring of cooking ingredients to cooking activity is implicit

Additional Notes

1. required assistance in concentrating on narrative task

APPENDIX V

Comparison of Two Methods of Transcription

The first method below is as the narratives were written in the narrative collection in this study, and is approximately that used conventionally in dictated story activities.
The second method is taken from the written transcriptions including prosodic analysis in this study.

XV Dick

#1 I liked it the soup best and I liked the meat and I liked to cook and read the new books of yours. I liked the book with the Stone Soup and I liked to eat the soup. I liked the carrots and onions. The onions just about made me cry. That's the end.

#2 I likeded the soup best
and I likeded the meat
and I likeded to cook and read the new books of yours
and I likeded the book with the Stone Soup
and I likeded to eat the soup
and I likeded the carrots and onions
the onions just about made me cry
that's the end

X Roger

#1 We put moosemeat in there and potatoes and carrots and beans and vegetables. Then the corn.

#2 we put moosemeat in there
and potatoes
and carrots
and beans
and vegetables
then the corn

XXI Juliette

#1 I liked how the soup tasted. I was too full so I gave mine to Tom and I liked reading those books. I liked putting the food in the pot. That's all.

#2 I liked how the soup tasted
and I was too full
so I gave mine to Tom
and I liked reading those books
I liked putting the food in the pot
that's all

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Biemiller, A., Avis, C. & Lindsay A. (1979). Application of [illegible]s Watt's human interaction scale to the study of competence-supporting aspects of daycare environments. Canadian Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 11(4), 356-360.

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